

An estimate of the comparative strength of Britain during the present and four preceding reigns; and of the losses of her trade from every war since the Revolution ... To which is added an essay on population / by the Lord Chief Justice Hale.

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17265/c

The author begs Lord
Sackville to do him the
honour to accept of this
Estimate.

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OF THE
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH
OF BRITAIN
DURING THE
PRESENT AND FOUR PRECEDING REIGNS;
AND OF THE
LOSSES OF HER TRADE
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SINCE
THE REVOLUTION.

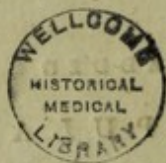
BY GEORGE CHALMERS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN ESSAY ON POPULATION
BY
THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE HALE.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR C. DILLY IN THE POULTRY;
AND J. BOWEN, IN NEW BOND STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

DURING the struggles of a great nation for her safety or renown, conjunctures often arise, when the citizen, whose station does not admit of his giving advice, ought to offer his informations. The present seemed to be such a time. And the Compiler of the following sheets, having collected for a greater work various documents with regard to the national resources, thought it his duty to make an humble tender to the Public of that authentic intelligence, which, amid the wailings of despondency, had brought conviction and comfort to his mind.

EMBELLISHMENT often obscures, but seldom adds any thing to the force of facts. Without the ceremony of introduction, or the incumbrance of ornament, he proposes to lay before the Public, in the first place, the unvarnished evidence of the comparative resources of Britain, and of the temporary losses of her commerce, during every war since the Revolution. The inferences which result from facts are irresistible, when they are themselves authenticated. He was induced therefore to mention, secondly, the sources whence the documents before-mentioned were drawn, in order to enable the Reader to judge of their authenticity, and, by examining his reasonings, to add the authority of experience to the decisions of judgment. As the state of population is so essentially connected with the estimate of resources,

the Compiler was induced, by a desire of communicating useful information, to subjoin, lastly, *An Inquiry into the State of Population in England, from the Conquest to the present reign*; in which are reviewed the dissimilar sentiments of Lord Chief Justice Hale, Mr. Gregory King, Dr. Campbell, and Dr. Price, on a question extremely interesting, because the answer to it is to decide, whether England is now inhabited by *fewer than five* million of people, or by *more than eight*. The candid enquirer may perhaps see cause, in his progress, for lamenting, that the learned are sometimes too confident, and the unlettered always too credulous.

LITTLE has he studied the theory of man, or observed his familiar life, who has not remarked, that the individual finds the highest gratification in deploring the pleasures of the past, even amid the enjoyments of the present. Prompted thus by temper, he has in every age complained of its depopulation and decline, while the world was the most populous, and its affairs the most prosperous. From the days of Elizabeth to the present, a period wherein this nation underwent the happiest change, a twelvemonth has scarcely passed away, in which a treatise has not been published, either by ignorance, by good-intentions, or design, bewailing the loss of our commerce, and the ruin of the state. Yet, is there reason to hope, that as sound philosophy triumphs over universal bigotry, mankind as they grow wiser will become less subject to the dominion of temporary terrors, far less to the lasting impressions of fancied misery. The reader, who honours the following sheets with an attentive perusal, may probably find, that though we have advanced by wide steps, during the last century, in our knowledge of the science of politics, we have still much to learn; but that the summit can only be gained by substituting accurate research for delusive speculation, and rejecting zeal of paradox for moderation of opinion.

A N

E S T I M A T E, &c.

THEORISTS are not agreed with regard to those circumstances which form the strength of nations, actual or comparative. One considers the power of a people "to consist in *their numbers and their industry*." Another insists, "that the force of every community most essentially depends on the *capacity, valour, and union, of the leading characters* of the State." And a third, adopting the sentiments of both, contends, "that though numbers and riches are highly important, and though the resources of war, where other advantages are equal, may decide a contest; yet the resources of war, in hands that cannot employ them, are of little avail; since manners are as essential as either numbers or wealth." It is not the purpose of the present inquiry to amuse the fancy with uninstruative definitions, or to bewilder the judgment with verbal disputations, as unmeaning as they are unprofitable. The glories of the last war have cast a continued ridicule on the far-famed *Estimator of the Manners and Principles of his Times* [1756.] And we may find reason in our progress to conclude, that the qualities of the mind, either vigorous or effeminate, belonging to the inhabitants of this island, have undergone little change from the epoch of the Revolution to the rise of these eventful times. Documents have been drawn from no common sources, to enable the reader to determine with respect to objects, by all considered as of the greatest consequence to the *political greatness of the nation*; the progressive numbers of the people, the extent of their industry, and the successive amount of their traffic and their wealth.

But let us, from general remark, descend to minute investigation. The insult offered to the sovereignty of England, by giving an asylum to an abdicated monarch, and by disputing the right of a high-minded nation to regulate its own affairs, forced King William into an eight-years war with France. Pressed thus by necessity, he could not weigh in very scrupulous scales the wealth of his subjects against the superior opulence of his too potent rival. Yet, animated by his characteristic magnanimity, so worthy of imitation, and supported by the zeal of a people whose resources were not then equal to their ardour and bravery, he engaged in an arduous dispute for the most honourable end; the vindication of the independence of a great kingdom. We

may form a judgment of the strength of the nation at that æra from the following detail :

The number of fighting men in England and Wales, according to the calculation of Mr. Gregory King, as cited with approbation by Dr. Davenant	—	—	—	1,308,000
The yearly income of the nation, consisting of five millions and a half of people, as stated by the same Mr. King	—	—	£.	43,500,000
The yearly expence of the nation	—	—		41,700,000
Yearly increase	—	—	£.	1,800,000
The value of the surplus products annually exported	—	—	£.	4,086,087
The value of the whole kingdom, according to Mr. King ^a	—	—	£.	650,000,000

Having thus stated the national property, whence taxes could only be raised, we may now inquire into the amount of the public revenue.

King James's annual income amounted only to ^b	£.	2,061,856	7	9½
There remained in the Exchequer unapplied, on the 5th of November 1688, for King William to defray the exigencies of the Revolution	—	—	£.	80,138
The nett income paid into the Exchequer during the year 1691, from the customs and excise, from the land and polls, was	—	—	£.	4,249,757
Of this inconsiderable revenue, which was however raised with difficulty, there were applied towards carrying on the war only	—	—		3,393,634
Appropriated to civil uses ^c	—	—	£.	856,123
The average of the annual supplies during the war; from which we may form an opinion of the effective force of the state	—	—	£.	5,105,505

^a Pol. Observ. Bibl. Harl. Brit. Mus. N° 1898.

^b Cunyngham's Hist. of Taxes, p. 30.

^c MSS. Harley.—For the accurate informations which these sheets convey, from this most authentic and elaborate MS. the public owe an additional obligation, and the compiler a kindness, to the liberal communication of Mr. Astle,

So unfruitful had every branch of taxes proved during every season, that the revenue existing at the Revolution had fallen in its produce above one-half in five years; that the deficiencies appeared to the Commons to have swelled, before the session of 1696, to ————

£. 6,000,460

The public debt, which had been incurred before the peace of Ryswick, and which had been borrowed at an interest of seven and eight per cent. amounted to ————

£. 12,964,310

Of this sum there were paid off during five years of subsequent tranquillity ————

2,897,533

The national debt due on Lady-day 1702^d ————

£. 10,006,777

The tonnage of the shipping of English merchants at the Revolution, that formed the nursery, whence the royal navy was chiefly manned, amounted only to ————

190,533 tons;

Which must have been navigated, if we allow to every two hundred tons twelve men, including the master, mate, and boy, by ————

11,432 failors.

The following statement will shew us the progressive force of the fleet of England during the preceding century:

				Tons.	Sailors.
In 1588	[the fleet sent against the Armada ^e]			31,985	15,272
1607	—	—	—	23,600	7,800
1633	—	—	—	20,941	7,500
1660	—	—	—	62,594	—
1675	—	—	—	69,681	30,951
1688	—	—	—	101,032	—
1695	[according to Secretary Pepys]	^h		112,400	45,000

^d MSS. Harley.
in the Paper-office.

^e Murden's State Papers, p. 618.

^f A detail

^g Bibl. Harley, Brit. Mus. N^o 6277.

^h An admiralty-list in the Paper-office exhibits the subjoined detail of the fleet of England in March 1693.

	Rates.		Number of each.	Men.
	1	—	6	4,680
	2	—	10	6,600
	3	—	28	7,840
	4	—	6	1,680
	5	—	4	640
	6	—	6	270
Fire ships,	—	—	17	765
Hospital,	—	—	4	180
				22,655

During the first years of the war, the ministers having procured the authority of a resolve of the Commons, apportioned annually the number of seamen, whom the traders to each commercial country were allowed to employ. Embargoes were statedly imposed to enforce restriction. And, notwithstanding the united efforts of the nation, the Admiralty were only able to augment the navy, during seven years of war, 11,368 tons¹. Such then was the naval force, that, during the hostilities of William, could be sent into the line against the potent navy of France, which in one busy reign had been created and raised to greatness. It is unjust consequently to judge of our present circumstances by those of the past, since in all comparison there ought to be equality.

Having thus stated the strength of the nation, we may now enquire into the losses of our trade. Even the most confirmed commerce could not have stood so rude a shock as it sustained from the war of the Revolution; from the imbecillity of friends, no less than from the vigour of foes. The business of the individual could not prosper, while it was thus directed by the hand of the statesman. The enterprizes of the traders necessarily declined, as they were not protected from the activity of the privateers. And the clamours which were in the end raised against the managers of the Marine, were assuredly founded in prodigious losses.

¹ Sir J. Dalrymple has published a paper [Appendix, p. 242.] in order to justify King William from the charge—"of not exerting the natural strength of England in a sea-war against France, after the battle of La Hogue;" which proves, that his ministers thought it impossible to increase the fleet;—"as not having ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft-trade." There are a variety of documents in the Plantation-office, which demonstrate the same position. And see below a comparative view of the fleets of France and England, in 1693.

The following "Comparison of the French and English Fleets in 1693, formed from lists brought into the House of Commons by Secretary Trenchard," will shew how nearly equal they were in force even subsequent to the victory of La Hogue in the preceding year. [Bibl. Harley, Brit. Museum, N^o 1898.]

	French Fleet.			English Fleet.			Difference.	
	At Brest.	At Toulon.	Total.	In being.	Building.	Total.	More.	Less.
Ships from 40 to 50 guns	3	5	8.	31	0	31.	23	0.
50 to 60	10	4	14.	7	1	8.	0	6.
60 to 70	23	9	32.	14	3	17.	0	15.
70 to 80	13	3	16.	23	2	25.	9	0.
80 to 90	7	1	8.	8	6	14.	6	0.
90 to 100	6	4	10.	11	0	11.	1	0.
100 to 108	6	1	7.	5	0	5.	0	2.
	68	27	95.	99	12	111.	39	23.

Let

Let us examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of their cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.		£.
1688 —	190,533	— 95,267	— 285,800	—	4,086,087
1696 —	91,767	— 83,024	— 174,788	—	2,729,520
Annual loss	98,766	— 12,245	— 111,012	—	£. 1,356,567
The nett revenue of the ports in 1688				—	£. 76,318
D° ———— 1697				—	58,672 ^k

Dr. Davenant took a different way to go to the same point, because he had not access to a better. Having stated the yearly amount of the customs, from 1688 to 1695 inclusive, he inferred from the annual defalcations—"So that it appears sufficiently, that in general, since this war, our trade is very much diminished, as by a medium of seven years the customs are lessened about £. 138,707. 7s. a year." Dr. Davenant justly complained of the breaches of the Act of Navigation, "during the slack administration of this war;" so that strangers seem to have beaten us out of our own ports. For it was observed, that there were, in the port of London,

	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.
During the year 1695 ^l	— 65,788	— 83,238	— 149,026

It would be injurious to conceal, that the same able author, who seems, however, to have sometimes complained without a cause, acknowledged, "That perhaps no care nor wisdom in the world could have fully protected our trade during this last war with France."

An attentive examination of the numbers of our ships cleared outwards, and of their cargoes exported, demonstrates, that in every war there is a point of depression in trade, as there is in all things, beyond which it does not decline; from which it gradually rises, unless it meets with additional checks, beyond the

^k MSS. Harley.

^l With the year mentioned by Davenant, contrast the following years :

	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.
Entered in the port of London, in 1710	— 70,915	— 40,280	— 110,195
1719	— 187,122	— 11,468	— 198,590
1779	— 236,659	— 123,750	— 359,809

extent

extent of its former greatness. And the year 1694^m marked, probably, the lowest state to which the hostilities of William had beat down the national traffic. But the commerce of England, sustained by immense capitals, and inspired by a happy skill and diligence, may be aptly compared to a spring of mighty powers, which always exerts its force in proportion to the weight of its compression: and the return of peace, by removing the pressure, enables it to put forth its energy; shewing, by the rebound, the salutary effects, in a vast export, and extended correspondence.

Examine the evidence:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes exported.
	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.	
Peace of Ryf- wick, 1697	144,264	100,524	244,788	£. 3,525,907
1699				
1700	293,703	43,625	337,328	6,709,881
1701				

^m The following detail, from the Plantation-office, will give the reader a different view of the navigation of England, during the embarrassments of the war of the Revolution.

	Ships cleared outwards.			Ships entered inwards.		
	Tons Eng.	D ^o foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
1693 { London,	44,912	59,750	104,662	36,512	80,875	117,387
1693 { Outports,	73,176	28,752	101,928	32,616	27,876	60,492
Total,	118,088	88,502	206,590	69,128	108,751	177,879
				Balance of Trade, — 28,611		
				206,590		
1694 { London,	39,648	41,500	81,148	59,472	76,500	135,972
1694 { Outports,	33,408	28,224	61,632	35,158	28,910	64,068
Total,	73,056	69,724	142,780	94,630	105,410	200,040
				Balance of Trade, — 57,260		
				200,040		

Of the foregoing detail, it ought to be observed, that it does not appear in the Plantation-office altogether in this form: the number of ships, English and foreign, entered either in London or the outports, is only specified, and the average tonnage of each thus particularly given: the English ships in the port of London were estimated at 112 tons each; the foreign at 125 tons each: the English ships at the outports at 72 each; the foreign at 98 tons each. Whence the editor was enabled, by an easy calculation, to lay before the public a more precise account of the commerce of England, during the war of the Revolution, than has yet been done.

The

The nett annual revenue ^a of the posts, according to an average of the eight years of King William's wars, —————	— £. 67,222
Ditto of the four years of subsequent peace —————	82,319.

QUEEN ANNE renewed the war against Lewis XIV. whom all Europe either now hated or dreaded, because a similar insult had been offered to the sovereignty of England. When her Treasurer sat down to calculate the cost, he looked probably for resources chiefly in his own prudence: her General saw armies rise out of his own genius for war, as he was still more confident, because he was still more able; and both estimated right, since a favourable change had imperceptibly taken place in the spirit as well as in the abilities of the nation. The gallant companions of William in his victories and retreats, not only remained, but panted for the field; at the same time that they had been improved by experience, and were incited by a remembrance of what they had formerly gained and lost. And the English looked their enemies steadily in the face, because their courage was equal to the extent of their freedom, while they felt the indignity offered to their independence, by "owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

Let us enquire more minutely into the national strength during the reign of Queen Anne:

England and Wales contained now about 1,700,000 fighting men;
By the Union with Scotland, there were
probably added to these ——— 325,000

The fighting men of the
united kingdom — 2,025,000

The national property and income were not assuredly less now than they had been at the accession of William, owing to the intermediate gains, and the additional facilities.

The value of the surplus products, annually exported, had mean time risen to — — — £.6,045,432

The taxes which were collected from the people, yielded nett into the Exchequer during the year 1701 — — — £.3,769,375

Of this inconsiderable revenue the current services

for the navy absorbed	—	£.1,046,397
the land service	—	425,998
the ordnance	—	49,940
the civil list	—	704,339

2,226,674

There were applied to the payment of the principal and interest of debts — — — 1,411,912

Balance remaining unapplied — — —

3,638,586

130,789

£.3,769,375

The nett sums paid into the Exchequer during the year 1703, from the customs, excise, post-office, land, and miscellaneous duties — — — £.5,561,944

Of this sum there were issued for carrying on the war — — — £.3,666,430

For paying the civil list	—	589,981
the interest of loans	—	430,307

Balance remaining for the payment of loans, and other services — — —

875,126

£.5,561,944

The ministers of the present reign had not to contend with the embarrassments of the last. The disorders, arising from the debasement of the coin, had been cured by a re-coinage. The Bank of England now lent its aid by facilitating loans, and promoting circulation; and the payment of taxes had become more familiar to a more satisfied people. Owing to all these causes, the statesmen of that day borrowed money at 5 per cent. in 1702, and never paid more than six during the war. Nevertheless, the taxes

* MSS. Harley.

