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A
GENERAL VIEW
OF
ENGLAND;
Respecting its Policy, Trade, Commerce,
Taxes, Debts, Produce of Lands, Colo-
nies, Manners, &c. &c.

Argumentatively Stated;
From the Year 1600, to 1762;

IN
A LETTER
To A. M. L. C. D.

By M. V. D. M.

Now translated from the French, first printed
in 1762.

MAJORES nostri, cum bellis asperis premerentur, equis,
viris, amissa pecunia, nunquam defessi sunt armati de imperio
certare. Non vis hostium, non inopia aerarii, non adversa res,
ingentem eorum animum subegit: quin, quæ virtute ceperant, simul
cum anima retinerent: atque ea magis FORTIBUS CONSILIIIS,
QUAM BONIS PRÆLIIS PATRATA SUNT.
Sall. de Rep. ordinandâ.

L O N D O N :

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Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, in New-
Bond-Street.

M.DCC.LXVI.

P R E F A C E

By the TRANSLATOR.

THE author of the following letter or treatise, is (upon pretty sure grounds) supposed to be a French gentleman, who several years ago resided for some time in England, and who within these last ten years was at the head of the finances of France.

During his residence here, he was extremely assiduous in obtaining all the information he could procure with regard to the constitution, laws, finances, tillage, manners and commerce of this kingdom; and the following work shews what use he has made (and which he most probably did from his arrival here intend to make) of the information he got, and of his observations thereupon; how accurate, and well founded they both are, and more especially those that relate to Scotland, Ireland
and

iv P R E F A C E.

and the colonies, is submitted to the consideration of the judicious reader; the translator neither adopting, nor being answerable for the author's sentiments, and having nothing in view by a translation of them, but the hopes of awakening in the minds of those, whose proper business it is, an attention to the ideas that an inquisitive foreigner has published concerning the general state of affairs in this country; which, partial, and groundless, as several of them may be, do many of them however, convey hints that may prove extremely salutary and beneficial to this kingdom, should a speedy and skilful use be made of them.

This is the translator's only view and his most ardent wish, as he can with truth apply to the constitution of his country, Father Paul's last words with regard to the state of Venice. *Esto Perpetua.*

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS large sums computed in livres tournois, to distinguish them from livres or pounds sterling are frequently mentioned in the following letter, it is proper to acquaint the reader, who may not be conversant with the business of foreign exchanges, that accounts in France are kept in livres, sols and deniers.

12 deniers, 1 fol
20 sols, 1 livre
3 livres, 1 Ecu or French Crown.

from which crown of three livres or sixty sols, the exchange between France and England is always computed. The livre is an imaginary coin, as is the English pound sterling. England gives an uncertain number of pence and parts of a penny for the French crown of three livres, according to the course or price of exchange: which fluctuates, rising and falling according to the demands for money or bills in the different trading towns. The par of exchanges between London and Paris, is estimated to be at present very nearly 3 1/2 pence sterling for the French crown of three livres, at which rate one million livres tournois make £. 43,750 sterling, as will appear by the following operation.

3 — 1,000,000
333333 1/3 of a crown equal to 10d 1/2 sterling.
31 1/2

333333
999999
166666 1/3
10 1/2

12 — 10,500,000
2) 0 — 875,000
£. 43,750 sterling as above.



Stated Account, &c.

I Do not doubt, Sir, you will have pardoned me, for having given my opinion, with so much warmth in our last conversation. I know too well your way of thinking not to be convinced that you will be pleased, that I did not yield, and that I now undertake to prove that I was well founded in what I advanced. I will proceed then to recapitulate what was started; mark those points in which we agreed; I will argue the rest; and afterwards speak upon some other points that did not then come in question.

You told us, Sir, that an English gentleman, a member of the house of commons, and a great land proprietor had assured you, that in England
B when

when the land-tax was in appearance at four^a sols in the livre, it is not really and upon the whole at more than fourteen deniers, which reduces the apparent fifth to about a seventeenth effective; you added, that English gentlemen had likewise assured you, that England, properly so called, and not comprehending Scotland, has more than thirty four millions of productive acres; and to avoid trifling contestation I allowed thirty five^b: then you calculated, and supposing the acre of land one with another, yields to the English proprietors twenty five livres tournois a year, you shewed us, that the income of those proprietors should amount to eight hundred and seventy five millions of livres a year. You supported this calculation by another, and shewed us, that the fourteen deniers in the livre of those eight hundred and seventy five millions made nearly the sum of forty eight millions of livres to which the land-tax might amount, when rated at four sols in the livre. It is true that this last calculation did something exceed the sum of forty eight millions; but that was attributed to the greater number of acres I had easily agreed

to

^a Four sols in the livre, holds the same proportion as four shillings in the pound, or $\frac{1}{5}$.

^b According to law an English acre ought to contain forty three thousand five hundred and sixty of our royal square feet, the acre then is $\frac{1}{10}$ less than the royal arpent of France, which contains forty eight thousand and four hundred of those feet.

It is presumed that France contains about one hundred and sixty millions of royal arpents and that England is in extent about $\frac{2}{7}$ of France, by which calculation England should contain about fifty millions of acres.

to allow. This basis being fixed, you observed, that in France the proprietors of lands did not receive at most, from their estates an income of more than five hundred millions of livres tournois a year, and that consequently it was not possible for us to contest with England, whose land proprietors possessing an extent of only about $\frac{2}{7}$ of ours, had nevertheless, an income of $\frac{2}{3}$ more than was produced by all the extent of our soil; you likewise remarked, that to that income (high as it already appears to be) should be added the incomes of both the Scots and Irish proprietors, and also that of the Colonists. You added also, that regard should be had to the force and activity that all those different incomes acquire, by that brisk circulation of trade which all the different parts of the British monarchy enjoy. You did not forget to mention the great riches that commerce afforded by itself. You shewed, that to judge rightly of the credit and power of England, one must not be amused by the rise and fall of their public funds^c, but consider that the interest upon the national

B 2 debt

^c The second of February 1762, an old fund of £. 100 sterling capital at three *per cent.* interest: was sold in Exchange Alley at £. 62. and a new fund of 1760 of the same capital at four *per cent.* was sold at £. 74. Upon a calculation of the first of these funds the credit of the nation was upon the second of February 1762, at four *per cent.* $\frac{5}{8}$, that is to say, they would not lend their money but at four *per cent.* $\frac{5}{8}$ interest, but in calculating according to the price of the last of these two funds, the national credit is to be rated no higher than

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debt is punctually paid, that there is a considerable *sinking fund*; that the strength of its income enables them to borrow further sums, and to continue to pay regularly the interest of the whole debt, and still to preserve the best part of the sinking fund; and it is by this rule only that a judgment should be formed. You from this drew a very melancholy and severe conclusion, by saying, that in short we must either necessarily submit to the yoke, or be crushed and annihilated under the weight of the wealth and power of England. This language made me tremble, and I answered, that our misfortunes arose principally from some people perpetually exaggerating the strength of the English, while others made it a point of honour, and perhaps of policy to undervalue them without consideration, and that neither the one nor the other endeavoured to find the true methods of curbing and lowering them. That those methods nevertheless did actually exist, since nature, the regulator of all things, had visibly destined this people to be inferior to
us,

that at about five *per cent.* and $\frac{2}{3}$. This difference arises from hence, that an old fund, at low interest, sells always in proportion to its interest at a higher price, than a new fund at a higher interest; for these reasons, that a reduction of interest upon the last is feared; whereas none is feared upon the first; as also because, the new fund not being got into the hands of such stock-holders, as propose to make a fixt and permanent capital of it, is brought more frequently, and in greater quantities to market, and thereby constitutes the greatest part of what is called *Agio*.

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us, and these methods would soon be found, if people would take care to inform themselves better; or if men were not blinded, by a kind of party spirit and jealousy often, which even, the ablest and most experienced persons are frequently liable to. Afterwards I said:

1st. That after a long and circumstantial study of the affairs of England, I was very sure, that when the land-tax was computed at four sols in the livre, it in effect produces at the rate of about two sols upon the whole; and when it is computed at two sols in the livre, it produces in the same manner, at least one sol; that consequently there was an actual difference of $\frac{5}{12}$ or very near one half, between your English gentlemen and me, but for this I did not desire to have my bare word taken, being able to produce, full proofs of what I had asserted.

2dly, That in the annual produce of the lands of any nation whatever, there are three things principally to be distinguished.

The first is the whole product.

The second is the territorial income of lands, which consists in all that the land produces, over and above the charges, advances, and reasonable profits, of those who labour and cultivate the lands: which charges, &c. being conjointly with the land, the absolute and only source of an abundant produce, ought to remain

B 3

main untouched, and cannot compose a part of the territorial income, considering, that it cannot be disposed of at will, without effecting the total produce, and consequently the territorial income aforesaid—The third thing to be distinguished is, the particular income of the proprietors of the lands, which can no where be the same as the territorial income; because, there are every where, certain public taxes to be deducted from the particular incomes, before the proprietors can compute, what remains neat to themselves. It appeared, that you was not apprised of the two last distinctions, but you could not object to them, and accordingly allowed this whole article.

3dly, That the public taxes may be of different kinds, for instance, the tythes paid to the clergy are a species of public tax, the amount of which is always a part of the territorial income, without being a part of the particular income of the proprietors—this you likewise agreed to.

4thly, That the public taxes which are more particularly so called, being for the support of the state may be raised—in the first place, by a territorial tax, levied immediately on the proprietors.—Secondly, by a tax levied on the inhabitants of towns.—And thirdly, by one or more taxes, to be levied directly, and in a fixt manner, upon those who cultivate the lands, which is not absolutely a bad method, but subject however, to great expence in collecting,
and

and other inconveniencies, that have all a tendency to diminish, not only the income of the proprietors, but that of the nation likewise.—Fourthly, by one or more taxes imposed directly and at will, upon those that cultivate the lands: but that this method of raising money for the expences of the state, is altogether or partly at least, absolutely ruinous and destructive: because the cultivators of the lands by this means no longer know upon what footing they are, either with regard to the proprietors, or the state; and would always lie exposed to the loss of part of their expences, advances, and just profits, from which must result a great diminution on the whole produce, on the territorial income of the nation, and on the particular income of the proprietors: a diminution that might lead to an entire devastation, capable of overthrowing and undoing a nation, as it happened in Gaul, under the Roman empire, in the time of the Bagaudes, and at the time of the conquest of the Goths of the Burgundians and the Franks^d.—In the fifth place,

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^d Salvien, a priest of Merfeilles, who lived about the end of the fourth century, has left us a famous Work, intituled DE GUBERNATIONE DEI, in which he has learnedly and pathetically pointed out the causes of the destruction of the Roman empire in Gaul. It is in that work Lib. V. p. 155. that may be found what follows, and was practised among the Romans settled in Gaul.

“ A Roman could not be happy himself, without making his fellow citizen unhappy at the same time. What is more common than to see Romans reciprocally persecute”

place, By laying taxes immediately on articles of daily consumption : but the least evil that can arise from this method of raising money, either in the whole or in part, is, that it is always very expensive:

“ scribe one another by enormous exactions with an in-
“ humanity that seemed natural to them, and which the
“ very Barbarians were ignorant of? What is most terrible
“ is, that upon these occasions, the greater number con-
“ sisting of those, who by being receivers of the public
“ money, become downright plunderers and thieves, and
“ who make the debts of the public a sure source of profit
“ to themselves. Again, if it were only the leading per-
“ sons in the magistracy that were guilty of such enormi-
“ ties and oppression, it might be bore with: but it is
“ their substitutes, and even their domestic servants that
“ are actually the oppressors. In what cities, in what towns
“ are there not as many tyrants as decurions and collectors?
“ In what place do they not devour the very entrails of wi-
“ dows and orphans, and of all those that are not in a
“ condition to defend themselves? Every one, in short, is
“ exposed to violence who is not himself either a robber or
“ a thief;—were you to compute what they extort from
“ the poor and weak, you would conclude them all to be
“ rich, whereas, if you examine what they really stand
“ possessed of, you will find them reduced to the lowest
“ state of poverty. Here follows the cause of all this—
“ the government frequently send commissioners to levy
“ taxes: and their whole merit consists in exacting the
“ whole, without considering who the persons are upon
“ whom the heaviest part of the weight falls: the poor are
“ pillaged, the orphans are stripped of their all. They
“ are forced to go over to the enemy, to avoid being
“ squeezed to death in their own country. They prefer
“ liberty with an appearance of slavery, to being slaves with
“ an appearance of liberty. The rank of a Roman citi-
“ zen, formerly so highly esteemed, and so dearly pur-
“ chased,

expensive: that it considerably augments the burden, by the superadditions that every part of such taxes undergo in passing from one hand to another, before the money comes into the public coffers; and that while such taxes are laid on objects of daily consumption, they are subject to the same consequences as arbitrary taxes upon those who cultivate the lands: they only operate more silently and slowly.—You agreed to all this article, not so much from being thoroughly convinced of all it comprehends, as to lessen the points in dispute between us.

5thly,

“ chafed, is now rejected, and in some measure held in
“ detestation:—such is the condition of a great part of
“ Spain and of Gaul. I would be understood to be speaking
“ of those unfortunate bagaudes, thus plundered and strip-
“ ped by iniquitous and inhuman magistrates; we give
“ them by way of reproach the name of bagaudes, whereas
“ this name is derived from their calamities only. We call
“ them rebels; and we have forced them to be so. They
“ are bagaudes, because they can no longer continue Ro-
“ mans. Robbed of every thing by the weight and enormity
“ of their taxes, and the violence and extortion of the
“ collectors, they have no means left to save themselves from
“ the jaws of death but by ceasing to be Romans, and be-
“ coming barbarians; and those that have not taken this
“ step, have soon had cause to repent, by becoming a prey
“ to their magistrates, and the victims of their fellow ci-
“ tizens.” Salvien the priest described no more than what
“ he had been an eye-witness to: and in the year 286, Maxi-
“ mien Hercules had been obliged to put a multitude of these
“ bagaudes to death, who were perishing with hunger, at
“ a place now called Les Fosses St. Maur, and whom the
“ author of the life of St. Bapolene does not scruple pro-
“ nouncing martyrs.

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5thly, I said the English acre being $\frac{1}{16}$ less than our royal arpent, you rated the common and territorial produce too high in stating it at twenty five livres, the money laid out, charges, and reasonable profits of culture; and the tythes also being previously deducted,—that agriculture is certainly in a flourishing condition in England, and that commodities sell well: but generally speaking, the soil is not so good as our own, in many places requires great charges of cultivation, and a great deal of money being advanced before hand:—again, that of the thirty five of a millions of acres in culture, there are many millions that produce very little or nothing,—that in consequence of all this, it was impossible to rate the common and territorial produce of an acre higher, than at twenty two livres a year; the tythe being first deducted, as also all the charges, advances, and reasonable profits of the farmer, and of all culture whatever: and that then the territorial income of England, which you had rated at eight hundred and seventy five millions of livres, was reduced to seven hundred and seventy millions, which added to about forty millions to be deducted for the tythes, does not upon the whole, amount to more than eight hundred and ten millions of territorial income.—After some objection you allowed this article, and you even acknowledged, that you might possibly have made some little mistake by not distinguishing as I did, between the territorial income of the nation, and the particular income of the proprietors of lands.

6thly,

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6thly, I did agree, that the particular income of our proprietors of land did not exceed five hundred millions of livres: and this I agreed to the more readily, as all the latest calculations that I have met with, did not pretend to rate it higher.—That I ought even to observe, that upon those five hundred millions, granting that to be the sum, our proprietors are actually obliged to pay near forty five millions of territorial tax under the name of the three twentieths.—That nevertheless it should be considered, that over and above this territorial tax, which is paid directly by the proprietors, and which amounts to about ninety millions,—that we have also heavy duties, laid upon things that are objects of daily consumption, particularly upon liquors, salt, leather, iron, tobacco, &c. and that the proportion of these taxes paid by those who in some shape or other are employed in agriculture, cannot amount to less than one hundred millions, considering all the different super-additions that are naturally and necessarily aggregated to duties of this nature: that, if notwithstanding the multitude of those who were employed in agriculture, I did not rate that sum higher, it was only because the greatest part of them were not in a condition to consume to any considerable value.—That it must likewise be considered, that the pots of wine
taken

* The three twentieths do actually raise more than sixty millions: but then under this head is comprehended all that is levied upon houses, which has nothing to do with this account.

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taken by the proprietors, and by the stewards or receivers in part payment of the rents; and the profits made upon the great proprietors by those, who take a general lease of their estates, cannot amount to a less sum than forty millions a year^f.

—That attention should likewise be given to the tythes, which with us may perhaps amount to about thirty five millions of livres.—That although all these several sums do not compose any part of the particular income of the proprietors of lands, they do not the less belong to the territorial income of the nation.—That consequently these sums being added to the five hundred millions that you allowed for the income of the proprietors, they will raise the amount of our territorial income to near eight hundred and ten millions.—Thus, then England must be allowed to be pretty near upon a par with us, with regard to the total amount of the territorial income of the two nations.—That I nevertheless confessed this was a very striking and affecting equality, considering that the English have acquired it, with an extent of territory not more than $\frac{2}{7}$ of ours, and

^f It is to be observed, that the total and annual sum of the pots of wine must needs be very considerable, not only upon account of the short term of the leases, but also from the method of levying the territorial tax by laws in force for the controule of the acts, by those that in certain cases permit proprietors taking back their leases; and lastly, by the established custom of giving up leases by those ecclesiasticks newly inducted into benefices, the income of which arises from lands appropriated to that particular purpose.

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and which by its situation, soil, quality, and variety of its products, is very remarkably inferior to ours: that with the same frankness, I acknowledge this equality to be so much the more striking, as the English properly called such, being but about half our numbers, and they having a nominal territorial income equal to ours, it assuredly followed from thence, that every Englishman one with another, could afford to spend twice as much as every Frenchman one with another could do.

7thly, That as to the superiority that England might acquire from the income of the Scots and Irish land holders, and that of the Colonists, by the activity and product of its own commerce, and by the activity and product of the particular commerce of all the different parts of its monarchy; as to this boasted superiority I say, I can incontestably prove it to be no more than a phantom, begot and ushered into the world by mistaken ideas upon the nature and essence of trade, and that when they have told you the amount of the English territorial income, it will be found that the produce of their commerce is confounded in the general mass; and that they have then said all they have to say upon that subject.

8thly, That whatever may be the real superiority of the English, and carrying it as far as imagination can reach, yet since the cause of our present inferiority to them cannot be natural, and
must

must therefore be merely accidental, it only remains to investigate, to find out and put a stop to this accidental cause; that then, England must necessarily return of herself, to that inferior rank, where she ought to be, and France of course will make great visible strides towards her natural superiority.

You have now, Sir, before you the points upon which we agreed, as well as those you did not then allow me, and which I will now endeavour to establish, upon more solid principles than I could do in our conversation; for I was then unprovided with materials, I had no one to second me, I had not time to go to the bottom of things, nor to decide any thing upon the points that remained in contest.

I do not deny that your English friend may have had very good reasons for what he may have told you, with regard to his own estate; but be it remembered, that when the land-tax is rated at four sols in the livre, particular circumstances may occasion his paying no more than fourteen deniers in the livre^s; and perhaps he is not the only person that enjoys the same advantages. But be that as it may, you will find his assertions absolutely overturned by what his countrymen have with great knowledge publickly both wrote and said.

The

^s Fourteen deniers in the livre is equal to 1 s. 5 d. $\frac{2}{4}$ in the pound sterling, the par of exchange being supposed to be at $31\frac{1}{2}$ for sols of France.

The author of the History of the National Debts of England, says in his second part, page 38. "that when the land-tax was regulated by commissioners appointed for that purpose, very few estates indeed, were rated at their true value, and a great number at even less than one half." He immediately after says, "that if that tax had been justly and equally imposed, it probably would have produced the double of what it did:" the inference from this is, that this author certainly looked upon the real land-tax as not being one with another more than one half of the apparent one; and this is precisely what I maintain.

Sir Matthew Decker, who in 1741 wrote his Essay upon the Causes of the decline of the foreign Trade of England, says page 7. "That some proprietors pay full four sols in the livre, whilst many others do not pay more than the one half." This authority is still stronger in my favour than the first.

Mr. Andrew Hooke, who in the beginning of the year 1751, published his Essay upon the National Debt and the Capital of the English nation, therein says, page 15. "That it is very well known, that when the land-tax is rated at four sols in the livre it raises nearly forty eight millions of livres;" and that it is equally well known, that in general the lands of the kingdom are not rated at more than one half, what they ought to be, though he does not indeed say they are rated under one half.

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My Lord Bolingbroke was certainly better acquainted with the affairs of his own country than your English gentleman, whoever he was, could possibly be. Now this great statesman in his political reflections on the situation of England, published in 1749, employs his whole knowledge, logic and eloquence, to persuade those countrymen of his, who were landholders, to consent to the continuance of a land-tax at the apparent rate of four sols in the livre, even in time of peace, in order to disentangle the state the sooner, and deliver the people from those preying and destructive duties laid on objects of daily consumption. But at the same time, he does not look upon this land-tax as a thing of little consequence, which it would however be, if it were only in proportion to the pretended fourteen deniers or $\frac{1}{7}$, as asserted by your English friend. On the contrary, my Lord Bolingbroke represents it as a load that must be bore, in order to lighten the weight of others that are very oppressive. He could not therefore rate the land-tax at less than $\frac{1}{10}$ effective; and it is even a favor to suppose he has not valued it higher.

Supported as I am by these four different authorities, it is not necessary that I should search for others; these are without doubt sufficient to overthrow what your Englishman has advanced, and to engage you to adopt the opinion that I have maintained. I will then push this argument no farther; and I shall now undertake to prove, that the English landlords do not actually
make

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make twelve livres of an acre one with another; yet without pretending, that the nation may not receive twenty two livres over and above the tythes, charges, and the just and reasonable profits of the cultivators of the lands.

Since the celebrated Locke, who first laboured to open mens eyes as well relative, to the rise and fall of the rate of interest, as to the rise and fall of money, and to the nature of taxes, and who by his very plain but judicious writings, occasioned the establishment of the land-tax: I say, since the time of that great metaphysical legislator, it is an acknowledged and adopted principle of all who reflect with any perspicuity, that the weight of every tax upon consumption, ultimately falls and sets heavy on the proprietors of the soil. You yourself, Sir, have always appeared to me, convinced of the truth of this principle; and I promise you, I will establish it hereafter in a manner not to be contested, *and by facts too, that England itself is deeply concerned in:* but it is not yet time for this. In the mean while, I shall observe that till 1688, the lands of England in that respect, yielded all they could, to the proprietors. The public and royal revenues scarcely amounted to fifty millions of livres a year, and did not affect any objects that the farmers of estates were interested in, either directly or indirectly. At the same time the nation did not owe quite seven millions in the whole, and even that was a debt of the crown only: the nation not having yet been *regularly*

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larly mortgaged, nor was it till a long time after. On another hand, the farmers not till then paying, land or poll tax, were not more subject to highway services than at present; consequently their teams were never compelled to any public labour: there were then neither fines, garrisons, nor imprisonments, for those who absented themselves upon these occasions; nor was there any thing in short to take them off from their country daily labour. Observe also, if you please, that they had then, the same liberty of making the most of their lands, as they have at this day. It appears by Camden and Sir Walter Rawleigh, both famous authors, and co-temporaries of Queen Elizabeth, that from the year 1562, that great Princess having penetrated into the causes of *odious monopolies, the exorbitant prices of provision, and artificial scarcities, that impoverished and devoured the nation*, wisely took off the old prohibition of the exportation of corn, leaving full liberty in that respect: and it is remarked by the same authors, that the direct and immediate consequence of this wise measure was, the increase of tillage, and the reduction of importation. Now, according to the said Sir Walter, there had been years preceding that period, in which, the importation of corn had exceeded *forty five millions* of our present money, which certainly appears to be an exorbitant sum; but this he does positively assert in his remarks on trade presented to James the first, and Sir Walter was certainly a man very likely to be informed: to this it must be added, that corn at that time, bore a very great price over all Europe. As
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to monopolies, times of scarcity and famine, that may enrich combinations of monopolizers, who in starving the poor, and sometimes exciting them to sedition, which may overset ministers, and even the throne, there has been none in England since that period; the freedom of exportation and importation makes it an impossibility; and moreover, has put England in a condition of making a considerable annual export of corn. At the time then of the revolution in the year 1688, there were then but four things that could hinder the farmers from giving their landlords the highest prices for their lands.

1st, The depopulation that happened since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which, according to the general calculation in 1583, and those made since, could not be in a less proportion than as 9 to 7. But this depopulation was compensated by an increase of substantial luxury, a luxury that does not diffuse itself throughout a whole nation, in trifles of any kind, but which principally shows itself by a large consumption of the commodities of the country.

2dly, The naturally indifferent quality of the soil: but this article is not subject to any variation, nor can it change, but by some revolution in the planetary system.

3dly, The little progress that has been made in the science of agriculture: but the wages of ignorance were high notwithstanding, and the
C 2 acquisition

acquisition of knowledge, must needs have introduced emulation, which abstracted from every other concurrent cause, must naturally have lowered the price of commodities, and have raised the farmers rents.

4thly, The poor's rate was already established, although it was then very inconsiderable; the farmers became gradually accustomed to it, and whatever it was, it could not yet make any sensible difference.

From all which, one may and ought to infer, that at the time of the revolution in 1688, the rents of the lands of England ought to have been very high, in favour of the proprietors: and that they might be rated at that time, at twenty two livres the acre one with another; in fact, this is nearly the price by the calculation made in the reign of Charles the second; which calculation, is likewise supported by the *Chronicon pretiosum*, which carries the value of corn under that reign much higher than it is at present. But since the revolution, things have altered greatly! the quantity of ploughed land has been very much increased, by improvements in agriculture and some expence, they have made larger profits of the old ploughed lands: this has enabled them to lend money at good interest; consequently the territorial income, such as I have described it, has been augmented; but the proprietors nevertheless, have found their rents gradually

dually decreasing, which could not be otherwise. Here follow the reasons.

Since the revolution in 1688, the nation has been plunged into extensive wars, and thereby been obliged to contract great debts, for which it is to be observed, England properly so called, is alone responsible. Scotland, though joined to it by the union in 1707, is but of little consideration in this respect, and not able to contribute much. Ireland and the colonies have their separate finances, and separate pecuniary administrations. Now England not being willing to bear the whole burden, has endeavoured to divide it, and to that end has done two things.

1st, It has clogged the course of exchanges of Ireland and of the colonies, and made itself the only legal key of a great part of their exterior trade, in order to raise upon that trade a kind of tax upon its transit, or passage.

2dly, England has laid heavy duties at home upon almost every article, and principally upon those of daily consumption, in hopes by the means of its own trade, to saddle Ireland, with one part of these duties, the colonies with part likewise; and those foreign nations with whom she traded with another part.

It is not yet time to unfold and demonstrate the absurdity and falsity of this pitiful policy with regard to Ireland, the colonies, foreign nations,

and even with regard to ourselves. I only mean at present to show, the consequences relative to the rents of the land owners. I have already said, that England had at home laid heavy duties on almost every article, but principally upon those of daily consumption; I shall further observe, that the part thereof paid by the farmers is very considerable, and in order to indemnify themselves, have been obliged little by little to lower the rents, otherwise they would have been necessitated to become bankrupts, to have abandoned their cultivation, and reduced at best to miserable husbandmen, forced to be rogues, or what would be still worse, for the landlords and the nation, to perish: I repeat it, that the proportion of taxes paid by the farmers is very heavy; and I shall now point out the causes thereof.

1st, Although the farmers are not, generally speaking, so wealthy as we in France suppose them to be, yet they all live in a comfortable ease, and consume a great deal: which, considering the present method of collecting the revenues, cherishes the state by augmenting the activity of the exchanges, and the produce of the taxes. If this class of men consumed as little as it does in other countries, there would be a frightful void in the cash of the exchequer; the whole machine of the English finances would be unhinged; it must be put upon a different footing, or all would go to ruin, and perhaps insurmountable difficulties would occur, in endeavouring to give it a new form.

