54-25

LETTER

RIGHT HONOURABLE Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

FOR

Re-establishing the Woollen Manufactu-RIES of Great Britain upon their ancient Footing, by encouraging the LINEN MANU-FACTURIES of Ireland.

ALSO,

For Reducing the PAY of the ARMY, encouraging the PRINTING PRESS, renewing the TRADE to France upon the Tariff of 1664, and relieving those unfortunate British Merchants that have been ruin'd by the Spanish Guarda de la Costas.

WITH

A Short OBSERVATION upon the DRAW-BACK upon TOBACCOES.

By CHARLES FOREMAN, Efq;

To which is added,

A POSTSCRIPT to His FRIENDS, shewing some of the Reasons he had for the late SUBMISSION he sent to Sir ROBERT.

LONDON:

Printed for T. WARNER at the Black Boy in Pater-noster-row. MDCCXXXII.

[Price One Shilling.]

7

(3)

A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, &c.

SIR,

S I hope that the compleat Submission contain'd in my Letters to you of the 12th of December and 21st of January last, has calmed your Anger against me, and soft-en'd your Resentments, I humbly presume I may now address you in publick in behalf of our Trade, without giving any new Subject of Offence, or incurring the least Imputation of any latent, unfair Design to impose upon or insnare you. No, Sir, I have no such ungenerous, dishonourable Intentions; I disdain all double Dealing in the Case; my Submission was sincere and voluntary; I am determin'd to act up to it for the future; and, as I lately ask'd your Pardon in private, I now do it before all the World: But as I have also several Acquaintances in Britain, upon whose Esteem I set no ordinary Value, permit me, by way of Postscript to this Letter, to give them my Reasons for doing so. I likewise beg leave to introduce the Subjects, upon which I now take the liberty to write to you, by another Postscript to one of my Letters to a certain noble Lord, dated the 8th of last Month: It was in the following Words. " PS. My (4)

" P. S. My Lord, our News Papers inform us "that the Parliament is going to pass an Act a-" gainst the Running of Wool. I take leave upon "this Occasion to think, that Peregrine English's " Letter to Mr. Fog, and some other Pieces of " mine have very much contributed to haften fo " necessary and so good a Work: But I have also " reason to apprehend the Danger to which it ex-" poses me. Besides the Plan I gave to Sir Ro-" bert Sutton, when he was Embassadour here in " the Year 1721, I also publish'd Proposals, with " my Name to them, printed in London, in the " beginning of the Year 1728, to prevent the Run-" ning of Wool. Now, my Lord, the Consequence " of passing this Act, I mean in regard of my " felf, will be that those Countries which got our "Wool from us, will naturally look back to the " Person who first set this Affair upon the Tapis, " and it's easy to imagine what he may expect " from them: I am that Person, and seem to have " been born expressly to suffer for my Country; " but I hope that Sir Robert will not let me be "the Victim of this Business. To do so would " be a Cruelty to me, as well as a Dishonour and " an Injustice to the British Nation, of which I "can never think him capable, and of which I " am perfectly farisfy'd he will never give me oc-" casion to complain.

Sir, as I have mention'd Peregrine English's Letter to Mr. Fog, inserted in his Journal of the 21st of November, 1730, I cannot pretend to conceal my self any longer from being known to be the Author of it, tho' that Journalist lintle knew whose work it was he published: And as the active Mr. Osbourne immediately pick'd up some Bear garden Correspondent to answer me, I was resolv'd that such a Piece of Scurrility, and so insolent an Attack upon the Interest of my Country, as he pub-

(5)

lish'd upon that Occasion, should not pass without being reprov'd and expos'd in the Manner it deferved. Had the London Journal of the 12th of December 1730 been sent to me in due time, I would have reply'd to it soon enough for the succeeding Session of Parliament, but my Correspondent being out of Town when that renowned Journal made its Appearance, I did not see it till the following June, and then a Reply to it would have been too late for that Year, and it might perhaps have been forgotten before the Parliament affembled again. However I prepared one for this Seffion, in two Letters, address'd to the Merchants of Great Britain, whose Experience have render'd them the best Judges of Disputes of such a Nature. The Letters were long, and, I believe, contain'd many Points, which had not only escaped the Obfervation of the Publick, but even the Vigilance, or at least the Attention of the ablest of our Ministers; for Mr. Osbourne's Advocate had advanced so many Untruths, committed so many Blunders, and given so many Openings against his Favourites, that I could not, in Justice and Duty to my Country, avoid exposing them in their proper Colours. These Pieces were design'd to be publish'd about a Month after the Meeting of the Parliament, or, at least, as soon as the Number of Troops should be fixed, and the Money granted for the Service of the current Year; but my Submission intervening, I deliver'd up the 27th day of last January the very Manuscripts design'd for the Press, not doubting but they would produce the same good Effect by your private Perusal of them that their appearing in Print would do. By so ingenuous a Proceeding in me you will please to observe, Sir, that I had nothing in View but the Service of my Country in that Undertaking, without the leaft Regard either to the Profit that might accrue to me as an Author, or the Triumph

umph I might reasonably have expected in so honest a Cause, over a saucy and unprovok'd, as well as evil intention'd Adversary.

Another Instance of the Sincerity with which I design'd to act with you, was the Order I sent to London, dated a Week before my Submission. to stop the printing of some Remarks I had made upon the Free Briton of the 1st and 15th of July, 1731; those Remarks I have likewise directed to be deliver'd up to a Gentleman, in whose Honour I have confided upon fo delicate an Occasion, that they may be brought back to me to Paris, where I every Day expect them. If there is any thing more in my Power, becoming a Man of Honour, which you may think still wanting to a thorough Reparation, you cannot be fo ready to command as I shall be to perform it. In the mean time permit me to return to the Affair of our Wool.

A few Weeks after delivering up the above mention'd Manuscripts address'd to the Merchants of Great Britain, I had the Pleasure to see a British Parliament taking the deplorable Case of our Woollen Manufacturers under their Confideration, and preparing an Act to prevent their Destruction, by preventing the Running of Wool. Instead of repenting of the Confidence I had placed in your Honour and Justice to your Country, when I parted with those Pieces, I was charm'd to find that I had not been mistaken; and were it not to do you Justice, in regard to that fatal Difference I have had with you, I would likewise have sent you this Letter in Manuscript; but then, Sir, how would the Publick be fatisfy'd, that either you had Generofity enough to pardon fo bold and fo open an Enemy as I have been to you, or I the Courage to own that I have been in the Wrong, in mistaking you for the Object of a Revenge, which wanted no other Article but that of being rightly directed

(7)

to make it just and laudable, in many Respects, fince it was for the Preservation of my Family and

Service of my Country?

How much the prefent Wool-Act may contribute to the Latter, is what I cannot divine, because I have neither seen nor been told any thing of the nature of it; but I believe that I may, without Vanity, assume to my self a great part of the Honour of getting that Affair brought into the House. I began with that Business in the Year 1721, and have pursued it ever since, either in my own Name, or under borrowed ones, both in publick and private; and all the Recompence I have hitherto met with, has been bad Words, and fuch Usage as I thought any Nation upon Earth would have been alarmed at, and, in good Policy and Justice to it self, have prevented the Progress of. But, Sir, Complaints aside. Your Generofity can make ample Amends for what I have unjustly suffer'd for my Endeavours to serve Great Britain, especially since I have now acquitted my felf of the Duty of a Gentleman and a Christian, and done what depended on me, by asking your Pardon when I was assured I had wronged you, in thinking and calling you the Author of my Ruin.

Our Wool is of such Importance to the Nation, that I have often wonder'd why the clandestine Exportation of it was not made High Treafon, not only in the principal Offenders, but even in all the Accomplices; and I cannot fee, why Wool-Runners, should not be more severely punished than even Highwaymen and private Murderers; fince the latter are but petty Rogues, if compared with the former, who rob the whole Nation, and starve, confequently murder, thousands of Families in it, that they may enrich themselves. I have also been as often and as much surprized, that we

The other Instance of Industry I am going to give is from the Dutch, and which I am most humbly of Opinion Great Britain might find a great Advantage in imitating. Though Holland is

Manufacture.

~~((vg^));

much moister than either Britain or Ireland, and very near the fifth part of it taken up with Rivers. Canals, Drains, Ponds, Meers, and other Waters. yet 'tis rare to fee a wainfcoted Room in the whole Country; though the Dutch can wainfcot abundantly cheaper than we can, by reason of their Saw-Mills, either with Walnut, Oak or Firr; yet their Walls are generally covered with some of their own Manufactures; that is to fay, with Tiles, white or painted; or fine Verdures, in which they equal the French themselves; or Linen, printed in Imitation of Verdures, or else raised with beautiful Flowers and Designs of various and delighful Colours and Figures; and all that only with the Waste of the Woollen Manufactures artfully prepared and laid on. They likewise use neat Stuff-Hangings, and other Woollen Manufactures; gilt Leather, or rich Tapestries, all made in Holland. So careful is that wife Government to encourage Labour and keep the Poor employed! Sir, might not England do the same? If none but ground Rooms were permitted to be wainfcoted, Fires would be less mischievous than they are, and we should have less Occasion for Deal-Boards from Norway, and for Oak, Wainscot and Walnut from Holland, of which, though not their own Growth, the Dutch make a good Profit by felling them to us. By fuch a Method, a vast deal of our Wool would be employed in hanging of Rooms, which, besides the Multitudes it would set to Work, would be no inconfiderable Means to prevent the Exportation of that precious Commodity. I am very fenfible that the House-Painters and Joiners will not be very well pleased with me for this Propofal; but they ought to consider that the Woollen Manufacturies bring Money into Britain; the more they flourish, the richer the Nation grows; and when the Nation is rich, there will always be Work Work enough for House-Painters and Joiners; but if it is poor, there will be little or nothing for them to do. Every thing is an Advantage to the Kingdom that contributes to keep a Lock of unmanusactured Wool from going abroad, and this Method would keep many thousands of Stones of it at home, which will otherwise help the Dutch to stock foreign Markets with their Woollen Manusactures, in prejudice of our own.

Sir, when I talk of Wool in general, I include the Irish Wool, because it cannot be lawfully carried any where but to England, so that every Lock of it that is not manufactured for an Irish Consumption, ought to be brought to Britain; nevertheless, the British Markets are certainly those with which the Irish have least troubled their Heads; and, impartially speaking, their Conduct

is not much to be wondered at.

Our Acts of Parliament have prohibited the Exportation of the Irish Woollen Manufactures; they have also confined the Irish to English Markets for their Wool, without permission to carry it any where elfe; and, at the fame time, laid a high Duty upon that Wool. As these are Acts of our Legislature, I will not presume to ask in what the Policy or Good Sense of them consists; but if you please to peruse my first Letter to the British Merchants, you will find that Holland has found her Account in the Restriction which Ireland is under in this Article of Trade, and that the prohibiting the Exportation of the Irish Woollen Manufactures, was one of the principal Causes of the Growth and prodigious Encrease of the Dutch Manufacturies. For my part, I think it less dangerous to prermit the Irish to carry their Woollen Manufactures to foreign Markets, than to fell their Wool abroad, which they will continue to do, as long as there is a Tax upon it in England,

(ii)

England, though a Gallows should be set up for them upon every Acre of Ground in their Coun-

try, and for this the Reason is plain.