† Idem.

newly imposed were not always productive, as avarice is generally too powerful for novelty; and various debts, amounting at Christmas 1711 to £.9,471,325, had been incurred, because the exertions of the nation were greater than the supplies of the parliament.

The annual tonnage of English ships, which, at that epoch, formed the principal nursery for the royal navy, had increased to — — 273,693 tons;
Which must have been navigated, if we allow —————
twelve men to every two hundred tons, by — 16,422 failors.

By an enumeration^a of the trading vessels of England, in January 1701, it appeared that

London had — 84,882 tons,

The out-ports had 176,340

————— 261,222;

that they were navigated by 16,471 men and 120 boys, or 16,591 failors.

The inconsiderable difference between the enumerated tonnage and mariners, and the tonnage and mariners cleared at the Custom-house, only marks, that several ships had entered more than once, and that a greater number of men were then allowed to every vessel than are now; whence we may infer, that the calculation and the enumeration prove the accuracy of each other.

	Tons.	Men.
The royal navy, which in 1695 had carried	112,000	and 45,000
had mouldered before 1704 ^b to	———— 104,754	———— 41,000
	—————	—————
		Its

^a A detail in the Plantation-office.

^b An admiralty-list of all her Majesty's ships and vessels in sea-pay, at home and abroad, on the 27th February 1703-4, with the highest complement of men, and the numbers borne, mustered, and wanting. [From the Paper-office.]

Rates.	Number of ships.				
2	—	5			
3	—	40			
4	—	57			
5	—	33			
6	—	16			
Fireships, bombs, Smaller vessels.	—				
		Complement.	Born.	Mustered.	
		46,745	39,720	30,778	
Wanting	—	—	7,025	15,967	
		—————	—————	—————	
		C		A similar	

Its real force will, however, more clearly appear from the following detail :

Ships of the line employed in		1702 — 74 —	in	1707 — 72
		1703 — 79 —		1708 — 69
		1704 — 74 —		1709 — 67
		1705 — 79 —		1710 — 62
		1706 — 78 —		1711 — 59
		— — —		— — —

Such then was the strength of the nation under Queen Anne. Let us now enquire into the losses of our trade during her glorious, but unproductive war.

The effort of the belligerent powers was made chiefly by land ; and the foreign trade of England seems to have rather languished than to have been overpowered, as it had been for a season during the preceding contest.

Examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D° Foreign.	Total.		£.
1700 } 1 2	273,693	43,635	317,328	—	6,045,432
1705 —	—	—	—	—	5,308,966
1709 —	243,693	45,625	289,318	—	5,913,357
1711 —	266,047	57,890	323,937	—	5,962,988
1712 —	326,620	29,115	355,725	—	6,868,840
	—	—	—	—	—

The revenue of the Post-office *, on an average of the			
four last years of William, yielded nett			£. 82,319
D° of the four first years of the war			61,568
			—

A similar list gives us the numbers of men on board the fleet ; from which we may judge of its size in April 1712. [From the Paper-office.]

41,277 complement — 40,161 borne — 38,007 mustered.

The number of men in pay, on the 13th February 1713-14, were,

17,694 complement — 14,808 borne — 13,645 mustered.

* Phillips, State of the Nation, p. 33.

* MSS. Harley.

Thus,

Thus, the year 1705 marked the lowest stage of the depression of commerce; whence it gradually rose to 1712, the last year of the war, when our navigation and traffic had gained a manifest superiority over those of any prior period of peace.

Let us behold the rebound of trade, when the return of tranquillity had removed every pressure, and the extension of the enterprises of our merchants, by contrasting the average of the ships cleared outwards, and of the value of their cargoes, during the three peaceful years preceding the war with those during the three years immediately following the treaty of Utrecht.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes.
	Tons English.	D° Foreign.	Total.	
1699 } 1700 } 1	— 293,703	— 43,625	— 337,328	— £. 6,709,881
1713 } 14 } 15 }	— 421,431	— 26,573	— 448,004	— 7,696,573

The nett annual revenue^u of the Post-office, according to an average of the years 1707—8—9—10 — £. 58,052
 D° on an average^x of the years 1711—12—13—14 — 90,223

ANXIOUS for his stability, amid the clash of domestic parties, King George I. engaged successively in contests with almost every European nation, because each in its turn had given protection to the Pretender to his crown: but the disputes of that

^u MSS. Harley.

^x Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 266. But, the office had been now extended, and the postage raised.

monarch were short, as well as unimportant: and they did not therefore call forth the full force of his kingdom; which may be deduced in the following manner:

It would be at first sight a *paradox* to affirm, though enquiry might establish the *fact*, that Great Britain was a more opulent nation during the reign of George I. than it had been during any former period; though there had been paid nett into the Exchequer, from the 5th of November 1688 to Lady Day 1702 — £.45,086,041; and from Lady Day 1702 to Michaelmas 1713 — 69,127,633.

Total taxes raised, besides charges of collection £.114,213,674.

But this vast sum had been amassed, not by the appropriation of any part of the national stock, but by collecting annually an inconsiderable part of the productive revenue of the people. The value of the surplus products exported, at the accession of the present King, amounted to a much larger sum than they had ever done during any former reign — £.8,008,068.

As the cargoes which were yearly exported were formed from what remained after the domestic consumption was fully supplied, we may infer, that there was now employed a greater capital in trade, which gave rise to a more vigorous industry than had ever before promoted the wealth and greatness of the nation.

A remarkable revolution in the history of our public debts and revenue occurred during the present reign. The great object of individuals as creditors, and of the parliament as debtors, seems now to have been to reduce the amount of the interest, rather than to discharge any part of the principal. Owing to this policy, and with this design, *the sinking fund*, which yielded yearly, before the effluxion of the present reign, £.1,083,190, was established in 1716, and had undoubtedly produced the most beneficial effects, had the original purpose been as rigidly attended to as it was wisely designed. The various duties which had been imposed during the necessities of the two former wars, had been all (if we except the

land and malt taxes) rendered perpetual, and now formed a standing revenue^z of ———— £. 4,124,175.

But the interest of the national debt of £. 50,644,307 absorbed of that revenue, on the 31st December 1714, no less than ————

2,811,904,

The land-tax, at 2s. in the pound, raised rather less than ————

£. 1,000,000

The malt-tax, at 6d. the bushel, rather less than ————

750,000

Other temporary grants, amounted to ————

750,000

The annual grants for current services £. 2,500,000

Various causes had concurred to reduce the interest which was paid by the public for loans, on some emergencies during the present reign, so low as three per cent. All parliamentary engagements since the Revolution had been faithfully performed; a mortgaged-interest had been created; and the operations of the sinking fund, and the gains on our trade, had filled the coffers of the rich. From these circumstances we may infer, that the nation could now very easily borrow, but not so easily repay.

The annual tonnage of English shipping, which formed, at the accession of George I. the chief nursery of sailors for the royal navy, had increased to

444,843 tons;

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve mariners to every two hundred tons, by ————

26,691 men.

The royal navy, which had been principally left by Queen Anne, amounted, in 1715^a, to ————

167,596 tons.

Wood

^z Cunyngham's Hist. of Taxes.

^a From an admiralty list in the Paper-office, it appears, that the *peace-establishment* of the navy was, in November 1716, as in the subjoined detail:

Rates.	Number of ships.	
4	—	9
5	—	10
6	—	9
Sloops,	—	2
Yachts,	—	4
	—	Number of men —
		4,840 for home service.
		900 for guardships.
		975 for the Salley Squadron.
		1,845 for foreign service.
		<u>8,560</u>
		— A simi-

Wood stated^b the amount of the navy in 1721, at 158,233 tons;

which, said he, is more than in 1688, 57,201 tons;
and more than ——— in 1660, 95,639.

Notwithstanding the boasts of Wood, and the glory
acquired by the defeat of the Spanish fleet in
1718, it is apparent, that the navy had lately
sustained a diminution of ——— 9,363 tons.

Let us now examine the losses of our trade from the petty wars
of the present reign; which seem not indeed to have much inter-
rupted the foreign commerce of the kingdom, while salutary regu-
lations incited the domestic industry of the people.

Owing probably to a complication of causes, the traffic and
navigation of England appear to have struggled with their oppres-
sions, and never to have risen much superior to the amount of both
during the year of his accession.

Here are the proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D ^r Foreign.	Total.	£.	
1714 —	444,843	33,950	478,793	—	8,008,068
15 —	406,392	19,508	425,900	—	6,922,263
16 —	438,816	17,493	456,309	—	7,049,092
1718 —	427,962	16,809	444,771	—	6,361,390
20 —	—	—	—	—	6,910,839
1723 —	392,643	27,040	419,683	—	7,395,908

A similar list in the Paper-office, exhibits a different view of the fleet of England
in sea-pay, on the 10th June 1725.

Ships.	Men.
17 —	2,785 abroad.
4 —	900 coming home.
4 —	300 on the coast of Ireland and Man.
37 —	2,562 at home.
62	6,547

^b Survey of Trade, p. 5.

Contrast the year of the accession of George the First with that of his successor :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D ^o Foreign.	Total.	£.	
1713 } 14 } 15 }	— 421,431	— 26,573	— 448,004	—	7,696,573
1726 } 27 } 28 }	— 432,832	— 23,651	— 456,483	—	7,951,772

THE early taste of King George II. for foreign politics, and his subsequent treaties, brought on at last a war with Spain, after a variety of negotiations and conventions; as it had been found impossible to prevent the Spanish depredations, while the Spanish court looked for impunity from the peacefulness of the English minister; who was however forced from his system in 1739.

The wise laws of the foregoing reign, with regard to commerce, had mean time produced their salutary effect, in a prodigious increase of domestic industry, of foreign traffic; and of the numbers of the people, which were the necessary consequence of both. These important truths we may assuredly infer from the following statement :

The surplus products exported, according to an average of the years 1726—7—8 — — — £. 7,951,772.
D^o, according to an average of the years 1736—7—8 9,993,232.

The public revenue enjoyed equal prosperity. The taxes which formed the standing revenue of the last reign, produced during the present abundantly. At Midsummer 1727, the interest of the public debts was reduced from 5 per cent. to 4; whereby there were added £.800,000 a year to the sinking fund, which, having originally amounted to £.400,000, was now increased to about £.1,200,000. It was remarked as a very unaccountable fact^e, “that, upon this second reduction of the interest of the national debts, their market-price advanced very considerably.” The government borrowed money for the current service, at an interest of 4 per cent. and the Commons hoped, “that the public occasions might be supplied for the future at 3 per cent. or less.”

The tonnage of English shipping, according to an average of the years 1726—7—8, amounted to : 476,941 tons; which were probably navigated by ——— 28,616 men.

The royal navy carried, in 1727 ——— 170,862 tons.

in 1741 ——— 190,387.

in 1749 ——— 228,215.

By comparing the following years, we shall discover the state of our commerce and navigation during the war of 1739.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D ^o Foreign.	Total.	£.	
1726 } 27 } 28 }	— 432,832 —	23,651 —	456,483 —	—	7,951,772
1736 } 37 } 38 }	— 476,941 —	26,627 —	501,673 —	—	9,993,232
1739 } 40 } 41 }	— 384,191 —	87,260 —	471,451 —	—	8,869,498
1744	— 373,817 —	72,849 —	446,666 —	—	9,185,621
1747	— 394,571 —	101,671 —	496,242 —	—	9,775,340
1748	— <u>479,236</u> —	<u>75,477</u> —	<u>554,713</u> —	—	<u>11,141,202</u>

Thus the year 1744 marked the ultimate point of commercial depression, if we judge from the tonnage; and 1740, if we draw our inference from the value of exports: yet, whether we argue

^a An admiralty-list, in the Paper-office, gives us the following detail of the King's ships in sea-pay, on the 10th July 1738.

Stationed in the Plantations,	24	ships,	carrying	5,045	men.
in the Mediterranean,	17	—	—	5,011	
at Newfoundland,	3	—	—	690	
Ordered home,	—	—	4	—	720
On the Irish coast,	—	—	6	—	550
At home,	—	—	41	—	9,602

95 ——— 23,418 mariners.

By preparations for a naval war, the foregoing list had been swelled, before March 1739, to 147 ships, carrying 38,849 men. But their numbers were defective, in 4,758 borne, and in 8,618 mustered. — From the same authority, we have the following abstract of the royal navy in June 1748:

89 ships of the line.

153 frigates.

242 ——— Complement of men, 60,654.

By comparing the list of 1738 with that of 1748, it gives an idea sufficiently precise of the magnitude of the fleet of England, during the war of 1739.

from

from the one, or the other, we must conclude that the interest of merchants was not much affected by the war of 1739. Accurate facts offer a continual contradiction to political speculation. Who could have supposed that the mercantile enterprizes of the last year of so lengthened a course of hostilities, would have gained a superiority in their general amount over the considerable traffic of the preceding period of peace, though a naval war was chiefly directed against the adventures of the traders? That long tract of warfare is also remarkable for the considerable balances of trade, which appear to have been paid annually to England; which, on a seven-year's average of the excess of exports, including the bullion sent out, amounted to £. 4,719,175 a year¹.

An examination, indeed, of the tonnage, yields a less advantageous deduction, which is therefore nearer the truth. The following detail of our shipping, gives us probably the true balance of trade:

446,666 tons cleared outwards.
304,861 tons entered inwards.

141,805; which carried out a cargo of about £. 2,000,000.

In this most favourable traffic we see the cause of that extraordinary difference of export between the three years of tranquillity preceding the war of 1739, and the three years of peace immediately subsequent to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Contrast

¹ It is curious to remark, that the balance of £. 4,719,175, which is mentioned in the text as the annual payment made to England on her general commerce, is a much larger sum than the whole gold and silver that was yearly imported from America to Spain during the same period. We may learn from *The Inquiry into the Cause of the Wealth of Nations*, [vol. i. p. 261.] that, according to an average of eleven years, there were imported annually into Spain £. 3,828,000 only; and into it and Portugal no more than £. 5,746,878. 4. sterling. It was the vast export of corn during the war of 1739, which has been valued at a million and a half, that swelled so greatly the apparent balance of favourable payments. [See the Annual Register for 1772, p. 197.] It was in the same manner the prohibition of the export of corn, with the bounty given to imports, more than any real decline in our manufactures and traffic, which occasioned the defalcation in the export of our products, and consequently in the balance of trade, which may be seen in the Chronological Table of Commerce hereinafter inserted, during the period from 1764 to 1771. These observations were made for the sake of those who delight in accurate research, and in logical deductions from just premises.

Contrast the following years :

	Ships cleared outwards.			Cargoes exported.
	Tons English.	D ^s foreign.	Total.	
1736 } 37 } 38 }	— 476,941	— 26,627	— 501,673	£. 9,993,232
1740 } 50 } 51 }	— 609,798	— 51,386	— 661,184	12,599,112

IN the foregoing detail, we behold the extended field from which King George II. drew his resources of men and of money for the war of 1755; when the encroachments of France on the American territory of England offered a fresh insult to her sovereignty.

The national strength at that epoch may be thus computed :

The whole tonnage of English ships, that formed the nursery	—	609,798 tons ;
whence the royal navy was chiefly manned	—	
which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to	—	
every 200 tons burden, by	—	36,588 men.

We may determine with regard to the progress and magnitude of the royal navy from the following statement :

	Tonnage.	Sailors voted by Parliament ^a .	Their wages, &c.
In 1749	228,215	17,000	£. 839,800
1754	226,246	10,000	494,000
1760	300,416	70,000	3,458,000

We

^a The ordinary of the navy and half-pay in 1749, — — £. 285,878.
Ordnance for sea-service, — — — 44,200

£. 330,078

The ordinary of the navy and half pay in 1754, — — 278,748
Building and repairs, — — — 100,000
Ordnance for sea-service, — — — 26,000

£. 404,748

The ordinary of the navy and half pay in 1760, — — 232,629
Building and repairs, — — — 200,000
Ordnance for sea-service, — — — 182,000

£. 614,629

We may discover with sufficient certainty the probable amount of the standing revenue from the following detail :

The nett income paid into the Exchequer from every branch of permanent taxes, during the five years from 1749 to 1753 inclusive, amounted to — — £. 22,039,784 14 3 ;
 which, according to an average of the same five years, yielded an annual revenue of — — £. 4,407,957 :
 But, the nation owed a debt, on the 11th of January 1753, of £. 75,313,353, whereon was paid an yearly interest, that must be deducted — — 2,677,327,

Clear revenue £. 1,730,630 :
 Out of which were to be defrayed the civil list expences, as well as the various charges of the peace establishment of the army and navy. There existed, however, immense wealth in the nation. And the annual supplies that were granted by Parliament in the course of hostilities amounted, according to an average of the years 1755—6—7—8—9 to — — — — £. 10,863,863.