2dly,

2dly, The wives and daughters of these farmers are not naturally laborious. As they are subject to that kind of indolence that is always productive of vapours, they easily slide into the examples set them, by the inhabitants of towns and cities, and have all adopted a luxurious slothfulness, by which I mean the daily luxury of tea, upon which, great duties are laid; as also, upon the sugar that is consumed with it. Formerly they wore nothing but their own woollen manufactures, the consumption of which, constituted the principal part of the wealth, both of country, and of the kingdom; whereas at present, they are in the expensive habit, of wearing silk, which is a foreign growth, and not only infinitely dearer to themselves, but more expensive to the nation in general.

3dly, The climate of England naturally inclines its inhabitants to the use of strong liquors, but which, however, must not be confounded with the love of them, by individuals. An Englishman who drinks nothing but water or small beer is not able to work: his body droops under the weight of his unactive soul; and in this respect genius itself, yields to the tyrannical influence of the climate. The English farmers therefore, drink a great deal, to enable themselves to work with vigour. Their wives also have their meetings, and little parties of their own. At the same time it is to be considered, that the duties upon all kinds of strong liquors are excessively high, except upon beer when the malt

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is made at home; but for that purpose, a man must have a good kiln of his own, which to a private person would rather be an expence than a saving.

4thly, All proportions considered, the three above mentioned articles have had great influence in augmenting the price of wages for day labourers, and workmen employed by farmers— from whence it follows, that their expences of cultivation and subsistence are both necessarily increased.

The heavy duties on every article, and especially upon those of daily consumption, are not the only thing since the revolution in 1688, that must have affected and lowered the landlords rents: three other things have likewise contributed to this reduction.

The first is the accumulation of the national debts. This has introduced in England the love of PAPER CREDIT: from whence it has happened, that many land owners tempted to enlarge their fortunes by paper, have imprudently neglected, to make the necessary improvements upon their estates; those estates more especially, that were at any considerable distances from the capital. Where this has been the case, the rents must necessarily have fallen, and although this may be far from being the case in general, yet the common value of lands in general, must upon the whole have felt very sensible

effects. The second is, that formerly, the families of men of estates, except of those few whose wives were attached to, or, had views at court, passed the whole year at their country seats. The head of the family, if he was a member of the house of commons, came alone to London^f for part of the winter, in case the parliament was sitting. This is humorously set forth in the COMEDY CALLED THE JOURNEY TO LONDON. Moral comedies always describe the manners of the time in which they are wrote.

But the manners represented in this comedy now no longer exists in England. All the families of men of large estates now come to London, for the whole winter: and their wives and daughters; after having enjoyed the play houses, the Italian opera, the public balls, ridottoes, oratorios, and their own drums^g, wont be satisfied unless to these are added, the entertainments

^f It was not 'till after the revolution of 1688, and by the same national act that placed the crown upon the prince of Orange's head, that it was ordained, that the King should convene the parliament every year. 'Till before that period the King was at liberty, to call them or not, as he himself pleased.

^g What is meant by DRUMS in England, are those numerous assemblies that the ladies get together at their own houses, and which in reality are little more than well dressed and noisy crouds of people; and hence it is that these assemblies are called DRUMS, which is a word, that in its natural sense signifies Tambours in French.

taniments of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, and contrive it so, as not to return to the country till as late in the season as possible. These great families therefore spending only a small part of their incomes upon their own estates, they can no longer let their farms at as high a rate, as when they spent almost all their incomes in a sumptuous and substantial luxury, that principally manifested itself by a great consumption of commodities produced in their own neighbourhood. Hence it necessarily follows, that their farmers being no longer benefited by their luxurious way of living, were obliged to insist upon a reduction of rents. It is also to be observed, that formerly, a landed gentleman by residing upon his estate became his own steward, and overlooked the tenants himself; whereas, the far greater part of those gentlemen are upon account of absences from home, obliged now to employ some other person in that capacity: and it seldom happens, but these stewards go snags with the tenants, by reducing the rents of their several farms. In short, there is hardly a little town or middling village in England, where since the revolution of 1688, where you do not see some scurvy petty fogger or other, start up and enrich himself at the expence of landed gentlemen, by undertaking the management of their affairs. This then is the natural course of things: a sumptuous land, substantial luxury, enriches men of estates; whereas a trifling and frivolous one impoverishes them, and if carried to a certain degree, not only impoverishes and

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enervates them, but ends in certain destruction. When that is the case, a whole nation becomes one general mass of corruption; from which, no one part is free.

3dly, The great increase of the poor's rate, to which, all families are subject, except those on whose behalf it is imposed. Considering its nature, this tax is become immoderate, by the great increase of poor, occasioned by *the long absences of landed men from their estates*: by the introduction of particular manufactures set up, both in the towns and in the country^h by a shameful negligence in the execution of the general

^h This is one of the causes to which my Lord Hale ascribes the increase of the number of poor in England. To say the truth, manufactures in general have only a dependent and precarious existence. Those employed in them, especially those who work by the day, can only have a subsistence equally dependent and precarious, being always necessitous, they are therefore ever on the brink of misery. A war breaking out, a new fashion, the want of a market for their work, a new manufacture, a long national mourning, do either destroy or at least unhinge the whole machine from whence they derive their subsistence. It is agriculture, and those manufactures alone, that are indispensably adapted to the general and ordinary wants of the whole kingdom, that by having a substantial existence of themselves, can give an assured subsistence to those so employed. Consider only for instance, the manufactures of Lyons, they have the advantage of being worked up for the whole universe. But then they are only manufactures of meer fancy and trifling luxury, and always subject to being starved by Spain and Italy; therefore they are very often at a stand, and Lyons is frequently over run by the numbers of its poor.

neral laws of police, by a general corruption of manners among the low class of people: which was a necessary consequence of that negligence: by many pernicious customs that have obtained in that low class of people, and too many to be enumerated: by the frequent elections of members of parliament for certain boroughs and cities¹: and lastly, by the duties upon those things that are of daily consumption, when the part to be born by the artists and workmen, is higher in proportion, than the augmentation of their wages. At the same time, many terrible frauds having crept into the management of this tax, has compleatly rendered it most excessively high, and neither the laws made at different times, nor the writings of the ablest men, such as Lord Hale, Sir Josiah Child, Justice Fielding, and others, have been able to put a stop to this iniquity. A multiplicity of laws upon the same subject is always an infallible proof of corruption: and it unfortunately happens, that those who have corrupted hearts always know how to avail themselves of the very sanctity of the laws to pervert their purity and wisdom. Now all these several causes put together, have raised the poor's rate to such a height, that in some of the best regulated parishes in and about London, where there are so many hospitals open, and so many particular

¹ Since the year 1688, the laws and customs have been altered with regard to the elections of members to serve in parliament, and those elections are become more frequent.

particular charities established, for the relief of unfortunate persons, this tax nevertheless, always amounts to very near one eighth of the rents: in some parts of the county of Wilts I have known it amount to a fifth; and Dorsetshire was for a long time most heavily loaded, till the establishment of provincial hospitals yielded that county some relief: a remedy however, that did but only substitute a lesser evil in the room of a greater one. But taking the whole of the poor-rate, it is calculated in England to amount to one tenth of the value of all the rents in general at least: and this is what Sir Matthew Decker supposed it to amount to in 1740, taking it even at the lowest calculation; for in the 43d page of his Essay on the causes and decline of the foreign Trade of England, then published by him, he says, that it amounted to two-fifths of the rents of houses in some of the manufacturing towns; and this is a convincing proof of what is set forth in the last note but one.

These then are the different causes that must have co-operated since the revolution of 1688, to diminish the incomes of the land owners, although agriculture has been extended, and greatly improved.

I must now, Sir, give you a striking proof of what I have advanced with regard to this actual decrease, and that the lands one with another do not produce to the owners twelve livres an acre, although the produce to the nation is at the rate of

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of about twenty two.—Take, Sir, the first part of the Elements of Commerce, a work well known to you: turn to page 233, and you will therein find, the beginning of a translation of an English pamphlet, wrote upon the State of Agriculture in the County of Norfolk, that very province that has been so extolled by some of our systematical cultivators and improvers of land^k, proceed in reading if you please, this translation,

^k In the infancy of colonies, and when the first adventurers have wherewithal to subsist upon, till two crops can have been raised, the best thing that can be done, is to break up new grounds. This secures an inexhaustible future fund of wealth to those colonists, and directly leads to a great increase of inhabitants: and this is what has been practised in all the English North American colonies; which has in a short time put them into so flourishing a condition, that they seem already disposed, to make a jest of their mother country, and to become the general rivals of Europe.—But in a well established settlement, before you think of breaking up and cultivating new lands, you must take care to see, that the old ones have been improved to their highest value, which cannot be done without such good laws as effectually establish the security of the stock, and advances of the cultivators, and an advantageous vent for those said commodities. No commodity whatever can be raised without a considerable expence at first; and if more is raised than there is a safe and profitable vent for, ruin must ensue, because it is having a great dead stock in trade, and but very few customers. If a market has only vent for a thousand bushels of corn *per* month, and the farmers who supply that market, only sow in proportion to the usual medium demand, both they and their landlords will respectively find their account in it, and then there neither will be any scarcity, nor will things be at an exorbitant price. But if they take it into their heads to break up new grounds, and cultivate so much,

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tion, and you will find in page 241, that the best lands cultivated according to the old method of tillage, and without the assistance of artificial meadows^l, do not yield to the proprietors, more than from six to nine livres ten sols the acre, and that even at this price the tenants find they have but very bad bargains. You will there likewise find in page 243, that the best pasture lands do not yield quite an hundred sols an acre, and that there are some that do not yield even fifty.

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as to enable them to bring eleven hundred bushels of corn to market every month, they will certainly be undone; they will soon be obliged to lay down the plough: the landlords will lose their rents, and high prices, and famine will infallibly ensue. But further, there are situations and places where new lands, cannot under any circumstance be broke up, without a total destruction to the undertakers; and our legislature acted very wisely, in having made it capital, for any person or persons to engage in any such undertakings, from the truly cruel and base motives of avarice.

^l The county of Norfolk is so circumstanced, that in almost every part of it, they have occasion for artificial meadows. It is likewise the case of a great part of the province of Champagne, and of several other districts in our country. But to plough up these artificial meadows without any distinction, would be almost as great an act of folly, as that of the man, who was for converting all France into sea port towns. Every province and every country, has a mode of tillage proper and peculiar to itself. That of Provence does not suit Dauphiné, nor is that of France suitable to that of Spain, or of England. In every country the farmers, landlords, and the kingdom in general, will grow rich, if under the protection of law they can safely enjoy the fruits of their own labours; and if they cannot, every thing must go to ruin.

And lastly, at page 249, you will find that the lands well cultivated, according to the new method of tillage, do not amount upon an average to more than from eleven to fourteen livres the acre. Put these different prices afterwards together, and you certainly won't find, the medium price to be more than eleven livres at the utmost: and although it is very true, that there are counties superior to Norfolk, such as Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, Gloucester, Worcester, &c. It is however equally true, that there are others inferior to it, viz. Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Cumberland, and a great part of the principality of Wales, &c. where the acre one with another, cannot even be valued at eight livres. You may then fix, for all England as well as the county of Norfolk, the value of an acre of land, at eleven livres on an average for the proprietors: which is granting them rather too much than too little, although, as I have all along said, the common produce of the territorial and national income may be rated at twenty two livres the acre.

This proof must be supported, by what may reasonably be looked upon a leading to another. We must see, whether having thirty five millions of cultivated acres, and allowing the actual land-tax at two sols in the livre, one with another, the medium price of eleven livres an acre will be sufficient to make up forty eight millions of livres, which is the amount of the whole land-tax, when it is at the nominal rate of four sols in the livre, that is to say, two sols effective.

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The thirty five millions of acres, at eleven livres the acre, produce an income of three hundred and eighty five millions of livres, of which, the two sols in the livre, or one tenth, make thirty eight millions five hundred thousand livres. Now, this is certainly sufficient, to make up that part, since to make the required total of forty eight millions, no more are wanting, than nine millions five hundred thousand livres, which sum you will easily find, the instant you attend to circumstances that have escaped you, and which are the lands of Roman Catholics being double taxed; and also, all houses in towns and cities, contributing to the land-tax as well as the cultivated lands, which you have hitherto had in contemplation only. You will even find in attending to these circumstances, with what I shall further say, a new and strong proof, that while I valued the actual and particular income of the proprietors of lands, at three hundred and eighty five millions of livres a year, I have carried it as high as it can be computed at.

Sir Matthew Decker in 1740, did not calculate the value of all the rents of England, both of lands and houses, at more than four hundred and eighty millions of livres a year, or thereabouts.

Mr. Andrew Hooke proceeding upon different principles, when he made his calculations in 1750, has allowed only the same sum of four hundred and eighty millions a year. But from that sum,

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we must deduct the value of the rents of houses, that Mr. Hooke estimates at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole, which makes those rents to be one hundred and sixty millions a year, and reduces the rents of the cultivated lands to three hundred and twenty millions, or sixty five millions lower than I had reckoned it. There is at the same time a kind of proof, that Mr. Hooke's valuation of the rents of houses is pretty near right. This proof, appears by the registers of 1688, which allow London and its precincts to contain one hundred and five thousand three hundred and fifteen houses, but which, by the increase of building since that time, cannot amount at present to fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand, or thereabouts. Upon this principle, and supposing the rent of those houses to be at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres a year, one with another, you have already an income of fifty four millions. If it be admitted likewise, that the rents of the houses of all the cities and towns of England may amount to the double of those of London only, (which for many reasons they probably do) you will then have, the one hundred and sixty millions of livres calculated by Mr. Hooke. This then being allowed, there is a very essential observation to be made, which has escaped the notice of both Mr. Hooke and Sir Matthew Decker, although the latter has only taken for the basis of his calculation, the product of the territorial tax; he says, *this tax yields forty eight millions of livres; which upon an average is one tenth of the total produce: and the total produce therefore must be four hundred and eighty*

eighty millions. He afterwards says, the houses yield the one third of this produce, and consequently the lands then furnish three hundred and twenty millions only: and it is in this last part of their calculations, that both he and Mr. Hooke have been mistaken, for want of including all those principles that ought to have been the basis of their calculations. They have not sufficiently considered, that at the same time that the lands pay one tenth effective, the houses do not pay more than one twentieth effective, or thereabout. In fact, at the time when the land tax was first established, people gave in the value of their houses but at one half of the proportion that was observed in the declarations of the value of their lands. For instance, if a man had a landed estate of three thousand livres a year, and an income of two thousand livres a year in rents of houses, he gave in his lands but at fifteen hundred livres a year, and his houses at five hundred livres only. He calculated the difference of these two sorts of incomes; and endeavoured to preserve between them some kind of due proportion. For, the houses being continually subject to decay, and to want repairs, and selling at the utmost in England, at least, at twelve years purchase; and, supposing lands then to sell at twenty two years purchase, he only gave in his houses at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rent, when at the same time he gave in his lands at about $\frac{1}{2}$ of their value; for otherwise he would have bubbled himself.

From the whole of this observation, it must needs follow: First, That Sir Matthew Decker and Mr. Hooke have carried their calculations too high on the article of houses, for the territorial tax, and not high enough on the article of the rents of lands, which has led them into the error of not estimating the total produce of the lands at the real value, without having however deceived themselves, with regard to the current produce of the rents of houses. Secondly, When this mistake is corrected, and the difference of the price of lands with the price of houses being rated as twenty two is to twelve, then the proprietors of cultivated lands ought to pay, as I have already said, about livres - - - 38,500,000
 The proprietors of houses about - - - 9,000,000
 The Roman catholicks, whose lands }
 are double taxed, about - - - } 500,000

Which makes the total of the territorial tax to be about } 48,000,000

After all these authorities, and these different calculations, which reciprocally support each other, I think I may finish this article, without being obliged to have recourse to further proofs, for establishing it as a fact, that in England, the land owners have not an income, *at most of more than about three hundred and eighty five millions of livres, at the rate of thirty five millions of acres in culture, and of eleven livres the acre one with another.* I could carry my observations still further, and

and supporting myself only, by very eminent English writers, such as Sir William Petty and others: I could dispute even what I have allowed to be the particular income of the English proprietors, and the territorial income of the nation. But I frankly acknowledge my thinking those writers frequently mistaken, as I could easily prove: but I am unwilling to enter into trifling disputes, having no other view than to find out the truth, to prove and shorten it, in the best manner I am able. I shall only intreat you then, Sir, to recollect that the three hundred and eighty five millions of livres a year, that I have allowed to the English proprietors, does not constitute what may be called their real and net income for them. For, as the five hundred millions of livres that we agreed to allow to our French proprietors, are actually charged not only with the three twentieths, but with a proportionable part of the duties upon consumption, as well as with the further additions arising from the price of things, from the very nature of these kinds of duties: So also, the three hundred and eighty five millions of the English proprietors are actually charged not only with the land-tax, but also with, a proportional part of the duties upon consumption; as likewise, with those further additions that are the necessary consequence of those duties. But that you may have nothing to reproach me with, I shall observe to you, that in England, the net produce of the duties upon consumption does actually amount to at least, thirty or forty millions of livres more than it does in France; but the

expence of collection, every thing included, does not amount to more than ten *per cent.* above the net produce; whereas, in France, all the expences of management, comprehending the profits, &c. of the collectors, and tax-gatherers, mount extremely high; insomuch, that it is pretended, that in the branch of the aides^m, it is no less than five hundred *per cent.* From whence it follows, that the five hundred millions of livres of our proprietors do not yield more net, nay less than the three hundred and eighty five millions of livres of the English ones. But I shall not make it my business to clear up this point; it is too obscure for me; and is submitted the more readily to your own speculations, as it is not the net income of the proprietors that forms the first and great objects of the nation, but that of its territorial income. Not but that, it is of great consequence to any state, that the just income of the proprietors should not undergo any manner of waste, but have all the force and operation it ought to have. When this is the case, every one keeps better in his own proper sphere, fewer fortunes are ruined, fewer sudden and offensive fortunes are raised, and less of the public morals becomes corrupted: every one then becomes a better member of society, and the state in general acquires a greater degree of vigour and political strength.

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^m Aides are the subsidies and imposts on wine and all other liquors.

But it is still of much greater importance, that the territorial income should be in the most flourishing condition possible: for, when it is the first only that suffers, it is very easy to apply an immediate remedy to it, and probably without any great detriment to the state: for that depends upon circumstances. But when the territorial income is attacked, it is much more difficult to apply proper remedies to it: those remedies operate more slowly; and the state never fails to suffer extremely, because the total re-production is never either, in quantity or value, sufficient for the support of the whole community, and a very few persons excepted, all the rest find themselves more or less immersed in poverty, indigence and misery. Even the state may then find itself under such an oppression, as to be incapable of forming any great enterprize, and have no resources but from pitiful temporary expedients, and not be able perhaps to find them either. Now then, as to this territorial income, I think I have proved, that England properly so called, would be exactly on a level with us, if, considering the number of men they have to subsist, in comparison with what we have, the equality alone would not be sufficient to make them in this instance as rich again as we are. I shall next examine what other superiority England can obtain by means of the territorial income of Scotland, Ireland, and its colonies, by the briskness and produce of the particular trade of all the different parts of its monarchy: and lastly, as well by the briskness and produce of its own trade with the

same parts of its own monarchy, as its foreign trade. I have affirmed, that this boasted superiority is altogether imaginary, that it is no more than a vain phantom, begot, and ushered into the world by erroneous ideas on the essence of commerce; and that when it was computed how much the territorial income of the English might perhaps amount to, the whole produce of their trade, would be found to be swallowed up in it, and that nothing more could be said upon the subject.

At the time of our conversation, this proposition of mine, appeared in every respect extremely bold, or rather conjectural, not to say altogether wild. It was against this that you exclaimed the loudest, and was the most seconded in: and, in short, what the whole company rose up in arms against. You might however easily have perceived that this kind of treatment, did by no manner of means shock my good opinion of myself, as I was very sure that I was well founded in what I had asserted; and which I shall now endeavour to prove to you, with all the attention and precision that I am capable of. I shall first examine, how much the territorial incomes of Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, may be supposed to contribute, by considering them alone, and independantly of trade. I shall afterwards, endeavour to find, how much the trade of England, carried on to all the different parts of the British monarchy may be supposed to furnish; and from thence, I shall proceed to the examination of the general balance of its receipts and outgoings.—

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To begin then, ever since the union of Scotland with England, concluded in 1707, the territorial income of the first, may be supposed to contribute to the other in the two following manners. First, By taxes levied in some manner or other, upon that territorial income. Secondly, By the money the Scots proprietors may be supposed to spend during their residence in England. Now, at the time of the union, the taxes that were levied in Scotland, did not amount to sixteen hundred thousand livres tournois, since by the act of union it appeared that it did not amount to more than sixty three thousand five hundred pounds sterling: and though you should suppose that, that amount may have been doubled since that time, (as it has actually happened in England) they cannot be computed to produce above three millions of livres at present, which is a very inconsiderable sum. As to the money that the Scots proprietors may perhaps spend in England, you are to observe, that Scotland is but a very poor country: that those landed gentlemen of theirs who come into England, generally carry back with them more than they brought; and that the other people of that country, who go into England, carry little or nothing ever with them, and always carry back something, and often pretty considerably too. It is not the limousins that enrich Paris, and the fertile district of La Beauce; they go thither only, because they are wanted, in order to carry back with them all that they can save, out of the wages paid them for their labour. It may then be safely affirmed, that

that this article far from contributing to England, swallows up more than the three millions of livres raised by the taxes levied in Scotland, which, moreover, may be presumed, to have been already exhausted by the pensions, salaries, and appointments of those, who are employed in the different branches civil and military, of the government of that country. Thus then, the territorial income of Scotland considered abstractedly, from all kinds of commerce, contributes nothing to England, whereas England may be said, to contribute largely to Scotland.

Ireland is upon a different foot, and it already begins to grow rich enough to excite the jealousy of England: but it has a distinct government, and distinct finances; and all the taxes that the Irish raise upon themselves, go to the support of its own government, and of a body of troops paid there by them, for their own defence and preservationⁿ. When England has occasion for any of the Irish troops, and orders them out of that country, the usual custom is to continue them no longer upon that establishment; and they are replaced by new levies. The income of Ireland therefore contributes nothing directly, except what is expended in England by their
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ⁿ The annual expence for the support of government, and the maintenance of the troops, amounts to about fifty millions of livres: thus, then Ireland is at present, in pretty near the same circumstances that England was before the revolution in 1688.

landed gentlemen, and by the salaries, and appointments of those who having employments under the government in Ireland, are however generally resident in England. To this must be added, that the King frequently grants pensions to different persons, out of what is called his own separate and patrimonial revenue. But all this put together cannot amount to a very considerable sum. In short, those who have taken pains to best informed upon the spot in regard to this point, whether English or Irish have never computed it at more than from twelve to fifteen millions of livres a year; and it is this last sum therefore I shall rate it at. However, if you do not think that enough, Sir, you may add what you please to it, because, be the sum what it will, I am sure to swallow it all up, and take it off, when I come to discuss the article of trade. The same may be said with regard to the colonies, which altogether, and nearly in the same manner as Ireland, may perhaps be estimated at about twenty millions of livres. Let us then proceed to the article of trade, which is the capital point, and the only decisive one.

It is impossible that Scotland should contribute the least tittle to the article of trade with England. It is even certain, the balance is greatly in its favour; for, having nothing to sell, to enable it to buy, all its conveniencies must arise from its national industry and œconomy. Its sales therefore are few, and its purchases still less, inasmuch, that it dares not venture to purchase the
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very wheat that it wants; were it to purchase such wheat, it would be forced to go without many other necessary articles, and would soon become more depopulated than it is at present. A great number of its inhabitants content themselves with eating oat-cakes, and very often a kind of oatmeal soaked in water. Scotland sends into England nothing but some black cattle, linen, salt herrings, salmon, and a particular kind of coal that is burned in the houses of people of fashion only. It is true indeed, that Scotland furnishes swarms of lawyers, physicians, surgeons, military officers and soldiers, shop-keepers, artisans, and pedlars, but very few seamen. Now any country that has nothing, or what is next to nothing, can't but be great gainers by trading with a country that has a great deal. It is not France that gets by Savoy; but Savoy certainly gets by France. The only benefit therefore that England reaps by its trade with Scotland, is, first, by drawing from thence a number of men, whose labour and industry comes cheaper to them than that of their own people, which therefore is a great saving to them. Secondly, By drawing men from thence, who serve to replace those that she is continually losing by her luxury, by her trade, by navigation, and by her wars, which necessarily therefore, makes her less subject to depopulation.

Ireland had been for many ages torn to pieces by discord, and laid waste by war. Hence, though with a soil naturally richer than that of England,

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England, and with better ports, and those ports better situated for trade^o, she found herself placed in the centre of Europe, as if she had been in the very midst of the wild Tartars. The blood at last that was spilt by means of the revolution in 1688, procured her peace, and plucked up superstition and ignorance by the roots: of these, nothing more than the ruins are now to be seen; and the government gives its whole attention to the utter extirpation of them. Since that period she has begun to have a better and more established form of government, and thereby to acquire a certain degree of strength. Happy in having only that plain but useful good sense, which is the ordinary portion of nations just emerging from barbarism, she has listened to those councils only that are the result of political wisdom, and has indefatigably applied herself to the culture and improvement of their lands. Hoadly, late primate of Ireland, the late Lord Lieutenant the Duke of Devonshire, and many among her own great land proprietors, have given wise instructions, and set her praise worthy examples relative to that great art which Cicero with so much justice looked upon as the noblest of all others. Great has the progress been that she in a very short time has made. Her linen manufacture, which till then had been upon a very tottering foot, has since been established

^o Tacitus in the life of his father-in-law Agricola, tells us, that in his time Ireland flourished more in trade than England: these are his words. *Melius aditus portusque per commercia & negotiatores cogniti.*

blished upon the most solid foundations, and is become so considerable and extensive, as greatly to affect all the other linen manufactures of Europe, and those especially of France. England that has no manufacture of this kind of its own, has been under the necessity of encouraging that of Ireland; and England takes from thence every year to the value of more than twenty millions of livres. On the other hand, Ireland has also set up woollen manufactures of its own, part of which even England takes off her hands, as she likewise does great quantities of tallow, hides, and sometimes wool. In like manner, although England has prohibited the importation of either fresh or salt provisions from Ireland, still there are great quantities run into it by way of the Isle of Man, which is nothing but a nest of smugglers. However, it happens very often, that England to lessen the expence of her naval armaments, is obliged to victual the men of war from Ireland. It also sometimes happens, that the high price, and even scarcity of commodities at home^p, forces England to suspend the act of prohibition to import

^p With an exception to corn, there are two things that have occasioned the scarcity of provisions in England. The first is, *the monopoly that England has established against herself*, by all those ill judged clogging laws of prohibition against importation and exportation, except however in the case of corn; and there she has acted very wisely, as corn by that means always bears a good price, without however becoming too dear. The second is, the heavy duties on things of daily consumption: this falls so heavy upon the cultivators

port provisions from Ireland, which we know has been the case within these few years. At the same time, this island by being so much better cultivated, has naturally run further into manufactures, by having a much greater quantity of materials of its own to work up. Thus she only takes off from England a small quantity of superfine cloths, paper, coals from Whitehaven, steel toys, and several other articles that are neither the growth nor manufacture of England, *viz.* such as come from the East and West Indies, which by the Exchequer laws cannot be carried into Ireland till after they have been entered in some port in England. True it is, that these laws oblige Ire-
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cultivators of lands, that even the great reduction of rents has not been sufficient to save them from ruin: they have been obliged to raise the price of their commodities; and as the liberty of exporting corn does not permit them to raise the price of this capital commodity too high, they have endeavoured to indemnify themselves by raising the prices of beef, pork, butter, &c. as high as they possibly could.