In the Year 1725, I fell into Conversation with a very eminent Woollen Manufacturer in the northwest of England, who happen'd to be at that time in Rotterdam. That Gentleman told me that he had lately bought a parcel of Wool at Dublin, for five Shillings a Stone, but that the Duty of it amounted to about nineteen Pence farthing a Stone more, which made it ftand him in fix Shillings and seven Pence farthing a Stone, though the Irish Merchant had but five. This Duty, he faid, would ever be a Clog upon the Woollen Manufacturies of England, and at the same time a great Encouragement to those of Holland: " For, " fays he, a Dutchman can afford to give the " Irish Merchant six Shillings a Stone for the same " fort of Wool, when he pays him in Goods, upon which, perhaps, he makes twenty per Cent. profit himself, and the Irishman twenty per " Cent. more by distributing them over the Coun-" try, and yet have the Wool seven Pence farsthing a Stone cheaper from Ireland, than we " have it; by which Article alone, of the difference of Price, the Dutch will always be able " to undersell us nine per Cent. in all the foreign "Markets of Europe. Whereas, if this Duty upon the Irish Wool was taken off, we could " afford to give the Irish Merchant and Grazier a " living Price for their Wool, and they would " not risk the Exportation of it elsewhere. By this means we should become Masters of " all the valuable Wool of Europe, the Spanish "Wool excepted, which signifies little, without ours to mix with it, and consequently Masters of all the foreign Markets too; and this, at so the same time, would be so far from hurting our English Farmers and Graziers, that, on the contrary, it would be a great Advantage to them, because there would then be a constant Demand upon us for our Manusactures, and we could work off all their Wool as well as the Irish Wool: But the latter going now in great Quantities to Holland, and Holland supplying foreign Markets with Woollen Manusactures, our Trade is quite decayed, and our English Wool either lies rotting at home, or else is smuggled abroad, as well as the Irish Wool, to encrease our Misery and to hasten our Ruin."

Sir, I will not take upon me to fay that this Gentleman reasoned well, but, from my own Knowledge and Experience, I think I may venture to fay that he did not reason very ill; and I am most humbly of Opinion, that it would be much better Policy, and more confiftent with common Sense, to let the Irish cut us out of our Woollen Trade, by fending their Manufactures abroad, than to suffer the Dutch to run away with it from us; because whatever Money comes into Ireland, the greatest part of it will always center in England at last: The richer the Irish Nobility and Gentry are, the more inclined they will be to make a Figure at Court, and spend their Fortunes in London, where there are such Variety of Diverfions and good Company; besides, they will all be fond, and even find it necessary, to give their Children some Touches of an English Education, and these two Articles will always bring the Money of Ireland into England, as Experience already daily demonstrates. In short, if the Loadstone attracts Steel and Iron, the Court, Sir, has the same magnetick Power over Gold and Silver; and we never need to apprehend any Danger from the Riches of the Irish, while they are governed with Equity,

(13)

Equity, and treated like good Subjects. But, on the other hand, should we suffer the Dutch to go on in curtailing our Trade, and let them become Masters of those Riches which ought to accrue to us from the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland; Would those Riches ever circulate in England, as they would certainly do from Ireland? Or would they not rather be employed against us, upon a favourable Occasion to destroy us? But as I have been pretty ample upon the Dutch Woollen Manufactures in my two before-mentioned Letters to the Merchants of Great Britain, I shall enlarge. no farther upon this Topick at prefent, than is necessary to strengthen a Proposal I am going to make, by which, not only the English, but the Irish also may be fully satisfied, the Exportation of the Irish Woollen Manufactures continue prohibited, and the Dutch nevertheless make no manner of Advantage of this Article as they do at pre-

As I have been very curious to inform my felf in every thing that I thought might contribute to the Advantage of Great Britain, especially fince my unhappy Absence from it, or that was really a Detriment to it, I have been lately affured by a Gentleman, whom you your felf know to be a Man well versed in such Affairs, that the Confumption of fine Hollands and Lace in Great Britain, amounts to at least 1,500,000 l. sterling a Year: But, Sir, it is not to the Custom-House Books that we must have recourse to prove this, for a great part of those Goods continue to be run, notwithstanding all the Precautions taken to prevent it. What I most humbly propose then is to prohibit the wearing and using, from a certain fixed Time, Dutch Linen, Lace, Tapes, Thread, and, in short, all the Flax and Hemp Manufactures of Holland and Flanders; and, by

all possible means to encourage those of Ireland and Scotland: This would bring the Irish and Scots Linen Manufactures to fuch Perfection in a few Years, as not only to fatisfy the very nicest of our Beaux, as well as the most difficult of our Belles; but also, instead of carrying vast Sums out, would bring vast Sums into Britain every Year. I am persuaded, Sir, that you do not doubt in the least of the Advantages that would follow the Execution of this Proposal; nevertheless the Dutch have their Friends in Britain, who very probably to divert us from an Undertaking that would be of such Consequence to our Country, will object, that Holland, in return, will prohibit the Importation of our Woollen Manufactures, and the Exportation of Flax and Lintfeed for Ireland and Scotland; and I must confess, that this Objection feems plaufible enough at first View: But the Dutch, to do them the Justice they deferve, are a very wife, cool People; they never do any thing with Precipitation; and I believe they will very maturely weigh the Consequence of fuch a Prohibition before they venture upon so dangerous a Step.

Flax thrives to admiration in Ireland, as every body knows; and, very probably, would do so too in Scotland, with due Encouragement given the People to cultivate it. Most of the Flax and Lintseed which the Irish and Scots take from Holland, the Dutch themselves bring from the Baltick and North-Eastern Countries, where they trade with their Woollen Manufactures, made mostly of British and Irish Wool. If then, the Irish and Scots should, for a few years to come, want a foreign supply of Flax and Lintseed, we can bring it our selves from the Baltick, since we have Commodities to purchase it with as well as the Dutch, and should have a great many more than

(15)

at present, should we put our Trade with France upon its ancient Footing; and that it is our Interest to do so, I shall endeavour to demonstrate in its proper Place.

That Flax and Lint, so purchas'd by us, we might sell to *Ireland* and *Scotland* as cheap as they now have it from *Holland*, and make that Profit by it which the *Dutch* make at present, and, to my certain Knowledge, laugh at us for letting them.

If Holland should prohibit our Woollen Manufactures, where will be the great Loss to Britain, in comparison of the Gain she will make by this Proposal? The Dutch take none but our Medleys and Whites; those in one Colour are already prohibited in Holland. By fending them our Whites, as I have observ'd in my first Letter to the Merchants, in Answer to Mr. Osbourne's scolding Correspondent, we not only discourage but impoverish great Numbers of our own Dyers, Packers and Pressers, at the same time that we encourage and enrich those of Holland. As to our Medleys and other Woollen Manufactures, I have likewise taken notice in the same Letter, that the Dutch make a much better hand of them by fending them to foreign Markets than we do by sending them to Holland; fo that I believe the Dutch will hardly prohibit them, fince they cannot possibly expect to get any more British or Irish Wool to carry on their own Manufacturies with, in sufficient Quantities to support that Branch of their Trade, if the Linen Manufacturies of Ireland and Scotland are encouraged in the Manner I propose.

In respect of our Trade with the Austrian Netherlands, I am afraid that the Ballance is there considerably against us; witness the Plenty of English Gold and Silver rowling about in Flanders and Brabant, notwithstanding the great Quandinian

tities of it sent every Year to Vienna. For the Ballance being against us I beg leave to offer two Reasons: The first is the prodigious Extravagance of a Million and an half a Year which England has fallen into of late Years for fine Linen and Lace from abroad: The latter, without making any great Figure, except one comes up close to it and peeps at it thro' a Microscope, or being in any respect so ornamental and becoming as several Trifles which the best of the Quality wear in France, and shew their good Sense in doing so, drains England of vast Sums of Money every Year to be shared between Flanders and Holland, and is a Canker in the Kingdom which preys upon the very Vitals of it, and which I am most humbly persuaded you will apply some effectual Remedy to, and as humbly hope that my fecond Reason will quicken your Attention. The Dutch, by means of their favourite Barrier, have almost engross'd the Trade of the whole Austrian Netherlands to themselves, so that our Money, rather than our Manufactures, purchases the greatest part of that Linen and Lace, our Extravagance in which is fo lucrative to some of our Neighbours, and so justly ridicul'd by others. While the Netherlands were in the Hands of the Spaniards there might have been some shew of reafon for allowing the Dutch a Barrier in them, but really, Sir, I cannot fee any for fo doing at prefent. Is there any Reason under the Sun to imagine that there ever will be an Union of Interests between those two great Families of Bourbon and Austria? Are not the Germans as good Soldiers, and as capable of defending those Towns as the iDutch? and is not the Empire as much concern'd in the Preservation of them as the Republick of Molland can be, in regard to the common Security of their respective Countries, tho', I consels, not as

(17)

to particular Profit? Certainly, Sir, no Briton in his Senses will answer in the Negative, if he is indued with one Grain of Honesty, or has the least Affection imaginable for his Country. The Dutch' are the only Power in Europe that has Garrisons in the Heart of another Prince's Dominions, and with what View this is done England is but too fensible, and has but too much Reason to be fo. Those Towns have cost her more fince the Peace of Utrecht than they did in taking them from the French. For my part I heartily wish that the Barrier Towns were in the Hands of the Emperor, even tho' we gave the Flemings a Trade to India into the Bargain; for this they would cheerfully take our Woollen Manufactures and other Commodities, exclusive of the Dutch, tho' we took none of their Linen and Lace, since they have other Markets enough to fend them to. If I feem in this to vary from any of the Principles I laid down in my Letter against the Ostend Company, I know how to defend my self if Mr. Osbourne or his Friend should attack me again. If they do, I venture to promise them that they will have no reason to boast of their Success.

Sir, I must beg leave to add a Word or two more to fatisfy our Clothiers, who for want of looking farther, Politicks not being their proper Sphere, may perhaps apprehend, that the prohibiting the use of Dutch and Flemish Linen and Lace might lessen the Exports of our Woollen Manufactures to Holland and Flanders. Should it happen fo for a time, and should the Dutch absolutely prohibit them, which I fay they will not do if they are not out of their Senses, we can send them ourselves to most of those Markets where our Neighbours now carry them; Hamburgh will also make a greater Demand for them to disperse over a great part Of Germany, the Baltick, &c. As to the Austrian Netherlands they are, already, mostly supply'd by the Dutch, by means of those precious Barrier Towns. Our Clothiers ought to consider, besides, that is they become sole Masters of the Irish Wool, as well as their own, no Nation in Europe can hurt them in their Trade. They will then have the Markets of Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the Indies almost wholly to themselves: An Article which I think ought to make them intirely easy in this Point, and which, in all Probability, will be one of the Consequences of encouraging the Linen Manusacturies of Ireland and Scotland.

I have placed the Irish Manufactury first, because it is much more considerable than the other, and, as fuch, by being encouraged as it ought to be, would be attended with fuch Advantages as would foon open a Mine, and prove the Introduction to a Fund for discharging at least ten Millions of our National Debts. It would also set a Multitude of the Irish to work, who are now driven to the Mountains by overgrown Stocks of White and Black Cattle, which take up a great part of the best Land in Ireland, and the fittest for Flax; Employment and Encouragement would foon render those unhappy People more tractable and submisfive to our Laws, and make them as harmless and obedient Subjects as any in his Majesty's Dominions; and this is an Article which I take to be of no light Confideration, fince if we can once make the Bulk of the Old Irish sensible of the Happiness of living under a just, impartial Government, it would be impossible to bring them into any Meafures detrimental to England or the present Establishment, or to persuade them to join with any discontented or turbulent Party that might possibly

(19)

appear in *Ireland*, should any factious Spirits there ever attempt, under a Pretext of Hardships in Trade, to throw off their Dependance upon the

Crown of Great Britain.

Sir, I have done with this Subject at present, because I will not repeat what I have writ elsewhere; but as I have occasionally mention'd our DEBTS, please to give me leave to consider them in a new Light, since it may perhaps be found necessary for the Interest of the Nation and the present happy Establishment that I should do so: And I am persuaded that so honest a Design, as actuates me in this present Undertaking, and so tender a Concern as I have for the languishing Condition of Britain, will not only intitle me to her Approbation in general, but to yours in particular.

As our Trade, under its present Difficulties, can furnish but very uncertain Means, by which to disengage ourselves from our present Incumbrances, I must take notice of an eminent Danger, the hitherto little consider'd, to which those Incumbrances expose us; in doing so shall propose a Principle which, I believe, will not only surprize You but the Generality of Britons, as being a downright Contradiction to an Opinion that has almost universally prevailed from the Revolution

even to this Day.