Such was the strength of that monarch at the commencement of the war of 1755 : let us enquire into the losses or gains that resulted from it to commerce.

Compare the following years.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.	
1749 } 50 } 51 }	— 609,798	— 51,386	— 661,184	£. 12,599,112
1755 } 56 } 57 }	— 451,254	— 73,456	— 524,711	11,708,515
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 471,241	— 112,737	— 573,978	14,693,270
	— 508,220	— 117,835	— 626,055	14,873,194
	— 480,444	— 120,126	— 600,570	13,546,171

Thus, the year 1756 marked the lowest point of the depression of commerce ; whence it gradually rose, till, in the sixth year of the war, it had gained a superiority over that of the tranquil years 1749-50-51, if we judge according to the value of exports ; and almost to an equality, if we draw our inferences from the tonnage. The Spanish war of 1762 imposed an additional weight, and we have seen the consequent decline.

D 2

W H E N

WHEN by the treaty of Paris entire freedom was again restored to commerce, the traders once more exerted their energy, by sending out adventures of an unexampled amount to every quarter of the globe, though the nation was supposed to be strained by too great an exertion of its powers: and all the salutary effects of an augmented manufacture and an extended traffic were instantly seen in the commercial superiority of the three years following the pacification of 1763, over those ensuing the peace of 1748, though these have been celebrated justly as times of uncommon prosperity.

Examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	Do foreign.	Total.	
1749 } 50 } 51 }	— 609,798	— 51,386	— 661,184	£. 12,599,112
1758	— 389,842	— 116,002	— 505,844	— 12,618,335
1759	— 406,335	— 121,016	— 527,351	— 13,947,788
1764 } 65 } 66 }	— 639,872	— 68,136	— 708,008	— 14,925,950
1772 } 73 } 74 }	— 756,187	— 65,630	— 821,817	— 15,613,003

The gross income of the Post-office, foreign and domestic, *which can alone demonstrate*, says the Editor of the Annual* Register, *the extent of our correspondence*, amounted

in 1744, to	—	—	£. 235,492
in 1764, to	—	—	432,048

Such:

* There were exported, as part of the cargoes of 1758, prize-goods of the value of £. 901,207; and as part of those of 1759, the value of £. 692,743. In the amount of the cargoes exported in the year 1766, and also in the series of 1772-3-4, the value of corn was not included, since it was not exported; which makes a considerable difference, as hath been already observed.

* Of 1773, p. 225.

Such then is the pleasant view, which a comparison of the years 1764—5—6, with 1772—3—4, displays, of the flourishing state of England, during the peaceful period between the conclusion of the last war and the beginning of the present. When, owing to the native habits and acquired confidence of the colonies—to the ancient neglects and continued indulgence of Britain—the nation found herself at length obliged to enter into a serious contest with her transatlantic provinces, in 1775, she happily enjoyed all the advantages of a busy manufacture, of a vigorous commerce, and of a productive revenue: and we may thence infer, that the state engaged in the arduous dispute with augmented resources, since the efficient funds had been greatly enlarged.

Let us examine the strength of England at the epoch of the American war.

For reasons that shall be afterwards given, the fighting men of England and Wales, exclusive of Scotland, are calculated at ————— 2,000,000.
 The annual tonnage of English shipping, which formed the chief nursery for the royal navy, had now swelled to ————— 756,187 tons;
 which must have been navigated, if we allow ————— twelve men to every two hundred tons, by 45,371 sailors.

The following detail contains a connected survey of the tonnage of the royal navy at different periods:

In 1688	— 101,032 tons.			
1695	— 112,400	— 45,000 men.		
1705	— 104,754	— 41,539		
1715	— 167,596			
1727	— 170,862	— 20,000	— voted by Parliament:	
1749	— 228,215	— 17,000	— ditto	
1754	— 226,246	— 10,000	— ditto	
1760	— 300,416	— 70,000	— ditto	
1774 ^y	— 276,046	— 20,000	— ditto	

The

* The subjoined statement will give the reader ideas sufficiently precise of the peace establishment of the royal navy during the present reign, according to an average

The public revenue amounted yearly to rather more than £.10,000,000; though indeed its energy was embarrassed by considerable burdens, and its operations were obstructed, both in peace and in war, by great deductions; yet the productive powers of the sinking fund, or rather, the superabundance of all

average of the first seven years, and of the four last years, contrasted, from the parliamentary grants; and also during the reign of George II. according to an average of the five peaceful years subsequent to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as the five tranquil years preceding the war of 1739, compared with those of the foregoing reign, and with those of the following one.

Years.	Seamen voted.	Wages, &c.	Ordinary of the navy.	Repairs, &c.
1764 to 1771	— 16,000 —	£. 832,000	£. 408,786	£. 264,357
1771 to 1774	— 26,200 —	1,365,000	409,696	410,492
1750 51 52 53 54	— 9,600 —	471,797	305,320	108,030
1738 37 33 32 31	— 9,200 —	415,500	215,700	50,800
1726 25 24 23 22	— 10,000 —	505,500	193,157	50,200

It is a memorable circumstance, that the peace establishment of failors during the present reign, consisted of a greater number than were found in all England by the enumeration of 1581 or even of 1701. Of the royal navy, which has been stated in the text to have carried, in 1774, 276,046 tons, several ships were found, it should seem, unfit for actual service on the day of trial. Of a still greater number we have been deprived, either by the misfortunes incident to navigation, or by the good fortune of our enemies. Yet, by an effort, which Britain alone could have made, while her navigation and traffic prospered in unexampled greatness, there have been added to the fleet, of efficient ships, during a period of six years of war, from 1775 to 1781:

all other funds more than their engagements, since it is composed of surplusses from all, brought the national income considerable aid, by strengthening credit, and by facilitating loans as well as payments.

Notwithstanding

	Guns.		Tons.
44 of the line, including fifties, armed with —	3,002	carrying —	56,144
110 from 20 to 44 guns, — armed with —	3,331	carrying —	53,350
160 sloops, — armed with —	2,555	carrying —	37,160
<hr/>			
314 vessels, —	8,888	—	146,654
<hr/>			
By a similar effort during the war of the Revolution, England, we have seen, could only add to her naval force, in six years, —		—	11,368

Here then is a greater fleet fitted out during the embarrassments of war, than King William or Queen Anne, or perhaps King George I. ever possessed. It may gratify a reasonable curiosity, to see a precise statement of the navy, which was in commission the beginning of the year 1782, exclusive of the ships lying in ordinary, and in preparation for the next campaign, after all our losses, either by means of the storms of the deep, the waste of time, or the vigour of the enemy.

Here is the detail.

Guns.	Rates.	Number of each.
	1	3
	2	11
80 } —	3	47
74 } —	4	32
70 } —	4	5
64 } —	4	14
60 } —	4	
50 } —	4	

Of the line, 112

44 } —	5	12
40 } —	5	
38 } —	5	38
36 } —	5	
32 } —	5	28
28 } —	5	
20 } —	6	26
Sloops, &c.		182

Total in commission, 398

Men voted by Parliament in 1782.

100,000

Notwithstanding every reduction during the foregoing peace, the debt of the nation amounted, at Midsummer 1775, to — — — £. 135,943,051; whereon was paid an annual interest of — £. 4,440,821: And this last sum must have been deducted, in the first place, from the nett income paid into the exchequer.

The progressive produce of the sinking fund was as follows:

The annual average from 1760 }	—	£. 2,090,943
to 1765 }	—	
from 1765 }	—	2,266,246
to 1770 }	—	
from 1770 }	—	2,651,453
to 1775 }	—	
from 1775 }	—	2,868,012
to 1780 }	—	
1781 }	—	3,058,012

HAVING thus calculated the previous strength of this kingdom, let us now inquire into the losses of trade, from the most complicated war in which Britain was ever engaged.

Consider the following proofs:

	Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
		Tons English.	Do foreign.	Total.	
Peaceful	{ 1749 50 51 }	— 609,798	— 51,386	— 661,184	£. 12,599,112
Peaceful	{ 1772 73 74 }	— 756,187	— 65,630	— 821,817	15,613,003
American war,	{ 1775 76 77 }	— 760,798	— 73,234	— 834,032	13,861,812
French war,	{ 1778	— 657,238	— 98,113	— 755,351	11,551,070
Spanish war,	{ 1779	— 590,911	— 139,124	— 730,035	12,693,430
Dutch war,	{ 1780	— 619,462	— 134,515	— 753,977	11,622,333

Let us now sum up the evidence. A comparison of the three tranquil years immediately succeeding the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the three peaceful years preceding the present war, marks the superior extent of our manufactures and navigation during the last period over the former. If we judge from the state

of the tonnage during the years 1775—6—7, the Colonial contest appears to have little affected the general mass of trade, since our navigation was greater during the American war, than it had been during the previous years of peace : but, if we draw our inference from the diminished value of cargoes exported, we seem to have lost £. 1,751,190 a year, which formed probably the real amount of the usual export to the revolted provinces. It was the alarm occasioned by the interference of France that first interrupted universal traffic : and the year 1778, which was, however, still superior in its export to the average of 1755—6—7, marked the lowest point of commercial depression during the present war, if we determine from the value of cargoes ; whence trade immediately rose, as it had done during every former contest. The traders having carefully felt their ground, and inspected the markets, sent out, in 1779, a greater quantity of merchandize than that of the preceding year, by £. 1,142,360, though the inconsiderable fall in the amount of the tonnage would lead us to infer that the value of exportations had also fallen. The great prosperity of our foreign trade during the last war, at least from 1758, is a fact in our annals, which has excited the wonder of the world. Yet, let us fairly contrast our foreign commerce during the following years, great as it was assuredly during the first period, and little as it has been supposed to be during the last :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.	
	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.	£.	
1758	— 389,842	— 116,002	— 505,844	—	12,618,335
1778	— 657,238	— 98,113	— 755,351	—	11,551,070
1759	— 406,335	— 121,016	— 527,351	—	13,947,788
1779	— 590,911	— 139,124	— 730,035	—	12,693,430
1760	— 471,241	— 102,737	— 573,978	—	14,694,970
1780	— 619,462	— 134,515	— 753,977	—	11,622,333

Here then is a demonstration of the superior navigation of England during the present war, over that of the former, though the apparent value of our manufactures, sent to foreign countries,

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seems to have been less. But, for reasons that shall be afterwards given, though the truth of the observation is self-evident, the tonnage ought to be considered as the most certain measure with regard to the extent of both. And the singular rise in the numbers of our shipping cleared outwards, with the fall in the value of manufactures that appear to have formed their cargoes, justify, because "they shew an unsuitableness which cannot otherwise be accounted for," a very shrewd remark of Mr. Eden's, "That in the latter period it may be doubted, whether the dexterity of exporters, which in times of regular trade occasions ostentatious and exaggerated entries, may not in many instances have operated to undervaluations and concealments."

Let us now take a transient view of the trade of Scotland during the last and present war.

Compare the following years :

	Years.		Value of cargoes exported.
French war,	{ 1755 56 57 }	— —	£. 663,401
American war,	{ 1775 76 77 }	— —	996,535
French war,	— 1760	— —	1,086,205
American French Spanish Dutch } wars,	— 1780	— —	1,002,039

It may be of use, because we may acquire accurate knowledge, to carry on this comparison a little further. The Spanish war of 1762 beat down the amount of commerce below the standard of 1761. Notwithstanding the Spanish war of 1779, the value of our commerce rose in that year beyond the level of 1778, by £. 1,142,360. We ought to have expected, that the superaddition of the Dutch contest, in the end of the year 1780, would have forced down the traffic of this year, even below the measure of 1778: yet, if

we determine from the number of ships cleared outwards, our foreign trade in 1780 mounted over that of 1779; but if we infer from less certain premises, the apparent values of their cargoes, it was compressed below the standard of 1779, though not to an equality with the depression of 1778. Notwithstanding those various obstructions, the trade of Scotland gradually ascended from its lowest point of debasement in 1778, till, in 1780, it had gained a superiority over that of 1762, and nearly an equality with that of 1760.

Examine the proof:

Exported in	1777	the value of	£. 837,643
	1778	_____	702,820
	1779	_____	837,273
	1780	_____	1,002,039
	_____		_____

He who has entered into the spirit of this interesting comparison may ask, What then is the amount of our commercial losses during the present war? Admitting that our foreign commerce during our existing hostilities, and during the war of 1755, were precisely of the same extent, (though the superiority of our navigation amid our present contests forbids such a supposition) the answer is, We have only lost by the war the amount of the annual gains of an increasing industry and traffic from 1763 to 1775, since we nearly enjoy now what we enjoyed at any time previous to the peace of Paris. Were we to figure the trade of Britain, foreign and domestic, as an Atlas, sustaining her affairs mercantile and political, we might find an argument and an illustration from the progressive stages of the growth of man. We have seen, that during the last war he exerted all the activity and the vigour of youth; that during the present he exercised all the energy and the force of manhood: when the embarrassments of the former period pressed him with additional incumbrances, he shrunk from his load with the suppleness of his age, but recovered his position with his natural agility: when the complicated difficulties of the present wars heaped upon him additional weight, he bent reluctantly under his burden; but, having easily collected his powers, he stood firm in his might under all his pressures, because his sinews had been strung, and his joints had been knit.

Such accurate details, however, admit of few remarks, and of little embellishment: much of their force arises from comparison and contrast, by bringing the glances of the eye in aid of the deliberations of judgment.

It may, however, be observed in general, that King William engaged in the war of the Revolution, on the strength of a foreign commerce, of the yearly value of — — — — — £. 4,086,087 ;
which was chiefly transported by a tonnage of — — — — — 190,533 ;
And from both arose an annual income of £. 551,141.

Queen Anne entered into the war of 1702, on the strength of a foreign commerce, of the yearly value of — — — — — £. 6,709,881 ;
which was chiefly transported by a tonnage of — — — — — 293,793 :
And from both arose an annual income of £. 1,292,138.

King George II. began the war of 1739, on the strength of a foreign commerce, of the yearly value of — — — — — £. 9,993,232 ;
which was chiefly transported by a tonnage of — — — — — 476,941 :
And from both arose an annual income of £. 1,516,557.

The same monarch commenced hostilities in 1755, on the strength of a foreign commerce, of the yearly value of — — — — — £. 12,599,112 ;
which was chiefly transported by a tonnage of — — — — — 609,798 :
And from both arose an annual income of £. 1,558,254.

His present Majesty engaged in the Colonial contest on the strength of a foreign commerce, of the yearly value of — — — — — £. 15,613,093 ;
which was chiefly transported by a tonnage of — — — — — 756,187 :
And both yielded an annual custom of — £. 2,503,335.

Were we to form a judgment of the force of England in the year 1774, by comparing its exports with those of 1688, we ought to determine that the national power was in the first period to the last, as fifteen are to four: were we to judge from a comparison of the amount of the customs, our strength at present is nearly five times as much as it was then: but if we decide by a computation

computation of the successive tonnage, the naval resources of the state during the current reign are

to those of William's,	—	as 7 to 2
to those of Anne's,	—	as 7 to 3
to those of George II. in 1739,	as 7 to 4	
to those of George II. in 1755,	as 7 to 6	

If we take the average of the tonnage cleared outwards, in 1764, and 1774, it will give us for the average tonnage of the present reign, 698,030 tons.

In order to find the real tonnage, add one-third to the registered tonnage which is entered at the Custom-house, — — 232,677

930,707

Add to these one-fifteenth, for the tonnage of Scotland — — 62,047

British tonnage during the present reign, — 992,754 tons;

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons, by — — 59,565 failors.

If we take the average of the tonnage of 1749, of 1737, of 1727, it will shew us the tonnage of the reign of George II. — 506,523 tons.

Add one-third for the real tonnage, — — 168,841

675,364

Add one-fifteenth for the tonnage of Scotland, 45,025

British tonnage during the reign of George II. 720,389

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons, by — — 43,222 mariners.