The scarcity or dearness of these provisions arises in a great measure from the disposition in England to purchase a variety of trifles, and not having baubles enough of their own, to exchange for other useless baubles, she is obliged to make up one way or another the difference by parting with some of her most substantial and principal commodities. Greatly have the merchants, and more especially the India company, contributed to drawing the nation into this error. Being great gainers themselves by this destructive barter, they have been able to persuade the nation that it was a profit instead of a loss to it. In the mean time, does not England sustain a real loss by giving a great deal of beef and butter for a little silk and tea, when she herself has often occasion for the very things she has given in exchange?

land to pay dear for this kind of merchandize; but she takes her revenge, either by buying less of these things, or by selling her own commodities dearer to England. In matters of trade, every nation is with regard to another nation what one retailer is to another. When the butcher raises the price of his meat upon the baker, the baker is under necessity to raise the price of his bread upon the butcher, or, (which comes to the same thing with regard to the necessary balance between them) to eat less meat, upon account of its increased price. This must be the case in the very nature of things, which neither the severity of the Exchequer laws, nor those of the sword can alter or proscribe. If it sometimes appears to yield a little to arbitrary power, it soon resumes its superiority, and revenges itself upon those who have forced it to give way. This holds with regard to those nations who have no commodities or merchandize, but what consists in gold and silver, or the labour of their hands and their industry. If you sell dearer to them they make themselves whole again, either by taking in proportion to the quantity of gold or silver that they have to give in exchange, or by putting a greater price upon their labour and industry. It is then even to be feared, that those countries will look out for a better market, and that those who trade with them, will by that means have their goods lie upon their hands; and which, by having no vent for, will become of little or no value. This is the very thing that in some degree has happened to England. The

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exclusive trade that she has tyrannically limited Ireland to, has given birth to smuggling; and England has thereby become a double loser⁹.

By a recapitulation therefore of all that I have been saying, the result must appear to be, that Ireland sells a great deal more to England, and buys from her less than she sells.—England then loses more on that hand than she gets.—She must even lose above fifteen millions of livres a year; or whatever sum you will please to suppose she has to receive from Ireland, either by the Irish proprietors residing in England, or by means of those Englishmen who never cross the water, although enjoying wages, considerable salaries, appointments, or pensions, payable out of the treasury of Ireland. To this however it may be objected.—First, That the par of exchange between London and Dublin being at $8\frac{1}{2}$ ^r per cent. the

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⁹ The monopoly that England, influenced by its narrow and tyrannical ideas of trade has subjected Ireland to, has caused a still greater evil than even the practice of smuggling, which always creates a nursery of villains, dangerous for any state. It has alienated the hearts of the Irish, and led them to think that the English looked upon them rather as their slaves than their younger brothers; and this is an idea that may one day or other have very fatal consequences to England.

^r The pound sterling of England is a twelfth higher than that of Ireland, which puts the par of exchange at $8\frac{1}{2}$, so that to receive £ 100 sterling in London, you must pay at Dublin £ 108 6 s. 8 d. that is the par. If you pay less, you

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course of exchange between these two countries has often been higher than that since these last twenty years: from whence it may appear, that during that time, the balance of remittances instead of having been, as I said, unfavourable to England, may have been in her favour.—Secondly, That it is not many years ago since there was a great scarcity of specie in Ireland.—But to these two objections, I answer, First, That the exchange between London and Dublin having nothing to do in common with the exchanges of the other trading towns in Europe, and being confined as it were, between these two places only, the bankers have made a monopoly of it, more especially with regard to the Irish gentlemen residing in England, and the English ones, who receive large salaries and pensions from Ireland without ever going thither, all of whom, are but little acquainted with the nature of exchange; and the necessary consequence of this is, that the course of exchange is generally much higher than it either should or would be, if this monopoly did not exist.—Secondly, that in the two last years 1760 and 1761, the course of exchange has always been under par, and therefore unfavourable to England.—Thirdly, That the English traders make large payments to Ireland in specie, especially

you get; if you pay more, you lose; and it is the continual variation of the more or the less, that is called the course of exchange.

Very often able men who are versed in the affairs of Europe, discover, by closely examining the course of exchange at different places, the most secret political operations of the closet.

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ally for a great quantity of linen cloth sold at Chester fairs, which must have an effect upon the exchange, and keep it higher than it otherwise would be.—Fourthly, That the scarcity of specie for some years past has only been fictitious. There was no real scarcity in the nation, it was only an artificial one, contrived by the bankers, who had lost the confidence of the public, occasioned, not only by the warm disputes between the cabinet of St. James's and the parliament of Ireland, but by the criminal practice (grown common in Ireland) of sweating the English guineas by means of a powerful chymical liquor: a practice, for which the cashier of one of the greatest bankers in Dublin, had been formally charged with, and did with difficulty acquit himself.—Fifthly, That if by one means or other Ireland was annually debtor to England, she must, in order to balance her account, either send away the gold and silver that she might have received from other countries, or cease to purchase any thing from England, as not being in a condition to pay her debts; but that on the contrary, it is a very known fact, that for many years past, Ireland is continually drawing guineas from England, which could not get thither, were it not to pay the balance of what she owes there. The very sweating of guineas I have just now mentioned, is a full proof of the fact I have now advanced: for, though so frequently practised in Ireland, yet they never find their way back to England. Having therefore removed the two only objections that could be brought against my

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argument, you plainly see, Sir, that you may boldly strike the trade of Ireland out of your calculation; for it certainly yields no profit to England, but on the contrary, is disadvantageous to it.

Before the last war, the island colonies might serve as magazines, as well to the licet as to the contraband trade that was carried on between England and the Spanish West Indies, by means of the *Affiento* ship^s. But since this war, that trade has been at an end. And though it was still to continue, yet the profits that would arise, would not be placed to the account of these colonies, since they would only serve, as I have said, for magazines. With regard to their own trade with England, she finds no other advantage in it, than the sale of her commodities and merchandize, for which she takes back such other commodities and merchandize as she has not of her own, and which she either cannot or will not do without. These colonies have neither gold nor silver of their own to give her in return. It is even to be remarked, that the commodities and merchandize that England takes from them, are scarcely sufficient for her own consumption; and to have them, there must be
among

^s The *Affiento* ship is no longer allowed: the government of Spain only now grants some particular licences, for the importation of negroes, which licences are obtained now also by other nations, as well as by the English, when those nations are at peace with Spain.

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among what she gives in barter, several commodities and merchandize bought with ready money, either in the East Indies or elsewhere. This branch of trade therefore, is a losing article to her, instead of a profitable one. Honey she might have of her own, and the consumption of it, might perhaps add something to her revenue; but since instead of this honey, she will have sugar from the colonies, she must pay for this sugar, as they certainly will not let her have it for nothing. True it is, however, that the factors of London, through whose hands all the trade of these islands pass, are very considerable gainers by it. But this is so far from being a profit to the nation, that it is actually a profit made upon it, as I shall prove hereafter; and although the profits made by the factors, enables them afterward to lend to the nation when she has occasion to borrow money, yet, even that is to be considered in a similar light with those profits that are made on a man of great estate, by his steward, who finds means afterwards to lend him his own money at interest, to help the completion of his ruin.

The trade of Virginia and Maryland is most extremely clogged by the Exchequer laws of England. It is consequently therefore become a prey to so many factors, is a fertile source of smuggling, and in some manner is a bait for rebellion, more especially with regard to Maryland, where more than half the proprietors are Jacobites, or at least, natural enemies to the

English government. But the trade of the other continental colonies is much less clogged, and generally speaking, is carried on by themselves, and by their own shipping.

The whole trade of both one and the other of these colonies is carried on, by giving on their part commodities and merchandize, of which England consumes a great part herself, and sells the rest to foreigners, and giving in return English commodities and merchandize, partly of home produce, and partly bought abroad. If, as it has been pretended, there are any returns made in money, from those colonies in general, it amounts at present to a mere trifle, because this money can only be acquired by the trade with the Dutch of Curacao and Surinam, with the Danes at the island of St. Thomas, or by the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies. Now this trade with the Dutch and Danes, in even its most flourishing state, is but a very inconsiderable portion of the great mass that we have here under consideration. As to the interloping trade with the Spaniards, it has been very carefully curbed by the Spanish government since 1740. And it may even be affirmed, that notwithstanding all prohibitions, and notwithstanding the war, still the greatest part of the money obtained by one or other of these branches of trade, gets to our colonies, not only to pay for sugar, rum, melasses, &c. but also for procuring permission, to export those commodities^t.

dities^t, I dare then venture to say, that this return in money, supposing it to exist at this very moment, does not exceed two millions five hundred thousand livres a year. I do not even know that at any time, it has been estimated higher; and I allow so much, only because it is not an article worth disputing about. In fact, during the last, and since the commencement of the present war, the English government has been frequently obliged to send to her colonies upon the continent great sums of money in specie, to defray its expences there. This is authenticated by the votes of the parliament, the entries at the custom-house of London, and the public prints. Now this certainly never could happen, if the continental colonies had large remittances to make in money to their mother country. But, you will say, it remains always to be examined, whether the commodities and merchandize that England buys to send to its colonies, are of as great a value as those she draws from thence to sell to foreigners, and among which, tobacco is doubtless a very important article, and what well deserves consideration^u. I will allow it. Nevertheless,

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^t If in the state that things really are, this trade so prohibited on both sides did not take place, and if it were not concerted by the parties interested on both sides to send vessels on purpose to be taken, the colonies of both nations would suffer considerably, and even the metropolis of each would be affected by it.

^u It is certainly true, that the tobacco raised in Virginia and Maryland deserves particular consideration; it constitutes the

less, as an examination of this point would run into a great length, and not be easily discussed, and as in the main, it constitutes but a very small part of what I shall hereafter calculate to be the general balance of the trade of England, give me leave to refer you to that.

According to an anonymous state of the trade of England carried on to the East Indies, printed at

the principle article of trade between these colonies and their mother country. If Europe could do without English tobacco, Virginia and Maryland, which produce little else, would be ruined to all intents and purposes. Those English colonies that supply them with provisions of different kinds would soon find their own produce lying upon their hands, and consequently worth very little to them. The whole of the English colonies would then no longer be able to purchase from their mother country as great a quantity of commodities and merchandize as they used to do, and the mother country would soon find itself sinking, under the declension of its trade. But then it may be asked, where can those European powers that are enemies to England, find tobaccos less pernicious than those of Virginia and Maryland?

Cod fish constitutes an article still more considerable than tobacco. But those English settlers, who have at present the exclusive privilege of this bounty of nature, because they alone can carry on the fishery upon the spot, I say, they do sell this rich commodity to the English sugar islands, and other European nations, without being subjected to the monopoly of their mother country.

The present war indeed makes it possible for us to have some share in the cod fishery as well as the English; but this I own is not an easy matter, for the peace of Utrecht, in concluding which, neither France nor England seemed to have known what their true interest respectively consisted in, has in that respect, raised insurmountable obstacles to it.

at London in 1754, without any author's name, and under a general title published by Mr. Hanway, whose voyages have been translated into French; according to this state, I say, the India ships one with another, carry out about twelve hundred thousand livres in silver, either specie or bullion, and to the amount of about a million more in merchandize. The returns are all made in merchandize of one kind or another, of which, more than two thirds are consumed in Great Britain. The greatest part of the other third is exported to Ireland and the colonies; the remainder is carried to those countries that England trafficks with. Now as the India company sends out from fifteen to twenty ships every year, this branch of trade cannot carry away one year with another, less than about twenty millions of livres in specie or bullion; and as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, consume almost all the returns, and as three fourths of these returns consist in nothing but mere trifles and useless baubles, it follows from all this, that one half at least of this branch of trade is so much clear loss to the nation, whatever may be the profits of the company that carry it on. Nevertheless as that loss may be compensated by profits made somewhere or other, it is necessary to bring back this article into the general examination of the trade of England. We have no other method of getting at the truth, and in order, Sir, that you may be better able to perceive it, I shall proceed to point out to you the principles I shall lay down to prove it.

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We must take heed not to form judgments of the national profits of trade, and still less by the particular profits made by the merchants. A nation may carry on a commerce that however circumscribed and narrow it may appear to be, may nevertheless be very profitable to it; such is the trade carried on at Vienna, where the Austrian ministers are most of them *perfect adepts*, in all the refinements of commerce, and full well know that in order to carry on a very profitable traffick, the silver of the West must travel to the East, and the gold of the East travel to the West. On another hand, a nation may have a very extensive trade, very flourishing in appearance, and yet be nevertheless a great loser by it. As soon as Rome had subdued Egypt, the Romans established from thence a great commerce with the East Indies, which, according to Strabo, employed one hundred and twenty ships every year; and according to Pliny the elder, that trade yielded to those who carried it on a profit of *cent. per cent.* deducting however the expences, risks, and the interest of money employed in carrying it on^w; but according to the same Pliny, the
Roman

^w The India trade carried on under the same circumstances as it was by the Romans, does not yield the English company quite fifty *per cent.* profit, which is too little for a trade of this kind, and from which the adventurers cannot derive a sure and reasonable profit. It is the leading directors only, who make it turn to good account for themselves, for as to the nation it loses at least fifty *per cent.* over and above the profits that the company makes by it, and over and above the loss of more than one third of the seamen employed in it.

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Roman empire lost annually by this trade about eighteen millions of our present money. Thus, in the space of a little more than two hundred years, this trade cost the Roman empire about four thousand millions of livres, disabled the people from paying their taxes, which were always exacted from them in ready money; occasioned insurrections on all sides, and was the secondary cause of the decadence and destruction of that empire; and of this the repeal of the *OPPIAN LAW*^x, was the first cause. As to the particular profits of the merchants, they are always made at the expence of the landed interest; and this I shall speak to more fully hereafter.

The rule by which we are to judge upon the whole of the trade of one nation with another, consists,—1st, In considering the constant course of exchange, whether above or below par, in the great counting houses of those countries you compare together.—2dly, The exportation of gold and silver, which must always more or less affect the course of exchange.—3dly, In knowing the various turns that eminent and dexterous bankers know how to give to remittances between one place and another, and which also may have an effect upon the course of exchange.—4thly, In knowing what remittances the ordinary or extraordinary

^x A Roman sumptuary law, promulgated by C. Oppius, tribune of the people under the consulship of Q. Fabius Maximus, and Sempronius Gracchus.

traordinary exigences of government may require, either to make or to receive.

The rule whereby to judge upon the whole of the trade of one nation with another, consists in observing what quantity of gold or silver goes out or comes in. If the import of gold and silver exceeds the export, the nation is a gainer, or a loser, if the export exceeds the import; and if the imports and exports are equal, there is neither profit nor loss. This is a surer rule to go by than the other, (*viz.* the course of exchange,) more especially in England, where, to obtain a certainty of it, one has nothing to do, but to trace the price of gold and silver in the market, and to compare it with what it bears at the mint. If the price at market is constantly higher than at the mint, it is a bad sign, or at least it is a sign that the par is with difficulty kept up, and that there is more gold and silver exported than imported, which shows that the nation instead of being creditor is debtor to balance, in the flux and reflux of trade. If the prices of both places keep nearly upon an equality, and the mint coins but little, the profits and losses are pretty nearly compensated and balanced. If both prices keep at about par, and the coinage is considerable, without its being the consequence of one of those particular operations that throw dust in the eyes of ignorant people, but which never deceive the intelligent, then there is certainly profit.

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Moreover, with regard to the rule that I have been laying down, you must carefully consider whether any state, whose trade you would make calculations upon, has (which is the case in England) publick funds bearing interest, and a national bank. The reason thereof is quite plain: for then such state may have a large annual balance against itself, and nevertheless see an increase of gold and silver at home, because the foreigners who are debtors to that state pay it; and because the foreigners who are creditors, may perhaps chuse not to be paid, what is owing them in gold and silver, but either purchase bank stock with it, or vest it in its public funds, getting thereby a mortgage, and interest for those sums of money of theirs, which bore no interest before. It may happen also, that other foreigners that are neither debtors nor creditors to that state, and who are possessed of sums of money that yield them nothing, may have them remitted thither, in order to vest them in some of these public funds, and thereby create themselves a mortgage credit upon it. And if at the same time that this happens, the price of gold and silver should be higher at market than it is at the mint, there is then a double proof that this state has a high annual balance against it.

It is true that these rules for comparing one nation with another, and of the same nation with all other nations, comprehends not only its losses and profits by the trade, but takes in also the general balance of its goings out, and of its comings

comings in, whatsoever kind or nature they are of. However, there is no great difficulty in making a deduction of all the receipt and expence that does not relate to its trade. I shall proceed therefore upon the principles I have already laid down, and compute the trade of England by the only rules that can give us any knowledge of the effects that these principles produce.

England is a gainer by the course of exchange with Leghorn, Genoa, Portugal, and Spain. She loses by it with the three great trading towns of Venice, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh.—The profits of its trade with Leghorn, has for a long time kept up at about two *per cent.* and must absolutely arise from its briskness of trade with that place.—Before the war of 1740, London was a loser by Genoa, whereas she now gains about ten *per cent.* by it; but this is not a gain arising from trade; it is not Genoa but Leghorn, that is the English staple in Italy, for England has occasion for more of the commodities and merchandize of Genoa, than Genoa has for those of England. It is gained therefore by the exchange, and can be attributed to nothing but the discredit that the bank of Genoa has fallen into since the last war; so that upon the whole, the exchange, taking it as it now stands between Genoa and London, is upon an average pretty much about par.—The profit made by the exchange with Portugal, is only about three *per cent.* and has been formerly much higher, even at the time that England paid

paid a subsidy to Portugal, and maintained an army in Spain.—The exchange with Spain scarcely yields a profit of one *per cent.* In spite of all prohibitions, Ireland has found means to carry on a clandestine trade with Spain, even in woollen manufactures. Now this traffick has lessened the importations from England; and thus, as I laid it down before, Ireland yields nothing to England out of the produce of its own trade. Moreover, the English, as I shall shew you in the sequel, often want silver, and being scarcely able to procure any but from Spain, they are obliged to purchase it there, and which prevents the course of exchange of that country from running high in her favour.—England loses by its exchange with Venice about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and before the war London lost by Hamburgh about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* likewise. In 1759 London gained by Hamburgh about nine *per cent.* But this profit could not have lasted long, because it could only arise from the sale of prizes the English had taken from us, and from the sum of money the late King of England was said to draw out from Hanover, and remit to London by way of Hamburgh. This now being no longer the case, the exchange between these two places has returned into its former channel, and has even got up to above four *per cent.* in disfavour of England, notwithstanding the sugars brought from Guadeloupe, of which, she may now perhaps sell a considerable part to Hamburgh.—The naval force that England actually keeps up, does in all probability oblige her to lay out great

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great sums of money in the North; and it is by Hamburg, perhaps that she remits part of the subsidy that she grants to the King of Prussia. This it would be easy to know the truth of, were the thing worth making an enquiry about. As to Amsterdam, it is long since the Exchange with London has been about five *per cent.* in her favour; and whenever it happens to be lower, as it was in November last, it is owing to the Dutch leaving in England the balances there due to them, in order to vest them in any new loan.

Now with regard to this article of exchange.—1st, Amsterdam is to be considered, the hinge as it were upon which all other exchanges turn; for being largely debtor and creditor to all other countries, there is a continual flux and reflux of bills of exchange, not only upon her, but between her and all other trading nations whatever.—2dly, True it is indeed, that before the war, the ordinary course of exchange between London and Amsterdam, was seldom less than at about four $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* loss to London.—3dly, That this loss of about four $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* in time of peace, ought not wholly to be put down to the account of trade; for the interest that England pays to her foreign creditors, most certainly contributes very greatly to it.—4thly, That the increase of this loss, since the commencement of the war, ought to be attributed to the remittances made by England, for the subsidy granted to the King of Prussia, for the support of the army commanded by Prince Ferdinand; to the high disburse-

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disbursements made in the North for keeping up its navy; and to the increase of the interest money due to foreigners for the further sums that have been lent by them.—5thly, But setting aside the three reasons that I have been giving, it is certain, that the present war could not have occasioned a further disadvantage to England in the course of its exchange with Amsterdam, but ought rather to have caused a diminution of it; being evident that to this very time, the war instead of embarrassing and putting any shackles upon its trade, has given a greater briskness and extensiveness to it than it would otherwise have had.—6thly, After duely considering all that I have been saying as well with regard to charge as discharge, it must needs follow, that as the English carry on their own trade themselves, and are their own carriers, they could not always be losers (as surely they are, the by exchange between London and Amsterdam,) if there was not something more at bottom than mere prejudice, to induce a belief, that England rather loses than gains upon the whole of the general balance of its trade. Now to this must be added, that England pays annually to Russia, a balance, that Mr. Hanway has computed at a million of Roubles, which make five millions of livres tournois; to this must further be added, that although the war has rendered the course of exchange much less favourable to Paris than it was before, nevertheless, that market still gains about three *per cent.* at least upon London. The par of exchange between Paris and London, is

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according to Sir Isaac Newton, twenty nine pence, sterling and one hundred forty nine thousand parts of a penny, or in other words, one thousandth part less than three twentieths, for sixty sols of the present money of France. According to other calculations made in France, the par is twenty nine pence sterling. Now upon the third of December last 1761, London still gave thirty pence three eighths of a penny sterling for sixty French sols, for bills drawn at sight, and that actually makes about three *per cent.* profit to the Market of Paris against that of London, even in following the calculations of France instead of Sir Isaac Newton's, which would make this profit amount to near four *per cent.* As, to Antwerp, the exchange of that place that was formerly in favour of the English, is since the last war intirely blended with the rest.

It appears then upon the whole, that by the course of exchange, England loses by those two principal towns of Europe, *viz.* Amsterdam and Hamburgh; that she loses by Venice, Ruffia, and even France; and gains but a very little with the other markets. If then there were no other point to fall under consideration; but this, it might be forthwith concluded, that England either by its trade or otherwise, *spends more than her income, and therefore must be living upon her capital.*

But there are countries with which England carries on a very great trade, whose principal commodity

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commodity is gold and silver: let us then see what is the real importation and exportation of these metals in England. Although in appearance there is a great profit to be made, by carrying silver to the East Indies, and bringing back gold in lieu of it, yet considering the length and expence of the voyage, this profit is not however considerable enough to encourage the fitting out of fleets for that part of the world; it can't at the utmost be considered in any other light than as a venture, and is upon the whole but a mere trifle. From this therefore I may infer, that all the gold and silver now circulating in the trade of Europe, is brought into it, by the Commerce carried on with the Spanish and Portuguese dominions, and with the western coasts of Africa. Now it is very certain, that England for its exports of different commodities and merchandize to those countries, receives in return not only other commodities and merchandize, but also a great quantity of gold and silver both. But at the same time it won't admit of a doubt, that after she has imported this same gold and silver, a great part of it goes out again to the other countries that she trafficks with, such as the East Indies, the Levant, Holland, Hamburgh and other parts of the North. But although it is very certain, that both this importation and exportation are very great, yet it is not possible for me I do confess to fix the gradual point, to which both the one and the other of those may perhaps come to. A man well versed in this matter, and moving in a different sphere

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from

from me, might very easily fix this same point, and possibly not be much out, whereas, it is impossible for me, who am but a mere private individual, to trace it with the same degree of exactness. I flatter myself however, that the observations that I am about to make to you Sir, will be quite sufficient to induce you to believe, that the ballance of this importation with the exportation cannot be favourable to England, and if in so mysterious a business (which I am by no means initiated in) I can but bring you this length, it will be certainly doing a great deal. I undertake it boldly however, because what I have farther to say cannot but entirely confirm the observations I have already made, and which will be found at the same time to agree with what I have already said, with regard to the price of the course of exchange.

According to the essay upon the East India trade, published by Mr. Hanway at London in 1754, and which, I have already quoted, it appears, that the fourteen ships bound to the East Indies in 1753, carried out as part of their cargoes, above eighteen millions, eight hundred thousand livres in silver, and upwards of a million in gold; in the whole to the amount of about twenty millions⁷. On another hand
from

⁷ The custom-house entries valued this gold and silver at the mint price; whereas, if it had been valued at the market price, the sum total would have been more than twenty one millions.

from a little state that was made in 1754, from the 3d of April to the 23d of September, and which was put into my hands, there was entered at the custom house of London, as well for Holland as the North, more than four millions in silver and one million in gold, besides sixty eight chests of gold and silver, the destination of which is not specified, but could not be upon account of the East India company, as these chests were carried away in the beginning of the month of August, at which season the company never dispatches any ships. Now these sixty eight chests considering they contained some gold, cannot be valued at less than four millions. Thus then the short state just now mentioned, gives more than nine millions at least for six months, and ought consequently, to give eighteen millions for the whole year, which added to the twenty millions, put down to the account of the India Company, constitutes an annual exportation, and even in time of peace too, of more than thirty eight millions of gold and silver; upon which I must desire you to consider, that the entries that I have mentioned contain an account of the cargoes of fourteen ships only, and that the India company very seldom sends out so small a number of ships in the course of one year^z.

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I fancy

^z The India trade is beneficial to the Dutch, as they are in possession of a great and fertile extent of country in Asia, and have but a very narrow one in Europe; this trade, under sufficient

I fancy, Sir, you did not expect to find that I should be able clearly to prove so great an exportation to you; but it will appear still stronger when you come to consider.—1st, That the authors of the British Merchant, who wrote about forty years ago, do not, in vol. the 2d. page 4. of that work, carry the amount of the balance of the English trade with Portugal and Italy; that is to say, Leghorn, to more than about twenty four millions of Livres a year.—2dly, That since that time, there has been a much greater consumption of Port wine in England, than there had been formerly.—3dly, That since that time also, the Dutch have in some measure supplanted the English in the Portugal trade, with regard to cloths, of the second and third degrees of fineness, as may be seen in the causes assigned for the decay of the foreign trade of England, page 159.—4thly, That the manufactures established at Verviers in the principality of Liege, at Aix la Chapelle, as also at Borselt, Audimont, Eupen, and other places belonging to the Empress Queen, in the district of Limbourg; that these manufactures, I say, have equally contributed to rendering the balance of trade with Portugal, Spain, and Leghorn, less favourable

sufficient limitations, may be also perhaps beneficial to the Danes and Swedes. But the other European nations, who have extensive and fertile territories, cannot without ruining themselves carry on a trade, that in the main consists of little more than trifling and useless baubles, that are far fetched, and dear bought.

favourable to England: Mr. ***** a great manufacturer at ***** who has personally examined these several fabricks, positively says, in his observations upon them, of which I have a copy, that they actually send at present great quantities of their cloth to Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.—5thly, That we ourselves, especially before the war, have helped to diminish the importation of English woollen goods into Portugal, Spain and Italy.—6thly, The Assiento ship no longer brings any thing in, the last war having put a stop to the monopoly, that it was the cause of, in favour of the English, and the interloping trade also, with the Spanish West Indies has equally decreased since that time from the same cause.—7thly, That the above mentioned annual exportation of more than thirty eight millions of livres in gold and silver, is what only is done openly and legally; but there is another very considerable one, that is carried on clandestinely and illegally, upon the coast of Bologne, Calais, Flanders and Holland.

Setting Spain aside, you will please to remember, that what I have been saying, points out the different causes, that for about forty years past, must have operated to occasion the trade of Portugal and Leghorn, not producing an annual return of quite twenty four millions of livres in favour of England. Please to recollect now, what I have already said; that during the war for the Spanish succession, while England paid

subsidies to Portugal, and maintained an army in Spain, the exchange with Lisbon was much more favourable to England, than it is at present. In fact, the par of exchange for a Milree of Portugal, is sixty seven pence sterling, and a little more than one fifteenth part of a penny. Now, Sir, during the war for the Spanish succession, London gave for a milree no more than from sixty to sixty two pence sterling; but now in 1750 and 1761: she gives from sixty to sixty six pence sterling, which is an incontestible proof of the great diminution in the returns upon this branch of the English trade; since notwithstanding that war, London gained at that time, from ten to twelve *per cent.* by the course of exchange with Lisbon, whereas at present, she gains only about three *per cent.*

From all these several observations, I think I have a right to conclude, that with regard to the articles of gold and silver, the balance of their importation with their exportation cannot possibly be in favour of England; and this is all I pretended to, in bringing this subject upon the carpet: However, Sir, I intreat you to suspend your determination, till I have fully stated all the other articles that I have still to lay before you, and which I am persuaded will remove all your doubts: let us proceed then to the examination of the article of coinage.