It has always been stiffly argued by several People, but by none, I confess, so strenuously as by Stock-jobbers and those that make Fortunes in the Alley, that whatever Inconveniences our Debts expose us to, those Inconveniences are amply recompensed by the Security which those Debts are to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover, and the Bar they fix to the Hopes of the Pretender. So many Members of Parliament, say they, so many Tories, nay even so many Jacobites

of Consequence and Figure in Britain are so deeply interested in the Funds, and have so much of their Fortunes engag'd that way, that it would be the Heighth of Madness in them either to endeavour at, or even to wish for a Change of Government, since they might be sure that the Pretender would bring a Spunge along with him, and wipe out all the Publick Debts at once, as having been contract-

ed in opposing him and his Father.

But tho' this Argument feems artful enough, as indeed it is in one Sense, and perfectly well contriv'd by those Leeches of the Publick to amuse the People, while they are infenfibly fucking their Heart's Blood out of them; yet I am so far from thinking it found at the Bottom, that I cannot, by any means, allow it to be morally honest. If the Publick Debts must be continued upon Britons merely to keep out the Chevalier, they are likely to have but a very indifferent Bargain of the Revolution, or, at least, to pay very dear in the End for the happy Confequences that attended it in the Beginning; if they must be yoaked down to the yearly Interest of Fifty Millions Sterl. in Sæcula faculorum, and the Principal perhaps increasing at the same time, and the Interest too, of course, they may have reason to say that when they got King William in the room of King James, they paid more Boot for swapping of Kings than any Nation in the World ever was unfortunate enough to do before them, or ever will be infatuated enough to do after them. But let me shew you that our publick Debts are no Security to the Protestant Succession, but rather, like a malignant Comet, threaten it with a fatal Influence; for, Sir, how should it be otherwise? The People imagine, and I protest I imagine so too, that as long as their Debts subsist they can neither be secure in their Persons nor easy

(21)

in their Circumstances, and that if nineteen Years Peace has made so small a Progress in the lessening of those Debts, the least War that happens must absolutely increase them, and charge the Nation with new Taxes, if not expose it to utter Ruin and Destruction: These are things which all Men of Sense have daily in their Thoughts, and think

on too with Apprehenfion and Terror.

Sir, if I speak plain it is for the Service of His Majesty and the Nation that I do so; my Duty to both would justly reproach me should I be silent in a Matter that fo nearly concerns them, as the continuing of our Debts will be found to do, whether it really be with a Defign to secure the present Establishment against the Attempts of the Chevalier, or to give private Men an Opportunity of making a Spoil of their Country, or whether the Means cannot be hit upon for discharging them. All these Cases are equally alike dangerous to the Kingdom and to the Protestant Succession, to which no Man wishes a longer Continuance than I do in his present Majesty King George the Second's august Race; tho' I can't help faying that some things, which are look'd upon to be for the Interest of that Succession, will be found, when maturely confidered, to be diametrically opposite to it.

Whatever some Men may think of the Matter, I am very apprehensive that a Declaration with a Spunge in it would be the most dangerous Weapon the Chevalier could make use of against us, should he ever set his Foot again in Britain, and be supported by a foreign Power: In such a Case, where the publick Debts would hinder him of one Friend they might probably procure him an hundred; not to mention how much they weaken the Government by having those Funds anticipated and mortgaged which it ought to have free to defend it self and the Nation with up-

0

on all Occasions, as well as to make such a Figure in Europe as might prove a Protection to our Trade, and facilitate the Recovery of such Branches of it as are lost, which I am morally certain, are much more considerable than those we now posses.

I readily allow that every British Subject, of what Principle, Profession or Denomination soever, who has put his Fortune, or any confiderable part of it, into the Funds, has given Security to the Government for his good Behaviour; and that those concern'd this way cannot, consistent with Reason and their own Interest, wish Success to the Chevalier; fo far, I confess, the Argument is plainly against me: But, Sir, Men that are not engag'd in our Funds are not oblig'd to fight in Defence of the Properties of those that are. You know, that in England, the poorest Artificer is as free and as independent, as to Liberty and Property, and the Right of the Subject, as the greatest Peer of the Realm, and, Thanks be to God for it, that Englishmen are not in the Case of the poor Polanders; those unhappy People are Slaves to their Lords, tho' the Lords themselves are as free as the Prince that governs them, and a thousand times more abfolute over their Vassals than the King is over the Republick of Poland: But as the Lords and great Men in England cannot pretend to any fuch Power over the People, they would get but very few to hazard their Lives, in Defence of Bank or South Sea Stock, in which they had no Property to engage them to do fo. Moreover if we begin to tell Nofes, and make an Estimate of those concern'd in our Funds, we shall find a great part of them Foreigners; Men who never paid a Shilling to our Taxes, who have no Residence in Britain, nor ever design to have any. The rest of the Creditors of the Publick I suppose to be Britons, and to be intitled to

(23)

about forty Millions of Pounds Sterling of the National Debts. Now it may be no very wide Calculation to distribute those forty Millions amongst forty thousand Proprietors; for if several of them have very much under a thousand Pounds in our Stocks or other publick Securities, others have proportionably above that Sum. If then, among those forty thousand Proprietors, we confider fuch as are too wealthy to fight; if we reckon the old Men, the Women, and the Minors of both Sexes, we shall hardly find a thousand Men to take up the Sword, and go voluntarily at their own Expence against the Pretender, merely in defence of the publick Taxes, should any Missortune throw England under a Necessity of wanting their Service. It is not then in this Article that the National Debts can ever be any Bar to the Chevalier's Hopes. As to all Parliamentary Proceedings, I presume that both Lords and Commons would act with the same dutiful Attachment to their King and Country, that they do at present, were there no fuch thing as publick Debts and Estates to be made by Stock-Jobbing. Our Debts have no Influence, pro nor con, that way in the House; and it would be the highest Affront to his Majesty and the Parliament to infinuate that they

As I hope, then, that the Argument against me begins to lose its Force, I shall now shew how our Debts, besides weakning us, thro' the want of those natural Resources, which in nineteen Years Peace ought to have freed and difencumbered us, might probably contribute to the Chevalier's Advantage. The trading and labouring part of the People compose the Bulk of the Nation; they are the greatest Consumers of all Things which are taxed, some Superfluities excepted; conse-

quently

quently the greatest part of the Taxes falls upon them; or, in plainer English, they employ their Industry and Labour, to raise Money to pay the Interest of our Debts to those Men, whether Foreigners or Fellow-Subjects, who have our Funds in Mortgage. This being their Case, I can hardly be perfuaded that they would voluntarily expose their Lives, upon such an Occasion, to continue Debts that lay such heavy Taxes upon them, a great Part of which goes among st a Parcel of rapacious Foreigners, that have been long making a Prey of us. On the contrary, it is more to be apprehended that a Spunge might rather biass them from their Duty to his Majesty, and lead them into a Notion, that it would be more for the Interest of the People in general, how prejudicial soever it might prove to the Properties and Fortunes of some particular Persons, to see those Taxes abolished, and the Nation freed from a Load of Debts which now incumber it, to enrich those Foreigners abroad, and a Pack of Usurers and Stock-Jobbers at home.

As the landed Interest too would be exceedingly cased by the sinking of our Debts, this Confideration alone might go near to shake the Integrity of several estated Men, who have, for near forty Years, borne the Burthen of a heavy Land Tax, and will always be exposed to it, as long as our Debts subsist; might not then a Spunge be of fatal Consequences, if the landed Interest and the trading Interest of Great Britain should join in thinking the Debts the principal Cause of all their Calamities, and wish to see an End put to them at any Rate? Might not such a Disposition in the People, afford the Chevalier a favourable Opportunity to offer a Spunge as a sovereign Cure for all their Evils? And, could he at the same time satisfy them, as to the Security of the Protestant Religion, might not a

(25)

great many be debauch'd from their Loyalty, and prefer the Protestant Religion without Taxes, to the Protestant Religion with a Load of Taxes?

Sir, from what I have had the Honour to obferve to you, I take leave to perfuade my felf, that Those who are really Friends, not nominal, pretended ones, to the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's august Line, and have Power and Opportunity to exert themselves in the Service of their King and Country, will immediately apply themselves to all practical Means (of which, God knows, there are fufficient) for the speedy lessening those Debts, which threaten the AEt of Settlement with fuch Dangers; which expose us and our Trade to perpetual Infults and difingenuous Practices from abroad; and which, in some Sense, put our Constitution it self under the Power of the three great Companies at home. I need not look back to St. George's Bank at Genoa, nor repeat to you the Influence it had over the Affairs of that Commonwealth; you know those things better than I pretend to do, and its only en passant that I humbly give the hint.

I have just said that there are sufficient Means for the speedy lessening our Debts, and I am ready to shew them to you, whenever you please to command me. Without any chimerical Projects, ten Millions Sterling may be provided for immediately, without charging Great Britain with a single Farthing; and in ten Years at farthest, but perhaps much sooner, the whole Debt may be discharged, and the People made as easy in their Taxes as they were before the Revolution, if you think sit to honour me so far as to hear me, and either to accept my Advice, or to permit me to answer to such Objections as you may make to it. Don't think, Sir, that I have so little Regard for

great

my felf, or fo fmall a share of common Sense, as to make fuch a Propofal to fo great a Minister and so wise a Man, and that too in so publick a manner before my Country, if I was not morally fure of being able to sustain it. It's true, I have no Titles of Honour confer'd upon me by any Prince, tho' I once might have had, to make me pass for a Man of Parts, but you are above meafuring a Man's Genius by his Circumstances; tho' I lost all my Fortune by the Visa in France in the Year 1722, being the only British Subject that was compleatly stript in it, without any Redress to this Hour; yet, I thank Almighty God, I have still kept my Senses, and hope to make them of some Service to my Countrymen, if you permit me to do fo. But as I don't know as yet how your Intentions are towards me, or what Countenance I am to expect from you, I shall go no farther upon this Head at present, than to offer a small piece of Œconomy to your Consideration.

What holds good in the Management of a private Fortune, may do so in a publick one, and be altogether as applicable to our National Debts, the Produce of our Taxes and Customs, and the Management of the publick Revenue. There are several Articles in which considerable Savings might be yearly made to the Publick, and at the same Time, no honest Man hurt by them, or have any just Reason to complain of Good Husbandry in disbursing the Nation's Money; but, in my present Uncertainty of your Approbation, I shall consine my self in this Letter to that of the Army, and reserve the other more important Articles to other more savourable Occasions.

As no Man can have a greater Regard for those brave Men than I have, I should be very forry to

(27)

offer any thing that would turn to their Prejudice. I am perfuaded that they love their Country, and would fight again as gallantly in Defence of it, should there be Occasion for their Service, as they have done heretofore: That Country which they would fo bravely defend with their Swords, I cannot doubt but they will be as ready to ferve with their Purses, fince she wants Ease and Relief from almost all Quarters. I am surprised, then, that so wise a People as the English are allowed to be by all their Neighbours, would, in a Time of profound Peace, continue such high Pay to their Troops, when no other Nation abroad does any thing like it; and when England it felf is in such indifferent Circumstances to keep up so great an Expence. Confiderable Saving might be made every Year, if the Pay of the Army was reduced as follows:

	per Diem.
The Pay of A Colonel of Foot, as?	l. s. d.
Colonel and Captain	to I 00 00
A Lieutenant Colonel,	
asLieutenant Colonel	to 0 13 00
and Captain ———	
A Major, as Major and	fo o xa oo
Captain———	to 0 12 00
A Captain———	to o 8 oo
A Lieutenant———	-to o 4 oo
An Enfign————	
A Chaplain———	
An Adjutant———	to 0 3 00
A Quarter-Master ——	
N. B. The Adjutant and Quarter	r-Master are
commonly Lieutenants besides.	