If we take the average of the tonnage during	
the years 1702, 1709, and 1714, we shall	
discover the tonnage of the reign of	
Anne, —	312,939 tons.
Add one-third for the real tonnage, —	104,313
	<hr/>
	416,252
	<hr/>

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons,
by — — — 24,975 mariners.

The enumeration, in January 1701, of the	
shipping of England, gave the tonnage —	261,222 tons,
	<hr/>
and the men — —	16,591 failors.
	<hr/>

If we take, however, the average of the years	
1688, 1697, and 1701, we shall discover the	
tonnage of the reign of William, —	
	172,831 tons.
Add one-third for the real tonnage, —	57,610
	<hr/>
	230,441
	<hr/>

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons,
by — — — 13,826 failors.

If we take the average of the years 1688 and	
1660, we shall see the tonnage of the period	
between the Restoration and the Revolution, 142,899 tons.	
Add one-third for the real tonnage —	47,633
	<hr/>
	189,532 tons ;
	<hr/>

which must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons,
by — — — 11,372 mariners.

The

The enumeration ² in 1581, of the shipping of		
England, demonstrates that the tonnage of		
the reign of Elizabeth was only	—	72,450 tons,
and the mariners of all kinds,	—	14,295.

Such then is the estimate, which has been thus briefly submitted to the public, of the comparative strength of England during different periods of her contests, and of the losses of her trade from every war since the Revolution; and the notices of the foregoing details are so authentic, and their inferences are so decisive, that every attentive reader has a right to demand a further account of the first, and an additional explanation of the last.

MANKIND

² Monson, 256.

MANKIND are now too enlightened to admit of confident assertion in the place of satisfactory proof, or plausible novelty for conclusive evidence. Little was therefore asserted in the foregoing sheets, without the citation of sufficient authorities, or the mention of authentic documents, which have already been produced, and ought now to be explained. He who proposes new modes of argument, must expect contradiction; and he who draws novel conclusions from uncommon premises, ought to enable the reader to examine his reasonings, because it is just inquiry which can alone establish the certainty of truth on the degradation of error.

Prompted as much by curiosity as by avarice, even during the infancy of our traffic, men entered into the most minute inquiries with regard to the amount of what we sent out, as well as of what we brought in, with the prudent design of learning whether we gained or lost by our commerce. If we pass over the uncertain times of our Edwards and Henrys, and also of Elizabeth, we shall find, in 1622, a furious contest between Misselden and Malynes, two eminent merchants, with regard to the balance of trade; which had already engaged the hopes and fears of the nation, since the precious metals were supposed then, as they are considered too often now, alone to constitute wealth: and the scarcity of money was complained of not only by traders, whose credit and capitals were yet inconsiderable, but by country gentlemen who abounded in genuine opulence. The one class, in their avidity for gain, had overtraded themselves; the other had learned habits of complaining, during those days of dissatisfaction.

With a spirit which evinces how little the nature of commerce was at that time understood, Malynes insisted, *that exchange ought to be regulated by public authority, because commodities and coins are governed by it.* Directed by clearer views of his subject, Misselden contended with equal zeal, *that it was the real amount of the exports and imports, which not only influenced exchange, but every thing else; and that a free trade made trade flourish*^a. While we amuse ourselves

^a See an account of that curious controversy in And. Comm. sub an. 1622. But Sir Robert Cotton, and other statesmen of that day, clearly comprehended the nature of coins as well as of commerce. [See Cotton's Posthuma.]

ourselves with remarking the pertinacious acrimony of the disputants, we may now decide from our present experience which of them was right.

As the reasonableness of Misselden triumphed ere long over the absurdity of Malynes, ingenuity exerted its powers to discover, through the thick cloud which then enveloped an interesting subject, the value of our exports and our imports; and thence, by an easy deduction, to find whether we were gainers or losers by our traffic. Diligent inquirers looked into the entries at the Custom-house, because they knew that a duty of five in the hundred being collected on the value of commodities, it would require no difficult calculation to ascertain nearly the amount of both. And, during the reign of James I. it was established as a rule, not only among merchants, but statesmen, to multiply the general value of the customs, inwards and outwards, by twenty, in order to find the real value of the various articles which formed the aggregate of our foreign trade. Exceptionable as it was, this mode furnished, during many years of darkness, the only light that our ancestors had to direct their unexperienced steps, notwithstanding the impatience of politicians, and the efforts of ministers. Improvement is too often mistaken for innovation. When the Lords of the Committee of Trade urged the Commissioners of the Customs, during the latter part of the reign of Charles II. "to enter the several commodities which formed the exports and imports, to affix to each its price, and to form a general total, by calculating the value of the whole," the Custom-house officers stoutly insisted, because they dreaded change, "that to comply with such directions would require the one half of the clerks of London:" so difficult is it to induce the old to alter the methods of their youth. And the theorists of those times continued to satisfy their curiosity, and to alarm the nation on the side of her commercial jealousy, since there existed no written evidence by which their statements could be proved, or their declamations confuted.

It was to the liberality of sentiment, no less than to the perseverance of resolution of the House of Peers, that the public were at last indebted for the establishment of the office of Inspector General, in 1695-6, and for his "Ledger," the most curious and important record which any country possesses. Nor were the forms of this useful department established without consideration. Hav-

ing reviewed a variety of specimens, a Committee of Lords determined in favour of those which are now in use^b; “the whole,” says Davenant, “being put into a very good method by the skillful hands of Mr. Culliford,” the first Inspector General: “and thus was laid,” continued that intelligent writer^c, “a most excellent foundation for finding out that balance of trade which has been so often talked of.”

From this authentic register of our traffic, the parliament were yearly supplied with details, either for argument or deliberation; and speculatists were furnished with extracts for the exercise of their ingenuity or the formation of their projects. But, as actual enjoyment seldom ensures continued satisfaction, what had been demanded for half a century, when it was regarded as unattainable, was ere long derided as defective, when it was possessed; and they who pointed out the defects of an establishment that could not be made perfect, found believers now, because man delights in uncertainty, and his pride is gratified, by seeing imperfection in all things. Against objectors who thus easily found abettors, it was justly remarked, That it was hoped originally, that a record containing each specific article of our exports and imports, with the mercantile value affixed to each, would, by a calculation tedious, yet certain, give us nearly the true value of both, at least as much exactness as a vast detail admits, or public utility demands:—that it was not probably perceived how impossible it is to set bounds to human vanity, caprice, and deceit; and how easily apparent impossibility repels reasonable trial: but, that as man, when engaged in similar pursuits, acts nearly a similar part, it was just to infer, that the same vanity, caprice, or deceit, which in one age incited the trader to make exaggerated entries at the Custom-house, urged him, during every period, to gratify his ruling passion by a repetition of the same arts, since he was not carried from his bias by the dread either of a tax or a forfeiture:—and that, as common error constitutes common law, it might be safely concluded, that the average of error during

^b The Compiler of these sheets had the curiosity to search *the Parliament-office* for the documents mentioned in the text: and he soon found cause to admire the patient diligence of the Peers, in considering, day after day, so many papers, dry in their nature, however useful in their end.

^c Vol. ii. p. 32.

during one season would be nearly equal to the average of error at any given epoch. Though to these reasonings it was not easy to find suitable answers, few changed their opinions, because mankind do not willingly part from their prejudices.

When the Committee of Peers, aided by the skillful Culliford, affixed, in 1696, the price by which each article of export or of import should in future be rated, they probably knew, that the successive fluctuation of demand, arising from the change in the taste and the fashions of the world, would necessarily raise the value of some commodities, and sink the price of others; yet they assuredly foresaw, that the same fluctuation which in one age occasioned an apparent error, would in the next re-establish the rule; as the rise in the price of some articles would at all times be nearly equal to the fall in the value of an equal number, which, by forming a general average of a thousand different species of merchandize, would give in the result, if not the truth, at least so great a similitude as to answer all the usual purposes of life. Nor did they, perhaps, expect to ascertain the real value of the exports or imports of the current year, as the prodigious extent of the calculation did not, they had seen, admit of a speedy deduction; but, with a spirit that merits the highest praise, they chiefly aimed to establish, for the public, a standard by which a just comparison might be made between any two given periods of the past; and thereby to infer whether our foreign commerce prospered or declined during the present moment: and this most important information *the Ledger of the Inspector General* does certainly convey with sufficient certainty for the uses of practice, or the speculations of theory. Let us not pretend to more wisdom in this respect than our fathers exerted for our emolument; nor expect perfection where perfection cannot exist. Let us therefore restrain the inconsiderate hand of the innovator, who, in attempting to alter the rate of annexed prices, would no longer leave us the standard which they bequeathed to their posterity, whereby we enjoy what our children could not possess, all the advantages of comparison and of contrast^d.

It

^d Of the several works which the public owe to the attentive diligence of the late Sir Charles Whitworth, none can be of more importance to the Peer or the Commoner,

It is a sound maxim in the law of England, which the philosophers of England ought to adopt in their researches, *that the best evidence that the nature of every case will admit, ought always to be asked and given.* Animated by this sentiment, rather than impressed with any doubtfulness of the sufficiency of the Inspector's Ledger to prove all which it was intended to establish, the compiler of these sheets looked for supplemental proofs. He found in the tonnage of our shipping, all the certainty that the other has been supposed to want. The same reasons which had induced the traders to enter at the Custom-house, in respect to their merchandizes, too much, incited them, with regard to their vessels, to register too little: in the first operation, they were governed by their vanity; in the second, by their interest: and if the one furnishes an evidence too flattering, the other gives a testimony as much under the truth, as the other has been said to be beyond it. As King William's reign may claim the honour of having appointed the useful inspector of our exports and imports, Queen Anne's administration enjoys the merit of having established the register of shipping, which is still more satisfactory in its notices, because it is still more precise in its entries. The best intelligence, indeed, on the subject of our navigation, during the interesting period from the Restoration to the Revolution, must be collected from detached details, lying obscure, and almost forgotten, among the memorials of state: but, from the year 1709, the lists of shipping have been regularly taken, though, previous to the year 1747, they have not been always carefully preserved. From this date, that most important register has been studiously kept; and it offers to the public such a body of evidence, with regard to a subject the most interesting to a naval nation, as to admit of little controversy, since *it is the best that the nature of the case admits.* He who asks for better, ought to

moner, to the merchant or mechanic, than *The State of the Trade of England*, since it is a transcript of *the Ledger of the Inspector General*, with regard to the exports and imports to and from every different country, from 1696 to 1774, exclusive. It was of the greatest use to the compiler of these sheets; and he never looks into it, but he feels what he owes to the memory of a person who employed his leisure in collecting details, which contain more real information than a hundred volumes of declamation.

[This is from page 37.]

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT of COMMERCE in this Island, from the Restoration to the Year 1780, inclusive.

Epochs.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes exported.			Balance of Trade.			Nett Customs English.	Money coined.
	Tons English.	D ^r foreign.	Total.	English.	Scotch.	Total.	English.	Scotch.	Total.		
The Restoration, { 1663 } 1669	95,266	47,634	142,900	£. 2,043,043	—	£. 2,043,043	Unfavorable.	—	—	£. 390,000	By Charles II. — £. 7,524,105 By James II. — 2,737,637
The Revolution, 1688	190,533	95,267	285,800	4,086,087	—	4,086,087	Dutch.	—	—	551,141	£. 10,261,742
Peace of Ryfwick, 1697	144,267	100,524	244,788	3,525,907	—	3,525,907	£. 43,320	—	£. 43,320	694,892	By William III. — £. 10,511,963
Last years of Wil- liam III. { 1700 } 1702	273,693	43,635	317,328	6,045,432	—	6,045,432	1,386,832	—	1,386,832	1,474,861	
Wars of Anne, { 1709 } 1712	243,693	45,625	289,318	5,913,357	—	5,913,357	2,116,451	—	2,116,451	1,273,587	By Anne, — £. 2,691,626
1713	326,620	29,115	355,725	6,868,840	—	6,868,840	3,014,175	—	3,014,175	—	
First of George I. { 1713 } 1715	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573	—	7,696,573	1,904,151	—	1,904,151	1,588,496	By George I. — £. 8,725,921
First of George II. { 1726 } 1728	432,832	23,651	456,483	7,951,772	—	7,951,772	3,514,768	—	3,514,768	—	
Peaceful years, { 1736 } 1737	476,941	26,627	501,673	9,993,232	—	9,993,232	4,642,502	—	4,642,502	—	
War of — { 1739 } 1740	384,191	87,260	471,451	8,869,498	—	8,869,498	2,455,313	—	2,455,313	—	
Peaceful years, { 1749 } 1750	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112	—	12,599,112	6,521,964	—	6,521,964	—	
War of — { 1755 } 1757	451,254	73,456	524,711	11,708,515	663,401	12,371,916	4,046,465	—	4,046,465	1,855,334	By George II. { Gold, £. 11,662,216 Silver, 304,360 £. 11,966,576
First of George III. 1760	471,241	102,737	573,978	14,694,970	1,086,205	15,781,175	5,746,270	235,412	5,981,682	—	
61	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,191	1,165,722	16,038,913	6,822,051	417,082	7,239,133	—	
62	486,444	120,126	606,570	13,545,171	998,165	14,543,336	5,263,858	289,240	5,553,098	—	
63	561,724	87,293	649,017	14,487,507	1,091,436	15,578,943	4,495,146	187,545	4,682,691	2,076,735	
64	583,934	74,800	658,734	16,512,404	1,243,927	17,756,331	6,148,096	357,575	6,505,671	—	
65	651,402	67,855	719,257	14,550,507	1,180,867	15,731,374	3,660,764	258,466	3,919,230	—	
66	684,281	61,753	746,034	14,024,964	1,163,704	15,188,668	2,549,189	182,715	2,731,904	—	
67	645,835	63,000	709,041	13,844,511	1,245,490	15,090,001	1,770,555	222,293	1,992,848	—	
68	668,786	72,734	741,520	15,117,983	1,502,150	16,620,133	3,239,322	265,501	3,504,823	—	
69	709,855	63,020	772,875	13,438,236	1,563,053	15,001,289	1,520,676	337,523	1,867,199	—	
1770	703,495	57,476	760,971	14,266,654	1,729,915	15,996,569	2,049,716	514,556	2,564,272	—	
71	714,835	64,680	779,515	17,161,147	1,857,334	19,018,481	4,339,151	471,005	4,810,156	—	
72	716,861	76,415	793,276	16,159,413	1,560,756	17,720,169	2,860,961	350,492	3,211,453	—	
73	752,836	55,284	808,120	14,763,253	1,612,175	16,375,428	3,356,412	499,376	3,855,788	2,503,353	
74	798,864	65,192	864,056	15,916,344	1,372,143	17,288,487	2,888,678	169,866	3,058,544	—	
75	767,282	64,046	831,328	15,202,366	1,123,998	16,326,364	2,275,003	—	2,275,003	—	
76	778,878	72,188	851,066	13,729,726	1,025,973	14,755,699	2,962,424	279,292	3,241,716	—	
77	736,234	83,468	819,702	12,653,363	837,643	13,491,006	1,472,996	35,389	1,508,385	—	
78	657,238	98,113	755,351	11,551,070	702,820	12,253,890	1,379,653	—	1,379,653	—	
79	590,911	139,124	730,035	12,693,430	837,273	13,530,700	2,092,133	62,501	2,154,634	2,412,993	By George III. { Gold, 30,457,805 Silver, 7,126 £. 30,464,931
1780	619,462	134,515	753,977	11,622,333	1,002,039	12,624,372	1,688,494	99,315	1,787,809	—	

to be considered as a person who takes delight in walking through the mazes of uncertainty, while he indulges a sceptical mind in the heresies of error.

Such then is the nature and the authenticity of the proofs, which, exclusive of references and details, have been chiefly used in forming the foregoing estimate; and they appeared so satisfactory to the compiler of these sheets, as to induce him to offer to an enlightened public, *a chronological account of commerce in this island*, from the Restoration to the year 1780 inclusive, with design to exhibit a clearer view of the weakness of its commencement, the struggles of its progress, and the greatness of its maturity, than has yet been done.