According to Dr. Davenant, who had studied this point, and taken his calculations from the records

records of the mint, England had towards the year 1600 about four millions sterling in specie: towards the year 1660 about fourteen millions, and in 1688 about eighteen millions five hundred thousand pounds². These calculations of Dr. Davenant are looked upon in England, as being pretty exact; and it is certain, that from 1600 to 1688, the quantity of gold and silver coin must needs have been increased considerably in England. —Because, 1st, The riches of the new world began to disperse themselves in Europe towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth. Of these, the English as well as other people, must have had their share, especially, of the fifteen hundred millions of ducats, that according to Pufendorf, were expended by Spain for carrying on the war in the Low Countries.—2dly, The English were not then acquainted with the East India trade, that swallows up such immense quantities of both gold and silver, and which in some measure, not only impoverishes, but ruins the lands of more than one nation in Europe.—3dly, In the first heat of the reformation, and during the fanatic zeal of presbyterianism, which succeeded to it, every trifling ostentatious and useless luxuries were not only condemned, but banished, and none admitted but what was merely convenient, neat, and simple in itself; and this is what always follows upon the establishment of every sect that sets up for reformation. During this

² Since the year 1560, there has been no alteration in England in the weight or standard of the current coins.

this period therefore, the English had of course made œconomy a kind of article in trade; they sold more than they bought, and laid up the surplus of their sales; which is what a nation cultivating her land may do, without hurting herself, while there are other nations, whose principal commodities are gold and silver^b.—4thly, From the year 1562, liberty of importing and exporting corn, had been granted in England; a most capital article, and *sine quo non* indeed, for the well being and comfortable subsistence of every nation that sets the plough to work, and which is the principal source, and *sine quâ non* of the income, riches, and power that England enjoys at this very time.—5thly, During the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and until the year 1688, England had never entertained more than a small number of national troops abroad.—6thly, Though during that whole period England might perhaps have lent sums of money to foreign powers, yet, she never granted any subsidies, but rather received them. Now, any state that is independantly powerful in itself, has no occasion to grant subsidies; and impoverishes itself when it does; whereas every state that re-

ceives

^b If there were not nations whose principal commodities were gold and silver, a state would ruin itself by hoarding up, unless it took care to circulate its treasure in a proper manner, and at a proper time. But as there are such nations, and state may hoard up without hurting itself, provided always, that it be only done in proportion to its savings upon its territorial income.

ceives them, must necessarily enrich itself, if in other respects it be well conducted.

True it is, that after the restoration in the year 1660, an ostentatious, trifling and useles luxury had begun to get footing at court, but till 1688, the parliaments having been but seldom called together, had prevented this luxury from getting into the city, and spreading itself all over the kingdom: and the whole court was at that time in a great measure pensioned by France. The authors therefore of the British Merchant were wrong in trusting to the English custom-house books^c, as in the first vol. pages 305 and 306 they did: they were likewise wrong, in making a calculation that was evidently false in regard to the smuggling trade; and in consequence of these two things, to pretend that in 1686, there was a balance of trade due to France from England, amounting to one million ninety seven thousand three hundred and thirty pounds twelve shillings and nine-pence sterling. Beside, it is farther plain, that their calculation of the contraband trade is, as I have just now said, most evidently

evidently

^c There is a certain country in the world where an account is kept of imports and exports, and where they pretend to judge from that account, of the strength and extent of its trade, and its general balance. But, it would be easy to demonstrate to this country, that this account, such as it is, cannot give an exact information of what it wants to know, but on the contrary, is more likely to lead it into great errors, with regard to the sale and consumption of her principal commodities and manufactures.

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evidently false, since they make it amount to more than one half of the licit trade, and to more than ten millions of our present money : but over and above that, they have not considered that the greatest part of the merchandize that went at that time out of France into England, was merely presents from our court to bribe that of England.

Now here is the proof of this:—according to these same authors vol. III. page 118, the par of exchange for sixty sols of France, they tell us, that in 1686, (which is the very year they would strike the balance in) the course of exchange was at fifty four pence sterling for sixty sols of France, which makes only about $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. profit in favour of France. But by Mr. Castaign's papers, it appears, that the profit of exchange in favour of France, was on the 28th March 1729, eleven per cent. at least; and by the same papers it appears, that on the 3d February 1740, it was more than twelve per cent. Now, is it not evident, that if the balance that may have been due to France in 1729 and 1740, has yielded her a profit from eleven to twelve per cent. by the course of exchange: the profits of the year 1686, far from being two thirds less, must have been more, if the balance of that same year 1686 had really amounted to more than twenty eight millions of our present money, as it is represented by the authors of the British Merchant; and even though it had not really amounted to more than about eighteen millions, to which sum we find it reduced, when every
article

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article that these authors place to the account of the contraband trade is deducted from it? Even in this last case then, those authors must have been under a great mistake, and their error could have only arose from this, viz. that in 1686 the greatest part of the importation from France to England, consisted merely in presents from France, which therefore did by no means constitute an article in the general balance of trade between the two nations.

It is only since the revolution 1688, that England began to plunge herself deep into enormous expences of every kind. She set out first, with granting only inconsiderable subsidies, and by maintaining a considerable body of troops abroad, but without ever finding out the way to make them subsist at the enemy's expence; which is a capital article in the great art of war. Those troops upon their return to England, introduced the extravagance of parade and show; and as the parliament now met once a year, and as great numbers of ladies accompanied their husbands to the capital, they, very soon converted this kind of extravagance into one that was more trifling and ostentatious, and which, from their example, diffused itself all over the kingdom. In the year 1698, a company of merchants lent the government the sum of about forty eight millions of livres tournois at eight per cent. interest, for which they had parliamentary security given them; and as a farther reward for their signal service, they obtained the exclusive privilege of the whole East
India

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India trade for the term of seventeen years certain. This company having by further services done the government, merited so far from it, as to render its exclusive privilege inviolable any other way, than by a revolution or a bankruptcy. This company, I say, has introduced into the nation the *stupid luxury of tea, and many other foreign extravagant and pernicious trifles*. After the establishment of this company, and at the time of the war for the Spanish succession, England has not only continued to have a large body of troops sent abroad, which she never knew how to subsist at the expence of the enemy; but she began also to grant considerable subsidies to foreign powers, and has continued to do so ever since.

All these things, and many others too long to enumerate, are the cause, that although it is certain, that England has greatly increased her territorial income, without increasing the number of her inhabitants, she nevertheless, has not been able out of that income, to make any saving that would remain in the nation: nor has she been able to add any thing to the quantity of the general mass of her gold and silver. On the contrary, she has not only expended all that has been imported from one place to another, but also what she had before: and not only so, but *has actually mortgaged her territorial income*, to enable her to provide for the various kinds of expences that she was at. Now, please Sir, to take notice, that all she has mortgaged to foreigners, is so much dead loss to her, and that all she has mortgaged

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gaged to her own subjects, has only served to increase the evil. In short, this last measure has given birth at home to a race of men known by the name of money jobbers; a race, always labouring to imitate the wasps that devour the honey of the industrious bees; a race of men, sworn enemies to the plough, the landed interest, and the only beneficial trade of the nation: a race of men, in short, that is a public pest to any state, either, because by their living in the most penurious and fordid manner, their whole thoughts are employed both day and night, upon nothing but the accumulation of money, and of adding to the public burthen; or, because by living in opulence, idleness and effeminacy, they are incapable of giving any assistance for the defence of their country, and are good for nothing, but to propagate false luxury and extravagance; to corrupt the taste and manners of the nation, and to enervate the minds, the heart, and both body and soul of its inhabitants.

Thus, although in 1688, there was already in England eighteen millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling in current specie; although its territorial income was always increasing, without the number of its inhabitants being increased; although there were countries whose principal commodities were silver and gold, nevertheless, at the general re-coinage, which was made in 1696, there was no more current specie to be found in the nation, than the very same sum of eighteen millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

sterling. At the same time, although the nation was nothing in debt in 1688, nevertheless, about the beginning of the year 1702, her territorial income was already mortgaged for the principal sum of more than ten millions sterling, bearing interest, and of which a considerable part was due to foreigners.

Since that general re-coinage till the death of King William, which happened the 18th March 1702, and which comprehends about two years of war, and four years of peace, there has been coined sterling. - - - £. 2,444,650 13 8

During the reign of Queen Anne, which lasted thirteen years and almost five months, and, during which time, the war was carried on with very little intermission, there has no more been coined than - - 3,136,225 10 3

George I. who died the 11th June 1727, reigned near thirteen years. During his reign, England always continued in peace, except during a short rupture with Spain in 1727; and was all that time benefiting itself, not only by particular profits arising from the Assiento ship, but by the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies also, by which means there was coined during this reign - 8,725,921 15 6
Brought

Brought over - £. 14,306,797 18 9

From the beginning of the reign of George II. to the 31st December 1748, there are twenty one years six months and some days. Now, although during all this time, there was longer peace than war, and while peace lasted, the trade of the Assiento ship, and also the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies was carried on to its utmost height: and although the rich Acapulco ship was also taken during that period, nevertheless there has been no more coined than - - 4,916,450 2 6

Total of the coinage of species, since the general re-coinage in 1696 to 31st December 1748 - - - £. 19,223,248 1 3

By this, Sir, it appears, that a very great sum of money has been issued from the mint in fifty two years, and which, one year with another, amounts to about nine millions of livres tournois; but you must not run away with a notion, that trade has at all contributed to all this coinage.

1st, That it is to the 31st December 1748 that I have carried the state of this coinage; and you must observe, Sir, that on the 31st Decem-
ber

ber 1749, England owed seventy four millions two hundred twenty one thousand six hundred and eighty six pounds ten shillings and eleven pence one farthing sterling, and on the 31st December 1750, her debt was seventy five millions twenty eight thousand eight hundred and eighty six pounds ten shillings and eleven pence one farthing sterling. Now, taking the least of these sums, you must however allow me, that England had borrowed about thirty millions sterling from foreigners.

In fact, Sir Matthew Decker, who wrote in 1740, when the national debt was not yet got up to fifty millions sterling, says page 65, that they then reckoned that England owed twenty millions of her debt to strangers; and after the last war those twenty millions, by following the same proportion, may be supposed to have amounted to thirty or thereabout.—But as in some shape or other, this loan of thirty millions or thereabouts, must have been remitted, or left in England, it will be found more than sufficient to absorb the whole amount of the coinage, between the general re-coinage and the last of December 1748, although you should even reduce those thirty millions to twenty five.

This article alone then, in the sense you understand it, carries off, all that trade would claim upon the coinage of species, as making part of a national profit obtained by its means. It even leaves room to reproach trade with not being able

to

to hinder the territorial income from being mortgaged for the payment of so large a capital, as that of about forty five millions sterling due at home, and of about thirty millions due to foreigners: this last sum, it ought at least to have spared the nation, if in its own nature it was such as you apprehend it to be.

2dly, The mint of England is so far from taking any thing for the charge of coinage, that on the contrary, it is obliged to recoin all the monies that by their circulation have decreased in their weight, and to issue them at the weight that the law directs; for it is the nation that defrays the expence of a re-coinage, and a particular fund has been appropriated for this part of its expence for about fourscore years past. The consequence of this is, that upon the nineteen millions coined since 1696, there must be a farther deduction made of all that part that may have only been re-coined.

3dly, The law directs, “ That the mint, as making no charge to individuals for charges or tax upon coinage, shall give for an ounce of silver, weight and standard of England, sixty two pence sterling, and for an ounce of gold, of the same weight and standard, three pounds eighteen shillings and six-pence sterling.” But the price of silver as fixed by law, is too low, in proportion to the price of gold, because the legislature has not kept to the proportions observed by neighbouring countries; with us in France; for

G 2

example,

example, the proportion of gold with silver is no more than about as 1 to $14\frac{1}{2}$, while the English make it as about 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$; so that in England, silver is in proportion to gold, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than it is in France.

From hence it has followed, that the Jews, brokers, and others, have carried out as much silver coin as at the time of the general re-coinage in 1696, amounted (according to Dr. Davenant) to more than nine millions sterling. Since the year 1728, scarce any has been to be seen; and at this very present time, it is become exceeding scarce, as I shall hereafter prove to you in the most authentic manner.

Now, Sir, this exportation of the silver coin is one of the principal causes of swelling the coinage of species in England, since this silver could not be carried out, without gold being substituted in the room of it. But the particular coinage of any sum whatever in gold, to replace a sum carried out in silver, is by no means a sign that England has sold more than she bought, nor that her general receipt has been greater than her general expence, and is still less a sign that the produce of her trade has added any thing to her territorial income of eight hundred and ten millions of livres tournois, or to any other sum it may be supposed to amount to. On the contrary, this part of the coinage has been a real loss to the nation of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon all the silver specie that has been carried out of the kingdom.

It

It is even certain, that upon the nineteen millions sterling, &c. coined since 1696, you must absolutely strike off all that may have been coined in gold, in order to replace about eight millions sterling carried out in silver coin.

It is not then possible, Sir, that the trade of England can have contributed in the least to the nineteen million, &c. sterling coined since the general re-coinage in 1696, to the 31st December 1748; or consequently, that it can have served to augment the quantity of those metals that are the representative signs of real wealth. And indeed how could it? since it has neither been able to keep at home the gold and silver that foreign loans brought into it, nor what farther came in by the coast of Guinea, the Portuguese and Spanish trade. It has not even been able to keep at home the value of those representative signs that existed at the time of the general re-coinage in 1696, nor is that value as great now as it was at that time. The English themselves in general agree, that from eighteen millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, its current cash is fallen to about fourteen millions, which is what it amounted to in 1660.

It is therefore the territorial income alone that bears the whole brunt, and is made to provide for every thing, not excepting the charges of trade, and the profits of its traders. Your doubts now will probably be at an end, yet, nevertheless, I will support my argument by a further proof,

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and

and which shall be the touchstone of what I have asserted.

If silver came into England as easily as it goes out, the price at market would keep to pretty near the same proportion it bears at the mint, where no deduction is made for charges on duties upon coinage, and where, for a hundred ounces of silver of the English standard, they return you a hundred ounces of silver coin of the same standard. Thus, by having due regard to the defect of the law, that fixes the price of silver at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. too low, silver generally speaking, should not at market be worth more than about this $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that it is above the price at the mint; but it is worth considerably more. In fact, the mint gives no more than sixty two pence sterling an ounce for silver; and for more than twenty years past it has been sold at market, currently and commonly, from sixty seven to sixty seven pence halfpenny an ounce, which is about eight per cent. higher than at the mint, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher than it should be worth at market, were an exact proportion with the neighbouring countries observed. It is no wonder therefore, that almost all the silver coin should have been carried out of England, notwithstanding all prohibitions and penal laws to the contrary; for in such like cases, prohibitions and penal laws do never prevent the evil, they only serve now and then to punish particular persons, who to say the truth, are the unhappy victims of the errors of government; for under a
wife

wife administration those crimes are seldom committed. In England the gallows itself does not prevent the melting down and exporting all the silver coin, that by its weight, is a sufficient encouragement for running the risque; and this occasioned that coin becoming so scarce, that in 1759 it was proposed to supply the want of it by pewter money; and the proposal was made by a very respectable citizen^c, to whom a statue was many years ago erected upon the Royal Exchange, as a reward for his truly patriotic virtues. Thus then, silver goes out much faster than it comes in, since the price given for it is an evident proof, that people are very solicitous to get it, in order to export it, as they stand greatly in need of it to pay the balance due to foreigners, and to keep the price of exchange from rising too high. But as a certain loss attends the buying of silver at so high a price, in order to discharge the balance of their accounts, and as that loss cannot in any shape fall upon merchants, who would give over trade if they lost by it, that loss must necessarily fall ultimately upon the landed interest.

The great export of silver from England is not sufficient to pay the balance of the national account with foreigners, even gold going equally much faster out than it comes in; its price at the mint is three pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence sterling the ounce. Nevertheless, for about thirty

G 4

years

^c Sir John Barnard.

years past, and even in time of peace too, it was commonly worth four pounds an ounce upon change, which is near $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. more than it should have been, had it not been so scarce. Now this profit was at that time a sufficient temptation, not only to hinder people from carrying their gold to the mint to be coined, but even to induce brokers, Jews, and others, to melt into lingots the current gold coin of the nation, although they ran the risque of their necks for it. The necessity that people were under of paying their several balances, the high price of gold and silver in bars, and the high course of exchange, more especially with France, was a temptation to brokers, Jews, and others, to send out guineas without melting them down, though with the hazard of their being seized and confiscated^d, as the law in that case directs. Since that time, the price of gold has risen upon change, even to four pounds and three shillings sterling the ounce, which brings it to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the price at the mint; and however inconsiderable that increase may be, it is always a sign that the scarcity of gold has increased rather than diminished, and that the exportation thereof, even of that part that has been coined according to the English standard, far from ceasing, is rather carried to a greater length.

If gold sells upon the change of London for no more than two and a half per cent. above what

^d See the Essay upon Trade in general,

what it is worth at the mint; and if silver, (notwithstanding the difficulty in exporting it) sells nevertheless at three and a half per cent. over and above the four and a half per cent. (which as I have already said) is the false proportion established by law in favour of gold, and to the prejudice of silver, it is but just to show you how this difference arises. First, The quantity of wrought gold does not amount to near the quantity of wrought silver.—Secondly, England is situated in the West; and there is always more profit in transporting silver from the West to the East, than in bringing gold from thence.—Thirdly, England carries on a great trade to the East Indies, which requires annually a very considerable supply of silver, for she would lose too much by carrying gold thither.—Fourthly, The gold mines belonging to Portugal now produce much more than they used to do; and though the silver mines of Spain should yield as much as for many years they did, yet it is very certain that they do not yield more.—Fifthly, The English trade with Portugal, and with the West coasts of Africa, returns much more in gold than the trade with Spain does in silver.

Here, Sir, is the great touchstone which I mentioned to you, and which Mr. Cantillon, an English merchant, has acknowledged and set forth in his Essay upon the nature of trade in general, page 344, and the following. Now, the infallible proofs of this touchstone are evidently against England; so that from all I have said, whether

whether with regard to the course of Exchange between London and the principal trading towns of Europe, the importation and exportation of gold and silver, the coinage of money; or lastly, with regard to the high price that gold and silver have long born upon change, compared with the price at the mint, which deducts nothing for charges or duties upon coinage, from all this put together, it must necessarily follow;—First, That although England carries on a great trade with countries whose principal commodities are gold and silver, yet, nevertheless, she does not get by that trade, neither in time of war, nor even in time of peace, as much gold and silver as she wants, to pay the balance of her accounts with other countries.—2dly, That to pay this balance she has been obliged to send out gold and silver that either came in, or that should have remained at home, in consequence of the great sums borrowed from foreigners, *and for which her territorial income remains mortgaged, to the great loss and expence of the landed interest.*—3dly, That to pay this balance, she has been obliged to send out a part of the very gold and silver specie that she had at the time of the general re-coinage in 1696, and which, the English themselves allow, amounted to about four millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling.—4thly, That her general expence is consequently greater than her general receipt.—5thly, That although in time of war, the sums borrowed of foreigners may occasion a greater flow of gold and silver, as was the case during the last war; nevertheless, if England does not

not put her trade upon a different footing, if she does not make a saving out of her territorial income, and continues to buy as largely as she does, without selling more, or if she does not make some better regulations in her finances, it must necessarily follow, that after the conclusion of a peace, gold and silver will not only become as scarce, but even scarcer than it was before; for her debt to foreigners being increased, it will require a larger annual sum to pay the interest of that debt, as happened after the last war.—6thly, It is likewise to be considered, that over and above the sum for which the territorial income is mortgaged to foreigners, it is mortgaged to her own people for still a much greater sum, which must end in filling the kingdom with bad subjects, some of whom despair will render such, by having nothing left them, and others will become so from meanness of soul, and from insolence, from being possessed of too much, and because (to use the late Sir Robert Walpole's own words) they are nothing better than so many UPSTARTS.

You will say, perhaps, Sir,—1st, That taking in the rupture with Spain in 1727, there have been thirtytwo years of war, among the sixty three years that have elapsed since the beginning of King William's reign, to the 31st December 1750, at which time, the national debt amounted to upwards of seventy five millions sterling.—2dly, That the expence of these thirty two years of war ran so immensely high, that if England had only had the eight hundred and ten millions of livres
 tournois

tournois of territorial income that I have allowed, and if her trade had not contributed greatly to this income, she would have been in 1750, debtor, to a much greater sum than the seventy five millions sterling aforesaid.—3dly, It follows, that what she did not owe over and above that sum, at that time, must be placed to the credit of profits in trade.—4thly, That you have a better right to press me home upon this article, as I myself allowed, that the methods I took to come to the knowledge of the national profit and loss of the English, comprehended not only its trade, but also the general balance of its receipt, and expence of every kind and nature whatsoever; to which I farther added, that there would be no manner of difficulty afterwards, in deducting from the whole receipt and expence, whatever had no direct relation to trade. But to leave no argument, that you can possibly make use of, unanswered; I shall proceed to the confutation of all these three objections, so as not to leave any the least doubt remaining in your mind. Now, in order to get at this point, I have first set aside all the years of peace, taking care, nevertheless, to deduct from the expences incurred during this happy period, all the subsidies that may have been granted to foreign powers, it being but just and reasonable, to place them to the account of the expences of war. Next, I have made as exact a state as possibly I can of all the military expences of England, whether by sea or land, during the four wars that she had to carry on from the revolution in 1688, to the 31st December 1750.

From

From this operation, it appears that the military expences of England, during ten years war under the reign of King William, amounted to about in sterling, - - - - - £. 55,000,000 0 0

Those for eleven years, under the reign of Queen Anne, to about - - - - - 69,000,000 0 0

Those occasioned by the rupture with Spain in 1727, to about - - - - - 2,800,000 0 0

Those for the ten years of the last war, as well with Spain as with France - - - - - 60,000,000 0 0

And lastly, the subsidies granted in times of peace to foreign powers, to about - - 1,500,000 0 0

All which sums, amounting one year with another to more than five millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, make together the sum _____ of about - - - - - £: 188,300,000 0 0

All this enormous sum has been really and intirely paid at the expence of the land owners, and even more than that, because, they have not paid it down directly, but have had almost the whole of it levied upon them by the duties laid upon consumption: this is what I shall have occasion to prove to you with the utmost precision; for

for as I set out with saying at the beginning, I shall prove it to you by such real facts as are actually existing in England itself. But do not imagine, Sir, that all this sum ought to be included in that part of the territorial income that the war has hindered the nation from being benefited by; for, although the particular income of the land owners has bore the whole diminution, and even more than that, it is certain, that a considerable part of that sum, by having been spent at home, has nevertheless constituted a part of the territorial income; for this, the nation has at all times had the benefit of, and the more so, because all farmers and cultivators of land whatever, have never in any shape been either plundered or disturbed, whether during the time of peace or war; from neither soldier, exciseman, nor sheriff's officers have they had any thing to fear, their lands have always produced as much as could be reasonably expected, and not only defrayed the expences of cultivation, but yielded them a sufficient profit, without which, the earth pours out no more riches, and the state grows poorer and poorer every day. From the foregoing sum total then, of about one hundred and eighty eight millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling, there must be deducted all that by having passed from hand to hand only, has been spent within the kingdom; and nothing more is to be considered as a national loss, than what has been expended abroad, either for foreign subsidies, the pay and maintenance of the land forces employed upon the continent, and in the colonies,

colonies, and for the exterior and extraordinary expences of the navy. Taking my departure then from this point, I have endeavoured to find out what may have been the expence she has been at abroad; and those that relate to the subsidies and maintenance of land forces, I have easily discovered: but it has cost me a great deal more labour to get at the knowledge of the exterior and extraordinary expences of the navy, nor have I been able to do it by any other way than by making an estimate of it, pretty near in the same manner as a sailor in easy weather gets to the knowledge of the longitude he wants to find out. But you shall now judge yourself, whether I am right or wrong, with regard to this part I am now to discuss and fix, before I give you the total of what alone should be considered as a national loss.

From 31st December 1738 to 31st December 1750, the parliament has only granted about the sum of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling for the expences of building and repairing ships, ordnance, harbours, hospitals, and every other expence concerning the navy, excepting however, transport service, and the pay and maintenance of all employed at sea, whether officers or sailors. I shall at the same time observe, that on account of the remainders of preceding years, what was granted for that service in the year 1750, was higher, notwithstanding the peace was made, than what had been granted during the years of the war. Now this sum of
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two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, makes upon an average, for the twelve years of that period, rather a little more than two hundred and eight thousand pounds sterling, one year with another ; and therefore, comprehending the building and refitting ships of war, I shall be warranted in not allowing more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling, one year with another, for the exterior and extraordinary expences of the navy, during the thirty two years of war, which were carried on between the revolution in 1688 and the 31st December 1750. Nevertheless, I shall allow two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, or about six millions of livres tournois a year for that service ; and although this is certainly too much, I shall proceed upon this basis to settle the whole amount of the exterior expence.

Under the reign of King William, those exterior expences have amounted to about - - - - - £: 20,500,000 0 0

Under the reign of Queen Anne, on account of the armies maintained in Portugal and Spain, which in 1710 cost a full million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, these same expences have amounted to about - - - - - 35,500,000 0 0

Carried forward £: 56,000,000 0 0
Brought

Brought over - - - £. 56,000,000 0 0

And under George the first and second, until the 31st December 1750, they have been about - - - - - 24,000,000 0 0

Total of the expences England had been at abroad, as well for subsidies granted to foreign powers, as for the pay and maintenance of the land forces upon the continent, and in the colonies, and comprehending the exterior and extraordinary expences of the navy, about £: 80,000,000 0 0

Here then, Sir, is on one hand, the sum of about eighty millions sterling for all the exterior expences to the 31st of December 1750. On another hand, you have seen that on the same 31st December 1750, the nation was indebted more than seventy five millions sterling, and that she had lost about four millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling upon the specie she was possessed of in 1688 and 1696; which two sums put together, make about seventy nine millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling; and which ought, in such a calculation as I have entered upon, to be reckoned equivalent to the eighty millions sterling of exterior expences.

So equal a balance of the exterior expences on one side, and the national debt, and the loss sustained

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sustained by the general re-coinage on the other, you will reasonably be surpris'd at: but, be that as it will, it ought however to be looked upon as a farther proof of the position I have already laid down, *viz.* That the value of the trade of England does not exceed that of its territorial income; and when I have allowed that value, it is all that can be said. But still, you may have two further objections to make to me. First, You have a right to say, that I perhaps may have deceived myself in forming the state of the exterior expences, and that I have put them too low.

Secondly, You have a right also to object, that I have not attended to the interest money paid by England to foreigners for the sums that she has borrowed since 1688, and that, according to my own principles, as this interest money had not been spent in the nation, it could not constitute any part of its territorial income, and therefore could be the produce only, of the profits arising from trade.

To the first of these objections, I have little more to say, than that I have taken care to estimate the exterior expences rather too high than too low:—that I have reason, not only to think, but be confident that I have rated them too high, whether by placing too much to the account of the navy, or by not striking off any thing from what the parliament had granted for subsidies, and for the maintenance of troops abroad, although it is certain, that a part of these sums so granted,
always

always remain at home in some shape or other.—That the cloathing, for instance, of the troops paid abroad, is an expence that does not go out of the kingdom, and which is even so profitable to it, as to become an object worthy of consideration, and to be taken off in favour of the land owners.—That moreover, the profits of money jobbers, and other national undertakers, are likewise to be considered.—And lastly, that my calculations are easily verified, having taken them from the printed account of the national debt of England, and from the printed resolutions of parliament; for the truth of all which, I appeal to this printed account, to these parliamentary resolutions, and to the whole English nation.

As to the second objection, it is quite of another kind, and it is incumbent upon me absolutely to destroy it. To this end, and to begin with showing you, what it is that has led you into an error, with regard to trade; I am about undertaking, to give you a distinct view, of the general and national stated account of England, from the year 1600 to the 31st December 1761: and in order to proceed regularly, and that you may be better able to judge of what I have to say, I shall divide all this long course of years, into seven different epochs, and which the history of England itself, has taken care to mark and distinguish. If I am guilty of certain repetitions it shall only be where the subject makes them necessary, in order to unfold, and thereby the better to establish the truth.

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The first epoch, will take in the period from the year 1600, to the restoration of King Charles the second, in 1660.

The second, will comprehend the period from the restoration to the revolution, in 1688.

The third, will begin at this revolution and end the 25th March 1702, a few days after the death of king William.

The fourth will extend from the 25th March, 1702 to the 14th March, 1716.

The fifth will take in the twenty three years, that elapsed between the 14th March 1716, and the 31st December, 1738.

The sixth will contain the whole of the last war, that began in 1739, and will extend to the 31st December, 1750.

And lastly, the seventh will reach from the 1st January 1751, to the 31st December 1761.

FIRST EPOCH.