And so proportionably for the Horse and Foot Guards, and the marching Regiments of Horse and Dragoons upon the Establishment at present.

D₂ Thi

This Saving, with another considerable one that might be made by putting the Clothing of the Army into a better and honester Method than it. is in at present, would, at 25 Years Purchase, fink a Million of the publick Debts, by applying the Money to the Sinking Fund; and at the same time a Fund settled to answer the Intent of Poundage, Hospital, Agency, and other regimental Articles, as you will find, if you order the Computation to be made: By this Reduction, the Officers would have no Hardships done them in the main; nay, it would rather be an Advantage to them, fince I propose them to be paid without any further Deduction, and the old intricate Method of splitting their Pay into Subsistence and Arrears laid aside, as only serving to perplex Accounts, and furnish a Harvest to Paymasters, Clerks, and Agents, at the Expence of the Publick. The Officers of the British Troops would still have more than double the Pay that the Officers of some other Troops have, who are counted the bravest abroad, and almost double the Pay of others.

In France, as I have been informed, a Colonel of Foot has but * one Livre, thirteen Sols and four Deniers a Day; a Lieutenant Colonel, two Livres, three Sols; a Major, three Livres, fix Sols, eight Deniers; a Captain, the same; a Lieutenant, one Livre, two Sols, and ten Deniers; an Ensign, seventeen Sols, ten Deniers, and so of the rest.

In Holland some Officers would be upon still a worse Footing, if Guilders were not so much better than Livres, as they are now become by the Money being so high in France: Nor is the Pay of

* A Louis d'or of twenty four Livres weighs four Pence less than a Guinea.

(29)

the German Officers any thing better; and a Trooper in the Emperor's Service in Flanders has but three pence half-penny a Day, besides Bread for himself and Forage for his Horse; a foot Soldier has but two Pence half-penny a Day, and Bread, very coarse and ill made: Two hundred sixty one Pence of the current Money of Flanders. The Reason why the Colonels in France have such low Pay, is, because they are all Gentlemen of great Families, who rather spend than make Fortunes in the Service. They are no Burthen to their Country, which is one of the many generous Qualities to be met with in a French No-

bleman. Some of our Colonels, it is true, would find their Income considerably clip'd by this Proposal, especially in the Article of Clothing; for, Sir, if a Master-Taylor, or Undertaker for Clothing, can afford to make a Present to one of our Colonels, from five to fifteen hundred Pounds for a Clothing of his Regiment, I mean but for one Clothing (for every time they were new clothed, there used to be a new Present when I was in England) according as it is either Horse, Foot, or Dragoons, and as the Establishment is low or high: Is not that a Grievance upon the Publick which ought to be redressed? Ought those Colonels to put so much of the Nation's Money in their Pockets, when they do so little Service and run so little Danger for it, at a Time when she is so much in Debt; and, it is felf-demonstrable, the clothing Service can be performed for fo much less, as the Clothiers give for Presents? No doubt but those Clothiers have also a round Profit by the Bargains they take in hand, or they would hardly bid

so high for them.

(30)

As I have faid that this Reduction of Pay would rather be an Advantage than a Disadvantage to the Officers, it is my Duty to shew how it would be so. When I was in England, a Captain of Foot received but feven Shillings and fix Pence a Day Subfistence, though his full Pay was ten Shillings, and the other Officers in proportion; that is to fay, three fourths of their Pay: The rest run on in Arrears, of which the Officers always had the least Share. Those Arrears were charged with a Deduction of Poundage, Hospital, Agency, and God knows how many regimental Articles besides, as the Colonel and Agent (always of his own appointing) could agree and contrive together to fleece the Officers; the Remainder was for those Officers, when they could get it, which many of them never did; and I have even known several of them come short of their Subsistence by such fort of Management. As any of the Officers were killed or died, their Arrears commonly proved a Windfall for the Agent, at the Expence of the Nation, who commonly found Articles enough to load an Account with, if any Widow or Executor appeared to claim the Effects of the deceas'd; and when they did so, they were commonly brought in Debt to the Agent, of which I can give several Proofs: But whether the Colonel had always a Fellow-feeling with the Agent, in such Cases, I will not fay. Other Officers, who survived the War, had very often launched out, into several needless Expences and Extravagancies upon the Credit of their Arrears, which they otherwise might and would have avoided; but those Arrears not coming time enough, either to pay the Debts, into which they had imprudently involved themselves, or answer their other Necessities, also of their own creating, upon the like Expectation of

(31)

Arrears, they were obliged to fell them to their Agents, according as they could make their Bargain: Some fold them for a third, fome for the one half Discount; and I have known some Agents fo unconscionable as to take thirteen Shillings and four Pence in the Pound for advancing the pitiful Remainder after all the regimental Deductions befides, as Poundage, Hospital, Agency, &c. For this damnable Usury and Extortion, they pretended they ran a Risk of never being paid by the Government, tho' the Money was given every Year by the Parliament, and they knew that if there were any Deficiency in the Funds, the Arrears ought to be made good by the Treasury, as those Deficiencies were provided for by new Funds. By these means the Officers were really in a worse Condition than they could possibly have been, if they had had but their bare Subsistence Money to depend upon; because then they would have managed accordingly. But this Inconveniency may be avoided for the future by what I propose; and another Advantage that will accrue to the Officers, is, that that it will be out of the Power of either the Colonel or Agent to do them any Injustice; because, for the time to come, it will not be within the Compass of all the Skill and Cunning of the latter, to perplex their Accounts, or charge their Pay with any regimental Articles, which furely never was the Defign of the Government in the Beginning, fince the Officers, if this Propofal is approved, are to receive their Pay from henceforth without Deduction, after it is reduced; which you can do immediately, and make a good Saving upon what is to come of the current Year.

By this Method of paying the Officers, two Lines at any time make up an Officer's Account. The Agents will then have no undemandable Fees

to pay to the Clerks of the War-Office for Debentures and Warrants upon the Pay-Office; nor can they have any future Pretexts to charge the Officers, as they formerly did, with quadruple their proportion of what they really gave to the Clerks of those Offices.

Sir, I don't know what the Method of the Treasury is at present, but I humbly imagine, that if you approve the Reduction of the Pay of the Officers, as I have the Honour to propose it to you, and order proper and distinct Advertisements to be put upon the Doors of the Treasury and Pay-Office as often as Money is issued for the Service of the Army, and throw out the Jargon of Poundage, Hospital, Agency, Off-reckonings, Warrant, and several other Articles altogether unintelligible to Gentlemen who are very feldom too well vers'd in Figures and Accounts, it will be of great Ease to the Army and of vast Service to the Publick, especially upon an Augmentation of Troops, by the Saving it will produce. The Pay-Office, then, will neither be perplexed itself, nor perplex others, as in the Time of some Pay-Masters; for the fewer Divisions and Sub-Divisions of Articles in the Payment of Money, the easier it is for all Parties; every Officer then will know when his Money is in the Pay-Office to a Minute, and will not be fent away with a There's no Money, as has been done formerly, when there was really Money, but confounded under fuch different Heads of Service, that the Officer could not get at it, and perhaps some Clerk was then making a Hand of it in the Alley. A great many gallant Men will not then be obliged, as heretofore, to dance Attendance at the Door of the Pay-Office, as I have often feen them do in the most uncomfortable Seasons of the Year, and pay more Court

(33)

to a little Clerk there, than a Sub-lieutenant or Enfign here would to a Marefchal of France. Nor shall we then have any more Arrears to load the Nation with new Debts, and the brave Officers at the same time nothing the better for them. The Agents will be out of their Road of preying upon the Officers; and a Boy of ten Years of Age may then examine their Accounts; whereas, tho' I have seen several Trials of this Nature, I never knew a Court of Justice in England, nor any Sollicitor, Attorney, or Lawyer, how expert or cunning soever in the Prosession, that ever could tell what to make of an Agent's Account; the Agent always carried his Cause, and That too very often at the

Ruin of the Widow and the Orphan.

Such Law Suits are feldom known in France, because the Officer's Pay is neither divided into Subfistence and Arrears, nor chargeable with any Regimental Articles as with us. Every Captain also clothes his Company, for which the King gives him a certain Sum out of a Fund for each Regiment, called the Masse, and is thus made up. For a Serjeant twenty Deniers a Day, and ten Deniers a Day for a Corporal, Lance, Drummer, Grenadier and private Centinel: As twelve Deniers make but a French Penny or Sols, and twenty Sols make a Livre, and a French Livre not worth eleven Pence of our Money, you fee how prodigiously cheap the French Clothing is, in Comparifon of ours. I know that some Men will say our Clothing as much surpasses the French Clothing in Goodness as it exceeds it in Price to the Nation; but I deny the Fact, and am ready to demonstrate the contrary: There are feveral Regiments in France better cloth'd, as to Goodness of Cloth, Mounting and Making than any Regiments in Britain, notwithstanding so little is allow'd for it,

and the Money so high. If the French Method of Clothing, by the Captains, was establish'd in England, the Serjeants Pay reduc'd to twelve Pence a Day, the Corporal to eight Pence, the Drummer the same, and the private Man to six Pence, than which they now receive no more, a proportionable Reduction for the Guards, and the Horse and Dragoons; the Off-reckonings abolished, and a Fund fix'd in lieu of them, no more than fufficient for clothing the Army, and answering the Poundage, Hospital and Agency, to which those Offreckonings were subjected; I say was this done, you would fee what a tall Sum it would fave every Year to the Nation, which is now funk among People that have no Right to it; and, at the fame time, how much better our Troops would be cloth'd than they are at prefent.

From this Article of the clothing I return to the Pay of the Officers, and shall humbly offer one thing more to support my Proposal for reducing it. There is at present a much greater Disproportion between the Pay of the English and Irish Establishments than what I propose to make between the present and future Pay of the Officers in England, or than between the Price of things in London and Dublin; why then shall an Officer in the North of England or in Scotland have almost a third part more Pay than an Officer that is turn'd over from the English to the Irish Establishment, and perhaps obligid to do Duty in Dublin, where Provisions are twice as dear as in Scotland? I declare, Sir, I can't see either Justice or Sense in this, if it continues as it was formerly.

I have been told that, before the Revolution, the Pay of the Army was the same in England and Ireland, but how truly I know not, and that the late Earl of Galway got the Irish Establishment re-

(35)

duc'd fo low, purposely to make a Fund for good Pensions for his Countrymen the French Hugonots. If this is true, I think it a very good Precedent in this Case, and that it will be much more reasonable in You to make a moderate Abatement in the Pay of the Officers in Britain, in order to contribute to the Ease and Relief of their Country, than it was in Lord Galway to get so great an one made in Ireland, only to make a much better Provision for a great many loose, idle Fellows than ever they could have been intitled to in their own Country, had they even been Roman Catholicks, as several of them were, and only came over to us for Bread, and not for the Protestant Religion. Many of those Self-called Gentlemen were no more than Journeymen Barbers, Taylors or Footmen in France, if not worse; but amongst us they were immediately vampt up into what not? This, Sir, is not by any Means to reflect upon the Bulk of the French Protestants, who really left their Country for Conscience sake; I know that several of them were not only Noblemen and Gentlemen of great Bravery and Merit, but also that they quitted considerable Fortunes and Estates; and I know as well that feveral of them were heartily ashamed and vex'd at the unsufferable Airs of Numbers of their Roturier Countrymen. Such, among the French, as are actually Gentlemen, cannot take ill what I fay here, because it is but the Truth; and as for those that are not, and have abused the Generosity of my Country, by giving themselves out for what they never were, I think I need not trouble my felf how they relish it. Let them shew me, if they can, ten British Subjects, in so great a Kingdom as France, that enjoy Pensions merely upon Account of Religion, without some additional Article of considerable Service to recommend them. The Court of France E 2

gives no Pensions to Britons that work at Trades, as we have done to the French Tradesmen in England and Ireland, and by those Pensions have often enabled them to break their British and Irish Neighbours.