Of the annexed table, the eye instantly perceives the disposition of the parts and the arrangement of the whole. In the first column may be seen the various epochs, beginning with the Restoration, whence certainty may be said to commence, and ending with the year 1780, because here our documents fail, as the public accounts are yet brought no lower down. The second column gives the tonnage of the shipping that successively sailed from England, distinguishing the English from the foreign, in order to find, in the amount of each, the salutary effects of the act of navigation. The third column contains the value of the merchandize sent out, that the extent of the cargoes may be compared with the quantity of tonnage which carried them: and, though the Scotch tonnage could not be adjoined, the value of the Scotch exports is added, because every one finds a gratification in extending his views. The fourth column exhibits the result of our exports and imports compared, which forms what has been denominated the balance of trade. The fifth column states the nett customs, as far as they could be ascertained, which our foreign commerce has yielded at different periods, because, while the detail gratifies curiosity, it furnishes no despicable proof of the prosperity or decline of our traffic. And the last column contains, what may be regarded as the result of the whole, the sums which have been coined in England during every reign; since *the mint*, as Sir Robert Cotton expresses it, *is the pulse of the commonwealth*.

It is always pleasing to trace a progress, because the mind is at the same time amused and filled. Having already inspected the navigation of England during the reign of Elizabeth, we have

seen the amount, in the enumeration of 1581, to have been only seventy-two thousand and fifty tons; which were navigated by fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five mariners of every kind. But, were we to rely on the remonstrance of the corporation of the Trinity-house to the Lord High Admiral Nottingham, in 1602, "the shipping and seamen had decayed in the mean time one-third part." Anderson having stated this declamation, so natural to every age, as an indubitable truth, endeavours to account "for this declension of our maritime power," by means of the Queen's wars with Spain, and the many private adventures to the American coasts*. The pusillanimous disposition, however, of James I. continues this laborious author, gave a breathing-time to our mercantile and colonizing enterprizes; and the royal navy too was increased in his reign to almost double of Queen Elizabeth's own ships, which had been thirteen, and were now twenty-four. A philosophical historian had probably stated, in less prejudiced language, that the spirit of that illustrious Princess having incited the ardour of the English nation, the peacefulness of her successor converted the buccaneers of the preceding reign into traders, who derived that gain from diligence, which the pirates^f had sought in rapine: and the speculative wisdom of a prince, remarkable for affecting the arts of peace more than the adventures of war, induced him to regard the augmentation of his own navy, and not the destruction of the fleet of other monarchs, as the circumstance from which the nation must ultimately expect actual protection. The encouragement which James I. gave to the East India Company, induced them, says Anderson, "to build, in 1618, the largest English ship that England ever had, being of eleven hundred tons burden; with which, and three others, they made their sixth voyage: and that monarch, at the same time, built the finest ship of war that England ever had, being fourteen hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four cannons." Charles I. copied, in this respect,

* Commerce, vol. i. 433.

^f In 1602, Elizabeth issued a proclamation, "prohibiting her subjects from pirating on the ships and merchandize of nations in alliance with her, under pretence of their belonging to Spain and Portugal." [Rym. Fœd. vol. xvi. p. 436.]

spect, the example of his father; in which we see nothing either ridiculous or unwise. That youthful prince, whilst he was poor, incited the traders to follow the steps of the East India Company, by offering a bounty of five shillings a ton for every ship that should be built of the burden of two hundred tons and upwards: and with a similar spirit he at the same time raised the pay of the sailors on board the royal fleet^c. While we thus do justice to James the First, as well as to his successor, let us not forget what is due to the celebrated Elizabeth. It was she who had offered a lesson to Charles I. by giving a similar bounty to the builders of ships of one hundred tons and upwards. These notices enable us to trace the progress in the magnitude of our shipping, during no long period of years: the ministers of Elizabeth had considered a vessel of one hundred tons as of a burden equal to the extent of our commerce: the advisers of Charles I. were not satisfied with ships of so small a size. It was to this wise policy that the trading vessels of England ere long extended her renown, and even protected her rights: the English navigators repelled the attacks of the Mediterranean rovers with characteristic bravery: when civil discord was at length inflamed into civil war, Charles the First, and the Commons, each adopted the prior practice of Elizabeth, in arming for war the roomy ships of the merchants^b. We can only relish as we ought our present enjoyments, by thus comparing their pleasures or importance with the felicities or advantages of the possessions of our fathers.

That the progress of our traffic and navigation, from the commencement of the seventeenth century to the æra of the Revolution, had been remarkably rapid, all mercantile writers seem to admit. Sir William Petty stated, in 1670, "that the shipping of England had trebled in forty years." Doctor Davenant afterwards asserted^d, "that experienced merchants did agree, that we had, in 1688, near double the tonnage of trading shipping to what

^c Rym. Fœd. vol. xviii. p. 679.

^b See Anderson's Commerce during the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

^d Vol. ii. p. 29.

what we had in 1666." And Anderson^k inferred, from the concurring testimony of authors on this interesting subject, "that the English nation was in the zenith of commercial prosperity at the Revolution." We have already examined how much the commercial gain of our traders was taken away by the war which immediately followed that most important event in our annals. But the eye must be again thrown over the chronological table, if the reader wishes for a more comprehensive view of the continual progression of trade from the station of eminence to which Anderson had traced it; its temporary interruptions; and its final exaltation, during the present reign, over every preceding period. If we compare the greatness of 1688, with the amount of 1774, we shall discover that the navigation of the latter epoch had reached a point of the mercantile heavens so much more exalted than the former, as to reverse its position; as to convert what was once *the zenith* into *the nadir* now.

			Tons English.		D° foreign.		Total.
Contrast	1688	—	190,533	—	95,267	—	285,800
with	1774	—	798,864	—	65,192	—	864,056

The famous Mr. Gregory King calculated^l, "*that we gained annually on the freight of English shipping in 1688,* — — — *£.810,000.*"
 If the "*national profit on the naval trade of England, in 1688;*" amounted to — — — *£.810,000;*
 what ought to have been *the national profit on our naval trade in 1774?* If 190,000 tons gained *£.810,000,*
 790,000 tons must have gained — — — *£.3,367,889.*

If from the tonnage, which will be found to be our most faithful guide, in discovering the benefits of our navigation and trade during

^k Commerce, vol. ii. p. 187.

^l Dav. Works, vol. vi p. 146.

during every age, we look into the *the column of cargoes* in the chronological table, we shall find an excellent auxiliary in the Ledger of the Inspector-general, in conducting our inquiries, and in fixing our judgments.

To investigate the value of our exports and our imports during the disturbed times of our Edwards, our Henrys, and Elizabeth, would be a research of curiosity rather than of use, since it might neither gratify our antiquaries, nor enlighten our statesmen. We behold the first dawn of commercial certainty during the reign of James I. And, by a mode of calculation that has been already explained, our foreign trade was stated^m to amount, from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613,

The value of exports, to	—	—	—	£. 2,090,641
The value of imports, to	—	—	—	1,794,768
				<hr/>
Favourable balance,				£. 295,873
				<hr/>

The customsⁿ, in 1612—13, amounted,

In London, to	—	£. 109,573
In the outports, to	—	38,503
		<hr/>

Total, — £. 148,076 :

And from this accurate detail we may determine with regard to the general extent of our traffic and to the minute distribution of its parts. Our commerce appears to have been considerably extended during the following part of the present reign, and the undisturbed portion of the next, though the exact amount cannot be easily ascertained. The twenty years of subsequent distraction interrupted our domestic industry, and introduced disorder into our foreign adventures. This lamentable truth will appear sufficiently clear, by contrasting the year 1613 with 1663 :

The

^m And. Com. vol. i. p. 490.

ⁿ Ib.

The value of goods <i>exported</i> in 1613,	—	£. 2,090,641
Ditto — — in 1663,	—	2,022,812
<hr/>		
The value of goods <i>imported</i> in 1613,	—	£. 1,794,768
Ditto — — in 1663,	—	4,016,020
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It ought to be remarked, because candour requires it, that there has been some contrariety in opinion, whether the detail of our traffic in 1663, contained the general amount of the trade of the kingdom, or of the capital only. Dr. Davenant assured the Commissioners of Accounts, in 1711, that the manuscript in the Custom-house shewed that it ascertained merely the commerce of London: A manuscript in the Plantation-office, which gives the same result, states the contents of it, as containing the foreign trade of England: And the most respectable writers have given the preference to the latter, and have therefore adopted its notices.

It was a respect for the opinion of both parties, which induced the Editor of these sheets to throw the value of exports in 1663 and in 1669, into an average, with design to ascertain, if possible, the real amount of our foreign traffic at the Restoration. Admitting that there was so unfavourable a current of commerce setting from every country against this island, it must be allowed, that there was sound sense in the address of the two Houses of Parliament to Charles II. in 1673, "*for the encouragement of the wearing of English manufactures.*" Though that monarch received graciously their address, and by proclamation prohibited "*the importation of foreign-wrought goods,*" the Parliament three years thereafter "*exploded the trade with France as a nuisance,*" because they were carried away by prejudices, that have existed to the present times; that have prevented often just regulation, and

^a Anderson, whose mind was as narrow as his industry was great, asserts, in his Appendix to the Chronology of Commerce [1763], "*that the balance between England and France is very considerably to our disadvantage.*" Sir Charles Whitworth's *State of Trade*, from the Custom-house books, proves that the truth was directly the reverse of Anderson's assertion. It is impossible to establish the balance of smuggling between the rival nations by any satisfactory calculations, since it is not easy to discover either the value of the brandies and silks which we receive from France, or the amount of the wool, and perhaps silks, which we send to her. But, it is always of importance to detect a vulgar error.

and injured both countries. Yet, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, Dr. Davenant, and Mr. Locke, all agreed, that our commerce had flourished luxuriantly from 1666 to 1688, when it had increased to a maturity beyond that of all former seasons; when its general growth, in the opinion of the most experienced merchants, appeared to be double in its magnitude at the Revolution to its usual size at the Restoration. And in the foregoing table, the value of the commodities exported was adjusted for the epoch of the Revolution, by a standard, which seemed thus to have been admitted as equal by the wisest men in England.

But, on a subject of such difficult discussion, because no sufficient data had yet been established, the most judicious calculators could only speak in terms indefinite, and therefore unsatisfactory. During that day of commercial darkness, the experienced Sir Philip Meadows, whose presence for so many years did honour to the Board of Trade, sat down to form "*a general estimate of the trade of England*," from the amount of the duties paid at the Custom-house on our importations and our exports. Directed by his native sagacity, he produced a statement of our commerce on an average of the disturbed years 1694—5—6; which appears now, from a comparison with the entries in the Ledger of the Inspector-general, to have been wonderfully exact.

Value of exports*, according to Sir Philip's calculation,	—	—	£. 3,124,000
D°, according to the Ledger, from Michaelmas 1696 to D° 1697,	—	—	3,525,907
Value of imports, according to him,	£. 3,050,000		
D°, according to the Ledger,	—	—	3,482,587
Favourable balance of trade, according to him,	—	—	£. 74,000
D°, according to the Ledger,	—	—	43,341

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* But Sir P. Meadows excluded from his calculation the value of butter, cheese, candles, beef, pork, and other provisions exported to the Plantations, and the value of their products imported into England, which were afterwards consumed; "being in the nature of our coast-trade among our own people." Had he included these, his statement had been still nearer in its similitude and amount to the Ledger of the Inspector-general.

In the foregoing detail, from which we ascertain by comparison nearly the truth, we behold the inconsiderable amount of the national commerce at the peace of Ryſwick. *If*, ſaid that able ſtateſman, *the preſent ſtate of England be not ſatisfactory to the public, from the general account of it here mentioned*, various ways may be followed to improve it: And his ſuggeſtions having been gradually adopted in after times, produced at length a pleaſing alteration, and the wiſhed-for effects of an active induſtry at home, and a proſperous navigation abroad. From that epoch, we have in the books of the Inſpector-general all the certainty, with regard to the annual amount of our exports and our imports, which the nature of ſuch complicated tranſactions eaſily admit. But, ſhould the nation wiſh for more ſatisfactory evidence, on a ſubject ſo intereſting, becauſe it involves in it the welfare and ſafety of the ſtate, the ſame motion which was made in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Lownds^p, during the reign of Queen Anne, to oblige the traders to make true entries of their cargoes, may be again propoſed; and, if it can be freed from objection, carried into effect by parliamentary regulations.

Mean time, the tonnage of ſhipping, which tranſported the ſuperfluous products of England, has been adjoined in the foregoing table to the value of cargoes, in order to ſupply any deficiency of proof; to corroborate the certainty of each by fair comparison. When Sir Philip Meadows conſidered, with ſo much attention, our commercial affairs, he gave it as his opinion, “that the advantage of trade cannot be computed by any general meaſure better than by that of the navigation.” It requires not, indeed, the graſp of Sir Philip’s mind to perceive, that the tonnage is naturally the evidence the moſt to be relied on, where there is any doubt: in this mode of proof there is no fiction: the entries are made at the Cuſtom-houſe, according to the register of the veſſel, which ought to ſpecify its true burden, ſince an oath has been required

^p In order to prevent this miſchief, [of exaggerated entries] ſays Davenant, a clause was offered, and very much inſiſted on by Mr. Lownds, but obſtructed by the merchants, for ends not very juſtifiable, and the clause was not received.”—Dav. vol. v. Whitworth’s edit. p. 443.

quired to establish the truth; which is yet supposed to contain about one-third less than the real tonnage: but, the general average being once known and admitted, we may argue from the apparent amount, with no more dread of deception, than we should expect from the notices of the most authentic record. In comparing the value of the cargoes with the extent of the tonnage, as both are stated in the foregoing table, we ought to infer that the first must always be superior in its risings and depressions to the last. It was with a view to this comparison and correspondence, that the bullion, whose annual exportation for so many years frightened the gravest politicians, was deducted from the value of the transported merchandize; since it occupied little room in the tonnage, yet swelled considerably the calculation of the general cargo: But, the exported bullion was retained in forming the balances of trade, because, though it cannot properly be considered as a manufacture, it ought nevertheless to be deemed a very valuable part of our actual wealth, which we send abroad in the hope of a profitable return.

Thus, we see in the foregoing documents *the best evidence*, with regard to our navigation and our trade, *that the nature of the enquiry admits*. He who wishes to satisfy his curiosity, or to gain information, by throwing his eye over the state of our exports from 1696 to 1774, as it has been published by Sir Charles Whitworth; or the value of cargoes which have been exported during the present reign, as they have been arranged in the foregoing table; must perceive, that when one year furnishes a great exportation, the next supplies the foreign markets with less; the third usually sends a cargo superior to the first; and the fourth gives often a smaller quantity than the last, whose amount however is seldom below the level of the first. This commercial appearance, at once striking and flattering, arises chiefly from the irregularities of universal demand, since foreign fairs are sometimes empty and sometimes full; and partly from the speculations, perhaps the caprice, of traders. And it has been shewn from the most satisfactory evidence, that the year of profound peace, which immediately succeeds the conclusion of a lengthened war, always furnishes a great exportation, because every merchant makes haste to be rich: Thus, 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, form epochs of great relative traffic. But it is from the averages of given years,
at

at given epochs, that we can only form a decided opinion with regard to the real prosperity or decay of commerce, or of navigation: Thus, from the Restoration to the Revolution, the foreign trade of England had doubled in its amount: from the peace of Ryswick to the demise of King William, it had nearly risen in the same proportion. During the first thirty years of the current century, it had again doubled: and from the year 1750 to 1774, notwithstanding the interruptions of an eight-years intervenient war, it appears to have gained more than one fourth, whether we determine from the table of tonnage^a, or the value of exports.

If we extend our enquiries to Scotland, we shall enjoy a higher gratification, because we shall observe a still greater prosperity. The value of the Scotch exports from 1755 has been contrasted with the amount of the English in the Chronological Table, in order to shew the relative importance of each. It was impossible to trace back the commerce of Scotland to the æra of the Union, since the office of Inspector of Imports and Exports was only established in 1755; and no diligence could procure authentic details from any other source of genuine intelligence. The blank which appears in the preceding period sufficiently demonstrates, that imperfect evidence, with regard to an important subject, is preferable to none, as the glimmerings of the faintest dawn is more invigorating than the gloom of total opacity. During the effluxion of twenty years, from 1755 to 1775, the foreign commerce of Scotland increased with unexampled rapidity. Its general amount in 1771 was exactly one-third more than it had been in 1765; notwithstanding successive interruptions, it had gained fully one half between the commencement of the present reign and the year 1774, when a still greater obstruction in some measure prevented its further progress. Of the traffic of Scotland, it ought however to be remarked, that it is more easily affected and driven from its course than the English, either by native contests, or by foreign warfare, because it occupies a narrower field, and derives its energy from sources, fewer in number and less vigorous in kind. Thus every stream of our commerce flowed rapid and full, till,

^a See the annexed Table.