IN 1600, a most extraordinary woman sat upon the throne of England, who had but very few of the weaknesses of her own sex, and who when seated upon it, will appear to have exerted some of the greatest virtues of ours. Elizabeth had for forty two years swayed the English sceptre, with

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with a majesty and wisdom, worthy to serve, as an example to all those, to whose care, providence had committed the government of nations, by investing them with the exalted office of royalty, an office, so very hard to execute well, and so full of thorns to those who discharge it ill.

In 1600, it was near forty years, when this great princess by permitting the exportation of corn, had banished a monopoly that ruined her subjects, and had begun to deliver England from the heavy tribute, they before that time, were obliged to pay for corn, purchased from foreigners. This I have remarked in the beginning of my letter; and Sir Walter Raleigh tells us, that tribute was a very heavy one, and we are informed by Cambden, that the law enacted by Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to, promoted tillage all over the kingdom.

In 1552, the captains Willoughby and Chandler, had penetrated as far as into the White Sea, but Willoughby perished, and Chandler alone arrived at Archangel. This kind of new discovery was prosecuted; and 1560, captain Burroughs sailed to Archangel, where he settled an English factory, which in 1569, occasioned a treaty of commerce to be concluded with John Basilowitz, great duke of Russia, and which in the beginning, was a very profitable one. England having to do with raw and unexperienced people, took care to sell her commodities dear to them, and buy theirs cheap: besides, not having at that time erected a monopoly

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against

against herself by the act of navigation; and the expences of navigation, being still moderate, she made of this trade, as it were a trade of freight, in certain respects, and especially, with regard to furs, part of which were sold to other countries.

It was also towards the end of the sixteenth century, that the gold and silver of America, began to be dispersed among the European nations, occasioned partly by the indolence that these metals inspired the Spaniards with, and partly by the immense expence that Philip the second was at, to support a most ruinous war in the Low Countries, one of the principal views of which was, to compel, what God himself does not compel, viz. the consciences of men. It is likewise to be observed, that during Elizabeth's reign, the English applied themselves principally to the tormenting of the Spaniards, by a piratical and privateering war, by which many great and valuable captures were made upon them.

Notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding the formality and preciseness, that the *Reformation*, must naturally have introduced, with regard to the morals of the nation, yet according to Dr. Davenant, England in 1600, was not possessed of more than about four millions sterling in specie, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of which was in gold, and about two millions, five hundred thousand pounds in silver: to this must be added the sums of money that she had

had lent to France and the States General, for these, having never been repayed her in ready money, they have only been discharged by subsequent treaties. From 1600 to 1660, the reformation in religion, the pedantry of James the first; the gloomy character and scrupulous conscience of Charles the first, the fanatisms of the puritans and independants, all contributed to the keeping up, and even increasing the moroseness of manners in the English nation. Agriculture at the same time increased and prospered still more and more, by this means England, had every day less and less occasion to purchase corn from abroad, and might even have had enough to sell foreigners, if France, which from its latitude, and the excellency of its soil, is the natural granary of the southern parts of Europe, had not then been allowed the liberty of exporting its corn. On another hand, navigation extended itself farther and farther, and was carried on with less difficulty and risque than formerly, by which means, the gold and silver from the Spanish West Indies, was more universally circulated throughout Europe. The co-operation of all these several things respectively; enabled England, during this whole long period, to sell more than she bought, and consequently to save a part of her territorial income, pretty near in the same manner as a private person does, who every year spends less than his real income. In fact, according to Dr. Davenant, England was possessed in 1660, of fourteen millions sterling in specie, instead of the four

millions sterling, she had in 1600; from whence it appears, that during this interval, she having sold more than she had bought, the saving upon her territorial income had amounted to ten millions sterling, which for sixty years, makes one year with another, near one hundred and seventy thousands pounds sterling *per annum*, without reckoning the increase that might all this time be making, in the value of her moveables or personal estate. Now though this increase, most undoubtedly consists of certain real and solid values, yet it will not admit of any calculation, and I shall therefore not make it an article in the account, either for this or any of the following Epochs, it being sufficient barely to mention it. But it is very necessary you should observe, Sir, that this ballance of a hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, was intirely owing to a national œconomy, and was the fruit of its savings, out of its territorial income, and this indeed is incontestible. So far were the English at that time, from being the carriers of other nations, that the Dutch were actually carriers for them, and it was to prevent their being any longer so, that the English *injudiciously passed the act of navigation*. It was not till queen Elizabeth's reign, that England first began to manufacture its own wool, and even under James the first, it was manufactured in so coarse a manner, that no Englishman of any distinction, would wear the cloth made at home, and this monarch having prohibited the sending of white cloths from England to Holland, in order to be died and pressed there;

there; he was upon some remonstrances from the merchants obliged to recall his proclamation. Under this prince, who died in the beginning of the year 1625, the exports from England consisted in little more than tin, and some other metals, of large ordnance, which was esteemed the most beautiful and best in Europe, of great quantities of unmanufactured wool, and of some coarse cloths. But they were content with the produce of their own soil, which supplied them with all they had occasion for; and upon the whole, as I have said, she bought less than she sold; from whence resulted of course, a considerable saving out of her territorial income. It was by this alone then, that she had an annual ballance in her favour by the course of exchange, owing it altogether to this saving out of her territorial income, and the great difference between her sales and her purchases, and consequently, this ballance did not arise from what is commonly called trade, which when talking of nations, is a word, that has long been used in a very equivocal, not to say, a very barbarous and absurd sense.

SECOND EPOCH.

Charles the second, had great talents, was of a lively, chearful disposition, and much more prodigal than generous. Besides these qualities, he was although a king, so affable in his manners, and so agreeably easy in conversation, that
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it would have been easy for him to corrupt and enslave the nation, if he had loved his pleasures less, or loving them had he been less dissipated, and had dedicated more of his time to business. Happily for England, it was at court only, that that kind of licentiousness and heart prevailed, which always begets a trifling turn of manners; the capital indeed was but little influenced by this, and the kingdom in general still less. Moreover, the universal hatred that people had conceived against his brother, or rather against his brother's religious weaknesses, contributed to the keeping up the puritanical formality, that people began to be tired of, and which was indeed with difficulty kept up; this became the distinguishing mark of the party in opposition to the court, who affected to put on the appearance of it, though without any inward persuasion; and from meer party spirit, it was obstinately adhered to. But to speak out;—it was during this period, that France forgetting her own importance, and actuated by pitiful mercantile ideas only, began to lay restraints upon her corn trade. England immediately and wisely laid hold of this blunder, and became a candidate for the self appropriation of this glorious branch of trade, a trade that puts every thing in motion within a kingdom, *and which England can never have any vent for abroad, when France, by permitting it to her own subjects, forbids it to them.* Thus then, notwithstanding the introduction of licentiousness, and trifling luxury in Charles the second's court.—Notwithstanding the gold and silver of America,

began

began to flow into Europe in lesser quantities than formerly,—notwithstanding individuals in England, no longer took any rich prizes from the Spaniards,—notwithstanding England had a war to carry on against the Dutch, which greatly affected the course of exchange,—notwithstanding several merchants had already sent out to the East Indies, part of that gold and silver that had been received in payment for her commodities, and for which the only returns were mere useless baubles; notwithstanding all this, I say, England still continued to sell more than she bought; and the restraint that the corn trade in France laboured under, contributed greatly to the keeping the ballance of her exports and imports very favourable to her. She therefore made a saving out of her territorial income; and whereas in 1660, she was possessed of about fourteen millions only in specie; she had according to Dr. Davenant in 1688, about eighteen millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling, which for twenty eight years, made one year with another, something more than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; which therefore, with regard to her exports and imports, gives a balance something less in her favour, than that of the first epoch, and always arising from the same cause.

THIRD

THIRD EPOCH.

THE period between the revolution in 1688, and the end of king William's reign was *that*, during which England enjoyed, what may with the greatest propriety be called, a solid and enriching trade. Then it was when she sold the most, and in proportion bought the least, by which means the ballance of exchange was immensely in her favour, and for the following reasons.

William the third, prince of Orange, and king of England, was in his manners a rigid presbyterian, he was so by constitution, by education, by principles of ambition, and policy, and not only so, but from human weakness likewise, which prompted him to contrast, the simplicity of his own manners, with the pomp and splendour of Lewis the fourteenth, who had affected to despise him while he was only prince of Orange. While preserving upon the throne, the solid and necessary luxury of elegance, decorum, convenience, true dignity and grandeur; he banished from his court, that kind of luxury, which consists in meer ostentation only, and which always does a great deal of mischief, and can do but little good; he banished that trifling luxury that had crept into the court of Charles the second, and which from its always being fantastical, capricious and expensive, enervates mankind, and
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even destroys the fruitfulness and riches of the earth. Hence it followed, that those of higher rank, were so far from corrupting of those of the capital, and the rest of the kingdom, by the contagious influence of example, that they only served to impress upon the minds of people right notions of œconomy; and *which*, by rejecting every thing that was useless and trifling, always keeps up the decency suitable to its rank; the bounds of which it never exceeds, is always hospitable and generous, and thus, no one ruins himself; but on the contrary every one grows rich. People were then by no means whimsical, were not apt to be captivated by show and tinsel, and imported but very few trifling things from abroad. The English then wisely preferred the wool of their own growth to the silk of Spain and Italy; and instead of giving any encouragement to foreign manufactures, they considered nothing but what was absolutely necessary to them. All these things combined, were the cause of their having many fewer things to purchase abroad, than they had had at any former period of time whatever.

But nevertheless you are not to suppose, that this great diminution in the purchases from abroad, was of itself sufficient to leave that immense balance in their favour by the course of exchange that I have allotted to this period; to obtain this, there must have been a great increase in their sales, and this could not be done any other way than by increasing the general produce of the lands,
and

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and by finding a foreign market for the surplus of the home consumption: now both these were the case. The legislature made it his business to encourage agriculture, while other countries seemed to make a capital point of laying it under every possible discouragement; the fields of Flanders where we only think of fighting, spending money, and cutting a figure in, were made a most noble and beneficial use of by England, as by its intercourse with that country it made such improvements in the art of cultivation, as it was an utter stranger to before. An English officer then did more than fight for his country; for by the observations that in the midst of the horrors of war, he made upon the labour and judgement of the Flemish farmers, he likewise enriched it upon his return home: this, the English farmer availed himself of immediately; for, living in security and peaceably upon his grounds, and having nothing to fear either from the excise-man, collector or sheriff's officer, he resembled in some manner those ancient tillers of land in the Indies, that Strabo speaks of, who were looked upon with a kind of veneration, and whom whole armies, permitted to employ themselves quietly in their rural labours while they themselves were fighting with the utmost fury. Thus an improvement in the science of agriculture, which can never take place where the farmer does not enjoy both tranquillity and conveniency, added greatly to the general produce of the land, and as to a foreign market for the surplus of their own consumption that was easily found.

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But first, we must distinguish between the national consumption, prior to the increase of its general produce, and the national consumption, after this increase, which last part, is itself subject to three other very essential distinctions.—1st, It is very natural to suppose, that England having increased its produce, did of course increase its own consumption of that same produce; it was in some manner willing to enjoy the fruit of its labour, and the surplus of its store at the first hand, pretty nearly as a man does, who entertains his family and friends much more liberally, after a plentiful harvest, than he could afford to do after a more moderate one; but this could neither lessen the purchase of England, nor increase its sales.—2dly, By increasing its produce, England had wherewithal to feed and pay the undertakers and workmen employed in her new manufactures, established at home for the use of the nation. This increased her territorial income; and lessened that of those people who had 'till then sold their manufactured commodities. What occasioned also a great reduction of her purchases was, that she had no longer foreigners to pay for those commodities, that served at home to feed and pay these undertakers and workmen; it was to the proprietors and cultivators of her own lands, she paid for these commodities. But still this did not produce an increase of her sales.—The third distinction is, that among the new manufactures that England had established; part thereof, was not for its own use, but for that of foreigners. Now the increase of the produce
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of its lands served also, to feed and pay the undertakers and workmen of this part of its new manufactures; and to those fabricated at home and sold abroad; she (under the equivocal names of workmanship and industry) really and truly sold the fruits of the labour of her own farmers commodities, of the growth of the country, by which these undertakers, and manufacturers were maintained and paid, and which not only comprehends many other articles, but even the rents of houses. Had all these commodities been to have been bought from abroad, its purchases would have counter-balanced its sales, and the nation would have had no other benefit than the paltry savings, arising from this workmanship and industry, and which might perhaps have been the means of loading her with numbers of unhappy people, who are always indigent and upon the brink of misery. But by producing these commodities at home, and paying the value of them to herself; there was a very great increase not only in her territorial income but in her sales, and wherever the first materials were of her own growth, *there*, the increase was much more considerable.

2dly, France had put the finishing hand, by giving herself the deepest wound she had ever received; she had prohibited to her own subjects the traffick of corn, and several European nations not having corn enough of their own to subsist upon, were highly delighted to find, that England had more than she had occasion for, and
that

that the parliament encouraged the sale of it; had it not been for this resource, Spain, Portugal, part of Italy, and several other states of Europe would have been in danger of perishing: there could be no difficulty therefore, to find a market for the surplus of this most precious commodity; on the contrary, England finding that she still did not grow as much corn as she could vend abroad at a good price, studied more and more, how to increase the further produce of it. She continued her improvements in agriculture; she broke up fresh ground and had reason so to do, for it was not the same case here (as I have observed in a former note) that the plowing up too much ground may complete the ruin of a nation; whereas it helped greatly in this case to increase the total of her growing riches. To this must be added, that the absolute necessity that France had spontaneously laid so many people under, of applying themselves to England for the purchase of corn to subsist upon, had naturally led them to take off likewise, the produce of her manufactures, by which means she farther increased the sale of all kinds of commodities of her own growth, in the sense of the third distinction of the foregoing article.

It is then certain, that during king William's reign, England bought very considerably less, and sold a great deal more than she had ever done at any period of time formerly, and that this great decrease on one side and increase on the other, were of such a nature, as not only
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to give her a balance greatly in her favour, in the general account of purchases and sales, but likewise to add considerably to her territorial income. Hence arises the very same observation as I have already made at the conclusion of the first epoch, *viz.* that it was not properly speaking, to what the world calls trade, that England owed so great a balance and augmentation of her territorial income. She owed it entirely to a national disposition for frugality, which led her to set bounds to her commerce, to the increase of the produce of her lands, and to the good fortune she had in finding a ready market for the increase of that produce. In fact, she certainly might have extended her trade farther, but then it must have been by purchasing as well as selling more, and in that case, the balance in her favour, would have remained just what it was before. It is likewise true, that she might still have given a greater extent to her trade, but it must have been by an increase of her purchases instead of her sales; and *then*, the balance would have been less in her favour, and perhaps even against her: the state of commerce in the greatest trading city of a certain country, shews us many more purchases than sales: In short, England should have increased the produce of its lands, without that increase, serving either to lessen her purchases abroad, or to increase her sales. Now in this case, if the augmentation was only made gradually, and by slow degrees, the greatest advantage that could have followed from it, would have

have been a gradual and proportional augmentation in her territorial income, and numbers of her inhabitants, without making the balance of her foreign purchases and sales turn out more in favour of the kingdom; and, if on the contrary, the augmentation of the produce of the lands, remained without any vent abroad, had been too hasty and rapid, England would in that case, have been a very great sufferer, and the reason for this is very plain. Her commodities coming then too quick to market, and the competition between the sellers, being greater in proportion than that between the buyers, those commodities could neither be sold, nor bear any value, farmers would have become bankrupts, the territorial income would have been considerably diminished, it would have been then no longer worth while to cultivate the lands, and the nation would have been reduced to beggary, until the very force of the evil itself had brought back agriculture, to its just proportion with the consumption; England would then have been in the same condition, as any state would be, that was to plow up more ground, at a time when there was no market for her commodities, nor any price to be had for them.

To this remark, and to the explanation already given, I must likewise add, that the riches and happiness enjoyed by England during king William's reign, were almost entirely the pure gift of France. From 1685, France had begun to drive great numbers of industrious subjects

jects out of the kingdom, who consumed a great deal in it, and who by their nonconformity in matters of religion, might easily have been made the most proper subjects to have carried on both its interior and exterior commerce, this very nonconformity naturally inspiring them, with those frugal and parsimonious manners, that are so necessary for making trade prove beneficial not only to themselves, but to the nation itself also. Now great numbers of these people, thus driven out of France, went over to England; *there*, they worked, *there* they instructed the English, and *there* they contributed to the profitable consumption, of the late increase of the production of the lands. At the same time, as I have already observed, it was France herself, that made England the *invaluable present of the corn trade*, to such a degree, as to be more than once obliged to procure supplies of corn from her, and by that means, to make not only its grandeur, its happiness, and even its very subsistence depend upon her. No wonder therefore, that during this period, France gained battles, took towns, ravaged the enemies country, impoverished itself, and made a bad peace, and that England on the contrary, lost battles, suffered towns to be taken, her allies to be plundered, enriched herself, and made an advantageous peace, both for herself and her allies. It is time now to put an end to my reflections, and to point out, what benefit England received, during King William's reign, by the balance of her exchanges.

1st. She

1st. She kept entire the whole of her current specie, without breaking the least into it.—2dly, She punctually paid, five, six, seven and eight *per cent.* for all the money she borrowed; and of what she paid under this head, for fourteen years, the part going to foreigners, might amount to about two millions sterling £: 2,000,000 0 0

3dly, She liquidated about ten millions sterling upon upwards of twenty millions of exterior expences incurred by the war - - - - - £. 10,000,000 0 0

The balance of exchanges, during this period was in favour of England then about twelve millions sterling £. 12,000,000 0 0

Which give one year with another for fourteen years, about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* - - - - - £. 860,000 0 0

Moreover the balance of exchanges during this period, have produced annually to England, about seven hundred thousand pounds sterling more than during the former ones - - - - - £. 700,000 0 0

But take notice, Sir, that England was at that time, precisely in the situation, where it is necessary

necessary to a nation to make all the savings she can, and notwithstanding her great œconomy, the great increase of her exports, and the great decrease of her imports, she still was not able to make a sufficient saving. In fact, by the wars swallowing up the whole balance of the exchanges, England was forced, in order to defray the great exterior expences incurred during this period, *to mortgage her land and territorial income*, for about ten millions sterling of capital, as well to foreigners as to her own subjects, and the difference between this *foreign and domestic mortgage*, I shall take care to point out hereafter.

FOURTH EPOCH.

QUEEN Anne had no vices, and but few failings: but she had neither the knowledge and resolution, nor the exalted qualities of Elizabeth. In the virtues of a private station, she had none of those that should accompany a throne, her sceptre weighing heavy in her hands. Free as she absolutely was, from every idea of gallantry, superstition and fanaticism, extremely regular in her household, and devout in her religion, happy it was for England, that she had few passions, and yet good sense enough to suffer herself to be governed by those who had greater abilities than herself. By this means her reign was glorious, and by this means she acquired the affections of her people, and died regretted,

gretted. Elizabeth's however excepted, a female reign, was never that, of a national œconomy. It would not however be fair to attribute intirely to this queen's reign, all the alteration that happened about the beginning of this century, in the frugal manners of the English, at the end of the former one. This alteration was owing to another cause, the effects of which were much greater, more lasting, and more progressive, and which I have taken notice of, in speaking of the decrease of the value of rents after the revolution of 1688. It was, that after this revolution, the parliament meeting every year, a great many ladies in queen Anne's reign, began to accompany their husbands to the capital, to show themselves very much in public, and consequently to make a total change in their customs and manners, a change, that never happens in Spain, because women *there*, are not as yet allowed such kinds of dissipation, and to exhibit their persons so much abroad. Nothing was so instrumental as this, in making the nation much less frugal than it had been during king William's reign: for without delivering herself absolutely up to meer trifling; she no longer rested satisfied, with the display of her riches, by admitting substantial, decent and necessary luxury only, but she had the modes and passions likewise to change, and a variety of whimsies to gratify also. This, the very judicious Mr. Addison tells us, in those immortal papers of his, where under the name of Spectator, with a sedate, but chearful countenance, constituted

stituted himself, a rigid censor of his country-women's manners, by his sharp and witty criticisms. Though he for sometime retarded the great progress of the evil that he attacked, yet he could not hinder it from gaining strength, and spreading itself further and further; for he being no lawgiver, could not cut it up by the roots. Although the men and even the courtiers continued to wear cloth, yet the women, and those of a low class too, began to dress themselves altogether in silk. The new manufactures of this foreign production diminished of course, the ancient manufactures of wool, whose production, consumption and value, had been for a long time, one principal and natural source of the riches of the nation*. On another hand, the new

* It was under the reign of Henry the second of France, that we began to spoil the quality of our wool, and to ruin the manufactures; for it was in the first year of that reign, that we first farmed out the impost upon salt. Afterwards came Monsieur Colbert, who prohibited the working up of our own wool in fine cloths, and in so doing, he heaped evil upon evil; and would to God that he had done us no greater mischief.

If you trace things back from Henry the second, to the time of the first Roman Emperors, you will continually see, that there was a constant great demand for cloths manufactured out of our own wool, and which were greatly esteemed throughout the known world, as St. Jerom, among many others, does them the justice to acknowledge. What Fontanon has wrote upon this subject may be seen in the edict issued by Philip de Valois, relative to the fairs held in Champaign, and that of Lewis the Twelfth, with regard to the price of cloth; in Froissart also may be found, au-
 thentic

new India company established in 1698, was continually gaining more and more strength, and though it was never able to persuade the whole kingdom, to dress themselves, and to furnish their houses with Asiatic manufactures, yet it very soon, and insensibly introduced, the childish and expensive extravagance of China ware, the *daily* and *pernicious luxury of tea*, as well as *other exotic trumperies*. Thus then, although the exportation of corn was continually increasing.—Although the balance of trade with Portugal, was at the highest pitch it ever had been; since notwithstanding the expence of the army maintained in that country, the course of exchange between London and Lisbon, was then about eight *per cent.* more in favour of London than it is at present,—and although trade in general, became more and more profitable and extensive, by which merchants, and more especially, the directors of the India Company were very great gainers, yet nevertheless, the nation was a loser by it, as upon the whole, it bought a great deal more, and in proportion fold a great deal less than it had done during king William's reign; and here follows the proof.

All the exterior expences from the 25th March, 1702, to the 14th March, 1716, amounted as I have

authentic proofs of the riches of France, and of the value of our woollen manufactures, under Philip de Valois, as indeed appears in every part of our history; to be convinced of which 'tis only necessary to read.

have said before, to about thirty five millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £: 35,500,000 0 0

Item, the nation was indebted upon the 25th March, 1702, about ten millions sterling, the interest of which partly at six, and partly at seven *per cent.* to the 14th March 1716, may have amounted to about nine millions sterling. But about three fifths of this interest money, being due to the English themselves, so much of it remained in the nation (which she was therefore benefited by) and continued to constitute a part of the territorial income. As to the other two fifths, which she must have paid to her foreign creditors, and consequently was not benefited by, amounted to about two millions, six hundred thousand pounds sterling ^f. - - - - - £.

2,600,000, 0 0

Carried forward 38,100,000 0 0

Item,

^f It was not without good authority, that foreigners are here looked upon as creditors for two fifths of the national debt; this authority is related in the following epoch, under the article of interest money due to foreigners, and that article is accompanied with another note.

Brought forward £. 38,100,000 0 0

Item, from the 25th March, 1702, to the 14th March, 1716, the nation borrowed different sums of money at different times, partly at five, and partly at six *per cent.* and even at a higher interest than that, by the granting of life annuities. Now allowing, that foreigners may have received two fifths of the interest paid for these different sums borrowed at different times, it is certainly a low computation to state this article at about six millions sterling - - - £.

6,000,000, 0 0

The total of the sums that England paid abroad from the 25th March, 1702, to the 16th March, 1716, forty four millions one hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - £.

44,100,000, 0 0

During this interval of time, England has only increased her debt about thirty six millions sterling - - - £.

36,000,000 0 0

Carried over £. 8,100,000 0 0
the.

(124)

Brought forward £. 8,100,000 0 0
 Consequently her sales must have exceeded her purchases to the amount of about eight millions, one hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - £. 8,100,000 0 0

But under the reign of king William, which comprehends the same number of years, her sales had exceeded her purchases about twelve millions sterling - - - - - £. 12,000,000 0 0

The balance of her sales and purchases during the war, for the succession of Spain was not so much in her favour, as it had been during the reign of king William; so that the decrease upon the total was about three millions nine hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 3,900,000 0 0

During the fourteen years reign of king William, the balance in her favour, had been one year with another, about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* - - - - - £. 860,000 0 0

During

(125)

Brought forward £. 860,000 0 0

During the fourteen years of the war for the Spanish succession, this balance in her favour, was one year with another, no more than about five hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* - - - - - £. 580,000 0 0

The decrease one year with another, was about two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* - - - - - £. 280,000 0 0

Now please to observe, Sir, that I have reduced this balance to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, only because, I would willingly make all the interest paid to foreigners, for the money borrowed from them at different times during this period, the full sum of six millions sterling. Observe also, I intreat you, that the increase of the national debt, during this same period, having been about thirty six millions sterling, and the exterior expences amounting only to about the same sum; the annual balance of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, gained by the courses of exchange, has been intirely swallowed up, and even more, by the interest money paid to foreigners, which only became due to them, by means of the two wars carried on by England against France. These two wars therefore, have more than

than stripped the nation of all the balance in its favour, gained by exchanges, œconomy, labour, and improvements in agriculture; and consequently of what she gained also, by the surplus of the value of her sales, above that of her purchases, from the revolution in 1688, to the commencement of 1716. As to the current specie, which I have not taken any notice of during this epoch, it appears, that with regard to its numerical value, it had not undergone either any increase or decrease. If silver was exported, it was replaced to the same amount in gold imported. I must observe however, that if there was at that time no decrease in this numerical value, it was altogether owing to the parliaments giving a premium to those who would carry their silver to the mint to be coined into specie. But as the amount of what was thus granted, entered into the total of the public loans, and of the national debt, it would not be just to set it down: that would be employing it doubly in my favour. The inference that I can draw from this attention of the parliaments to encourage the coinage of silver, is, that the great exportation of it to the East Indies, began already to make it scarce.

FIFTH EPOCH.

During this whole fifth epoch, which takes in from the 14th March 1716, to 31st December 1738, containing twenty three years, the siege of Gibraltar, is the only thing that had interrupted

errupted the peace and tranquillity of England. She both at home and abroad, and with regard to every thing that can go under the name of trade, was in the most flourishing condition.—1st. The treaty of Utrecht had granted her the Assiento ship, and even put the English on such a foot, as to carry on the interloping trade with the Spanish colonies, almost in what manner they pleased themselves, and both of these advantages, they enjoyed to the very end of this epoch.—2dly, The same treaty had admitted them, in the most favoured manner, to the fishery of North America, and thus for many years, England has in some manner been continually enlarging her own territories, and the amount of her territorial income, till this increase of riches, is almost entirely become the property of her colonists, who by means of their convenient situation, and by their having all kind of naval stores within themselves, have naturally great advantages over their mother country, with regard to this fishery.—3dly, The exportation of corn, has continued still a great article in her favour, and has even yielded more than it formerly did, insomuch, that during some particular years it has amounted to even three millions sterling^s.—4thly, In what is commonly called trade, she had made the
greatest

^s According to the elements of commerce, first part, page 120; there had been years in which the exportation of corn from England had been much more considerable. See the postscript.

greatest figure, more especially with regard to the trade of India, Italy, and Portugal, (which grew richer and richer by the gold and diamonds of Brazil) and further by means of her American trade, where her *immense colonies are become extremely powerful of themselves*. England has covered the ocean with her ships in such a manner that she is become the object of admiration, jealousy and rivalry to other nations; and forgetting the fate of Tyre and Carthage, she has intoxicated herself with false ideas of commerce, and would willingly arrogate a despotic empire over the sea, which nature has visibly destined to be the common property of all.