I have now done with this Article, but am ready to give you farther Explanations of it whenever you please to call for them. In the mean time I shall make a Transition from the Gentlemen of the Army to the Gentlemen of the Printing Press, which will not appear altogether so unnatural as some Men may imagine it, when we call to mind that Printing was invented by a Soldier, and that it is to fo divine an Invention we owe the having any Footsteps of Liberty in Europe. I am not ignorant that the Liberty of the Press has been very often abus'd to very unjustifiable Ends, and so has the Courage and Bravery of the Army too, witness the Murder of the Royal Martyr; Cromwell's Tyrannical Rule, and the Subversions of our Liberties; yet the Press as much deserves to be encouraged as the Army to be kept up. Religion and Philosophy too are every Day prostituted to still much worse Purposes than ever Printing has been, but that is no reason why either of them should be abolished or persecuted; and in this case I am persuaded that our Printers will have no reason to complain of your Justice, or to accuse you of Partiality in favour of the Army more than of the Press.

As the Industry, publick Spirit, and good Sense of the Dutch cramp us in almost every Branch of our Trade, so it is from Holland, also, that our Printers have received the mortal Blow in their Business. Printing is much cheaper there than in England for want of proper Measures to encourage it with us, and for any thing I can learn to the contrary, the Duty upon Books printed in Holland is

(37)

no higher than the Duty upon Paper from thence, that is, as I have been told, and think I once faw it in Crouch's View of the British Customs, fix Shillings upon every hundred Weight of Books in Quires; this is encouraging the Labour of Holland to some Purpose: Those Books perhaps may be worth two hundred Pounds Sterling; the Paper of which does not cost forty Guilders or four Pounds at most; fo that there is, in this Article, only fix Shillings Duty upon one hundred and ninety fix Pound Sterling of Dutch Labour, and their Paper enter'd free into the Bargain: No wonder then that there is hardly a good Book printed in England in any Faculty, Science or Art whatever, but what is immediately reprinted in Holland, with a LONDON: Printed to it in the Title Page. As Books from Holland are fent over by the Dutch Bookfellers in excessive large Bales, those reprinted Books are so dispos'd of amongst the other Books that are really enterable, as not to be eafily discover'd by the Custom House Officers, who are commonly better skill'd in other fort of Merchandize, and who, when they open the Bale at either of the Ends or Sides, and fee Books, they feldom make fo thorough an Enquiry in the Cafe as would very often pay for their Trouble of doing fo: It's their own Faults that they have not yet found conderable Treasures in some of those unsuspected Bales, and that Cargoes of rich Lace, nicely conceal'd among the Leaves, have not prov'd better to them than a Salary of thirty or forty Pounds a Year. For fo Books reprinted I have seen several Commissions from Britain, and have known some Printers in Holland who have made no bad Hand of that Trade; but, Sir, I am not descending to particular Informations, from which I hope you will be so kind as to excuse me, since it will be in vain (38)

to push me that way. However if you think that I have not had Curiosity or Opportunities enough to inform my self of the Truth of what I tell you, I can convince you to the contrary, without bringing any particular Persons upon the Stage, or even subjecting them to Suspicion. What I shall then take the Liberty to propose to you upon this Head is,

- 1. To raise the Duty upon Books imported from Holland, whether bound or in Quires, to fifty per Cent. ad valorem. By doing so you encourage our own Printers, and yet when a good Book, we may have it cheap enough to reprint.
- 2. That notwithstanding the above Duty, no English Book shall be enterable from Holland, tho' originally printed there, as is a very constant Practice at present, unless it has been ten Years printed.
- 3. That no Book in any other Language, that has not also been ten Years printed, shall be enterable upon a less Duty than eighty per Cent. ad valorem. By these two Articles you still farther encourage our own Printers and make them your Friends, by rescuing them from the present Practices of those in Holland.
- 4. That no Bale of Books shall be above two foot, or two foot and a half square, which will make the Examination of them more easy. And
- 5. That fuch Bales shall all be examined by two or more qualify'd Persons in the Presence of him to whom they were consign'd.

(39)

Near seventeen Years Absence from Britain has made me pretty much a Stranger to the Methods of our Custom-House; but I believe what I propose would produce many good Effects. It would hinder several of our Authors, and even some of the dignify'd Gentlemen of our learned Universities from fending their Works to be printed in Holland, which not only dishonours our Country, as if we had not ingenious Printers enough at home, or Men of Generosity or publick Spirit enough to encourage them, but starves an Englishman to fatten a Dutchman. As it would find Employment for feveral of our Printers who now have none, fo it would bring Printing to the utmost Perfection in England, fince there is nothing in which an Englishman cannot equal any other Man upon Earth when duly encourag'd; and if our Printers saw any particular Care taken of them they would have less time, and less Inclination to fill the Town with fuch Pieces as give publick Offence to the Ministry.

But as long as Holland has Money, it is to be presumed she will always have Advocates in England, both publick and private; some Objections will probably be made against what I propose, and perhaps the Friends to the Dutch, to whom I am far from being an Enemy, tho' I cannot endure to fee the Interest of Great Britain sacrific'd to That of the Republick, will ask me, where is our Paper to print with? To this I shall give them a very short Answer; It is at present in France, from whence the Dutch take a great part of that with which they now furnish us, and whither we had much better fend our Money, and have our Paper at the best Hand, than give the Dutch an Advantage upon it, and pay them too for printing for us, especially while our own Printers are starv-

ing

ing. But, Sir, there is still a better Answer to this Question. Wherever the Linen Manufactury thrives the Paper Manufactury will thrive also, if Encouragement be given to it; and Ireland might be able, in a few Years, to furnish us with printing Paper if England cannot; at least we may make the Trial, and, if it fails, France, as being the first Market, will always be a better Resource for us than Holland. It's much more reasonable to suppose that the Paper Manufactury would thrive in Ireland, where there are Materials in plenty for it, than that the Woollen and Silk Manufactures should flourish to so high a Degree as they do in Holland, which has not produc'd a Lock of good Wool nor an Ounce of good Silk fince the Creation. As Paper would then come fo much cheaper to us than it does now from Holland, we should be able to underprint the *Dutch* in Price as much as we generally excel them in Learning; and, confidering the many inestimable Manuscripts we have in our publick Libraries, some of which I believe have never feen the World, perhaps Books in the learned Languages, printed in England, might prove as profitable a Commodity in foreign Markets as those printed in Holland are at present; and that this would be a considerable Advantage to the Nation, by the Money it would bring in, instead of the Money that now goes out of it for Books and Paper, is what, I believe, every Man must allow. I have known a Dutch Bookfeller in Amsterdam ask an English Gentleman four hundred Guilders, which is near thirty feven Pounds Sterling for a thin Quarto, but Medium Paper, printed at Dantzick, and for which he himself had given but forty Guilders at an Auction some time before: But it is not to reflect upon the Bookfeller, whom I know to be a very worthy honest Man, a great

(40)

(41)

Encourager of Letters, and as great an Employer of the Poor; he is in Company with two Gentlemen of the same Character: Their Shop was their Market, and they were in the Right to make the most they could of a good Bargain, since the Book had been long out of Print, and perhaps there was not a Bookseller in Europe that could furnish another: I only mention this to shew that the Humour of hunting after old Books, because they are scarce and out of Print, takes a great deal of Money every Year out of England, which might soon be prevented, and make those Authors and all others cheap enough amongst us by

encouraging Printing at home.

Farther, if it is the Interest of any Nation to propagate its Language abroad, as France has fo fuccessfully thought it to be, I believe that one Step towards it is to encourage the Press at home. Foreigners allow that no Men write better than the English upon all Subjects, and I hope they will not change their Opinion upon Account of this Letter, fince I lay no Claim to the Title of an Author, but only appear as an humble, tho' zealous Advocate for the Trade of my Country. Those Foreigners are fond of our Books; they cry them up to the Skies; but, alas Sir! notwithstanding all the Praises they bestow upon them, they only read them in murder'd Translations. Hardly any Book takes here if the Title Page has not a Traduit de l'Anglois in it, and Gulliver met with as great a Run in French as perhaps any Book ever did, though it is the most bungling Translation I ever faw. Tillotson, Beveridge, Bull, Atterbury, Collier, Sherlock, and several of our other great and learned Divines are in French, and highly efteem'd by many of the learnedest Roman Catholicks: Lock, Addison, Steel, Swift, Pope, and other incomparable Authors, tho they spoke English at home, now speak French abroad; but all these Translations fall extremely short of their great Originals. If our Books were cheaper, a great many ingenious, learned tho' perhaps not wealthy Foreigners, fince Riches are not always given to Men of Understanding, would have a great Inclination and better Opportunities to learn our Language, and make such a Progress in it as to be able to read our Authors in English, and to do them and our Country the Justice they deserve.

There are other material Arguments for encouraging the Press, but they more properly belong to the Printers themselves, to whom! leave them; it is the least they can do to contribute their Talents and Endeavours to the Support of their own Caufe. de profited de land of his works villabelines

Sir, as this Transition from Arms to Books has infentibly brought me back again to a Branch of the Dutch Trade, and as my Letter is purely mifcellanical, permit me to present you with the different Reception which some of our Goods, and the fame Species of Goods from Holland meet with in

All forts of Woollen Manufactures from Holland are enterable here upon feveral Duties specify'd in the Tariff of 1699, and the Arret of the 20th of December 1687. But all the Woollen Manufactures of Great Britain are strictly probibited.

Dutch Linen pays but two Livres the Piece, each Piece containing fifteen French Ells; but our Linen, whether from Britain or Ireland, pays fifty per Cent. ad valorem.

On Leather from Holland pays fourteen Livres the Dozen, Cow Leather seven Livres the Dozen; but all our Leather of what Nature soever is for-

Wrought

(47)

Wrought Copper and Brass from Holland pays, fix Livres, and Hard-ware ten Livres the Quintal;

but ours stand prohibited.

All forts of fine Hard-ware and Bijoutries wit's Gold and Silver Ornaments, such as Snuff Boxes, Tobacco Boxes, &c. pay ten per Cent. and without Gold or Silver five per Cent. according to Estimation; but all these Species of Goods are contraband from Britain.

Indigo from Holland pays, ten Livres the Quintal, and double refin'd Loaf Sugar twenty two Livres ten Sols the Quintal; but if from Britain contra-

band.

Tea from Holland pays ten Sols Duty per Pound;

but our Tea and Coffee is prohibited.

Dutch Cheese pays but one Livre ten Sols the Quintal, and our Cheese four Livres the Quin-

Black, Green, foft or liquid Soap from Holland pays but two Livres the Quintal; but from Bri-

tain it pays five Livres the Quintal.

Train Oil from Holland pays but seven Livres ten Sols for every five hundred and twenty Pound Weight; and Lamp Oil from us pays four Livres the Barrel.

Dutch Red Herrings pay forty Livres Duty upon every twelve Barrels; but ours pay eighty Livres Duty upon the same Quantity. So that the Dutch are not content with catching our Herrings from us, to which they have naturally no right, but they have also cut us out of one of the best Markets in Europe for those sew which we have even so much Industry left as to cure our selves. It is true that pickled Herrings from both Countries pay but the same Duty, that is, forty Livres upon every twelve Barrels; but then the Dutch Herrings are free from several Restricti-

F 2

(44)

ons to which ours are ty'd down. We are not permitted to fend any to France salted with our own Salt.

Dutch Cod pays five Livres for every three hundred Weight; of ours there are two Sorts, counting Cod pays eight Livres the hundred in Tale, and the other Sort pays twelve Livres the Quintal in Cask.

Besides these Duties upon our Goods above mentioned, they are subject to others, which I have been informed the Dutch are not; viz. to sour Sols per Livre upon the Product of them, and to River and other Water Duties in several of the Provinces of France.