The subjoined extract from the register of shipping, which displays the tonnage of ships, English and foreign, cleared outwards from our *five principal ports*, as representatives of the whole, will not only demonstrate *the great progress of our navigation in twenty years*, though a long war intervened, but will arrange the relative importance of each, which had not yet been distinctly done. London has always been the first in commercial greatness; Bristol, which is only the fifth, has been hitherto deemed the second; and Whitehaven, whose rank has been altogether unascertained, now claims an equality with London, in respect to the numbers of native shipping. By including the years 1773 and 1774, which were times of still greater traffic, as part of the comparative period, the latter part of the twenty years had shewn a much greater superiority. But candour requires that extremes should be avoided.

A TABLE of the SHIPPING which were cleared Outwards at the FIVE FOLLOWING PORTS, during the Years annexed.

1750.		1751.		1752.			1770.		1771.		1772.	
Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.		Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Tons English.	D ^o foreign.
146,187	33,673	140,508	28,051	145,999	25,502	LONDON.	178,220	34,656	196,230	38,335	198,758	47,077
100,068	710	113,092	—	123,154	210	WHITEHAVEN.	187,448	—	203,368	—	192,436	—
33,233	9,429	32,675	2,228	31,213	6,682	LIVERPOOL.	67,043	9,535	69,868	7,968	76,036	11,284
41,826	3,400	56,448	920	48,406	1,550	NEWCASTLE.	52,704	1,560	52,154	3,470	61,603	1,866
24,411	3,225	25,720	2,511	25,057	3,673	BRISTOL.	30,063	4,776	31,482	7,333	31,529	4,185

till, having gained additional augmentations from a thousand springs, its mighty current ran into the ocean, giving in its course fruitfulness to our fields and health to our cities.

Were we to ask a stranger to point out, from the column of tonnage in the foregoing table, the years of the enactment and repeal of the Stamp-act, he would probably assign 1766 as the epoch of the first, and 1767 as the æra of the second: were he at the same time to take into his consideration the value of cargoes exported, he might perhaps incline to fix on 1764 as the date of the passing of the act, and 1765 as the year of its repeal. He would, perhaps, be still more perplexed and mistaken, were he asked to assign the precise periods of the subsequent associations of our colonial customers', or the successive innovations of our European neighbours. Thus, the traffic of Britain, domestic and foreign, may be likened to the sturdy oak, "the monarch of our woods;" which has rooted deeply in our soil, and in the luxuriance of its growth has extended its branches to every quarter of the globe; which is not to be despoiled of its foliage by every pestiferous blast, nor torn from its ground by every tremor of the neighbouring lands.

Though

It may gratify a just desire of information, to see an accurate account from the Custom-house of our exportations to the continental colonies, notwithstanding associated proscriptions, which were once dreaded as portentous of ruin, which seven years experience have now shewn, however, to have been unfounded in their policy, and unconsequential in their execution. The events of the present war ought alone to convince the world how difficult it is to dam up the flow of commerce, subtle as its spirit is when urged by avarice and interest; and how little it avails to levy inveterate war against the industrious classes; against the mechanic, the merchant, and mariner, who happily cannot be undone, except by their own inattention.

Examine the following detail:

The value of the cargoes exported to the continental colonies during the year		English.	Scotch.	Total.
1774	—	£. 3,081,380	£. 260,033	£. 3,341,413
75	—	953,614	41,637	995,251
76	—	1,063,201	71,559	1,134,760
77	—	1,847,123	256,169	2,103,292
78	—	1,127,186	120,542	1,247,728
79	—	1,320,631	235,876	1,556,507
1780	—	1,715,271	254,386	1,969,657

Though the war of the present day seems to have been levelled rather against the industry of the manufacturer and the projects of the merchant, than against the force of our fleets or the power of our armies; though repeated blows of unusual severity have been given to our navigation and our trade; yet, domestic diligence pursues with unconcern its occupations, and mercantile enterprize, while protected by convoys and assured by the division of risks among many men, sends abroad augmented adventures, and brings back in return the wealth of the world. Let these considerations comfort every lover of his country, since it is as difficult to animate the despondent, as it is to convince the incredulous.

If from these exhilarating topics, we turn to the column in the Chronological Table, which is occupied by the balance of trade, we shall find rather a more melancholy subject. No disquisition, since the contests of Misselden and Malynes, has engaged the pens of a more numerous class of writers than that fruitful subject; who all complained of the difficulty of their labours, as they were each directed by feeble lights; and who warned their readers therefore of the uncertainty of their conclusions, because their calculations had been formed on disputable data.

In reviewing their performances, how amusing is it to observe, that though the sagacious Petty, and the experienced Child, the profound Temple, and the intelligent Davenant, had all taken it for granted, as a postulate which could not be disputed, *that a balance of trade, either favourable or disadvantageous, enriched or impoverished every commercial country*—a writer, as able as the ablest of them, should have at length appeared, who denied the truth of its existence, at least of its efficacy! The late Mr. Hume seems to have written his fine *Essay on the Balance of Trade*, partly with design to throw a discredit on the declamations of Mr. Gee, “*which had struck the nation with an universal panic,*” perhaps more with the laudable purpose of convincing the public “*of the impossibility of our losing our money by a wrong balance, as long as we preserve our people and our industry.*” The political essays of that profound philosopher have been read and admired all over Europe: and it is therefore universally known, that, having compared money to water, which, while it can find a communication, must for ever form for itself a level, he thence inferred how impossible it is to heap up the precious metals, in any district, beyond the standard of the surrounding

surrounding nations, or to lose altogether the specie, which will never sink below it, because the plenty of money regulates the price of labour, by governing the value of all things. Yet he admitted, what indeed could not be denied, that there is nothing more common than for one mercantile community to send to its distant customers a quantity of merchandize, for which no exchange of commodities can be found; and that where barter ends, the surplus must consequently be paid for in bullion. He, however, denied the general inference, because it did not result from his principles, that the deficient nation must necessarily grow poorer, by losing its coins for a season. And there are facts in the annals of our commerce, which justify his reasonings, however paradoxical they may seem to those who have not yet determined, *that there are problems in political œconomy, of as difficult solution as any in the sciences.*

Examine the following detail :

In 1623—The value of the <i>whole exports</i> , including the customs and the merchants profits, was,	—	—	£. 2,320,437
Ditto of the <i>whole imports</i> , including the customs and the merchants profits, was,	—	—	2,619,315
		Unfavourable balance ^a ,	£. 298,878
In 1663—The value of the whole exports, exclusive of the customs and merchants profits, was,	—	—	£. 2,022,812
Ditto of the imports,	—	—	4,016,020
		Unfavourable balance ^a ,	£. 1,993,208
In 1669—The value of the whole export of goods,	—	—	£. 2,063,275
Ditto of the imports,	—	—	4,196,140
		Unfavourable balance ^a ,	£. 2,132,865

In

^a Ander. Com. vol. ii. p. 12.

^b MSS. Plant. Office.

^c Ibid.

In 1674—The commodities imported from France amounted to				
the value of	—	—	—	£. 1,136,150
Ditto exported thither	—	—	—	171,022
				<hr/>
Balance paid to France ^x	—			£. 965,128
				<hr/>
In 1686—The commodities imported from France amounted to				
the value of	—	—	—	£. 1,284,419
Ditto exported thither	—	—	—	515,229
				<hr/>
Balance paid to France ^y ,	—			£. 769,190
				<hr/>

Nevertheless, political writers have concurred in asserting, that our commerce had flourished so greatly in the mean time, as to raise the value of the lands, and to swell the stock of England prodigiously. And in the following manner Davenant^z calculated the progressive value of both :

In 1600, before we became considerable in trade,				
the rental of England, for land, houses,				
mines, &c. was yearly	—	—	£. 6,000,000 ;	
which, at twelve years purchase, amounted				
to	—	—	—	£. 72,000,000
In 1688, after we had extended our trade, the				
rental was computed at	—	—	£. 14,000,000 ;	
which, valued at eighteen years purchase,				
amounted to ^a	—	—	—	£. 252,000,000
				<hr/>
In 1600—the stock of England was valued at	—			£. 17,000,000
In 1630—the stock was now computed at	—			28,000,000
In 1660—the stock was then computed at	—			56,000,000
In 1688—the stock had at length swelled to	—			88,000,000
				<hr/>

From

^x Brit. Merch. vol. i. p. 141—292. ^y Ibid. ^z See his details in vol. iii. edit. 1698.

^a Mr. Arthur Young, whose political calculations are just as much to be depended on as Dr. Davenant's, stated in 1772, the rental of England at -- £. 20,000,000 ; which he valued at 33½ years purchase, and consequently the principal amount at

He calculates the annual profit of lands at	£. 63,000,000	
D° of manufactures at	20,000,000	
D° of commerce, &c.	17,000,000	
	<hr/>	£. 100,000,000.
By the same enquiries, he says, it appeared that the total capital employed in husbandry alone amounts to	—	£. 122,125,979.
		<hr/>

[See Young's Political Arithmetic.]

From this statement, the exactness of which, say the writers of the *British Merchant*^b [1714], we have never heard questioned, the inference is inevitable, that by our industry at home, and our traffic abroad, our real opulence had increased in eighty-eight years, notwithstanding a twenty-years civil war, to an immense bulk.

Now let us recapitulate the before-mentioned facts. If it is admitted, since it has been proved, that we paid an unfavourable balance during the successive reigns of James I. Charles I. Charles II. and James II.; and also, in the mean time, the heavy expence of our civil contests; that nevertheless the value of the lands and stock of England had so remarkably risen; what ought we to conclude from such contradictory premises? That there is more solidity in Mr. Hume's beautiful reasoning than we are willing to allow; or, that there is probably in the political œconomy of nations, as there is assuredly in the agitations of the ocean, a counter-current, which runs strongly to the westward below, while it carries every thing on the surface with irresistible force to the eastward?

Whatever wise men may determine with regard to this curious, perhaps important speculation, reason mean while asserts what experience confirms, "*that there is a certain quantity of bullion sent by one nation to another, to pay for what they have not been able to compensate by the barter of commodities, or by the remittance of bills of exchange; which may be therefore deemed the balance of trade.*" And a writer on political œconomy, equal to Mr. Hume in reach of capacity, and superior to him in accuracy of argument, the late Sir James Stewart, has examined his reasonings, and overturned his system, elegant in its structure, but weak in its foundation. It behoves us, therefore, to look a little more narrowly into the state of the traffic which Britain carries on with the world, in order to discover, if possible, how much bullion she pays to each of her commercial correspondents, or how much she receives from them.

Admitting that the apparent tide of payments flowed against this island anterior to the Revolution, it does not seem easy to discover the exact point of time when it began to ebb in a contrary direction.

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Sir

^b Vol. i. p. 152.

Sir Philip Meadows, we have seen, found a balance in our favour, on an average of the business of 1694—5—6, of — —	£. 74,000.
The Ledger of the Inspector-general shewed a balance, on the traffic of 1697, of — —	43,341.
The re-establishment of peace gave us a return, in 1698, of — — —	1,789,744.
But, an increase of imports reduced the balance, in 1699, to — — —	1,080,497.
And an augmentation of exports again raised the balance in 1700 to — — —	1,332,541.

We now behold the dawn of knowledge, in respect to this interesting part of our œconomy, which has at all times been the most enveloped in darkness, which sometimes introduced all the unpleasantness of uncertainty, and entailed too often the gloom of despondence. But, it ought to be remembered, that whether we import more than we export, is a mere question of fact, which depends on no one's opinion, since, like all other disputable facts, it may be proved by evidence.

If it could be clearly shewn that we sent to every foreign market merchandizes which were exactly worth to Britain	£. 15,000,000;
And imported from every foreign fair commodities which cost precisely	— — 12,000,000:
The difference would give us a demonstration that we had gained by the transaction	— — £. 3,000,000.

We must recur once more to the Ledger of the Inspector-general of our foreign trade, as the best evidence which the nature of the inquiry can furnish, or perhaps ought to be required. After admitting the force of every objection that has been made against the entries at the Custom-house, we may apply to that curious record of our traffic, what the Lord Chief Justice Hale^c asserted, with regard to the parish registers of births and burials, “*that it gives a greater demonstration*”

^c Origin of Mankind, p. 207.

demonstration than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute." It was from that source of accurate information, that the balances were drawn which are inserted in the foregoing Chronological Table: and it requires only "*a snatch of sight*" to perceive all the fluctuations of our mercantile dealings with the world, as they were directed by our activity, or our caprice, or remissness, and to decide with regard to the extent of our gains at every period, by the settlement of our grand account of profit and loss on every commercial adventure. One truth must be admitted, which has been considered by some as a melancholy one, because they inferred from it, "*that we were driving a losing trade,*" that the apparent balance has been less favourable in the present than in the preceding reign. In order to account for this unwelcome notice, it has been insisted, that, as we grew more opulent, we became more luxurious, and, as our voluptuousness increased, our industry diminished, till, in the progress of our folly, we found a delight in sacrificing our diligence and œconomy to the gratifications of a pleasurable moment.

He who sits down to write a treatise on luxury, after the elegant investigation of one of the greatest philosophers of the present times*, on so fruitful a subject, will probably convince the world, that he had only slumbered, when he ought to have reflected, and had busied himself in trimming the lamp, without illuminating science. Sages in the heathen world, and the clergy of the christian, have declaimed age after age against luxury, without agreeing among themselves what extent of enjoyment is consistent with national good and moral rectitude, or what excess ought to be proscribed as inconsistent with the safety of the state, and the soundness of the heart. It was pleasantly remarked by Mr. Hume, that, had not the ecclesiastics ceased from preaching against the long-pointed shoes of our Henrys and Edwards days, the inconvenience of the fashion had probably incommoded us at present. The moralists of Elizabeth's reign complained bitterly "of the decay of the glorious hospitality of their fathers." That illustrious Queen issued successive proclamations, as each was disobeyed, against

* See the section "Of luxury," in the Essay on the History of Civil Society.

against the extravagance of dress; while by the excess of her own apparel, which she was careful to preserve, she counteracted the force of penalty by her own example. The apparent increase of riches during the administrations of her successors, did not lessen the outcry against the prevailing fashions of the times. And, at the peace of Ryſwick, Davenant lamented, “that luxury had rooted so deeply in England as to threaten national ruin, unless its spirit were corrected by the moderation of the great, or its effects prevented by the restrictions of the legislature.” We here see in general the truth of what is thus so well expressed^c by a fine writer:—The modes of youth are a subject of censure to the old; and the modes of the last age, in their turn, are made matter of ridicule to the young: of this there is not always a better account to be given, than that the old are disposed to be severe, and the young to be merry.”

But, declamation is oftener used to conceal the bewitching errors of sophistry, than to investigate the instructive deductions of truth. Considering the balance of trade as an interesting subject to a commercial nation, it must be deemed not only of use, but of moment, to enquire minutely who of our mercantile correspondents are our debtors, and who are our creditors; to state which country remits us a favourable balance, and to which we are obliged in our turn to pay one. Nor, is it satisfactory to contrast the general balances of different periods, in order to form general conclusions, which may be either just or fallacious, as circumstances are attended to or neglected. From a particular statement it will clearly appear, that we trade with the greater number of the nations of Europe on an advantageous ground; with few of them on an unfavourable one; that some states, as Italy, Turkey, and Venice, may be considered as of a doubtful kind, because they are not in their balances either constantly favourable or unfavourable. To banish uncertainty from disquisition is always of importance. With this design, it is proposed to state an average of the balance of apparent payments, which were made during the years 1771—2—3 to England by each corresponding community, or which she made to them: and the averages of these years are taken, in order to discover the genuine balance of trade on the whole,

^c Ess. on the Hist. of Civ. Soc. Page 410.

whole, since they seemed to be the least affected by the approaching storm. Where the scale of remittance vibrates in suspense, between the countries of doubtful payments, an average of six years is taken, deducting the adverse excesses of import and of export from each other.