But notwithstanding, all this shining trade, notwithstanding, the great advantages gained by the Assiento ship, by the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies, by the late acquisition of the far greatest part of the North American fishery, and by the exportation of corn, yet notwithstanding all this, I say, if the annual balance of exchanges of this fifth epoch has been more favourable to England than that of the fourth, it is but very little, and it is surely less than the balance of the third epoch, by three hundred thousand pounds sterling. I must observe also, that notwithstanding the foreign expences for the time of this epoch, have been very inconsiderable, nevertheless, *scarce any thing of the national debt has been paid off*. If it be true, as some pretend, that it was a policy of kings George the first and second to hinder the
reduction

reduction of this debt, these princes have not only acted contrary to the true interest of the nation, but likewise to that of their family. They must not have been aware that the whole weight of this debt fell with redoubled force upon the proprietors of lands, and could not fail at the long run to overpower them, and render them useless if not bad members of Society. They did not consider, that in all countries where there is a large fertile territory, and a great deal of tillage, it is always the land proprietors, who constitute the real strength of the state, and who, when well treated, are the surest support of the established government; whereas, when overburdened and ruined, they become impotent, and have no longer the power of supporting and defending it; consequently therefore, every sovereign, who either neglects or acts contrary to their interest, labours himself to undermine his own throne, to the very foundation.

Whatever may have been the occasion of England's not paying off a considerable part of its national debt during this epoch, yet if she had not greatly increased her imports as well as her exports; if she had not given into a greater trifling luxury than formerly; and if her India company had not led her into most ridiculous expences, she must necessarily have had a greater annual balance in her favour, than she had during the period of the war for the Spanish succession; but the national manners not being sufficiently frugal, and selling more than she had formerly
K done

done, which occasioned her abounding more and more in whims and fancies, she thereby further increased her purchases from abroad, without ever considering how deeply she was in debt, and how much it behoved her to make such an annual saving, as should be sufficient to pay off gradually the capital of her debt. This was the only method she could have employed to relieve herself from such a load of interest as she paid, and which began to prey upon her very vitals, and likewise to give greater scope to the articles of her exports and imports, by getting quit of that great variety of taxes upon objects of daily consumption, which she was obliged to lay on, in order to pay the interest of her debt; but she acted blindly, and without the least reflection, and chose rather to enjoy herself, and run the risque of being ruined, than be an œconomist, than to pay off her debts and consequently become rich.

Thus upon the 31st December 1738, it appeared, that she had since the 14th March 1716, paid off no more of her national debt, than about three hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - £. 300,000 0 0

She had also disbursed about one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling upon account of exterior expences 1,500,000 0 0

Carried over 1,800,000 0 0
of

Brought forward £. 1,800,000 0 0

She had paid also to foreigners the interest money for the several sums borrowed from them. Now, we must endeavour to make a calculation, of the amount of these sums, and likewise of the interest due upon them, and Sir Matthew Decker, an eminent English merchant, who wrote about the end of the fifth epoch, will furnish me with the principles, that I shall adopt for the basis of my calculation. In the English edition of his treatise, page 65, he says, that foreigners were at that time, supposed to be creditors for about twenty millions sterling, of the whole national debt, which then was forty six millions, three hundred thousand pounds, and which makes them creditors for something less than four ninths of the whole; but for the sake of a smoother calculation, I shall put them down creditors for about two fifths. In the same page, Sir Matthew says, that the interest

Carried over £. 1,800,000 0 0
K 2 annually

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Brought forward £. 1,800,000 0 0
 annually paid to foreigners might amount to about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; and as he says a little before, that this interest was partly at three, and partly at four *per cent.* this sum then, of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, puts three fourths of the interest due to foreigners at four *per cent.* and the other fourth at three *per cent.* This last computation of Sir Matthew's was well founded at the time he wrote; but at the beginning of the fifth epoch, the rate of interest was higher than towards the end of it, and the capital of the debt, amounted to about three hundred thousand pounds more; it is right therefore to compute this interest a little higher than he has done, and that no objection may remain against me, I shall state all this interest at four *per cent.* for the twenty three years of the fifth epoch, nay I will go further, and allow, upon the whole, one hundred and sixty thousand

Carried over £. 1,800,000 0 0
 pounds

(133)

Brough forward £. 1,800,000 0 0
 pounds sterling more. In consequence of this, I shall here set down the interest upon the foreign debt at sixteen millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling^h - - - £. 16,200,000 0 0

Total of the debt paid off, of the exterior expences, and of foreign interest money, about eighteen millions sterling - - - - - £. 18,000,000 0 0

All which the nation has during this epoch, in some manner paid in ready money by the exportation of its specie to the amount of about four millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling £. 4,500,000 0 0

Remainder £. 13,500,000 0 0
 K 3 Which

^h Many English are not only of opinion, but have even affirmed in print, that foreigners are creditors for one third of the national debt only, which is an opinion I have not adopted, because it would be absolutely in my favour. This in fact, would reduce the quantum of the discharged debt, the exterior expences, and the interest paid abroad during this period, to about sixteen millions sterling, which consequently reduces the annual balance, to five hundred thousand pounds sterling, instead of five hundred eighty seven thousand pounds; and it is proportionally the same, through all the periods where I have occasion to speak of interest due to foreigners; but I have found myself strong enough to calculate after the opinion that is least in my favour.

(134)

Which remainder shows what the balance of sales by exceeding the purchases amounts to, during the twenty three years of the fifth epoch, and which one year with another, amounts to five hundred and eighty seven thousand pounds sterling - £.

587,000 0 0

We must therefore look upon this balance as pretty near equal to that of the fourth epoch. It is nevertheless necessary to remark, that as the course of exchange was upon the whole, become less favourable to England than it had been formerly, and as the price of gold and silver kept up very high upon change, you cannot allow so high a balance in favour of England, without admitting at the same time, that there could be no other reason for its being so, than because (taking in the whole of her receipt and her expences) she was greatly indebted to foreigners; but this is what cannot be calculated even by approximation, and it is therefore sufficient to have taken barely notice of it. There is still another more essential observation to be made, which is, that the whole of the interest payed to foreigners, has swallowed up more than the surplus arising from sales, it having carried off from this article about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, of the numerical value of the specie, which shews, that her purchases abroad have

(135)

have been higher in proportion than her sales have been. By extending her trade in the article of exports, she has extended it too much, in that of imports, so that upon the whole, the extension of her trade has been disadvantageous to her. During all this enriching and flourishing period, a period universally blessed with peace, tranquillity, and with plenty, she nevertheless has laid nothing up in store, against a day of misfortune, all the fruits of her labour, gains and savings, have been for others, and not for herself; nay her very labour, gains and savings, have not even been sufficient to pay the very interest of the debts she had incurred.—Why then did she go to war? O! avarice, O! ambition, will you never cease stirring up men to cut one another's throats for nothing?

SIXTH EPOCH.

THOSE whom the Almighty would humble, he first deprives of understanding; thus then, when his providence had determined to afflict us with the various calamities and dearths, that distinguished the end of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, we suffered our heads to be turned with false ideas of grandeur, and with low mercantile ideas of confiscation; we stripped our laborious farmers, we prohibited the making of fine cloths of our own wool; nay, we deprived ourselves of what no other power upon earth could take from us, and we prohibited the sale

K 4

of

of our own corn, only to give England the liberty of selling theirs; so that while the continuance of this prohibition, with the continuance of the increasing poverty of the farmers, brought us into such straits in the year 1709, as not to have corn enough for our own subsistence, it was resolved in England, that we should have none of theirs, and that we should perish for want of it; this resolution (against which no appeal could be brought) was strictly executed¹; for true it is, that the most exalted thrones, are upon a close examination, in an eternal dependance upon the plow.

In like manner, when France had taken the resolution to humble the pride of England, and to bring her back to that point of mediocrity that nature had prescribed to her, and from which she never could have emerged, but by our own faults, that nation began to intoxicate herself with wild ideas of trade, and in the heat of impetuous imagination, began to dream of establishing an empire, which should have no other limits set to it, than the immensity of the ocean, nor any other foundation, than the meditated shattered remains of the trade of other nations.

*Hæc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.*

In

¹ This act of parliament was passed at the opening the sessions in 1709, and it was therein declared that the prohibition should continue till Michaelmas, 1710.

In this fit of frenzy she did not perceive, that although it were possible for her to ruin the trade of other nations, yet *from that very moment there would have been an end of her own trade, her riches, and of every thing else*, or at least no more would have remained, than the bare enjoyment of what her own territory could by the dint of labour produce. She had not given due attention to the contents of the twenty seventh chapter of Ezekiel, that noble monument of the trade of Tyre, and of the other nations of antiquity; there she might have learnt, that the Tyrian inhabitants of a rock, had no other means of enriching themselves, but by gleaning after the ample harvests of other people, and more especially the Hebrews, whose tillage willingly furnished them with the means of either life and happiness, or misery and death. From hence, she might have inferred, that it is by the same methods only, that the Dutch at present contrive both to subsist and enrich themselves, though buried in their stagnating marshes; whereas England was undoubtedly destined by nature to figure among those nations who best cultivate the noble arts of improvement, and not to rank with a piteous people who were no better than meer carriers of goods. Inconsiderate as she was, she did not perceive, *that she could not possibly both sell and buy a great deal*, excepting as far as other nations, were equally in a condition, *both to sell and buy a great deal likewise*.— She did not perceive that there was nothing either to be got or lost by trading with those that
have

have nothing.—*That for a nation not only to be rich and happy, but to continue so for a long time, it is necessary that other nations should be rich and happy too;*—That it is a benefit to rich nations, to have neighbouring states inferior to themselves to traffick with, for such, like the Tyrians and Hollanders, inhabiting a sterile and narrow territory only, always work cheaper than others: In short, the only thing she ought to have employed herself about, in order to be rich and happy, should have been, to give her whole attention to the improvement of her soil, and to take care of not buying more than she sold. But pride intoxicated her, and blinded her eyes, and as in England, the burthen of almost every expence falls ultimately upon the lands, the merchants grown rich at her expence, and by means of those riches, becoming insolent harranguers of the public; they occasioned an universal clamour being raised all over the nation, in order to drive the government into the last war with Spain. This war was declared about the middle of the year 1739; and from that moment, there was an end of all profit arising from the Assiento ship, and from the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies, though England nevertheless continued to get from Spain, in an *indirect manner*, the greatest part of the goods and merchandizes, that formerly she got *directly* from thence, and which, though in lesser quantities, cost her however as much as formerly they had done. At the same time, the extravagance and residence of the women in the capital, began

began to demonstrate in England, part of what Cato the Censor had prophesied would happen to Rome, upon the repeal of the *OPPIAN LAW*. To the sober, frugal and social pleasures of conversation, these women soon began to take a disgust, and substituted in their room, those noisy tumultuous and expensive ones, that public assemblies are always attended with, and where they make it their business to rival one another, by a display of their finery and their charms. The extravagance of these women in the capital, became greater and greater every day, their residence at it continued longer, the public assemblies became more numerous, as well as more frequented, and the display of their charms became more frequent, as that of their dress became more superb. The manners of the nation took a trifling and dissolute turn; modesty disappeared from the countenance of maidens, and the sex in general, no longer restrained by a due sense of decency and decorum, not only took pleasure in showing themselves at every public diversion, but were eager to run to every place where they could expose themselves most to sight; there was no longer any distinction of rank and fortune, and to this, the very form of the *Constitution* contributed a great deal. However inconsiderable people were, or however inconsiderable their circumstances, still every one was for getting into the great circle, and for endeavouring to be thought of some consequence. People would no longer be contented with dedicating the evening only to their pleasures, but the morning was sacrificed to them

them also, and as to every kind of domestic concern, *that*, was almost entirely neglected; methods were every day to be found out for the gratification of new fashions and taste, the sole object of which were, things the most trifling and useless, (and, which was still worse) things that were imported from abroad.—To conclude, as it seldom happens that the lower class of people is not infected by the vices of the great, this evil soon communicated itself to the middling shopkeepers, who likewise would have both their evening and morning diversions, where all they could save was most idly spent, their time lost, their morals corrupted, and their circumstances ruined; and thus, the several goals soon became filled with underling debtors.

This great change in the manners of the English nation, which began to show itself only about the beginning of the last war, did not get to its utmost height 'till about the end of that war, and consequently did not do all the mischief that it might have occasioned, if it had been in its greatest vigour during all that time. Moreover, it was only the English Roman Catholics, or those of the established church, that gave into these novelties, which the presbyterians and other nonconformists abstained from, upon a religious principle altogether, which taught them to look upon all tumultuous diversions, and all frivolous parade of luxury as an abomination in the sight of God, and brought into the world by the great *whore of Babylon*: thus the very great number of these

these nonconformists, contributed largely to keep up the balance of trade in favour of England; add to this, that the loss sustained by the discontinuation of the *Asiento* ship, and of the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies, was happily compensated by an increase in the exportation of corn. England during the last five years of this period, exported corn to the value of upwards of eighty millions sterling, which amounts one year with another to more than one million^k six hundred thousand pounds a year, a most immense sum, arising altogether from a truly noble and beneficial manufacture, that we ourselves most absurdly yielded to her, and which an infamous, unjust, cruel monopoly has hitherto contrived to hinder us from recovering from her.

These two things then, have greatly contributed to the preventing the decrease in the balance of exchange, not exceeding all manner of bounds, but they could not however prevent the decrease still being very great; and thus, England to be enabled to pay the interest of the money due to foreigners, has been under necessity of encreasing her national debt, considerably beyond what her exterior expences amounted to, as you yourself, Sir, shall perceive by what follows.

If

^k See the Postscript.

If you abstract the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, passed to the account of exterior expences during the last epoch, the exterior expences of this one, have only amounted to about twenty two millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - £. 22,500,000 0 0

On the 31st December, 1738, the nation was indebted about forty six millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and allowing that foreigners were creditors for two fifths of this, then the sum due to them, was about eighteen millions five hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The interest payable upon this sum, was partly at three, and partly at four *per cent.* and according to Sir Matthew Decker, three fourths of it, was at four *per cent.* and the other fourth at three *per cent.* Hence then, the annual interest upon this sum, is for one part of it, five hundred and fifty five thousand six hundred pounds sterling, and for the other part, one

Carried over £. 22,500,000 0 0
hundred

Brought forward £. 22,500,000 0 0

hundred and thirty eight thousand pounds, which two sums put together, make six hundred and ninety four thousand five hundred pounds sterling, and which for the twelve years contained in the present epoch, forms the sum total of eight millions three hundred and thirty four thousand pounds sterling - - - £. 8,334,000 0 0

Supposing foreigners to have become equally creditors for two fifths of the debt contracted during the last war; and calculating the interest of this debt, year by year, in proportion as it was contracted, and taking in the different degrees of interest payable upon it, the part belonging to foreigners, will be found to be about one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling - £. 1,800,000 0 0

Carried over £. 32,634,000 0 0

Total,

Brought forward

Total, as well of the expences, as of the different interest paid to foreigners during the current period of the last war, thirty two millions six hundred and thirty four thousand pounds sterling £. 32,634,000 0 0

The increase of the debt during the same epoch, has been about twenty nine millions sterling - - - £. 29,000,000 0 0

Remains, payed abroad more than England had borrowed three millions, six hundred and thirty four thousand pounds sterling - £. 3,634,000 0 0

And this is all that can serve to form a balance in favour of the English exchanges during the twelve years of this epoch, and consequently this balance has only been one year with another, a little more than three hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 300,000 0 0

Carried over

But

But the balance from 1716, to the end of 1738, was one year with another - - £. 587,000 0 0

The decrease therefore in this balance, during the last war has been one year with another about - - - - £. 287,000 0 0

And if you compare this balance, with *that* under the frugal reign of king William, at which time, there was less corn exported, then, the decrease has been one year with another, about five hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 560,000 0 0

From hence it evidently follows, that if England since king William's reign has greatly increased her trade (as it is commonly called) and which she has undoubtedly done, this increase has certainly been disadvantageous to her, by not having kept up to the same proportion, between her sales and purchases; as she had done during that reign, so that increasing her trade, has only increased her imports in a much higher proportion than it had done her exports; her national manners and general expences, she was all this time extremely lavish in, although she ought to have been much more frugal, and a better manager than she had ever been formerly, seeing she now is greatly indebted to foreigners,
L and

and had consequently great sums to pay them annually for interest due upon it ; this being premised, I have another calculation to present you with, before I conclude the sixth epoch.

The exterior expences of England for this period have amounted to no more than twenty two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling £. 22,500,000 0 0

She borrowed twenty nine millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling - - £. 29,400,000 0 0

So that she has borrowed over and above the amount of her exterior expences the sum of six millions nine hundred thousand pounds sterling £. 6,900,000 0 0

Which last sum has been employed in the payment of the greatest part of the foreign interest, due as well upon its old as its newly contracted debts. Now during the reign of Queen Anne, the payment of these several interests had already compelled England, to encrease its national debt, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling, more than the amount of its exterior expences incurred ; during that period ; and during the preceding period of long peace, the payment of foreign interest had occasioned an exportation of about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling in specie. Now,

Now, Sir, if you add these three sums together, they make about ten millions one hundred thousand pounds sterling ; and consequently, they give nearly the sum of about ten millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, that the nation has discharged by its savings, upon a sum of about twenty millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling for exterior expences stated for the period of the frugal reign of king William ; and from hence an evident proof follows, (a proof, that I myself did not expect) of the solidity of all the several calculations that I have laid before you, even of those made by approximation¹, as well with regard to the exterior and military expences ; as to the export of specie, and likewise with regard to the sums paid to foreigners, for interest money due to them.

England was therefore highly imprudent, by plunging herself deeper into debt, by engaging in the last war, seeing that she was at that very time obliged to borrow money, to pay even the interest of what she already owed ; in doing this, she showed herself both blind and ignorant, and that she did not know how to reckon with herself ; mad and bewitched as I have already said, she certainly was, in supporting the arrogance and insolence of her harranguing, babbling, merchants.—Was it not the height of madness to rush into a war, that could not but obstruct, and lessen the value of her exports, and

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¹ By approximation in arithmetic, is understood a continual approach, still nearer and nearer to a root, or quantity sought, without a possibility of ever arriving at it exactly.

all for the sake of a parcel of monopolizers, and privateers; to give herself up to such a degree of trifling luxury as in the very nature of things, could not but increase the value of her imports; and thus to put herself out of a condition of even paying the interest of her debt, at the very time she should have made it her whole study to keep quiet, and practise the utmost frugality, in order to discharge not only the interest, but principle likewise of this debt?

*Quæ te dementia cepit,
Anglia?*

SEVENTH and last EPOCH.

THE luxury of parade, vanity, and of dress, which by confounding all rank and fortune, modesty and prostitution, never shows itself, but at the expence of a necessary and substantial luxury, and which had been carried to so high a pitch towards the end of the preceding epoch; this luxury, I say, was somewhat checked about the beginning of the present period, or more properly speaking, it was obliged to take a different turn, it being warmly attacked by many periodical writers, who endeavoured to imitate the great Mr. Addison. At the same time an eminent pastor not only venerable in himself, but highly venerated, for his morals, his learning, and his writings, and who then filled the episcopal see of London, became sensible that his duty required his using his utmost endeavours, to cure the flock committed to his care, of this dangerous

dangerous and catching frenzy; he composed and published those edifying pastoral instructions, that have been since translated into several languages, and are justly admired all over Europe; in short, the legislature thought it a duty incumbent upon them to interpose their authority likewise, and accordingly put several of the places of public meeting, under certain limitations; it suppressed others that were become so many sinks of corruption, and of the most dissolute manners, and where instead of saving the least evil for the nation; was their being too expensive; these she totally suppressed; but as this did not reach to the bottom of the evil, which they were undoubtedly ignorant of, it only served to lessen the force of the contagion, with regard to the morals of the middling kind of tradesmen and shop-keepers. Now in the room of those assemblies that were either limited or suppressed by law, the female sex quickly substituted others that were less public and much more decent: these assemblies it is true, were not quite so pernicious as the others with regard to manners in general, but they were not less so, with regard to the irreparable loss of time that attended them, and became still more so, with regard to the idle expences that were the necessary consequences of them. This very decency, was what encouraged every body to frequent those places, where they did not fail to appear, with all the show that could be derived from dress, and every thing that is trifling and superficial. But further, this same decency has even occasioned these kinds of assemblies being introduced all over the kingdom,

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and not only so, but aped and imitated by the most ordinary trades people too; and though it were possible that they could have no other ill effect on one hand, than occasioning a great loss of time, and on another, a much greater consumption of those foreign productions, *viz.* silk and tea^m; they would still however be the means of lessening the growths and sales of the nation on one hand, and on the other, of adding greatly to its foreign purchases.

It was very soon perceived, that the expences of England very greatly exceeded her income: the rate of exchange, the want of employment at the mint, the high price of gold and silver at market, already showed this sufficiently; the scarcity of current specie, not only in the several counties, but also in London, was very soon a farther proof of this scarcity; the loans made abroad during the preceding war, had some how or other furnished England with several millions sterling, and which had appeared and circulated in trade, in proportion as those sums came in; but having no further occasion to borrow money abroad after the peace, a stop was put to this destructive supply, and England being obliged to pay abroad, what balances were against her, species became so scarce in 1753, and in 1754, that at the bankers of London, you could scarcely obtain a payment of one hundred pounds sterling, in the
lawful

^m Supposing that there are in England three millions of people, who one with another, spend eight livres a year in tea; then this cursed Asiatic drug costs the kingdom a million sterling a year.

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lawful gold coin of the country, and as for silver, there was scarcely any left; people therefore were under a necessity of either taking bank notes in payment, which are no tender in law, or the moidores of Portugal, which are equally refuseable, and generally want something of their just weight, and which when they do not, commonly pass for about three quarters *per cent.* more than they are worth; at the same time it is to be observed, that guineas were very plenty both in French and Austrian Flanders. The rate of exchange being very high against England, many English merchants, who had large payments to make on the other side of the water, thought it worth while to risque the confiscation directed by law, and exported gold coin to make good their payments in different places abroad, and thereby save the price of exchange, and this is what no law of prohibition has been able to prevent. When the general expence of any nation exceeds its general receipt, it necessarily follows either that, that nation must pay its foreign debts, by sending money out of the kingdom, or must settle its account, and agree with its creditors to pay them interest for it, which may be said to be eating ones corn before it is cut.

Now if there are any laws that prohibit the exportation of current specie, these laws should be repealed, as being vicious in their first principles, destructive and incapable of being carried into execution; by persons totally ignorant of commerce, could such laws only have been projected; it was in the days of barbarism and darkness

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only,

only, that with regard to trade, they could have been brought forth.

In the midst of all these circumstances relative to the interior and true interest of England, it was, that three men prompted by ambition, conspired together, and formed a kind of triumvirate, in order to plunge their country into the present war. In these schemes of theirs, they were seconded by the late king, who though very virtuous and of great application to business, was however too much attached to the little details of it, was too fond of cabinet intrigues, and had such a natural inclination for war, as age itself could hardly repress. In these schemes they were likewise seconded, by two of their countrymen who then resided amongst us, one of whom had probably no point, but that of following the instructions of his patron; whilst the other, who was an ambitious incendiary, had remote private views of his own; views that were wicked and pernicious even for his own country, and who, by fishing in troubled waters, was in hopes of obtaining a despotic dominion in America for himself; in this, instead of being punished for it as he deserved, he would perhaps have succeeded, had he been more circumspect and less superficial, and had he concealed his plan more artfully than he did.

The nation in general beginning to find the weight of its debt growing heavier and heavier upon its shoulders, gave very unwillingly into the notions that these designing people endeavoured

voured to infuse into it. Many were by no means sorry, that the colonies should have something to fear from us, looking upon this fear, as some kind of security not only for the mother country, but for all Europe also. The merchants who had insolently clamoured for the former war, now held their tongues, or at least did not venture to speak out; the creditors of the state could not fail to see, that a war would sink the value of the old funds, and make the credit of them less secure; landed gentlemen shuddered at the thoughts of a rupture which could not but increase their burthen, and Mr. William Pitt at their head, though possessed of a very small landed property, exclaimed violently against the measures, that the court had entered into, upon the continent, and against those also that it might further enter into. He principally insisted upon procuring a *neutrality with Spain*. This new triumvirate would undoubtedly have failed in their scheme, if one of them had not proposed driving the nation into the war, by an open breach of the law of nations, by making it act the infamous part of pirates against us, a measure however, which would not have succeeded, if it had not been assisted by the concurrence at that time, of a great many continental circumstances. The triumvirate carried their point at last, war was openly declared, and here follows an account not only of what England has paid abroad, but also, of what further debts she has incurred, and also of what her trade has cost her between the 1st January, 1751, and the 31st of December, 1761.

According

According to the abstract I have already made out, and laid before you; England's exterior expences during thirty two years of war, from 1688, to the 31st December 1750, these expences amount, one year with another, to about two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Now by observing the same proportion, fifteen millions must be set down for the six years of war from and comprehending 1756, to the end of 1761; and if you recollect, that in 1756, the war had not penetrated into the continent of Europe, that in 1757, it had been but faintly prosecuted by the English, and had not cost them more than about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that in 1758, its expence even comprehending the subsidy given to the king of Prussia, did not exceed two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, it may then be reasonably presumed, that the sum of fifteen millions sterling, is rather too high a calculation for the exterior expences of the present war.—But there have been some years of peace, that I would take into my calculation, during which time England paid several small subsidies to foreign princes, and moreover, she had sent out to her colonies, and there maintained, a considerable body of troops, which according to my way of computing ought to constitute a part of her exterior expences. But further, it is very certain, that the war upon the continent of Europe, has cost England more in 1759, 1760 and 1761, than it had done in 1758; and I do acknowledge, that with exception to the last years of the war for the Spanish succession, her exterior

rior expence had never run so high, as during these last three years it has done. Mr. William Pitt, this famous tribunitial orator, who takes up or lays down the FASCES, as influenced by so wavering a principle as popular favour, who, in the last war had never ceased exclaiming in parliament against continental measures and expences, and who when declaiming upon that subject, had gone so far as even to insult the sacred person of the supreme magistrate of the kingdom, Mr. Pitt I say, as inconsistent with himself, upon this article as upon that of the neutrality with Spain, has outdone in prodigality, even those very ministers he had so loudly condemnedⁿ. Thus, instead of putting down only fifteen millions sterling for exterior expences, I shall make no difficulty of allowing twenty millions for that service; this is certainly too much, but what does that signify? for after fighting, conquering and triumphing, I ought to

ⁿ Be it here observed, that the translator does not pretend to obtrude any opinion of his own upon the public; with regard to Mr. Pitt; he has only done his best endeavours through the whole, to render the true sense of the original; but he is strongly inclined to believe, that Mr. Pitt found, or thought he found, a necessity of pursuing with the utmost vigour, a war that in the opinion of the world, had been suffered to languish in the beginning; it was become a very extensive war, and consequently could not be carried on without a large expence; the author's charge of prodigality, ought not therefore to be urged with too much asperity, and he must allow too, what even the greatest enemy of Mr. Pitt dares not openly deny, *viz.* that by his vigorous councils, the honour of the British arms was fully recovered, and the drooping spirits of his countrymen were fully revived.

to be generous, and dispense my favours, and therefore set down - - - £. 20,000,000 0 0

In 1750, there was a reduction of the interest paid by the government; whatever was at three *per cent.* continued so, but all that was at four *per cent.* was reduced to three and a half for the first seven years, and to three *per cent.* for all the following ones. Now according to this reduction, and supposing foreigners, as I have hitherto done, creditors for two fifths of the debt contracted before the 31st December 1738, the interests that have been paid them for that proportion during the epoch that remains to be examined, do not amount to quite six millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 6,700,000 0 0

The debt contracted during the last war is about twenty nine millions sterling, of which near one third was borrowed at three *per cent.* and the rest at four. But Carried forward £. 26,700,000 0 0 since

Brought forward £. 26,700,000 0 0

since 1750, this last part has been subjected to the above-mentioned reduction of three and a half *per cent.* for the first seven years and of three for all the following ones. If it is allowed as before, that foreigners have lent the two fifths of this sum of about twenty nine millions; the interest that has been paid to them for the present epoch, must be something more than four millions one hundred thousand pounds sterling, but for a round calculation, I shall state it at four millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 4,200,000 0 0

The great sums for carrying on the present war, having been borrowed principally in the course of the last three years, the interest upon them that has been paid to foreigners to the 31st December, 1761, (always looking upon the said foreigners as creditors for two fifths) cannot have exceeded the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 1,500,000 0 0

£. 32,400,000 0 0 Total

Total of the exterior expences, and of all the interest paid to foreigners from the 31st December 1750, to the 31st December, 1761, is thirty two millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling £. 32,400,000 0 0

But during this same epoch, the national debt has increased at least thirty six millions sterling - - - - - £. 36,000,000 0 0

The sums borrowed have therefore exceeded the total of exterior expences, and of the interest paid to foreigners, three millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling £. 3,600,000 0 0

And if instead of twenty millions sterling, which I have allowed for exterior expences, they have not at the utmost exceeded eighteen millions, which it is very reasonable to suppose, then this exceeding, must be stated at five millions, six hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - £. 5,600,000 0 0

Which

Which for the eleven years of this epoch, make one year with another, something more than five hundred thousand pounds sterling - - - £. 500,000 0 0

But leaving it as I accounted at first, it then gives one year with another, a little more than three hundred and twenty seven thousand pounds sterling - - - - - £. 327,000 0 0

Now, Sir, take which you please of these two calculations, whichever you make choice of, must be the annual balance, that the trade of England has formed against itself during this epoch, not having considered, that having such large sums of money to pay for interest to foreigners, this was what she could not do, but by selling a great deal more in proportion than she bought; whereas instead of doing this, she on the contrary has departed further and further from all maxims of prudence and œconomy, has plunged herself deeper into every kind of frivolous expence, has intoxicated herself with false and chimerical ideas of trade, and in short, has purchased much more than she has sold; nay, I have even a right to observe here, that if it be true, as many Englishmen assert, and as I have remarked in the note under the fifth epoch, that foreigners are creditors only, for one third of the national debt;

debt; in this case, I say then, that the balance of trade has been much more unfavourable during this last period than I had rated it at. According to this opinion, and putting down twenty millions sterling for exterior expences, this balance must have been annually near to seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; and if you put down only eighteen millions for these same expences, it must then have annually been near to eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling: to this I must add, that taking up Sir Matthew Decker's calculation, which I have followed, as being the least favourable to me, it still remains very certain, that from the beginning of the year 1751, it has been entirely by borrowing, that England has been able to pay the interest of the sums she owed abroad; and at the same time, that the balance of exchange has been one year with another, at least three hundred thousand pounds sterling against her.