Sir, I have not the Tariff of the Year 1664 by me, so I don't know whether the Duties upon our Goods were as high then in France as they are at present; if they were, Means may be found to mitigate them; and if they were not, I cannot think that those Gentlemen who refused the Trade to France upon that Tariff, after the Peace of Utrecht, were altogether as much in the right in doing fo as perhaps they thought they were. But, let that be as it will, by this Account you see how well the Dutch have managed their Affairs, and how indifferently we have managed ours. I remember that it was objected by a Party, that the Ballance of that Trade, upon the Footing it was last, would be at least 500,000 l. a Year against us, and perhaps they faid true. But, Sir, is not the Ballance of our Trade to India against us by as much Silver as our East India Company sends every Year out of the Nation, for which the brings back very little but Pagan Manufactures? Yet an ingenious Gentleman, not many Years ago, endeavoured to demonstrate that Trade to be a great Advantage to Britain. This Point I shall not dispute with him, because

(45)

because the same Arguments are equally forcible for our having a Trade with France; nor shall I enquire at present whether the Directors are really dividing their Capital, as fome Men apprehend. Whoever gains by the India Trade the Directors are fure not to be Losers by it, any more than the South Sea Directors design to be Losers by theirs: But the time is not far off when I hope to shew you how to oblige those Trustees for the Publick to clear up this Affair. I have been informed that a certain Great Man was once upon fome fuch Method with a certain Body Corporate, one of whose Managers, grown too rich and too lazy for Business, was fatisfy'd with twelve thousand Pounds a Year for lying by, and that his Brother Managers were glad to compound with the Great Man, and also to submit to a Reduction of Interest. But I leave this Business for a better Opportunity; until then I shall say no more of it, but return to my Subject.

Let it be supposed that the Ballance of a Trade with France would be half a Million of Pounds Sterling a Year or more against us; it might nevertheless be made a very beneficial one to Great Britain, if we would have less Complaisance for the Dutch, and vouchfafe to become Carriers our felves, when it would be so visibly for our Advantage to do so. We cannot in Justice complain of the French for prohibiting our Manufactures; every Nation is in the right to make the most of their own Products; however take off the high Duties that are now upon their Wines, Brandies, Silks, &c. and I promise that the French will not only take, but want our Woollen Manufactures, especially if you encourage the Linen Manufacturies of Ireland and Scotland as I propose. There is also another Article which I believe would engage France to em-

brace

brace not only our Woollen, but all our other Manufactures and Objects of Commerce with open-Arms; but this Article must be a Secret between us, if you please to consult me about it; at least until you reject it, or favour me with Reasons for fuspending the Execution of it. By a right Understanding and Friendship with France in point of Trade, we might not only carry the French Wines, Brandies, Silks, Fruits, &c. to most of those Markets where the Dutch carry them at prefent, and make the same Advantage of them that they do; but also prevent our being so much hurr as we now are, by having them run upon us from Holland, which I very much fear you will never be able to hinder intirely, how active and how vigilant soever you may be, except you begin with the Custom-House under Officers: If you reduce the Number of them, give the rest Salaries that may be sufficient to maintain themselves and their Families, and then make Death the Penalty of Bribery, both in the Bribed and Briber, you will render your Country an essential piece of Service, and go a great way in refloring her Trade, and lessening her Debts, if not her Expences, both at home and abroad.

Tho' most, if not all our Manusactures, are now prohibited in France, coming directly from Britain, yet the Dutch take them from us, and get them the cheaper, because they are prohibited here; in short, they give us what they please for them, and bring several of them to France under the Notion of the Manusactures of Holland, and make a good hand by doing so, not only by the Profit they make upon those Goods, but also by the Profit they make in foreign Markets, by the Wines, Brandies, Fruits, Silks, Paper, &c. which they take in exchange for them: By which means

(31)

our Manufactures are to the Dutch what their under Workmen are to them. Sir, as we pretend to the Dominion of the Seas, ought we not to refcue our Country from this Dishonour as well as Disadvantage? Must our People be Spinners of Wool and Beaters of Iron for the Dutch? At this rate we may become, in time, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water for them too in Would it not bebetter for us, then, to open a free, friendly Trade with the French, and to fend our Goods directly to French Markets ourselves, without paying so dear for letting the Dutch be our Carriers? Whatever the Ballance would be against us, sit would be more than made up by the Gain we should make upon French Goods in foreign Markets: Nay, should we even consume a good part of those Goods our selves, it would be much better to do fo, and give our own for themat the first hand, than to confume them upon worfe Terms; that is, Sir, finuggled upon us from Holland, and the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. We should salfo, by a French Trade, employ many more Ships, and breed a greater Number of Seamen; ian Article sof fuch Importance to Great Britain, that I cannot but think you will give it -Attention, and a very ferious one too, when you read the following Translation of the 22d Chapter of Mr. Janicon's Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, printed for John Van Duren at the Hague in the Year 1729. The Translation I chave made as literal as possible; and as for Mr. Janicon I have given a full Account of that excellent Writer and able Statesman in my first Letter to the British Merchants. st in reight the new wing this of red Guells or this thought the courty little from the

« CHAP,

to Bulk to

"CHAP. XXII.

" Of the Trade to France.

** HE Trade that Holland carried on with "France, for many Years successively after the Beginning of the Republick, soon became very considerable, and of vast Importance to both Nations; but especially to France, by the prodigious Quantity of Goods the Dutch took every Year from that Kingdom, not only for their own Use, but for keeping up their Trade with other Nations.

"The great Advantages thus accruing to France from it, engaged that Crown, from time to time, to conclude several Treaties with the Republick in favour of her Trade; but this Harmony and good Understanding between them continued no longer than the Negotiations of Peace at Munster, when the French, by a very ill advised

fort of Policy, refused to renew the ancient Treaties of Commerce with the Dutch, and attempted to lay new Duties and Impositions up-

" on Goods from Holland.

"To divert France from such a Step Mr. Bo"reel, Embassador from the States General, represented to the Court, that their High Mightinesses would be oblig'd to lay the same Duties

upon French Goods, which would be a much greater Prejudice to that Kingdom than to the Republick: And as he found that the Court had,

" notwithstanding, quite another Idea of that Affair, in order to undeceive them, he presented
in 1658 the following List of the Goods

"which the Dutch took every Year from the

45 French.

"Plushes,

(49)" Plushes, Velvets, Sattins, Cloths" Guilders. " of Gold and Silver, Armofins, and "Silks of the Manufacturies of Lyons 6,000,000 " and Tours, amounting to above fix " Millions of Guilders -"Ribbons, Lace, Trimmings, But-" tons, Silk lacing Points, &c. made at 2,000,000 " Paris and Rouen and the neighbouring Towns for-"Beaver Hats, &c. from Paris and " Rouen for-" Wearing Feathers, shoulder Belts, "Fans, Hoods, Masks, Looking-"Glasses, with gilded or wrought >2,000-000 " Frames, Clocks, Watches, &c. for " above-" Paris, Rouen, Vendôme and Cler-" mont Gloves for above _____ " Worsteds and Yarns from Picar- ? " dy, for above _____ " Paper of all Sorts from Auvergne, " Limosin, Poittou, Champagne and \$2,000,000 " Normandy for above " Pins and Needles made in Paris? " and Normandy; Horn, Box and \$1,500,000 " Ivory Combs for above _____ "Auvergne Hard-Ware for above— 600,000 " Bretagny and Normandy Linens ? \$5,000,000 " for above _____ " Bed-Furniture and Bedding of all ? **\{5,000,000** "Sorts for above " Wines for above -5,000,000 " Brandies, Vinegar and Cyder for 1,500,000 " Saffron, Soap, Honey, Almonds, 7: "Olives, Capers, Pruans, &c. for \$2,000,000 " above-

G

37,100,000

(50)

Guilders.

Brought over—37,100,000

"To which may be added, five or of fix hundred Veffels loaden with Salt every Year at Rochelle, Maran,

"Brought over—37,100,000

" Brouage, and the Isles of Oleron and Rhé, besides Wheat and other Grain

" amounting to

In Guilders, per Ann. 43,100,000

"These Disputes about the Duties upon Im-" ports and Exports were at last happily ended "by a Treaty, concluded at Paris the 27th of " April 1662, between his most Christian Maje-" fty and their High-Mightinesses. The Mer-"chants on both fides flattered themselves that they should then be in a Condition to con-" tinue a free open Trade, equally advantageous to both Nations; but they found themselves " prodigiously disappointed in their Hopes, when the Court of France, by another Error in Po-" liticks, in regard to Trade, which requires to " be entirely free and unconfined, took a Refose lution in 1667, to establish a Sort of Monopo-" ly, and to banish, in some Measure, all foreign "Manufactures from the Kingdom, of which the " French Ministers thought their Country stood in no manner of need: This they did with a " View to sell the Products of France to the Dutch for ready Money, and not to be obliged to take 46 any of their Goods. Excessive Duties were ac-" cordingly laid upon all Merchandize from Hol-" land; and Companies were likewise established " in France, to trade to the Indies, the North, ce and the Levant.

" The

(51)"The States General, feeling themselves attacked in so sensible a Part, fought the French with their own proper Weapons: They forbid " the Entry of Wines and Brandies from France, " and laid new Duties upon all other Goods com-" ing from thence. And still more, to shew the Ge French that Holland could be without their Ma-" nufactures, they established the same Manufacturies at home, and gave their Stuffs, &c. at a " cheaper Price than the French could afford to " take for theirs. "This Dis-union degenerated at last into an 66 open War, to which an End was put by a Treaty of Peace, concluded at Nimeguen the 10th of August 1678, which was followed by a " new Tariff of Commerce, entirely conforma-" ble to that of 1662. 66 But this last Treaty being no better observed "than that of 1662, and the French still aug-" menting the Duties upon Goods from Holland, 66 the Dutch applied themselves more assiduously " than ever to the Manufacturies of Gold and " Silver Stuffs, Silks, Velvets, Ribbons, Trim-" mings, Hats, Paper, and a great many other Sorts " to supply the want of those from France. The "Success answered the Undertaking in every Re-" fpect, especially after the Revocation of the E-" dict of Nantes in 1685, had drawn an infinite " number of French Workmen into Holland, who 66 immediately put the Dutch Manufacturies into

of fo flourishing a Condition, that they have fince done an irreparable Damage to those of France.
The French perceiving their Error too late, endeavour'd afterwards by the Treaty of Rystarick in 1697, and that of Utrecht in 1713, to re-establish things upon their ancient Footing, by abolishing, amongst others, the Imposition of G 2

(52)

66 fifty Sols a Ton upon Shipping; + but when Grade is once turned out of its usual Channel, it is a very difficult Matter to recover it back again; " and the French Manufactures are now very far 66 from finding fo great a Demand in Holland as "they have done formerly. " Nevertheless, this does not hinder the Dutch " from still carrying on a very considerable Trade with France, in which the Ballance is always in .. Favour of the French. In exchange for the " Manufactures and Products of France already " mentioned, the Dutch fend Camlets, Broad-« Cloths and all forts of Woollen Manufactures; " Linens, Cotton and Cotton-Thread; Callicoes " and Muslins, tho' contraband; all Sorts of Spi-« ces, Sugar-Candy, Drugs, *fine Wools, Hair, " Horns of black Cattle, Quills, Diamonds, Pearls, " Pearl-Seed, Madder, Galls, Gums, Allom, Vi-" triol, Pewter, Lead, Tin or white Iron, Copper, Steel, Iron Backs for Chimneys, Iron Pots, " Chaudiers and other Iron Manufactures; Brass and " Copper Wire, Latten, Quickfilver, refin'd Brim-" stone, Russia and all forts of Leather; all forts " of Peltry, Flax, Hemp, Lintfeed, Cables and "Cordage, Sail-Duck, Masts, &c. Timber for " building Ships, Planks and Timber for build-" ing Houses, Rosin, Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Can-" dles, Cheese, Butter, barrel'd and dried Salmon, " Herrings, dried Fish, Whalebone, Train-Oil, " Lintseed and Rape-Oil; Civer, Musk, grey and yellow Amber, Casks for Wine and Brandy, Coral, yellow and white Wax; Wax-Candles of all forts, "Starch, Garde de Vins, white Thread of several

+ An excellent Lesson for Great Britain. * It is a pity that the Author did not distinguish them, and let us know from whence the Dutch get them.