Let us examine the following detail of our European commerce:

<i>Countries of favourable balances.</i>			<i>Countries of unfavourable balances.</i>		
Denmark and Norway,	£.	78,478	East country [doubtful]	£.	100,230
Flanders — —		780,088	Russia — —		822,607
France — —		190,605	Sweden — —		117,365
Germany — —		695,484	Turkey [doubtful] —		120,497
Holland — —		1,464,149	Venice [doubtful] —		11,369
Italy [doubtful] —		43,289			
Portugal } — —		274,132			
Madeira } — —		9,514			
Spain } — —		442,539	Favourable balance	£.	1,172,068
Canaries } — —		23,347			3,636,504
Streights — —		113,310			
Ireland — —		663,516			
Isle of Man — —		13,773			
Alderney — —		1,229			
Guernsey [doubtful]		6,269			
Jersey [doubtful] —		8,850			
	£.	4,808,572		£.	4,808,572

Having thus fairly stated the countries of Europe, from which we receive yearly a balance on our trade, against those to which we annually make unfavourable payments; and having found, upon striking the difference, that we gained, at the commencement of the present war, a nett balance of £. 3,636,504, let us now enquire what we gained or lost by *our factories* in Africa and in Asia.

Africa — —	£.	656,599	East-Indies —	£.	1,105,511
Unfavourable balance		448,912			
	£.	1,105,511		£.	1,105,511

Having thus found an unfavourable balance on the traffic of our factories of £. 448,912, it is now time to examine the trade of

our colonies, which has too often been considered as the only commerce worthy of our care ; as if we had gained every thing, and lost nothing by it.

<i>Favourable balances.</i>			<i>Unfavourable balances.</i>		
Newfoundland [doubtful]	£.	29,484	Antigua	—	£. 44,168
Canada	—	187,974	Barbadoes	—	44,969
Nova Scotia	—	34,434	Carolina [doubtful]	—	108,050
New England	—	790,244	Hudson's Bay	—	2,501
New York	—	343,992	Jamaica	—	753,770
Pensylvania	—	521,900	Montserrat	—	46,623
Virginia and	}	165,230	Nevis	—	47,238
Maryland [doubtful]			St. Christopher's	—	149,759
Georgia [doubtful]	—	360	Grenades	—	288,962
Florida	—	37,966	Dominica	—	158,447
Bermudas	—	9,541	St. Vincent	—	104,238
			Tobago	—	16,064
	£.	2,121,125	New Providence	—	2,094
			Tortola	—	23,032
			St. Croix	—	11,697
			St. Eustatia	—	5,096
			Spanish West Indies	—	35,352
			Greenland	—	18,274
			Balance	—	261,291
	£.	2,121,125			£. 2,121,125

Let us now recapitulate the foregoing balances :

Gained on our European commerce	—	—	£. 3,636,504
Deduct the loss on the trade of our factories	—	—	448,912
			<hr/>
			£. 3,187,596
Gained on the balance of our colony commerce	—	—	261,291
			<hr/>
Nett balance gained on the trade of England	—	—	£. 3,448,887
Nett balance gained on the trade of Scotland,	}	—	435,957
according to an average of 1771—2—3			
			<hr/>
Nett gain on the British commerce	—	—	£. 3,884,844

Of an extensive building, executed by a complicated plan, in vain we attempt to form an accurate judgment, either with regard to the proportion of the parts, or the beauty of the whole, without measuring the size of the columns, and examining the congruity of the result, by the suitableness of every dimension. Of the British commerce, so luxuriant in its shoots, and so interwoven in its branches, it is equally impossible to discover the total or relative products, without calculating the gain or loss, that ultimately results to the nation from every market. Thus, in the foregoing statement we perceive, which of our European customers pay us a balance, favourable and constant; which of them are sometimes our debtors, and at other times our creditors; which of them continually draw an unfavourable balance from us: and, by opposing the averages of the profits and losses of every annual adventure to each other, we at length discovered from the result the vast amount of our gains. The mercantile transactions at our factories in Africa and Asia, were stated against each other, because they seemed to be of a similar nature; and we have discovered in the deduction the apparent loss. But, whether we ought to consider the balance of £.448,912 as absolutely lost, must depend on the essential circumstance, whether we consume at home the merchandizes of the East, or, by exporting them for the consumption of strangers, we draw back with interest what we had only advanced: should the nation prefer the beautiful manufactures of the Indian to her own, we ought to regard her prudence as on a level with the indiscretion of the milliner, who adorns her own person with the gaudy attire which she had prepared for the ornament of the great and the gay. Our colonies were stated against each other, in order to shew the relative advantage of each, as well as the real importance of the whole. Of the valuable products imported from them, which seem to form so great a balance against the nation, we ought to observe, that they are either gainful, or disadvantageous, as we apply them: we gain by the tobacco, the sugars, the spirits, the drugs, the dying-woods, which we re-export to our neighbours: we lose by what we unnecessarily consume. The moralist and the merchant are both ready to advise us, on the subject of our general commerce, to adopt, without reserve, the gainful policy of the

I
Dutch,

Dutch, during the days' of Sir William Temple, who assures us
*"that they furnished infinite luxury, which they never practised; and
 trafficked in pleasures that they never tasted."*

In laying before the public the progress of our exports, the
 tonnage of the shipping which carried out the merchandizes were
 very properly brought to explain and confirm the value of the ex-
 ported cargoes. It is to be regretted, that in considering the
 balance of trade, we cannot gain, from the number of the vessels
 which brought the returns, the same decisive support: and here is
 the reason:—The *raw-material of manufacture*, in proportion as it is
 freed from its grossness and is polished to perfection, grows smaller
 in its bulk, and less in its weight: when the iron of Sweden has
 been burnished by the hands of Sheffield; when the silks of Italy
 or of Turkey have been wrought into the stockings of Spitalfields, or
 into the gauzes of Paisley; when the cotton of the Indies has ac-
 quired the fashion of Manchester; all require less room in the vessel,
 than when they were imported in their natural state. Yet, it may
 gratify a just curiosity, and give a new view of an engaging object,
 to see the tonnage of the vessels which were entered inwards at
 different periods, compared with the supposed balance of trade.

Let us attend to the following comparison of our shipping:
 that were entered outwards and inwards:

Ships

' It seems universally agreed among the most intelligent persons, that the Dutch
 have gone, in the present times, into the other extreme.

Ships cleared outwards. ——— 1709. ——— Ships entered inwards.

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
243,693	— 45,625	— 289,318

289,318

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
89,298	— 33,901	— 123,199

Favourable balance of tonnage 166,119289,318Balance of merchandize sent
out, exclusive of bullion £. 1,402,764

Ships cleared outwards. ——— 1718. ——— Ships entered inwards.

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
427,962	— 16,809	— 444,771

444,771

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
353,871	— 15,517	— 369,388

Favourable balance of tonnage 75,383444,771Unfavourable balance of mer-
chandize sent out, exclusive
of bullion — — £. 308,000

Ships cleared outwards. ——— 1737. ——— Ships entered inwards.

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
476,941	— 26,627	— 503,568

503,568

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
374,593	— 45,409	— 420,002

Favourable balance of tonnage 83,566503,568Balance of merchandize sent
out, exclusive of bullion £. 3,008,075

Ships cleared outwards. ——— 1751-2-3. ——— Ships entered inwards.

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
612,485	— 42,593	— 655,078

655,078

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
435,091	— 61,303	— 496,394

Favourable balance of tonnage 158,684655,078Balance of merchandize sent
out, exclusive of bullion £. 3,976,727

Ships cleared outwards. ——— 1771-2-3. ——— Ships entered inwards.

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
711,730	— 63,294	— 775,024

775,024

Tons English.	D ^o foreign.	Total.
608,066	— 123,870	— 731,936

Favourable balance of tonnage 43,088775,024Balance of merchandize sent
out, exclusive of bullion £. 3,518,858

Thus have we taken a new, and no unpleasant survey of our foreign commerce. Thus we see, in the result of those accurate details, that the balance of tonnage has at no time had any close affinity with the balance of trade. The averages of the years 1751—2—3, were purposely contrasted with the years 1771—2—3, in order to try if we could discover the same remarkable prosperity in the last period, which has been justly attributed to the first: during the years 1771—2—3, we behold a greater number of ships cleared outwards than in 1751—2—3, by 119,946 tons; a greater number entered inwards by 234,542 tons: but, we may observe a smaller balance on the cargoes exported, by £.457,869; which is rather a greater difference of apparent loss than the Scotch balances of the same years happily supply.

From these authentic facts men will probably draw their inferences with regard to our debility and decline, or to our healthfulness and advancement, according to their usual modes of thinking, to their accustomed gloominess or hilarity of mind, or to the effusions of the company which they commonly keep. One party, taking it for granted, amid their anxieties, that the national commerce, domestic and foreign, is in the last stage of a consumption, may possibly attribute a supposed idleness and inattention to the excessive luxury, in kind the most pernicious, in extent the most extravagant, which deeply pervades every order: the other party, directed in their enquiries by an habitual cheerfulness, may perhaps determine, from the busy occupations which they see in the shop and the field, of an activity and attention, the natural forerunners of prosperity and acquisition; while they think they perceive, in the heavy-loaded ships, as they arrive, *the raw-materials* of a manufacture, extensive and increasing.

The balance of trade is the object, which, of all others, has always engaged the hopes and fears of the nation the most; because the individual felt at once for himself and the public. A fancied decay of commerce has in every age furnished the most abundant topics for the wailings of complaint, even while just information evinced that it enjoyed the soundest health. How much real knowledge had been gained on an interesting subject, had accurate facts been substituted for delusive declamation, by excluding the metaphysical mode of induction from our researches with regard to political œconomy, in the same manner as it had been driven from the sciences, by the precept, no less than by the example, of

the illustrious Bacon! We may at once practise what is here recommended, and furnish means for a solution of the important question just mentioned—Whether the appearances in our navigation denoted a rising or declining commerce?—by stating an account of our traffic with every European country. And it is proposed to trace the progress of our trade with each, from the beginning of the current century to the commencement of hostilities; to arrange every nation in the order wherein they were placed in the account of balances, mentioning the precise averages of the exports and the imports to, and from, each corresponding country, with the apparent balances which arose from the different value at every given period.

Let us examine the particulars^{*} with regard to

DENMARK and NORWAY.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 64,206	— £. 41,269	— £. —	— £. 22,937
1720	— 112,263	— 129,674	— 17,411	—
1721	— 83,731	— 138,772	— 55,041	—
1722	— 97,012	— 82,096	—	— 14,916
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 93,584	— 65,432	— 28,152	—
1750	— 90,273	— 78,052	— 12,221	—
51	— 88,053	— 95,047	—	— 6,995
52	— 93,293	— 69,167	— 24,126	—
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 69,199	— 120,636	—	— 51,437
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 83,044	— 160,523	—	— 78,479

Such

^{*} The details stated in the text, are formed from *Whitworth's State of Trade*, already mentioned. The fractions of a pound are omitted, as unimportant in such calculations: and it ought to be remarked, as applicable to all those statements, that where an average could not be taken, as in the years 1720—1—2, because the trade was in one year favourable, and the next unfavourable, the value both of exports and of imports of every year is stated.

Such is the short but decisive account of our commercial intercourse with Denmark and Norway. How much politicians have complained of the disadvantageous nature of our trade with *The Baltic*, and what a variety of modes have been suggested to turn the scale in our favour, are sufficiently known. We here perceive (if we may adopt their language without approving their sentiments) that the balance of trade with Denmark and Norway was unfavourable at the beginning of the current century; that in twenty years it began to vibrate in suspense, now inclining to the favourable, and again to the unprofitable side; that in twenty years more it seemed to settle against us; though in the effluxion of ten years it began again to vibrate, till in the present reign it finally inclined in our favour by a decisive settlement. And it is also apparent, that our imports have continued nearly the same, while our exports have greatly increased in their value. In a branch of commerce, which has hitherto been considered as disadvantageous, we here behold nothing surely unfavourable. Let us now take a view of our commercial intercourse with

F L A N D E R S.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 47,158 —	£. 191,193 —	— — —	— £. 144,035
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 44,710 —	187,631 —	— — —	— 142,921
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 240,852 —	377,380 —	— — —	— 136,528
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 88,975 —	438,053 —	— — —	— 349,078
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 29,009 —	388,229 —	— — —	— 359,220
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 118,491 —	777,840 —	— — —	— 659,349

The commerce of Flanders has been in every age extremely gainful to England. The advantageous progress which the foregoing statement exhibits requires no comment: and it is apparent
that

that our imports were on the decline, while our exports were rising so much in their amount, that in 1773 we received only the value of £.79,957; yet sent to that country the vast value of £.1,006,601. Let us now turn our attention to France, whose traffic, since the days of Charles II. has been regarded, at least by "the great vulgar and the small," as so disadvantageous and destructive.

F R A N C E.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700	— £. 94,641 —	£. 287,050 —	— — —	£. 192,409
01	— 123,940 —	— 212,708 —	— — —	88,768
02	— 76,471 —	— 12,838 —	£. 63,633 —	—
1720	— 55,261 —	— 123,448 —	— — —	68,187
21				
22				
1740	— 58,403 —	— 316,199 —	— — —	257,796
41				
42				
1750	— 60,231 —	— 496,039 —	— — —	435,808
51				
52				
1760	— 177 —	— 151,908 —	— — —	151,731
61				
62				
1770	— 57,523 —	— 197,875 —	— — —	140,352
71				
72				

It is apparent that our commerce with France was greater at the commencement of the century, than it was twenty years afterwards: that from the year 1720, it rose gradually to the beginning of hostilities in 1755; but that from the peace of Paris, it has never risen to an equality with the average of 1750—1—2, and declined rather more in the value of imports than in that of the exports. From our trade with France, in which we see nothing so disadvantageous or destructive, let us examine the accounts of our mercantile transactions with

GERMANY.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700	— £. 651,657	— £. 629,997	— £. 21,660	—
1701	— 729,097	— 1,005,307	—	— £. 276,207
1702	— 527,549	— 897,524	—	— 364,975
1720	— 535,880	— 940,735	—	— 374,855
21				
22				
1740	— 733,863	— 1,185,695	—	— 451,832
41				
42				
1750	— 649,125	— 1,378,730	—	— 729,595
51				
52				
1760	— 629,770	— 2,076,134	—	— 1,446,364
61				
62				
1770	— 717,350	— 1,314,414	—	— 597,064
71				
72				

Thus, the value of our imports from Germany has continued nearly the same from the beginning of the century, when the balance of trade still vibrated in suspense, though the amount of our exports has nearly doubled. Having here found nothing discouraging, let us turn to our commercial connections with

HOLLAND.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700	— £. 494,917	— £. 1,856,887	—	— £. 1,361,970
01				
02				
1720	— 503,464	— 2,030,146	—	— 1,526,682
21				
22				
1740	— 411,568	— 1,851,730	—	— 1,440,162
41				
42				
1750	— 325,371	— 1,991,517	—	— 1,666,146
51				
52				
1760	— 447,823	— 2,046,032	—	— 1,598,209
61				
62				
1770	— 368,506	— 1,816,515	—	— 1,448,009
71				
72				

Thus

Thus, in the commerce of Holland, which has at all times paid us so advantageous a balance, we see little change since the commencement of the present century, because each nation found considerable gains in the intercourse. Let us now turn our attention to a much less flattering traffic, which we have carried on with

I T A L Y.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	£. 331,337	£. 101,417	£. 229,920	—
1720 } 21 } 22 }	424,940	123,587	301,353	—
1740 } 41 } 42 }	484,079	102,683	381,396	—
1750 } 51 } 52 }	485,827	235,309	250,518	—
1760 } 61 } 62 }	506,101 761,917 508,952	210,097 199,461 509,518	296,004 562,456	— — £. 566
1770 } 71 } 72 }	873,894	790,161	83,733	—

Thus the importance of the Italian commerce has been rising from the commencement of the current century, however disadvantageous in its payments, till the beginning of the present reign. The balance of trade began then to vibrate in suspense, and the value of imports has risen; yet the amount of our exports has so greatly increased, that in 1773 they rose superior to the imports by £. 368,380. We must turn from this flattering appearance to a less pleasant scene, to our declining commerce with

K

P O R T U G A L.