This argumentative and general stated account that I have been laying before you, Sir, and in which with regard to the basis of the calculations, I do not pretend to be any otherwise exact, than by approximation, this account I say, such as it is, or may be, ought to be sufficient to convince you.

1st, That a nation may have a foreign and a limited trade, and yet gain considerably by exchange; as on the contrary, it may have a foreign

reign and very extensive trade, and yet loose considerably by its exchange.

2dly, That a nation can only gain by its foreign trade, while it sells more than it buys, whereas it loses by buying more than it sells.

3dly, That a nation can never sell more than it buys, but by a judicious cultivation of its lands, and by observing such frugality in its manners as necessarily sets bounds to its foreign purchases.

4thly, That any nation that cultivates its lands sufficiently, and yet at the same time, gives itself up to useless and foreign extravagance, does in truth increase its foreign trade, but it is by increasing at the same time its purchases abroad; and from that moment it begins to live upon its capital, and makes great strides towards its ruin.

5thly, That a nation that pays great interests to foreigners for sums borrowed, ought to be more frugal in its manners than any other, and should sell in proportion, a great deal more than it buys, in order to be able by its savings, not only to pay the interest money, but likewise gradually to pay off the capital of its debt; from whence it necessarily follows, that it behoves any nation that is debtor abroad, to contract the extent of its foreign commerce, seeing she ought to contract the extent of her foreign purchases.

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6thly, That

6thly, That England once had a very great balance in her favour, borrowed little, made good the interest of what she did borrow abroad, and also paid off a part of the capital sums borrowed, whilst she was prudent and frugal, and while she had not carried her foreign trade to so great an extent, as I have made appear was the case, during the epoch of king William's reign.

7thly, That England has had a much less balance in her favour; that she has borrowed great sums of money, that she has hardly been able to make good the interests due to foreigners; and that she has paid off no part of the capital of her debt from the time she became less frugal, and that her foreign commerce extended itself further and further: the lucrative branches acquired by the treaty of Utrecht, and the increase in the exportation of corn, not having been sufficient, to counterpoise the want of frugality in manners, and the increase of her purchases abroad.

8thly, That at this very time the balance of the foreign trade of England is against her, that she borrows a great deal, that she borrows even to make good the interest due to foreigners; and that this is actually so, and that this evil goes on, increasing ever since she gave herself up to every kind of trifling dissipation, and has been extending her commerce to all quarters of the globe.

9thly, That

9thly, That consequently the payment of the interests due abroad, cannot be placed to the account of the extension and profits arising from foreign trade; since, without breaking in upon the main stock, they have only been paid when England did not carry on so much of this same trade, but that this payment has arisen solely from œconomy and the national savings, seeing from that moment, that this œconomy and these savings no longer took place, the aforesaid payment could no longer be made, any other way, but by breaking in upon the main stock, and borrowing in order to pay it, which is always the case with those who spend more than they have coming in.

The riches of nations like those of individuals should be considered both as *realities* and *relatives*. An individual who has an income of a hundred thousand livres a year *is really* richer, than one who has but fifty thousand, but if the latter spends no more than forty eight thousand livres, and the other spends one hundred and two, the last becomes *relatively* the richest of the two, and is in fact more and more so, till at last he ceases to be *relatively* so, and then becomes *really* so. This is pretty near the case of England, comparing it at different times with itself. Under the reign of Queen Elizabeth and 'till the revolution of 1688, its lands were much less cultivated, it had much less territorial income, few objects of barter, and but little trade either foreign or domestick; now without being *really* rich,

rich, at that time, she was however *relatively so*, compared with what she has been since, and she actually became *really so*, more and more every day. Since that revolution, her lands have been greatly improved, she has made great augmentations in her territorial income, in a variety of objects of barter, and also in her foreign and domestic trade; in short, she has become *really rich*.—But then, from that very moment, she began to spend in some shape or other, more than she had coming in, and has become *relatively poor*, compared with what she was formerly, till at last, by continually increasing her expence, and going such lengths as even to borrow money, to pay for her luxurious importation of baubles, and the support of her trade, she has become *really poor*. The gross of her territorial income, that in the beginning I fixed at 810 millions sterling, is at present merely nominal, for it is very far from being effectively so, her military expences, the increase of the national debt, together with the great sums paid for interest due to foreigners, make a large breach in it, so that, to make use of a military phrase, there is little more to do, *than to order the attack, to know how to conduct it with spirit, and forthwith to mount the breach*. In short, Sir, do but recollect that under the wise and nationally frugal reign of king William, the balance of exchanges in favour of England, did not amount to more than about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; and observe now, that at present this balance is against her, and taking it in

in the present year, 1762, and supposing foreigners to be creditors for only one third of the national debt; England owes for the interest of money borrowed from them, at least one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. Add to this, all that the balance of exchange begins to carry off every year, and the difficulty of bringing a whole nation to return to its former simplicity and frugality of manners, a difficulty so great, and yet so necessary, that to carry it into execution, would be like pronouncing sentence of death against a very great part of the whole kingdom. But more especially to all this you must add,—that to morrow, nay, even this very day, it is in our power to deprive England of the valuable and important trade it carries on, by the exportation of its corn, a trade, that she is solely and altogether indebted to our generosity for, and has been the principal source of her riches, and constituted a principal part of her power for near a hundred years past, a deprivation of which, would both enrich us more and more, and bring her back to the level where she ought to be. It is then at this very time, very easy for us to *attack*, the territorial income of England, and to reduce the power of this nation to its natural mediocrity, by reassuming that superiority over her, which according to the order of nature is due to us; and should this war continue some time longer, to what lengths might not such a plan be carried against her? What might not the necessity of borrowing money for defraying the expences of further

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war, for paying the interest due to foreigners, nay even for supporting its trade both abroad and at home, upon the footing that it now is, what I say, might not this ultimately lead to? This necessity would certainly become greater and greater every day, should the war extend to the continent of Portugal and Spain, and even should England be compelled to abandon Portugal and her other allies; by such an event as this and by so scandalous a desertion, the produce of her customs and excise would be greatly affected and diminished, and this would at bottom occasion an almost sudden interruption and reduction of her most lucrative trade.

Behold then! the fate attending a people, who are following the example of the Carthaginians of old, who not content with the rich, with the noble and solid trade that the cultivation of their lands furnishes them with; would have still more and more trade, than nature, in its unalterable decrees has granted to them, and who bewitched and deceived by the devil of lucre and of avarice, take a number of mercenaries into their pay, in order to extend their trade by the meer force of war;—thus, infatuated as they are, digging a pit themselves, where in all probability they will very soon, and very suddenly be swallowed up. Carthage, that in Africa had dominion over three hundred wealthy cities, and which in order to get higher prices for her commodities, prohibited the inhabitants of Sardes from cultivating their lands under pain of death; this
very

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very Carthage, though she afterwards became mistress of all the mines of Spain, was not able to support the war of Sicily, and the three Punic wars, that were the consequences of the first; after having escaped the sword of Agathocles, she fell under the conquering plough share of Rome, is now no longer to be seen, nor is her place any more to be found. *Exitio est avidis mare nautis.*

I have therefore evidently demonstrated, that I was right when I advanced in our conversation, that the trade of England yields nothing above the amount of its territorial income, and that after showing, how much that income may amount to, the whole produce of trade will be found to be swallowed up in it, and that there is nothing left to say further upon this subject. I have even made it appear, that at this very instant, the trade of England neither is, nor can be carried on, but with diminution of her territorial income, because she buys more than she sells, and is obliged to pay interest for the balance against her, arising from the exceedings of her purchases. All my observations then are true; linked in with, and depending upon one another, they support and strengthen each other reciprocally, and tending always to the same point, *they*, by their number and different natures, do actually constitute a kind of mathematical demonstration. To complete this demonstration then, nothing further is wanting, but to throw more light upon the article of the national debt, which

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is

is the only point, that I have not yet been able sufficiently to explain.

With regard to the national debt, you must distinguish between the part that is due to foreigners, and the part due to subjects, because the nature and consequences of the one, are different from the nature and consequences of the other.

1st, The sums lent by foreigners cannot be looked upon as the produce of any profits or any savings, in which the English nation is concerned, any otherwise, than because so much money has been lent to her, the capital of which she owes, and pays interest for; these sums neither are, nor can be any thing, but the produce of the profits or savings of foreigners, who by lending their money to England, are certainly become sharers in her territorial income, and are in some measure by that means co-proprietors of her soil. This I think requires no explanation. But pray observe, Sir,—that these foreigners have no other security for these shares of theirs, and this co-proprietty, but the good faith of England, a security that they even have not.—In fact, such are the fundamental laws of nature, that their mortgage upon the territorial income and soil of England is altogether chimerical, and exists in idea only. There is no judge that I know of, authorized by any law, nor in whom sufficient power is vested, that could order the mortgage to be foreclosed, to compel England
to

to pay, nor who could force the execution of such orders. The condition that the foreign creditors of England are in, is in no degree similar to that, which the king of Prussia was in, when some years ago, he laid hands upon the sums of money due to the English, and for which they had mortgages upon Silesia.—So far from being impossible, it may very easily happen, that in one instant the very idea of a mortgage upon England may be expunged for ever, and the national debts extinguished without paying a farthing; either, by the absolute and irresistible necessities of the nation, by some unforeseen revolution, or meerly by the concurrence of the proprietors of land, who are the people who constitute the real strength of the nation, and who are deeply interested, in the annihilation of the debt without paying any part of it.

2dly, The interest paid to foreigners for the sums of money borrowed from them, is a real diminution of the particular income of the proprietors of lands, who alone are responsible for it, because all that is levied to defray the expenses of Government, must necessarily cause a diminution of their income. This principle which we have agreed upon is universally true; wherever, as the learned and eminent Mr. Locke says, the principal subsistence of men arises from land, and I have fully proved, that England has no other certain income but that of land. At the same time, as this interest payed to foreigners must needs form a very considerable part of its territorial

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territorial income, of which it has no longer any benefit, and therefore is so much real and annual loss to it. But further,—the nation looks upon itself as free, and to say the truth in many respects it is so, but yet being debtor to foreigners, for great sums of money carrying interest, it may with regard to them, be said to be in a state of slavery, for relatively to those foreigners, it is upon the same footing as a rustic vassal, who after having bestowed all his labour, the sweat of his brows and his utmost care upon his fields, is obliged first to set apart from his crop whatever it is, the acknowledgement that he owes to his lord. England before it can enjoy the fruits of its soil, its labour, and its pains, is in the same manner, obliged to set apart a considerable portion of its produce, with which to pay the interest that it owes to foreigners for money borrowed of them, so that all the difference between her, and the aforesaid vassal is, having it in her power (not with impunity indeed, but without having a halter to fear) to be guilty of a breach of faith, and in some manner to assassinate her lord and master by refusing to pay him his just demand.

3dly, The sums of money lent by natives are undoubtedly the produce of the profits or savings of those natives, and consequently of a part of the nation; and here is the principal point to be cleared up with regard to the national debt.—It may be asked, if that produce is obtained at the expence of foreign nations, or of some part of the English nation; now, if it is at the
expence

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expence of foreigners, as England receives no subsidies, but on the contrary grants them, then that produce would only arise from a very large balance in favour of the English, arising altogether, from the particular profits of the merchants of England made upon foreign nations. But over and above all the different proofs that I have brought to show, that all these kinds of profits are ideal and imaginary only, and that the trade though it may serve to swell the territorial income, yet nevertheless, adds nothing to it; because this said income comprehends every thing else. Over and above these proofs, I say, Sir, you may easily recollect that all the balances of exchange, arising solely from the national savings between 1688, and the end of 1761, have been more than swallowed up, by the interest paid to foreigners.—Now, as she neither had nor can have any other balance in her favour, it must necessarily follow, that no part of the sums of money lent to the state by the natives, can have arose from profits made upon foreigners. This being the case, these sums so lent, must have come entirely out of the territorial income, either, at the expence of the particular income of the proprietors of land, or, from the particular savings of a small number of these proprietors, although these gentlemen are so far from being naturally given to saving, that on the contrary, their turn is generally rather to extravagance and dissipation. In England no more than any where else, it is seldom seen that any great landed man has much money in the funds; these are
generally

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generally in the hands of great Merchants or wholesale dealers, of lawyers, of the head clerks in offices, and of great dignitaries in the church, but more especially in the hands of directors of chartered companies, of bankers, Jews, brokers in foreign exchanges, usurers, stock-jobbers, and such kind of drones and blood suckers of the nation. I shall observe also that the exclusive privileges granted to certain corporated bodies, together with the *act of navigation*, having destroyed all kind of rivalry, and established a legal monopoly against the landed interest, in favour of those who employ themselves either in any foreign or domestic trade; these last have had it in their power to make great profits and large savings out of the territorial income, at the expence of the landed interest aforesaid; and thus, under the protection of the most absurd laws, giving encouragement to pillage and destructive to trade, and the true interest of the nation, they have enriched themselves greatly beyond what they ought to have done. They have had free scope given them for the imitation of the steward, who makes all the haste he possibly can to plunder his lord, with the view of lending him his own money at interest; and the nation most inconsiderately, and with its eyes shut, has been made to believe, that all the riches of these several harpies, was so much gain, made altogether upon foreigners. It never considered that all these great accumulations were made of the most essential part of itself, and at the expence of the landed interest. It did not even consider, that
war

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war carried out more than all these riches, as fast as they were heaped up, and afterwards lent to the state, and that it was thereby deprived of that benefit from them, that it would naturally have had, if there had been no war, and they had remained in the hands of the landed gentlemen to spend according to their own will and pleasure. In short, it has been quite ignorant of its true interests, and as I have already said, mad enough, to clamour in the most insolent manner, for the last war with Spain, merely to protect an infamous crew of privateers, monopolizers, and usurers, whose only schemes were to enrich themselves, by robbing the kingdom of its wealth, and precipitating it into ruin. Now, you have seen, Sir, how much that war, added to the one with France, has already cost England, and still continues to cost her, upon account of the interest she is obliged to pay.—Thus, as it is true, that the capital due to the national creditors is not the produce of a national profit; so it is equally true, that it has been almost entirely a real and effective loss for the land owners, who have secured nothing out of it, but that small portion which has been the produce of their own savings; and that although, that this may not at first sight, be considered as so much loss to the nation, the war has nevertheless rendered it actually such. But you must give your attention further to these three different things,—the first is, that the great sums of money lent by the national creditors, has encouraged great numbers of them to lead an idle life in a state of celibacy at
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the expence of the nation.—The second is, that these sums so lent, have created among the commercial part of the nation, a new monopoly in favour of the richest merchants, because they have prevented the lending of money at a moderate interest, to those traders who were in want of ready money for carrying on any considerable undertaking; and that this monopoly, has further contributed to the increase of the riches of wealthy merchants, at the expence of the particular income of proprietors of land.—The third is, that the establishment of a large capital due to the national creditors, together with the monopolies, and the usurious contracts that have contributed greatly thereto, have given birth to what will always be pernicious to every form of government whatever,—to what will always bring on a dissolution of manners, that fatal prognostic of the decadency of states—to what will always be either a fertile source of factions, dissensions and discord; or, of the total extinction of all honour, of loyalty to the government, and of every noble and patriotic virtue.—In a word, to what may some day or other bring about a revolution in the British government. Virtue so difficult to practise, it had reduced to the lowest degree, and money however acquired, it has raised to the highest. It has debased and almost extinguished all fidelity, probity, virtuous shame; in short, every moral virtue°. It has destroyed
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° Multo maximum bonum patriæ, tibi, liberis, postremo humanæ genti, pepereris, si studium pecuniæ aut sustuleris,
aut,

all distinctions among men, by putting a parcel of upstarts upon a level with gentlemen of the best and most ancient families, and has even lifted the servant above his master. The same upstarts instantaneously enriched by the spoils of the nation, have become co-proprietors of the soil with its ancient possessors, whose ancestors had acquired it at the price of their blood; they have expelled them from the places, where for many ages, the venerable ashes of these ancient possessors were deposited, who had been glorious defenders of their kings and country, and whose actions are recorded in the annals of the nation; along with these descendants from these ancient families, they seated themselves in the most august assembly of the nation, and by the numbers of their votes have often decided important
points

aut, quod res feret, minueris. Aliter, neque privatæ res, neque publica, neque domi, neque militiæ, regi potest. Nam ubi cupido divitiarum invasit; neque disciplina, neque artes bonæ, neque ingenium ullum satis pollet; quin animis magis, aut minus mature, postremo tamen succumbit. Sæpe jam adivivi, qui reges, quæ civitates et nationes, per opulentiam magna imperia amiserint; quæ per virtutem inopes ceperant: id aded haud mirandum est. Nam ubi bonus deteriorum divitiis magis clarum, magisque acceptum videt; primò æstuat, multaque in pectore volvit; sed ubi gloriæ honorem magis in dies, virtutem opulentia vincit, animus ad voluptatem à verò deficit. Quippe gloriâ industria alitur; ubi eam demperis, ipsa perse virtus amara atque aspera est. Postremò ubi divitiæ claræ habentur, ibi omnia bona vilia sunt, fides, probitas, pudor, pudicitia. Nam ad virtutem una et ardua via est: ad pecuniam, quâ cuique libet, nititur: et malis et bonis rebus ea creatur.

Sall. de Rep. ordin.

points in their own favour; by their means many of *these* have been reduced to such indigence, as scarcely to be able to subsist any other way, than by contracting the most scandalous alliances with them; in short, they have hardly left the ancient proprietors any thing, but the most hearty desire to turn every thing upside down, and by that means to recover all that they have lost. Already have arisen different parties in the nation, *viz.* that of the court, the country gentlemen, and that of the metropolis, stock-jobbers, drones, and of all the several blood suckers of the nation, the consequence of which is, that that part of the debt due to the English themselves, may possibly bring much greater and more terrible mischiefs upon the whole kingdom; that what the actual and visible loss of the capital due to foreigners would be. It is a fire smothering under the ashes; and which may every minute burst out into a violent flame, the first and least effect of which, according to the unalterable laws of eternal justice and of order, must end in the ruin and destruction of the national creditors.

4thly, The interest paid to the national creditors being supposed to be spent in the kingdom ought to be reckoned, as constituting a part of its territorial income; but as these national creditors neither are, nor can be paid their interest, without the landed men feeling, at the same time, a diminution in their particular income, it is necessarily follows then, that there is no one of the evils, that the capital of these creditors can bring upon

upon the nation, that the land owners must not take their share in, and what I say here, will be found to co-incide with all I have set forth, in the preceding article.

Supported as you were, by an opinion generally and publickly received; you certainly did not expect, Sir, that I should have been so well able to maintain and demonstrate what appeared to you, so absurd and ridiculous with regard to the commerce of England, in our first conversation upon this subject. But to come to the point; be it remembered, that I started at first, from the two following plain and simple principles.—First, that without the produce of the earth, men can neither enjoy property nor riches;—and, secondly, that all commerce is exchange or barter, and cannot be carried on, but by giving reciprocally; for he who has nothing to give cannot trade; and can only receive either presents or charity, and these are the principles in themselves, that for near twenty five years past, have convinced me, that commerce is not the thing it is thought to be, and that the general opinion upon this subject is certainly very erroneous. The study of ancient and modern history afterwards, and that of politicks, of war, of its causes, and effects, the history of England in particular, travelling, and conversation with able men, have by degrees unfolded these principles to me, and furnished me with facts to settle and prove the solidity of them. My greatest labour, and what has cost me most pains, has been to distinguish the different shades, that different circumstances

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stances always throw upon the consequences, that are to be derived from general principles. *Hoc opus, hic labor est.* This is the great point; and it is the want of this distinction, that gives birth to the mistakes of every kind that men are apt to fall into. Our errors, I say, proceed from our not sufficiently distinguishing that difference of shades that the difference of circumstances must necessarily produce; and thus it is, that people either blame or praise luxury indiscriminately, without distinguishing the difference of the circumstances that produce it, and the difference of appearances under which it shows itself. But to return to our particular object, I have already considered, unfolded, established, and cleared up so many different things, all concurring to the same end, that at the risque of a little tautology, I must resume and place before you, the capital points that I have advanced and proved, as well as what we agreed upon in our conversation; this is what I am about to do.

We agreed then,—1st, That in the annual territorial produce of any nation whatsoever, there are three things to be distinguished.—The first is, the whole produce.—The second is, the territorial income, which consists in all that the land produces over and above the charges, advances, and reasonable profits of those who labour and cultivate the ground.—And the third is, the particular income of the landlords, which consists in what remains of the territorial income, after all expences and publick charges are subtracted.

2dly, That

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2dly, That the tythes, for instance paid, to the clergy, are a publick charge, the amount of which, surely makes a part of the territorial income, without making a part, however, of the particular income of the land owners.

3dly, Supposing thirty five millions of productive acres, yielding one with another, twenty two livres a year, over and above the charges, advances, and reasonable profits of cultivation; then, the territorial income of England, properly so called, is only about eight hundred and ten millions of livres tournois, comprehending the tythes of the clergy.

4thly, That comprehending all that ought to be taken into the account, our territorial income, is nearly on a level with that of England as to the numerical value.

5thly, The English have no other advantage over us from their territorial income, than that of having a less number of people to divide it among than we have; from whence it follows, that every Englishman one with another, has about twice as much to spend as every Frenchman can do.

Now I have asserted, shown, and demonstrated, 1st. That when the land tax in England is in appearance, at four sols in the livre or $\frac{1}{3}$, it is really at no more than two sols in livre or $\frac{1}{6}$.

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2dly, That

2dly, That the thirty five millions of acres that England may have in culture, do not yield to the proprietors one with another, more than about eleven livres an acre *per annum*, which for that number of acres does not amount to more than three hundred and eighty five millions of livres tournois.

3dly, That upon those three hundred and eighty five millions, the proprietors are further obliged to pay their part of the taxes upon objects of daily consumption, and to pay their part of the land tax likewise, which amounts comprehending the Roman catholics, who pay double, to about thirty nine millions of livres tournois, houses paying of this tax, no more than about nine millions of livres, because they are rated at one twentieth of what they let for, while the land actually pays one tenth of the rent.

4thly, ^P The territorial income of Scotland yields nothing to England; on the contrary, Scotland subsists in some degree by the territorial income of England, either by their intercourse in trade, or by some means or other.

5thly, That the territorial income of Ireland, may perhaps furnish annually to England, fifteen millions of livres at the utmost; but that Ireland by its trade with England gets back those fifteen millions and upwards.

6thly, That

^P *Quere*, Whether the author has been sufficiently informed, with regard to the propositions he lays down relative to Scotland, Ireland and the colonies.

6thly, That it is almost the same thing with regard to the colonies, who by their trade with England, take back almost every thing that their territorial income may yield to England, in some shape or other.

7thly, That the trade of England to the East Indies, is carried on by force of silver and gold, and with a great loss to the nation, which if she were wise, she might easily do without all the trifling and useles things that are brought from thence at great expence, and that are almost all consumed at home. At the same time, I took occasion to shew from hence, that the commerce with the East Indies had been one of the principal causes of the destruction of the Roman empire; and here I shall further add, that if that trade only carried out the silver and gold, that was easily to be got from other places, it would be no great matter: but that it does infinite mischief to the agriculture of the European and cultivating nations.

8thly, That by the course of exchange England looses with Venice, Russia, Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and even at this moment with France; that she gains very little by other trading places, and does not at this very day get so much by Portugal, as she did in the beginning of this century, at which time she paid and maintained a considerable army in Spain.

9thly, That the change of Amsterdam being the hinge upon which all other exchanges turn,
N 3 and

and London having for a long time, and even in times of peace, lost about five *per cent.* by the exchange with Amsterdam, this makes it something more than bare presumption, that England rather loses than gains upon the whole of the general balance.

10thly, That the exportation of silver and gold from England, is at least equal to their importation.

11thly, That since the general re-coinage in 1696, until the 31st December, 1748, England has coined but very little more than nineteen millions sterling; and that trade is very far from having any thing to reclaim upon that sum, seeing that during that same period, England has received in silver and gold, not only a greater sum, but even about half as much more, by the sums of money borrowed from foreigners; and further, that from this sum of about nineteen millions sterling, you must deduct all that was no more than recoined or some other way replaced, and which might amount to about the one half.

12thly, That for more than twenty years past, silver has sold at market about three and a half *per cent.* dearer, allowing even four and a half *per cent.* for the false proportion fixed between gold and silver by the laws of England; and that from thence silver coin became so scarce in 1759, that a respectable citizen proposed to supply the defect by pewter money.

13thly, That

13thly, That for about thirty years past gold has been worth at market, about two and a quarter *per cent.* more than at the mint; and at this time, that surplus price is risen to two and a half *per cent.* which shows that the scarcity of gold increases instead of decreasing. I have at the same time shewn, why silver was in proportion dearer than gold.

14thly, That the six last articles, and especially the two last, are an authentic and incontestible proof, that in time of peace, as well as in time of war, the general expence of England, has for more than twenty years past, been higher than its general receipt.

15thly, That all the warlike expences of England, as well by land as sea, since the revolution of 1688, to the last of December, 1750, amount to about one hundred and eighty millions sterling; but from that sum you must deduct all that may have been spent within the kingdom; and then the exterior expences, putting them at the highest, will not amount to more than about eighty millions sterling, *viz.* during king William's reign; to about twenty millions five hundred thousand pounds; for the war about the Spanish succession about thirty five millions five hundred thousand pounds; and during the reigns of king George the first and second, until the 31st of December, 1750, about twenty four millions sterling.

16thly, That on another hand, the nation owed upon the 31st December, 1750, about seventy five millions sterling; and further, that there

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there had been carried out about the value of four millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling of the specie, that she was possessed of in 1688, and 1696, which two sums added together make about seventy nine millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

17thly, That to equal a balance between the exterior expences on one hand, and the national debt, together with the loss upon the sum total of the specie on the other, is a fresh proof to confirm those formerly given for demonstrating, that the trade of England adds nothing beyond the value of the territorial income, and when this is acknowledged, there is no more to be said upon that head.

18thly, That there can only two objections be made to this last proof; first, that I may perhaps have deceived myself, and not have allowed enough for the exterior expences; and secondly, that in my calculations, I have not reckoned the interest that England has paid for interest due to foreigners, for the sums borrowed from them; which interest, not having been spent within the kingdom, makes no part of the territorial income which she has engaged, and can only be the produce of the profits made by trade.

19thly, That with regard to the first objection, I have taken the utmost care not to lay myself open to it; and further, that I appeal to the printed accounts of the national debt of England, to the printed resolutions of Parliament, and to the whole English nation.