(53)« Sorts, spun Hemp for Cables and Sails; Porce-" lane or China Ware, Tea, Chocolate, Copper "Basons; all forts of hard and small Wares for " the Guinea Trade, Tapestries of all Sorts, great "Guns, all Sorts of Fire-Arms, Powder, Bullets, Bombs, Match and feveral other forts of Mer-« chandise. "To enter into the Detail of the Trade be-" longing to the particular Towns in France, the " Dutch take Gold and Silver Stuffs, Damasks " and Silks of several Sorts, Grisettes, Mignonettes, "Scarfs, Aprons, Head-dresses, Ribbons, Gloves, "Fans, Toys, Books, and many other Sorts of "Goods from Paris. « Rouen serves as an Entreport for the Trade between Holland and Paris, from whence the " Dutch take Linens, Hats, Silk Lace, open Gold

" and Silver Lace, filk and worsted Stockings, " small and hard Ware, Cards for Clothiers, win-« dow Glass, winter Apples and Pears, Cyder,

" Confections, &c.

" From Dieppe they take window Glass, Lace, " fmall and hard Ware, Combs and horn Tobacco

" Caën furnishes them with a good Quantity of "Paper.

"They take from Orleans Wines, Brandies, "Gatinois Saffron, and also Camlets from St. Va-

"St. Malo's furnishes the Dutch with Paper, " Calves-Skins, Mill-Stones, Grain, Honey, Su-" gars and feveral Goods from the Indies and

« Spain. With Nantes they have likewise a very con-" fiderable Trade, from whence they take Bre-" tagny Linens, Butter, when it is dear in Holland; 66 Grain, Honey, Gatinois Saffron, the Loire Wines,

« Sorts,

(54)

« and great Quantities of Brandies, Paper, St. Ca-" therine Pruans, Sugar, Indigo, Cacao, Rocou, " Cotton, &c.

" Rochelle is one of the most considerable trad-" ing Towns in France, from whence the Dutch "take Wines, Brandies, Salt, Angoulême Paper,

" Sugars, Syrups, Indigo, Cacao, Walnut-Wood,

"The Isle of Rhé, opposite to Rochelle, furnishes the Dutch with a great Quantity of small Wines and Salt; and Oleron also affords them a " great deal of the latter.

From Coignac they bring abundance of excel-

" lent Brandies. 66 The Dutch receive every Year from Bergerac

" or Libourne above a hundred and fifty Vessels la-" den with Wines and Chesnuts.

" Bourdeaux is also a Place of great Trade, from whence the Dutch have every Year above two " hundred Ships loaden with Wine and Brandy.

"They also take from thence Vinegar, Perigord " Chesnuts, St. Antonin Pruans, Walnuts, walnut

" Wood, Honey, Montauban Saffron, Lintseed to " make Oil, Paper, Turpentine, Rosin, Tar, Su-

" gars, Indigo, Rocou, and several other Sorts of "Goods. There are two Fairs a Year at Bour-

" deaux; one begins the first of March, and the " other the fifteenth of August: Each holds fifteen

"Days, during which time there is a Diminution of Duties upon Imports and Exports.

"The Dutch Trade with Bayonne is also very " considerable, from whence they take great Quantities of Spanish Wool, as well as of seve-

" ral Sorts of Wines, Brandies, Chefnuts, Pruans, " Hams, Liquorish, Turpentine, Rosin, Tar, Honey, Feathers for Beds, and Lintfeed Oil.

There are also two Fairs a Year at this Place,

(55)

" each lasting fifteen Days; the first begins on " Alb-Wednesday, and the second on the first of « August.

" From Lyons they take a great Quantity of "Gold and Silver Brocades, filk Stuffs, Ribbons,

" and Taffeta's. In this City there are four very

considerable Fairs a Year; the first begins the "Monday after Twelfth-Tide; the fecond, after

" the Easter Holidays; the third, on the fourth " of August; and the fourth, on St. Hubert's

" Dav.

"Trade is also very flourishing at Marseilles, " and this City often ferves as an Entreport for

" the Goods that the Dutch fend to Constantinople, " and feveral other Ports in Turky. From Mar-" feilles they take St. Laurence Wine, Brandies,

"Olives, Olive-Oil, Capers, Anchovies, White-"Honey, Almonds, Figs, Raisins, Zant Cur-

" rans, +Tox, Dates; all Sorts of Levant and Ara-

" bia Drugs, white and marbled Soap, Verde-" grease, Montpelier Perfumes, Marseilles Point-

" Lace, filk Stockings made at Nismes, Silk, " Cotton, Cotton-Thread, Angora Goat's-Hair, " Camel's-Hair, and divers other Sorts of Goods.

"Trade is not yet well establish'd at Cetté, and

" in Dunkirk it is almost entirely fallen, since the

"Harbour has been ruined.

Sir, this Chapter affords an ample Subject to comment upon, but the ingenious and publick spirited Merchants of Great Britain are so much better qualified than I am for fuch an Undertaking, that I leave it to their Confideration, and I hope they will not fail to do themselves and their Country what Justice lies in their Power, by giving you their Opinion in publick upon a Matter

† A Fish resembling our Sturgeon, but much better.

(56)

of fuch Importance. We see here what a heat the Dutch were put into, when the French began to endeavour to make the most they could of their own Products; and what Pains Mr. Boreel took, tho' by the wrongest Steps that any Minister ever could have made, to divert them from it: My Reasons for calling those Steps wrong are a little too delicate to be inserted here, tho', Sir, they, and every thing else in my Power for the Interest of my Country, are at your Service upon proper Opportunities.

As much as I admire Mr. Fanicon for his fine Genius and shining Talents, I will not undertake to defend all his Maxims in Trade, because I know them to be calculated for the Meridian of Holland. The French were certainly in the right to encourage all Sorts of Manufacturies among themselves, as far as the Product of their Country would permit; to have gone beyond it would have been Nonsense in them, because Nature has been prodigally indulgent to France, and left it under no Necessity to endeavour to force her. As I don't find, then, that the French Ministers went further in this Affair than Nature dictated and supplied them with Materials for, only one Article excepted, I think that Mr. Fanicon has been a little unjust in charging them with bad Policy in their Conduct. Whatever the French may have fuffered by it, through Accidents which those Ministers could not possibly foresee, at that Time, without the Spirit of Inspiration, I am fully persuaded, that the Dutch feel the Effects of the French Manufacturies, and heartily wish that several of them had never been established.

The Dutch too were in the right in the Meafures they took to ward off the Blow, to make a Virtue of Necessity, and to endeavour to do their Business (57)

Business without the Manufactures of France: Their Success has confirmed the old Saying, Nil tam difficile est quod non solertia vincat, and loudly upbraids us either with Ignorance or Sloth, or fomething infinitely more dishonourable and unpardonable. The Dutch can never be sufficiently admired nor too narrowly watched: They have made dry Land of the Sea, and find * Mines of Gold and Silver in the very Bowels of the Ocean. In fpite of Nature, which has denied them almost every thing, they abound in plenty of all things. They make Manufactures out of nothing, for they have nothing of their own to make them with; and had they been in the Condition of the Israelites in Egypt, of whose Progeny they are so fond this Day, their Industry would have baffled the Egyptian Pharaoh's Tyranny, as much as their Courage did a later Pharaob's Cruelty: They would have made Brick, not only without Straw, but even without Earth too, and knockt out the Tyrant's Brains with them when they had done. Almost almighty Republick! there is nothing now impoffible to thee in this World, or at least will be so whilst thou continuest to have Neighbours that love thee better than they do their own Country! Even I could adore thee too, but not for thy Gold, but thy good Sense and Industry, wert thou but a thousand Leagues further off from Britain!

But, Sir, I should not be at all uneasy at either the Neighbourhood or the Address of the *Dutch*, if *Britons* would but follow a little of the good Example they set them. In this remarkable Chapter upon the Trade between *Holland* and *France* you will find that the *Dutch* Maxim is, not to trouble themselves whether the Ballance be for or against them,

The British Herrings.

in the first Market to which they trade for any Commodity; had they had that mistaken way of thinking, which has but too often prevailed in England, their Republick could not have subsisted twenty Years. One very particular Article that strikes your Eye here, and no doubt will engage your Contemplation, is, that Holland, though involved in a War against Spain, as expensive as it was long, and as bloody in the Conduct of it as the Stake, on both Sides, was important, could nevertheless take the Manufactures and Products of France to the Value of three and forty Millions of Guilders, or near four Millions of Pounds Sterling a year; and vigorously carry on a Trade in which the Ballance was fo prodigiously against her. Consider this, I beseech you, and let Reafon and Figures, which you understand so well, plead with you in Behalf of the Trade of Great Britain. Had the Dutch, in the Condition they then were in, confumed and used among themselves but even the tenth Part of the Goods and Products they took every year from France, they had been absolutely ruined; but they were wifer Men than to do fo, and traded with another View. It was their Trade with France, that, in a great Measure, supported them; and the Profit they made upon the French Goods in foreign Markets, went a great way in enabling them to defend themselves against the Spaniards. By the same Rule, had they taken double the Quantity of French Goods that they did, and found Markets to fend them to, their Gain had been doubled; and the more the Ballance of their Trade with France was against them, the greater was their Advantage. I need not launch into unneceffary Proofs of this Affertion; they are obvious oevery Man of common Sense: Much less need(59)

less are they, then, to a Minister of your extenfive Genius: Bare Hints to you are sufficient; for which Reason I shall not intrude much further upon your bufy Moments, but humbly leave to your pillow Reflections the Manner how to open a free general Trade between Great Britain and France. I am perfuaded that a thing of fuch Importance, as I have now the Honour to propose to you, will not fail to make you think of it, efpecially when I tell you that it would prove one of the best Bulwarks to the Protestant Succession, by the good Understanding and Harmony it would eftablish between the two Crowns: That Harmony would immediately diffuse it self among the Subjects of Great Britain and France, by the prodigious Advantages that would accrue to both from fuch a Trade, when as wifely carried on in France, and afterwards managed as prudently abroad by us, as it has been by the Dutch: And why it might not be so in both Respects, I believe no Man in England or Holland can give me any Reasons that I am not able to answer.

I intended to conclude this Letter with the Trade to France, but Spain lying fo near, and making at this time so vast a Preparation for a sea Expedition, my Thoughts naturally turn upon what may be the real Delign of this mighty Armament, or where the Thunder of it may burft; or what dreadful Execution it may make upon the devoted Place, fince a few paultry Spanish Sloops, called Garda de la Costas, so triumphantly scoured the American Seas for many Years together, and took, pillaged, burned and destroyed the Ships, murdered the Subjects, and landed upon and plundered one of the principal Islands belonging to a Nation that had above two hundred Men of War to defend them. When I think of the present di-H 2

stressed Condition of the Inhabitants of the once wealthy and flourishing Island of Jamaica, and the Losses of such of our Merchants as have been robbed by those Guarda de la Costas, I cannot but lament the Nature, as well as the length of our Sufferings: My own have taught me to fympathize with those of others, especially my dear Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects; and as I apprehend that, tho' there are Commissaries named by the Courts of London and Madrid to settle this Affair, the Spaniards, if they see the Demand grow heavy upon them, will throw the Loss of their Fleet in the Mediterranean into the Scale against our Planters and Merchants, I have formed a Project, which, perhaps, in a few Years, would not only relieve the injured Subjects of Great-Britain to all Intents and Purposes, without coming to any new Rupture or Misunderstanding with the Spaniard, but bring confiderable Sums every Year into our Country, which otherwise will never go there. If this Project were not of a Nature that requires Secrecy for some time, it should have had a Place in this Letter; but I decline such a Step, because I would first submit it to your Approbation, and also avoid the Cabal that might probably be formed against it during the Recess of Parliament, should that august Assembly be prorogued sooner than I hope it will. But if you order me to deliver it to any Gentleman of Rank whom I know, and in whose Honour I, as well as you, can confide, I am ready to obey you upon his giving me a Receipt for it. It does not contain twenty Lines, but I hope you will find Weight and Sense in them.

In the State of the Island of Jamaica, printed in London in the Year 1726, I find that the Calamities of that noble Island have had other Contri-

(6r)

butors to them besides the Spaniards; the Dutch have been smuggling there as well as in other Places. It feems there is no Corner in the British Empire, no branch of our Trade, but what they know how to make an Advantage of; and yet I can't blame them; Industry is their Profession, and they are in the right to practife it as they do, fince we are fo well fatisfied with their Proceedings in some Things, and they meet with fo much Encouragement in others. Amongst numberless Advantages over us, a Dutchman has now the Prerogative of smoaking English Tobacco Cent. per Cent. cheaper in Amsterdam (I hope the Criticks will not cavil at the Expression) than an Englishman can in London, but that is merely owing to our felves, and I hope you will take the Drawback upon Tobacco into Confideration; for, I affure you, Sir, it demands a very ferious one. Do Britons either drink the Wines, or consume the Products of other Nations cheaper than the Natives of those Places that produce them? Certainly they do not, but I have just had the Honour to give you an Instance that the Dutch do.

It is not impossible for the Crown to make an hundred thousand Pounds a Year more than at present of the Duties upon Tobacco, or, perhaps, two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, if not still more; and, at the same time, take off, at least, one half of the Duty which the British Consumer pays upon that Commodity. You know that you are now Master to command me in any thing which you think may turn to the Utility of the Publick; make then what use of me you please for that Purpose consistent with Honour, and the Sasety of my Person, which is not entirely

my own to dispose of.

butors

I shall now conclude by summing up the whole.

I have here humbly presented you with several Articles which you may improve to the Service of his Majesty and the Nation, and every one of which would have furnished me Subject enough for a separate Pamplet, had I writ to serve myself more than my Country; but as I never did, nor ever shall expose any Thing in Publick with so mercenary a View, I have chosen to give them to you in the Lump: If I have render'd any Service to Britain in these Sheets, or afford you any Lights for your future Conduct, I shall think myself well enough recompensed, if you give me the Means to continue the Subject with less Danger than I am exposed to at present.

I know how fuccessless every Man must prove in Undertakings of this Nature, if the Minister has another way of thinking, or if what is proposed does not square with his private Interest. But, Sir, as you are too rich, and I hope too honest, to be bribed from your Duty to the Publick by those who have found, and are always sure to find, their Account in the Calamities of Britain, I encourage myself with the Hopes that what I have offer'd will not be altogether useless to the Security and Advancement of our Trade.

Here, Sir, you see that by encouraging the Linen Manusacturies of Ireland and Scotland, you can secure the Woollen Manusacturies of England, and not only secure them, but push them to a Height which they have never yet known. You have it also in your Power, if you please to listen to the Means, to ease the Nation of her intolerable Load of Debts and Taxes; to enlarge Trade and encourage Industry among the People; to relieve our worthy Countrymen that have been robbed and ruined in

(63)

the West-Indies; and, which is but a Trisle in comparison of the rest, to encrease the Revenue of the Crown by taking off half the Duty upon Tobacco to the Home-Consumer.

Every one of these is an Article that seems to demand your Attention, and if I cannot produce sufficient Arguments to support what I have advanced, I must stand convicted of Rashness, and remain unprovided of any other Plea to intitle me to a Pardon from my Country than the Merit of having meant dutifully and well. I have now done my Duty, and I am persuaded you will not

neglect what you look upon to be yours.

As for me, Sir, dispose of my Fate as far as your Power permits you to exercise either your good or your ill Will towards me, Ishall neither be elevated nor dejected at whatever happens. Whether you treat me well or ill for the future; whether you do me the Justice that a British Subject has a Claim to, in recommending me efficaciously to the Court here for some Consideration for my Losses; or whether you continue inflexible in a Point in which I have the Treaty of Utrecht on my side, and the Interest and Honour of the British Nation stands sensibly concerned; whether you continue to abandon me to the Rage of a certain set of Madmen in particular, and the Resentments of the Enemies of King George in general; or whether you honour me with your Protection for the time to come, and procure Justice for my injured, numerous Family, whose only Crime, in the Eyes of my Persecutors abroad, was the honest Services I endeavoured to render to Britain, and the Misfortune I had to differ with a certain great Man whom they absurdly thought to be secretly in their Interest. In any of these Cases, and whatever Resolution you come to about

(64)

me, in Deo folo confido. In all Events I am as incapable of ever becoming your Enemy again, as of being too fervile a Client should you become my Benefactor: The utmost Attachment I shall ever have to you, upon any Occasion whatever, will never carry me further than that of being with Sincerity, Truth, Affection to my Country, and a most profound Respect for your Person in pursuing the Interest of Great Britain,

SIR

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

Paris, 30 April, 1732.

Charles Forman.

POSTSCRIPT

(65)

POSTSCRIPT

TO MY

FRIENDS.

GENTLEMEN,

THO' I believe there is not a Man amongst you that thinks me obliged to be accountable to him for my Actions; yet as the Submission I lately sent to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole might very possibly furnish my Enemies with malicious Pretexts enough to misrepresent either my Conduct or my Intentions, should I leave an Affair of so much Importance to myself in the Dark, I think it highly necessary, in Justice to Sir Robert and myself, to publish a short Detail of that Transaction.

While I looked upon that Minister as the principal Cause and Source of all those Missortunes and Persecutions that, like a Ghost, have haunted me from place to place these eleven Years past, I acted as was natural for me to do upon so terrible an Occasion; and you all know to what Lengths I pushed my Resentments. Not in the least discouraged at my repeated Disappointments of Success,

cess, I still had recourse to new Schemes and Stratagems to bring my Adversary to Terms of liftening to my Complaint; and Britons would have feen something this Spring, to furnish Chatt for Posterity, if I had not been prevented by the following Occasion: In short, Gentlemen, you would have seen me at the Door of the honourable House of Commons whatever the Consequence might have been to myself.

But on the 4th Day of last December, I was affured by a Gentleman who had Opportunities of knowing Things of much greater Importance than fuch an Affair as mine, that the Wrongs I fo loudly complained of, and fo justly refented, were not chargeable to Sir Robert's Account, and that I ought to have carried on my Attack against another Quarter; that I was therefore obliged, in Honour and Conscience, to ask Sir Robert's Pardon, and to make him a publick Reparation for the publick ill Treatment I had given him: He faid, Sir Robert was a Man of Humanity and Honour, as I would undoubtedly find by following his Advice. I must own, Gentlemen, that such a Discourse surprized me very much at first; but when I maturely weighed the Probability of the Reasons and Arguments he made use of, Justice told me, that if I had been in the Wrong to Sir Robert, I ought to make him Satisfaction. I farther confidered my Circumstances; strip'd of a plentiful Fortune, by the dark Contrivances of base People on the one side, and unjust Men on the other! What could I do? The former did me underhand ill Offices with the Regent and Cardinal Dubois, and the latter absolutely refused me those good Offices which their Character obliged them to, and I deserved: I could not get a Recommendation to the Court of France from our Ministers

(67)

abroad in the time of the * Visa, but the happy Jacobites did not go without as many as they had occasion for; even some of the Chevalier de S. George's domestick Servants were recommended; perhaps they had some private Merit to entitle them to such a Favour: As for me, one of the Ministers told me, he had express Orders not to recommend me upon any Account. This way of dealing with me has put me into Circumstances to embrace any honourable Occasion of making Sir Robert my Friend, whose Power and Interest, I knew, could repair the Injuries I had suffered, and the Losses I had met with. I thought it a favourable Opportunity to obtain a Reconciliation, especially since I was under no Engagements to any of his Enemies, and, in Pity to my Family, I chose to submit, rather than contend any longer, upon fuch unequal Terms as I had done, with a Man so much above being contended with. I therefore immediately drew up a Letter to Sir Robert, but the Gentleman that gave me the Advice thought it by much too cavalierly wrote; a second, indeed, was more to his Taste and received his Approbation, for really it was the compleatest Submission I could possibly make: He charged himself with it; and, about a Month after, he affured me that it had been fafely delivered. Gentlemen, this is all the Satisfaction that Honour will permit me to give you upon this Article at present, except it be to affure you, that I am persuaded, in my Conscience, Sir Robert knew nothing of this Transaction until he received my Letter. He may treat me as he pleases; but God forbid I should wrong him in the least !

* It continued in the Years 1721, and 1722.

Another

(68)

Another Motive to my Submission, which I hope you will allow to have been no inconsiderable one, was the ardent Desire I had to be serviceable to my Country. I could not expect to be very successful in my Endeavours that way, as long as I continued in ill Terms with the Minister; nor could I imagine that the Nation it self would believe me sincere: On the contrary, I had reason to apprehend she would think I was rather aiming at the Gratification of a private Revenge, than the Advancement of a publick Interest.

Another thing that had also no little Weight with me in this Affair, was, that old Clog upon the Administration, called Pretendership: Let us then be impartial upon this Head. We are all sensible how difficult a part a Minister has to act, when his King and his Country are liable to be menaced with a Pretender, as often as any powerful Prince abroad has a Point of Ambition or Avarice to gratify, or any other convenient piece of Service to get done for himself and his Dominions. This is a Difficulty to which Pretendership has very often exposed Great Britain; Examples of which are still fresh in every Man's Memory, and will daily expose it to, as long as there is any such thing as a Pretender in being. Upon this Account, I have very often acquitted Sir Robert, in my own private Opinion, in some foreign Transactions for which I have heard him blamed, but with Injustice enough, in publick. I affure you, Gentlemen, that I have no Design to curry Favour with the Minister by what I say here: The Thing is self-evident; Woful Experience demonstrates it; and our Debts and our Taxes proclaim it all over the Kingdom.

I could give many more Reasons for what I have done, but if these are not sufficient, I should

(69)

offer the rest to no purpose. God, himself. knows that I have no Obligations of Honour, either publick or private, to any Party, or fet of Men this day upon Earth, either at home or abroad; nor have I had any, either directly or indirectly, fince I left Great Britain in the Year 1715. I am therefore Master of my Actions, within the Bounds of Duty to my Prince and the Laws of civil Society, and am accountable to no Man for what I do. I have submitted to Sir Robert Walpole, and I shall never repent the having done so; I have asked his Pardon for the Liberties I have taken with him, upon Condition that he has not been the Destroyer of my Family; but as my Submission only regards my felf, it has nothing to do with the publick Affairs of the Nation: I have not tied my felf down to any Restrictions that way, nor has Sir Robert imposed any upon me. All I can fay further is, that I shall never endeavour to embarrass him again, upon any Account or Provocation whatever; except he may think that writing for the Interest of my Country may do fo, which I hope he will not, but rather thank me for my honest Intentions.

As to Favours, I have asked none from him, but the bare Permission to return to London with Freedom and Sasety, as the only Place where I might make my Talents, such as they are, of some use to my Family, and be in tolerable Security from the Enemies of our Constitution. To ask more from Sir Robert, after our Difference had run to such a Height, would have been a Piece of Rashness which I was too prudent to venture upon; and whether even this itself will be granted me, is, I protest to God, more than I know as

vet: I rather believe it will not.

(70)

Now, Gentlemen, if you condemn the Step I have taken, you will give me cause to complain; and to think you rather rigid than just. Let me then entreat you to suspend your Sentence, until you see whether I deserve Reproaches or Thanks from the Friends to the Trade and the Liberties of Great Britain.

I have the Honour to be, with great Truth and Respect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most bumble and most obedient Servant,

Paris, 30 April,

Charles Forman.