20thly, That

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20thly, That as to the second objection, it is of a very different nature; this therefore must be absolutely destroyed, and to this end, the general and argumentative stated account of England, from 1600 to the 31st December, 1761, must be set forth, by dividing all that long series of years, into seven different epochs, and which the history of England itself, has taken care to remark and distinguish.

21stly, That from 1600 until the restoration of Charles the second in 1660, the balance of exchange was favourable to England one year with another, to the amount of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*;—because Spanish silver circulated more and more throughout all Europe;—because from 1562 queen Elizabeth had permitted the exportation of corn, which had given great encouragement to agriculture, and had moreover delivered England, from the tribute she paid to foreigners, for the corn she took from them before that permission;—because during all that period, the national manners were rigid and austere, and the oeconomy of the nation very great;—because this austerity of manners, and this national oeconomy were the causes of her selling more than she bought; and from hence altogether arose the balance in her favour, and not from what is commonly stiled TRADE, a word, not only extremely equivocal, but actually barbarous and absurd, in the sense that it is now generally understood.

22dly, That

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22dly, That the trifling extravagance introduced at court, by Charles the second, made very little way into the city, and still less into the other parts of the kingdom. That thus, notwithstanding the dissipation, and other things that naturally should have diminished the sales, and increased the purchases of England; the English had nevertheless by exchange, a balance in their favour, from 1660, till 1688, amounting one year with another, to about one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; but that for this balance they were indebted to the egregious blunder that France committed in the beginning of that period, by clogging the exportation of its corn, to enrich England with this valuable branch of trade, for which she could never have any foreign vent; if France would forbid it by opening her own ports.

23dly, That the period beginning and ending with the reign of king William, is that during which England has most enjoyed, what very properly may be called a rich and solid trade, and during which, the balance of exchange was immensely in her favour, so as to produce one year with another about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, the causes of which were as follow, the banishment of all show and trifling luxury, and none other admitted, but what consisted with neatness, decency, convenience, dignity and grandeur.—The great improvement in agriculture.—The increase in the exportation of corn, by the prohibition of exporting our own.—By the diminution in the im-ports

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ports of other commodities, and the increase of their own exports, under the equivocal names of manufactures and industry.—In a word, by a great augmentation in sales, and a great diminution in purchases. From hence it followed, that France on her side, giving into trifling expence of every kind, and having prohibited the exportation of her corn, gained battles, took towns, ravaged the enemy's country, impoverished herself, and made a wretched peace; while on the contrary, England lost battles, suffered towns to be taken, and her allies to be plundered, enriched herself, and made an advantageous peace for herself, and her allies. That nevertheless the exterior expences of the war and the interest paid abroad, swallowed up all the aforesaid annual balance, of about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which for fourteen years, make about twelve millions sterling; and not only so, but England was obliged to mortgage her soil, and territorial income, not only to foreigners, but to her own subjects, for about ten millions sterling.

24thly, That after the death of king William, there was less frugality in the manners of the nation. The throne was filled by a woman; and with an exception to queen Elizabeth, a female reign, was never that of national œconomy.—Parliaments meeting annually from 1688, the women during queen Anne's reign began to put themselves upon a footing of accompanying their husbands to the capital, and making a splendid appearance there; this was sufficient to break in upon the frugality of manners, without introducing

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ducing as yet, much trifling extravagance.—The new East-India company, established since 1698, increased its power more and more, and insensibly created a taste for the childish and expensive luxury of China, the daily and pernicious use of tea, and a fondness for several other miserable and exotic follies.—That from these three causes it followed, that upon the whole, the purchases of the nation encreased in a much greater proportion than the sales did, although trade in general encreased and extended itself, and that the merchants, more especially the directors of the India company did make vast profits.—Although the the balance of trade with Portugal was at the highest pitch it ever had been, and although the exportation of corn went on daily increasing. That in consequence of this great increase, both in purchases and sales, the annual balance of exchange which had amounted to about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling during king William's reign, did not during the period of the war for the Spanish succession amount at the utmost, to more than about five hundred and eighty thousand pounds, which was about two hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year, one with another, less than it had been.

25thly, That this last annual balance of about five hundred and eighty thousand pounds, has been more than totally swallowed up by the interest paid to foreigners, for money borrowed from them, to carry on the two wars against France; so that, these two wars have stripped the nation of all the balance created in her favour,
by

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by her exchange, her œconomy, her labour, and by the improvement of her agriculture, and consequently, by the superior value of her sales to that of her purchases from the revolution of 1688, to the beginning of 1716.

26thly, That from the beginning of 1716, to the end of 1738, England enjoyed profound peace, tranquillity and plenty. That a great benefit arose from the Assiento ship, the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies, and from the far greatest part of the fishery of North America, all which were valuable presents made to her by the treaty of Utrecht. That her trade has been extended to all parts of the globe, and that she has covered the ocean with the ships belonging to her colonies, her India company, and every part of her dominions. That there have been years in the course of which, she has exported corn to the value of about three millions sterling. But, then the national frugality of her manners; however has been much less, than it had formerly been; so that, far from availing herself of peace, and the encrease of her sales, in such manner, as to save enough to pay off a great part of her debt, she on the contrary, has encreased her purchases in the same proportion as her sales; has only paid off about three hundred thousand pounds sterling of her debt, and the balance in her favour (which it at the highest has not been more than equal to that of the preceding period) has not been by near two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling,
sufficient

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sufficient to pay the interest she owed to foreigners.

27thly, That England intoxicated with false ideas of trade, and over ruled by the merchants grown rich at her expence (seeing that all must come out of the territorial income) and by their wealth become arrogant babbling politicians; that England, I say, cryed out with mad and clamorous insolence for the last war with Spain; and that from the very moment that war was declared, she lost the benefit of the Affiento ship, and of the interloping trade with the Spanish West Indies, which on one hand lessened her sales, while on the other, it did not lessen her purchases—That at the same time, the great concourse and extravagance of women, and their long residence in the capital, gave a new turn to manners in general, a turn for trifling and dissipation, which quickly spread itself among all ranks of people, and which by still lessening the total of national sales, did greatly encrease that of the national purchases. That this change of manners nevertheless, had not all the bad effect that it might have had, because it had only come to its highest pitch, towards the end of that period, and because the Roman catholicks excepted, the other nonconformists who in England are very numerous, were preserved from it by the principles of their religion.—That on another hand, the evil was in some measure compensated by an exportation of corn, to the value of more than eight millions sterling,

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sterling, during the last five years of the period of the last war.—And that thus the annual balance of exchange was still about three hundred thousand pounds sterling one year with another, which however makes it near two hundred and ninety thousand pounds sterling, less than it was during the long period of peace, and less, by about five hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling than it was, under the frugal reign of king William, at which time, the exportation of corn was not so great.—That it is also to be observed, that this balance of exchange, to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the period of the last war, has not been sufficient to pay the interest due to foreigners; to discharge which, the nation has been obliged to encrease its debt near seven millions sterling, over and above her exterior expences.—That the nation therefore was bewitched in bearing with, and maintaining the arrogance and insolence of its trading orators, in undertaking a war for the sake of a parcel of privateers and monopolizers,—a war which could not but lessen the value of her sales; and giving herself up to a trifling extravagance, that could not but encrease the value of its purchases; thus disabling herself from paying even the interest of her debt, at the very time she should have made it a capital point to pay, not only the interest, but the capital of this debt by keeping quiet, and by a system of œconomy.

28thly, That

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28thly, That false and absurd luxury having got to a monstrous height at the conclusion of the last war, it was vigorously attacked by many periodical writers, and was most severely censured in the pastoral letters of the wise and learned prelate, who then filled the see of London; and that even the legislature itself thought it a duty to apply some remedy to it. That all this, however, only served to make it shew itself in a different form; for becoming something more decent it extended itself further, and penetrated even [into all the different counties, and has thereby become much more expensive to the nation.—That the loans made abroad during the last war, having some how or other furnished England with several millions sterling, *this destructive supply*, with more to it, vanished so quickly, and in so short a time, that in 1753, and in 1754; the scarcity of specie was extremely great in London, whilst guineas sent out for the payment of part of the balance of exchange, were very common in French and Austrian Flanders.—That in the midst of these circumstances with regard to the interior of England a kind of triumvirate formed itself, that undertook to plunge her into the present war, and which after a great opposition; could fall upon no other method for carrying the point, but by getting the nation to act the part of pyrates, other circumstances upon the continent contributing at the same time greatly thereto.—That rating the exterior expences at the highest, and putting them at twenty millions sterling until the

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the 31st of December 1761, England then for the last eleven years had a balance in her exchanges against her that has amounted to near three hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, one year with another, and of about five hundred thousand pounds, if you calculate the exterior expences at eighteen millions sterling only.—That this same balance would reach, either to near seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, or nearly to nine hundred thousand; if instead of following Sir Matthew Decker, and of rating foreigners as creditors of two fifths of the national debt, you only consider them as many Englishmen themselves do, as creditors for one third of this debt.—That, be this as it may, it still remains very sure, that since the beginning of 1751, it has been by borrowing only, that England has been enabled to pay the interest of the sums she owes abroad; and that at the same time, the balance of exchange has been against her, to the amount of more than three hundred thousand pounds sterling, one year with another.

29thly, That from the general and argumentative stated account of England, that I have given from 1600, to the 31st of December, 1761, all the several consequences that I have set down do manifestly result; the two last whereof, and which may serve as summaries for all the others, are as follow,—that England has at this day, a balance with regard to her foreign trade against her; that she borrows great sums; that she even

borrows

borrowed to make good the interest due to foreigners, and that this is not only so, but likewise goes on encreasing ever since she has given herself up to trifling extravagance, and has extended her trade to all quarters of the globe.—That the payment of the interest due abroad, cannot be placed to the account of the extent, and profits of her foreign trade, seeing, that without encroaching upon her capital, this interest has been made good at the time only, when she had least trade; whereas, this payment was alone the produce of the frugality and savings of the nation; for, from the time these virtues no longer subsisted, this payment could be made no other way but by encroaching upon the capital, and by borrowing in order to pay, which is always the case of those who spend more than they have coming in.

30thly, That from 1688 England has encreased her expences of every kind, in a much larger proportion, than she has augmented her territorial income.—That this income which I at first fixed at eight hundred and ten millions of livres, is now no more than nominal, a very wide breach having been made in it.—That at the time of her greatest œconomy, she had no more than a balance of about eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling in her favour by her exchange.—That this balance in her exchange is at present absolutely against her, and further, that she cannot owe less abroad, than about one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling

sterling a year, for the interest of the sums she has borrowed, *supposing foreigners to be creditors for one third of the national debt only.*—That it is extremely difficult to recover that national frugality of manners which she stands so much in need of, and which a great part of the nation would nevertheless look upon as pronouncing sentence of death against them.—That it is at this instant, in our power to deprive her of that rich and valuable exportation of corn which she is indebted to our pure liberality for, and from which for near one hundred years, she has derived the greatest part of her wealth and strength.—That by depriving her of this, we should enrich ourselves more and more, and reduce her to her natural state of mediocrity, by resuming that superiority over her, which, in the order of nature is due to us.—That this is the case, and supposing that she should think of carrying on the war for some time longer, there is no ruinous operation whatever, that she would not be drawn into, by the necessity she would be under, of borrowing more money, not only to defray the expence of the war, but to pay the interest due to foreigners, and even to support her home and foreign trade upon the footing it now is.—That this necessity would still grow greater upon her, if the war should penetrate into the interior parts of Portugal and Spain, and even if England should be obliged to abandon Portugal and her other allies.—Such is the fate attending every nation, that not content with the rich and substantial trade, that the

cultivation of their lands afford them, who would still engross more trade to themselves, than nature in her eternal and irrefragable decrees has allotted to them, who possessed by the demon of avarice and lucre; take foreign mercenaries into their pay, in order to extend their commerce by force of arms; for, like the Carthagenians, such people only dig a pit for themselves, in which they sooner or later, and all at once are swallowed up.

31stly, That by so many different proofs linked in with one another, and which support and strengthen one another reciprocally, and tend all to the same point, I have evidently demonstrated, that I was well founded, when in our conversation I laid it down as a position, that the trade of England does not yield any thing above the amount of its territorial income; and that having shewn to what that income may amount, the produce of her trade will be found swallowed up in it, and that nothing further remains to be said upon that head.—That I have shewn that England at this very instant carries on no trade but with a diminution of her territorial income; because, she buys more than she sells, and is obliged to pay interest for the balance against her, occasioned by the exceedings of her purchases.—That to compleat the demonstration of my proposition, and to make it in some degree mathematical, nothing further is wanted, but to throw further light upon the article of the national debt, which is the only
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one that I have not as yet been able to clear up perfectly to you.

32dly, In consequence of this, that the sums lent by foreigners, could not be the produce of any profits or savings in which England can any otherwise be concerned, than by *their* having lent her so much.—That these foreigners by lending these sums are become *usu fructuaries* of her territorial income, and in some measure co-proprietors of her soil.—That nevertheless, they have no other security for this co-enjoyment and this co-proprietty but the good faith of the nation, and strictly speaking, they have not that neither, their mortgage upon the territorial income of England, being by the immutable laws of nature absolutely ideal, and as even the bare idea of this mortgage, may in an instant be extinguished for ever, by the total annihilation of the debt.

33dly, That the interest paid to foreigners for sums borrowed from them, is an actual diminution of the particular income of the proprietors of lands, who only are answerable for it; and that it likewise is an effective diminution of the territorial income of the nation, which no longer receives any benefit from it, because it is spent out of the kingdom.—Thus with regard this interest, the nation is to foreigners, respectively in the same case, as a vassal is to his lord, the only difference is, that the nation may, though not with impunity, yet without
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fear of the halter, forfeit her honour, and in some degree assassinate its lord by refusing to pay him his just demands.

34thly, That although the sums lent by the subjects of England are certainly the produce of the profits and savings of a part of the nation, it is nevertheless true, that these sums have absolutely sprung from the territorial income, either at the particular expence of land owners; or, from the particular savings of a small number of those land owners.—That the produce of the savings last mentioned, has been very inconsiderable; and that almost all the rest has arisen from the exorbitant profits, made directly or indirectly upon the land owners, by directors of privileged companies, and other rich merchants, by bankers, Jews, brokers, stock-jobbers, and a swarm of drones and blood suckers of the nation.—That these exorbitant profits have been chiefly made under the favour of absurd laws, that eventually protect plundering, are thereby destructive to what may truly be called commerce, and to the nation in general, and have given scope to all the sons of mammon, to copy after a dishonest steward, who makes all the haste he can to rob his master, in order to lend him his own money at interest.—That the nation has been blind, inconsiderate mad enough, not to see that war would entirely strip her of the riches thus got together, in bellowing with clamour and insolence for the last war with Spain, and in endeavouring by this war,

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war, to justify and protect the plunder of a heap of privateers, and of a band of monopolizers and usurers, whose only views were to enrich themselves by robbing the nation, and sinking her into a bottomless pit.—That the great sums that have been borrowed among the subjects of the nation, have encouraged a great number of its citizens to lead a life of celibacy and idleness at the expence of the nation.—That these loans have given rise to a new kind of monopoly in favour of rich merchants, who have made use of it to encrease their fortunes more and more, at the expence of the particular income of the land owners.—In short, that the constituting a great capital, got and lent by English subjects, together with monopolies, and the usurious contracts that have assisted and contributed to it, may, for the reasons that I have already given, bring many more terrible evils on the nation, than the actual and visible loss of the capital due to foreigners could possibly do.—That this is a fire smothering under the ashes, and which may every moment burst out into a violent flame, the first and least effect of which would according to the unalterable laws of justice effectually ruin every individual national creditor.

35thly, And lastly, That the interest paid to the resident national creditors, being supposed to be spent within the kingdom, it ought to be looked upon as making a part of the territorial income; but nevertheless, as it neither is, nor can be paid, but by a diminution of the particular

income of the land owners, there is no one kind of evil that their capital can possibly bring upon the nation, but what *they* must necessarily become sharers in.

After all this long recapitulation, in which as I foresaw, I have been forced to be frequently guilty of tautology, yet I have many essential things still left to urge. It is not sufficient, Sir, to have removed your mistake; I must show you the origin and cause of it, and confirm you in the knowledge of the true principles of commerce, which will oblige me to ascend to the very beginning of time, in order to establish these principles upon the ancient and immoveable foundations of nature. I must also make you better acquainted with England, and shew that country to you, such as it really is with regard to trade, and convince you that according to her laws and customs, she cannot, though she would, carry on that kind of trade which consists altogether of freight, manufactures, and industry. This last article will naturally lead me, to speak to you of the duties laid upon objects of daily consumption in England. From thence, as I have promised, I shall undertake to shew you the mischief that these taxes assuredly cause to the nation, and prove to you by incontrovertible facts, that the proprietors of lands would be very considerable gainers, by taking upon themselves to pay directly, out of their own incomes, all the expences of government, as the famous and judicious Mr. Locke formerly advised them to do. Lastly, I must

must unfold to you the resources that England has, and which to say the truth, are indeed many and great. It remains to point out to you the ease with which she could carry them into execution, if we should suffer her to act according to her own will and pleasure, and the ease likewise with which, and even in the midst of war, we could oppose our resources to hers, and by this means enrich ourselves, resume our natural strength, restrain her within the bounds of just mediocrity, and maintain ourselves in that state of importance and superiority which becomes, and of right belongs to us, by the extent and situation of our soil, as well as by the variety and excellence of the productions of the soil, some of which has received an exclusive privilege, from the hands of nature herself. But my letter already makes up a volume, and it is time to conclude it; pray permit me then to defer till another opportunity, treating the several points that I have just touched upon; give me leave to lay down my pen, after begging you to be assured
Etc.

P O S T-

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE observed page 20, that antecedent to the revolution in 1688, the price of corn had been higher in England, than it had been at any time since. The common price of the *quarter* of wheat, was actually at two pounds ten shillings and two pence sterling during the forty three years preceding this revolution; whereas, since that period, it has only been at two pounds two shillings and three pence, so that it has fallen about one seventh.

Page 127, I have said, that between 1715, and the end of 1738, there have been years in which England exported as much corn as amounted to the value of three millions sterling; but the author of the elements of commerce, quoting several English authors for this assertion, says in the 120th page of the first part of his work, that there have been years, when the bounty granted upon exportation has amounted to five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Now the bounty upon wheat is five shillings per quarter, upon rye three shillings and six pence, and upon barley two shillings

lings and sixpence, which altogether upon an average, is three shillings and eight pence; on another hand, the same author rates all kind of corn at the medium price of one pound eight shillings sterling, which makes the medium of the bounty a small matter more than two fifteenths of the medium price of corn, and then five hundred thousand pounds sterling paid for the bounties during the course of one year, will make the value of the corn exported, about three million eight hundred thousand pounds, instead of three millions sterling, as I have said page 141.

Careful as I always am, to make my calculations rather too low than too high, and to affirm nothing but what I have authority for; I must observe, that this same author says in the same page 120, what I have said in the 141st page of my letter, *viz.* that in 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749 and 1750, the English have annually exported corn to the amount of more than one million six hundred thousand pounds, one year with another.

Can there then be a more noble manufacture, or a richer branch of trade found out, than the manufacture and trade of corn? Is it not evidently true, that it is this manufacture, and this branch of trade that have actually supported England, and have been the source both of its power and its strength, ever since we have been so infatuated as to deprive ourselves of it? The state which abounds most in corn, abounds most in strength
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and power; this Monsieur Melon^a has said in the most striking part of this work, and Socrates said it long before him in his second book of Plato's republic; to lay the foundation of which republick, He, in the first place, requires a number of labouring hands, but when he proposes the aggrandizement, the encrease of population, and the introduction of commerce into it, he then requires a much greater number of husbandmen and labouring hands: we ought not then to loose a moments time in recovering this manufacture and trade of corn from the English, which as I have said more than once, they never could have availed themselves of, if we had been wise enough to have availed *ourselves* of it in the manner we might and should have done. An opposition to a measure so salutary to France, and which, as things are at present circumstanced, would be infinitely more fatal to England than the loss of ten battles; such an opposition, I say, cannot proceed from any thing but involuntary error only, and it is not indeed possible to think otherwise about it. But this error is truly a very terrible one, strengthening itself perpetually with fresh delusions, and which (meerly to tire out its opponents) is incessantly bringing forth a heap of false reasonings, that are in the highest degree
frivolous

^a Perpetual Secretary of the academy of Bourdeaux, appointed such by its founder the Duc de la Force, Melon was employed in very important affairs by the court of France, and he wrote a treatise, entituled, *Essai politique sur le commerce*; he died at Paris 1738.

frivolous and childish; this I am experiencing, being just now attacked with one of these wretched arguments, that may with propriety be called an insult upon reason and common sense; here it is.

The author of the elements of commerce, in the first part of it, and page 124, speaking no-wise affirmatively, but only hypothetically, having nothing in view, but meerly the law by which a bounty is granted, and never taking into his consideration those other laws that are incorporated with it, and which are inseparable from it; this author, I say, zealous defender as he is, of the liberty of a free corn trade, has imagined that there is a possibility of fraudulently importing foreign corn into England, in order to obtain the bounty upon the exportation of it afterwards. Now those that maintain this error, relying upon the authority of so groundless a conjecture, have pretended that the great exportation of corn from England is absolutely fictitious; that the greatest part of this corn has been imported fraudulently, and consequently that the corn trade is so far from being a profit to the kingdom, is really and truly a loss to it. It is necessary therefore to confute this fallacious and absurd argument, and to show, that there are not the least grounds for the supposition, from whence it borrows all the force it has. To this end I shall examine and discuss the different laws of England, relating to the importation and exportation of corn; and although it is irksome, to be obliged

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liged to go to the bottom of such dry and unentertaining matter merely to encounter ridiculous fancies, I shall however, execute the task with pleasure, because the result of it will be a clear and full proof of the impracticability of the fraud.

Now this fraud, supposing a possibility of its existing, could not be carried on any other way, than 1st. By exporting corn, the growth of the kingdom, upon which the bounty might be obtained, and by bringing it back again clandestinely, instead of carrying it to a foreign market. 2dly, By smuggling foreign corn into the kingdom, in order to obtain the bounty upon the exportation of it afterwards.

These then are the only two kinds of fraud that can be supposed; and it is impossible to carry either one or the other of them into execution; I shall begin with examining the first.

The bounty upon the *quarter* of wheat Winchester measure, is about the value of one hundred and twenty French sols, when the price is at no more than forty eight shillings sterling. — Upon the *quarter* of rye, about eighty four sols, when the price does not exceed thirty two shillings sterling — And for the *quarter* of barley, about sixty sols same money, when the price of the quarter does not exceed twenty four shillings.

Corn

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Corn is a very bulky commodity, and cannot be removed without a great deal of visible operation. — Wheat, rye, and barley, being nearly of the same specifick weight.

The quarter of wheat Winchester measure, weighs five hundred and twelve pounds Troy, of twelve ounces, the ounce consisting of four hundred and eighty grains; and the bounty upon it being only one hundred and twenty French sols, does not amount to a liard (which is three French deniers) for each pound Troy weight. — As to rye, supposing it nearly of the same weight, the bounty then will not amount to quite two French deniers, — and for barley supposing always the same weight to a denier and a half. Now, if I can prove, that it is impossible to think of exporting the wheat of England, in order to obtain the bounty and to bring it into the kingdom again clandestinely, I shall have more fully proved the same thing with regard to rye, and to barley; the article of wheat therefore is the only one, that I shall now discuss.

A merchant cannot obtain the bounty upon corn, till he has given bond to export to some foreign market, the same quantity he declares at the custom-house, under the penalty of about nine livres, twelve sols of France *per quarter*; and not till he produces a certificate signed and sealed by the principal magistrate of the place, where the same corn has been landed and sold,
or

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or by two well known English merchants residing in the same place; unless legal proof be brought that the ship upon which the corn was loaded, has been taken by the enemy, or has foundered at sea.

Thus then, to be able to commit the fraud in question; you must, 1st. Deceive or corrupt, either some principal magistrate abroad, or two considerable merchants.—2dly, To be able to smuggle so bulky a commodity back again into the kingdom, the carriage of which is too operose to be performed secretly, and which every English peasant has a personal interest in discovering, and giving information about, which is a point well worthy consideration.—3dly, To risque not only a great and heavy penalty, and his credit likewise in a point, that cannot but incense the whole nation.—4thly, To engage in such a fraud, by which little or nothing may be got, but something perhaps lost; seeing that the charges of loading, unloading, removing, ware-house room, and the expence of deceiving or bribing those persons whose certificate it is necessary to obtain, must needs swallow up almost the whole trifling bounty, of less than a liard for each pound Troy weight of wheat: now surely it is not consistent with common sense, to think that a merchant that is in a condition to carry on a considerable corn trade, would run such risques, and hazard his ruin, and the loss of his reputation, and after all get nothing by it; and as to petty traders it is very

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very evident, that though they were ever so well inclined, yet they could not run the same risques, because they have not wherewithal to do it. This kind of fraud therefore is not practicable, and the other is still less; as I shall immediately demonstrate.

When the price of the *quarter* of wheat does not exceed forty eight shillings, every *quarter* pays about one hundred and twenty eight French sols upon importation: When rye is at no more than thirty two shillings the *quarter*, it pays upon entry, about four livres sixteen sols; and while barley does not exceed the price of twenty eight shillings, it pays about three livres four sols upon entry.

No license can be granted for the carrying out of any foreign corn, after it has been once imported into England. Whoever does export it, is liable not only to a confiscation of the corn, the ship or vessel, together with her guns, tackle, and furniture; but also to a penalty of eight pounds sterling, for every *quarter* thus exported, be the kind of corn whatever it will; and further, every one of the whole crew, who should be convicted of having knowingly and willingly been concerned in the fraud, shall be liable to three months imprisonment, without bail or main prize.

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To be able then to commit this fraud, it is necessary—1st, To smuggle into the kingdom a commodity, which as I have before said, is very bulky, and the carriage of which is too operose to be performed secretly, and which every English peasant has a strong personal interest in discovering and giving information about.—2dly, To bribe the whole ship's crew, without being ever sure that some one or other of them will not repent, and lodge an information.—3dly, To risque the forfeiture of the ship, and the heavy penalty of eight pounds sterling for every *quarter*, which does not make quite two *setiers* Paris measure.—4thly, Apparently to hazard, being ruined and rendered odious and contemptible to the whole kingdom, and for what? only to gain a denier at most by every pound of wheat, and less by every pound weight of rye and barley, from which however, is to be deducted all manner of charges and necessary expence, even supposing a speculative probability of success.

People do not easily bring themselves to commit such a fraud, and engage in a smuggling trade, when the profits in view are so inconsiderable, and at the same time so difficult to be obtained, and when they fail so ruinous in their consequences. Whoever would embark in such undertaking, should first consider, what reasonable prospect there is of succeeding in it, and what mighty profits may be made by it; now neither one nor the other of these can take place
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in carrying on a fraudulent corn trade in England, and such therefore are not known. In fact, it would be impossible for any one whatever, to produce ten instances since 1689, of such fraud being committed, and proved by a regular prosecution in the English court of exchequer; whereas, many are the instances that may be brought and proved of the frauds committed in the importation and exportation of tobacco. But—1st, Frauds in the tobacco trade, consist only in a visible importation and exportation; and running it afterwards back into the kingdom.—2dly, Although tobacco is a bulky commodity, the package and removal of it, is infinitely more easy than that of corn.—3dly, Every English subject has a particular interest in favouring and conniving at the re-landing of tobacco clandestinely.—4thly, The profit including charges and risque, being less than a liard upon each Troy pound weight of wheat, is more than twelve French sols upon every pound of tobacco of the same weight. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the laws relating to the tobacco trade should be sometimes evaded and broke through; while those relating to corn, can neither be broke through nor evaded. There are therefore no grounds for opposing the re-establishment of a free corn trade, by relying upon the authority of a mere supposition that has not the least existence, and whoever would make use of this or any such other method, might have the beginning of Cicero's first oration against Catiline applied to them,
them,

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them, and hear is said to them; *Quò usque tandem, ignarissimi aut infestissimi hominum, abutemini vel inscitia, vel patientia civium vestrorum? Non-ne videtis, non ne sentitis omnia vestra patere consilia?*

F I N I S.

The Translator having been at a Distance from the Press, the Editor hopes the candid Reader will excuse some few typographical Errors.