PORTUGAL.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 226,693	— £. 357,977	— — —	— £. 131,284
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 368,567	— 840,085	— — —	— 471,518
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 415,852	— 1,088,165	— — —	— 672,312
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 255,142	— 1,101,569	— — —	— 849,427
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 300,057	— 1,154,787	— — —	— 854,730
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 344,889	— 628,648	— — —	— 283,759

Such is the rise, the progress, and the decline of our trade with Portugal. The value of our imports has not so much increased over what it had been in former times, as the amount of our exports has decreased. Nor, shall we derive much consolation from examining our commerce with

MADEIRA.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 1,789	— £. 12,196	— — —	— £. 10,415
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 3,849	— £. 49,500	— — —	— 45,651
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 4,105	— 16,944	— — —	— 12,839
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 3,542	— 24,419	— — —	— 20,877
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 4,610	— 40,590	— — —	— 35,977
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 3,446	— 16,607	— — —	— 13,161

This

This statement seems to evince, that the tax on Madeira wine has either operated in some measure as a prohibition, or that a vitiated taste, or a greater frugality, has preferred the humbler Port to it. It may be remarked in general, with regard to our Portuguese connections, that the unequal treaty of 1703, which has been so praised by writers who had never read it, began, during the present reign, to produce its natural effects: the Portuguese consented to receive the woollen goods of England, on the same footing as the woollen goods of other countries: the English agreed to admit the wines of Portugal, upon paying one-third less duty than should be charged on the wines of France. And, when other nations entered into competition with Britain in the markets of Portugal, the exports thither necessarily declined, while the importation of wines and fruit seemed rather to increase, because the English had consented to a monopoly against themselves. Having here looked in vain for any great increase of luxury, we may now, without any dread of our not being able to procure as much gold as we want from other sources, examine our commercial intercourse with

S P A I N.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700	£. 545,056	£. 610,912	—	£. 65,856
1701	532,691	430,575	£. 102,116	—
1702	297,043	145,278	151,765	—
1720	385,069	576,296	—	191,127
21				
22				
1740	229,135	101,636	127,499	—
41	4,445	96,387	—	91,942
42	56,707	103,002	—	46,295
1750	408,754	1,333,416	—	924,662
51				
52				
1760	341,413	813,847	—	472,434
61				
62				
1770	528,076	972,316	—	444,240
71				
72				

From an intercourse which has been so often interrupted by war, let us turn to the kindred commerce with

THE CANARIES.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 99,814 —	£. 35,419 —	£. 64,395 —	—
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 40,517 —	20,894 —	19,623 —	—
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 2,566 —	— — —	2,566 —	—
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 4,419 —	34,518 —	— — —	£. 30,099
1760 —	3,131 —	58,859 —	— — —	55,728
1761 —	482 —	64,543 —	— — —	64,061
1762 —	1,912 —	370 —	1,542 —	—
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 10,077 —	32,572 —	— — —	22,495

Such were the beginning, the progress, the interruptions, and the ultimate result of our Spanish commerce. It is apparent, as to our trade with Spain, that the amount of imports now is nearly equal to the extent of those at the commencement of this century, at the same time that the value of our exports thither is at least one-third more now than it was then, though the favourable balance is assuredly one half less at present than it was twenty years ago. We may, however, derive some consolation from contemplating the favourable alteration in our commerce with the Canaries. Our imports now are only one-tenth of what they were at the beginning of the century, while our exports thither are nearly the same. During forty years, no inconsiderable balance of trade was paid by us to them. The war that ensued happily turned the scales in our favour. And we now draw from them, by means of a very advantageous traffic, no trifling sum, as the difference between our mutual exchanges. Let us now examine the progressive state of our traffic with

THE

THE STREIGHTS.

Years,	Imports,	Exports,	Unfavourable balance,	Favourable balance,
1700 } 01 } 02 }	—	—	—	—
		£. 330,025		£. 330,025
1720 } 21 } 22 }	—	48,120	—	—
		432,769		384,649
1740 } 41 } 42 }	—	44,640	—	—
		641,306		596,666
1750 } 51 } 52 }	—	103,151	—	—
		648,431		545,280
1760 } 61 } 62 }	—	59,118	—	—
		282,786		223,668
1770 } 71 } 72 }	—	8,197	—	—
		147,955		139,758

Such was the trivial beginning, the considerable rise, and the ultimate decline of our commerce with the Streights. Whitworth's *State of Trade* demonstrates, that the French and Spanish wars, of 1755 and 1762, brought on such habits of debility, that, having continued for seven years, left it in 1769 in a state of convalescence, though still extremely enfeebled. Let us turn to the more exhilarating view which we shall behold in our commercial connections with

IRELAND.

I R E L A N D.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 —	£. 233,853 —	£. 261,115 —	— —	£. 27,262
1701 —	285,390 —	296,144 —	— —	—
1702 —	258,121 —	215,112 —	£. 43,008 —	—
1720 }				
21 }	323,930 —	399,597 —	— —	75,667
22 }				
1740 }				
41 }	380,748 —	700,885 —	— —	320,137
42 }				
1750 }				
51 }	613,751 —	1,210,564 —	— —	596,813
52 }				
1760 }				
61 }	882,451 —	1,351,737 —	— —	469,286
62 }				
1770 }				
71 }	1,279,147 —	2,024,357 —	— —	745,210
72 }				

In this detail we see a regular and a pleasing progress; and we perceive what excellent customers the sister-kingdoms are to each other. The prosperity of both ought therefore to be the care of each, because the happiness and interest of each must be necessarily found in the result. Passing over the Isles of Man and Alderney, of Guernsey and Jersey, as mercantile correspondents too unimportant to merit particular discussion, we come at last to that class of European nations which draw unfavourable balances from England. Let us trace the commercial connexion, which has been already stated as of *doubtful* benefit, with

THE EAST-COUNTRY.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700	£. 135,339	£. 143,443	£. —	£. 8,104
1701	167,382	149,645	17,737	—
1702	100,403	102,422	—	2,019
1720				
21	117,226	105,877	11,349	—
22				
1740				
41	239,126	141,267	97,859	—
42				
1750				
51	318,821	171,941	146,880	—
52				
1760	205,465	190,217	15,248	—
61	133,536	202,255	—	68,719
62	105,373	298,776	—	193,403
1770				
71	193,366	93,317	100,049	—
72				

Such was the progression of our commerce with *the East-Country*, or the shores of the Baltic. The balance of trade, we have seen, hung in doubtful vibration at the beginning; it afterwards settled against us; and, at the commencement of the present reign, it for six years inclined to the favourable side. But, our traffic thither has languished since, because our merchants have turned their energy into an adjacent channel; into that of the commerce, which is now to be examined, with

RUSSIA.

R U S S I A.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 124,220 —	£. 76,784 —	£. 47,436 —	—
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 146,219 —	80,713 —	65,506 —	—
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 305,034 —	77,553 —	227,481 —	—
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 459,410 —	116,313 —	343,097 —	—
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 622,520 —	49,233 —	573,287 —	—
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— <u>1,110,093</u> —	<u>145,125</u> —	<u>964,968</u> —	—

Thus our commerce with Russia appears to have grown up as she extended the boundaries of her empire. We see, what ought to teach us a lesson of policy, that the immensity of our imports necessarily raised the amount of our exports; and we ought thence to infer, that in proportion as we discourage, by our mercantile restrictions, our imports, our exports must necessarily be depressed, since in all traffic barter is implied. If we examine the several commodities which constitute the aggregate of the prodigious cargo which Russia sends to us, we shall happily find that they cannot administer much to our luxuries. Sir Charles Whitworth enumerates "*the articles we import from Russia,*" in the following order: "Iron, hemp, flax, tow, firs, hogs bristles, lint-feed, hides, rhubarb, linen, mats, sail-cloth, tallow, deals, ising-glass, bugles, and bees-wax." And the greatness of the quantities of such *raw-materials* only demonstrates the uncommon increase of our manufactures and our navigation. Let us, from a scene which is rather exhilarating, turn to a more gloomy view, because in all decline there is melancholy, to our commercial transactions with

S W E D E N.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 177,329	— £. 60,829	— £. 116,500	— —
1720 } 21 } 22 }	— 182,410	— 71,972	— 110,438	— —
1740 } 41 } 42 }	— 176,859	— 17,660	— 159,199	— —
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 173,098	— 17,053	— 156,045	— —
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 221,823	— 18,098	— 203,725	— —
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 160,765	— 59,152	— 101,613	— —

Yet, in this detail there is nothing discouraging. After paying considerable balances for fifty years, our commerce seems to have settled at last nearly on the footing on which it stood at the beginning of the century. From the frozen shores of the Baltic, let us now travel to the countries which seem to have been designed by nature for the abode of luxury: let us enquire into our commercial transactions with

T U R K E Y.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Unfavourable balance.	Favourable balance.
1700 } 01 } 02 }	— £. 338,075	— £. 199,043	— £. 139,032	— ———
1720 —	398,564	— 359,839	— 38,725	— ———
21 —	23,065	— 137,585	— ———	£. 114,520
22 —	404,942	— 261,481	— 143,461	— ———
1740 —	26,787	— 150,375	— ———	123,588
41 —	338,332	— 61,708	— 276,624	— ———
42 —	7,499	— 109,520	— ———	102,021
1750 } 51 } 52 }	— 182,455	— 136,522	— 45,933	— ———
1760 } 61 } 62 }	— 98,015	— 57,917	— 40,098	— ———
1770 } 71 } 72 }	— 139,621	— 46,477	— 93,144	— ———

It is apparent, from Whitworth's Table of the *Turkey Trade*, that the debility, which is at present complained of, has been brought on by the obstructions of our successive wars, from the beginning of the current century, more than by the competition of rivals. When we could not regularly supply our Turkish customers, they naturally applied to those who could; and what is once lost is not easily regained, because habits are not readily changed. Let us turn our next attention to a neighbouring market; to our dealings with

V E N I C E.

Years.		Imports.		Exports.		Unfavourable balance.		Favourable balance.
1700	—	£. 47,928	—	£. 31,092	—	£. 16,836	—	—
01	—	56,801	—	65,402	—	—	—	£. 8,601
02	—	54,290	—	17,445	—	36,545	—	—
1720	}	46,677	—	26,678	—	19,999	—	—
21								
22								
1740	}	49,786	—	9,373	—	40,413	—	—
41								
42								
1750	}	49,819	—	4,662	—	45,157	—	—
51								
52								
1760	—	41,138	—	6,105	—	35,033	—	—
61	—	15,230	—	26,367	—	—	—	11,137
62	—	9,916	—	32,247	—	—	—	22,331
1770	—	82,964	—	71,541	—	11,423	—	—
71	—	83,335	—	73,957	—	9,378	—	—
72	—	64,605	—	80,850	—	—	—	16,245

The same observation may be applied to our intercourse with Venice, as we have made with regard to Turkey, that our successive wars have thrown the greatest obstacles in the way of our mutual transactions. But, we seem to have recovered, in the present reign, all which had been formerly lost; and we see, in the rise both of our imports and our exports, a favourable change, that nearly compensates the losses in our trade with Turkey.

The foregoing details, short in their statements, yet satisfactory in their inferences, contain an account of our commerce in Europe from the beginning of the current century to the commencement of the present war. And they were submitted to the public, though in all useful truths there is dulness, in order to furnish facts for the two classes of men, who have been supposed to be now divided in their opinions with regard to our commercial prosperity or decline. Each party may probably find arguments to strengthen its system, without changing its sentiments, as the pride of man is hurt by admitting that he had once been mistaken. Posterity form, at last, a right judgment, when their more candid enquiries have been facilitated by the publication of documents, authentic in their proofs, and convincing in their circumstances. An historical detail of the trade of our factories in Africa and Asia, as well as of our colonies in America, was designedly omitted,

because it is a fact known and acknowledged, that their traffic has flourished prodigiously : our colonial commerce has prospered, since we have fostered it by every means which interested traders could devise, or the mercantile system admitted ; we have cherished it by bounties, by drawbacks, by the obstructions that have been thrown in the way of European rivals. If we again compare trade to a fluid, we may easily perceive, that when mounds were raised on the banks, and shoals were formed in the channel, it would find a vent by a thousand passages : it was directed in its course to the colonies, and it therefore no longer ran with its former force into the several European ports. In every community there can only exist a certain quantity of stock, either for carrying on its agriculture, its manufactures, its commerce, or for the aggregate of its whole mercantile transactions. If part of the capital, which had been usefully employed in husbandry, is withdrawn, in order to cultivate the cane and the coffee of the West Indies, our domestic agriculture must necessarily suffer in the exact proportion to the sum taken away : if the business of ship-building is no longer carried on near the banks of our rivers, but on those of our colonies, that important manufacture can be no longer considered as a national one. If a portion of the capitals, which had been engaged in transacting our commerce with our European correspondents, is diverted to the plantations, our European traffic must necessarily languish ; it must decline in the exact proportion to the amount of the stock withdrawn^b. When these principles are applied to the foregoing details, we shall find in the comparison the true reason why some branches of trade have actually withered, why others have not greatly prospered. And it has been shewn by the numbers of our shipping cleared outwards, since they were excluded from our colonies, that a revulsion had taken place, whereby the capital which had been gradually invested in the plantation-trade, was again employed in its original business. They who amidst their delusions presumed, that the mechanic, the merchant, or the mariner could be induced to sit down inactive and idle, only evinced how little they had studied the science of mankind, who delight in activity and adventures. As Spain had been formerly ruined by withdrawing

^b This subject has been amply discussed and finely illustrated by Dr. Adam Smith, who merits the praise of having formerly strengthened our morals, and lately enlightened our intellects. [See the Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.]

withdrawing her wealth from domestic industry, and turning her energy to distant enterprizes, more than by the emigrations of her people, or the importation of the metals; so England ran similar risks in the pursuit of colonization, from similar causes producing similar effects. It was the greatness of her capitals and credit, the skill and the diligence of her people, and other means that cannot be so easily described, which have prevented her colonial policy, in respect to trade, from introducing greater disorder into her European commerce, and bringing on a real decline.

The balance of trade appeared to be a subject so interesting, as to merit ample discussion: and it has been shewn by a fair comparison, that we gained annually on our foreign commerce, when the present war began, no less than £.3,884,844; which, had it been actually paid in bullion, had involved our morals, our manufactures, our navigation, and our greatness, in the same common ruin. But, so great a calamity is prevented, partly by the payments which we are obliged to make, exclusive of the unfavourable balance of trade, either for the interest of money due to foreigners, or for the expences of our travellers, or by the invisible means which have been already likened to the counter-currents of the ocean. In order to preserve all the salutary benefits of *circulation*, or the ready distribution of specie through every order in the state, Mr. Hume has assured us, "*that the flow of money ought to be kept always rather more than full, by letting in small but constant augmentations*:" and it is more than probable, that the balance gained on the trade of Scotland, of £.435,957, is altogether sufficient for this important purpose, to feed the whole circulation of Britain, were it punctually paid in bullion.

It is now time to finish the proposed commentary on the Chronological Table. The column of Customs contains the payments which were made from that branch of revenue into the Exchequer at different periods. Want of authentic information prevented the execution of the whole design, of laying before the public a connected series of the produce of the customs from the Restoration to the present day. The averages which are stated, may be relied on as accurate. The payment of 1779, arising from the old collection, was inserted in order to shew a progress, though there was moreover paid £.89,280, which had arisen in 1779
from

from the new duties. And the gradual increase of the customs furnishes a supplemental proof of no inconsiderable weight of the successive rise in our commerce, as well as of our abilities to gratify our wants.

The column of coinage was introduced in the last place, as its proper station, because the increase of coins, by means of the operations of the mint, arise generally from the profits of commerce, at least from the demand of traders : and consequently the quantity of circulating money must in every country be in proportion nearly to the extent of business or frequency of transfers. The fears of men, with regard to a wrong balance of trade, have not been at all times greater than the continual dread of a total deprivation of our coins. And both have produced a numerous class of writers, who have published their speculations, not so much, perhaps, to enlighten the world, as to give vent to their lamentations. But, it is mistake and prejudice which have given spirit to controversy ; because the disputant often misapprehends the propositions of his adversary, and sometimes departs from the principles on which he himself had relied. At the outset of disquisition, every one is ready to admit, that a service of plate which cost thirty guineas is of no more genuine value than the horse that was bought for thirty guineas ; and of consequence, that so many guineas, the horse, and the service of plate, are all equal in intrinsic worth : yet, prejudice soon steps in, and, by confounding the fashion of the plate with the figure of the coin, introduces confusion into argument, which ultimately ends in altercation. It is however, mean time, apparent, that if plate is desired for the table, we must go into the shop ; if a horse is wanted for the field, we must look into the stable ; if bullion is demanded for the various purposes of life, it must be brought from the markets of the world, giving an adequate value for it as for all things. But, in speaking of *adequate value*, we naturally refer to a standard by which we measure the commodity that we wish to purchase or to sell. In the earliest stages of society, when possession had been just admitted to constitute property, men naturally gratified their desires by exchanging the spear for the bow, or the beast which they had caught in the toils for the animal that had been reared on the domain. Whatsoever was the most sought after, because it was coveted the most, naturally

turally became the rule by which the prices of all things were ascertained. This important office was often assigned to objects the most improper, perhaps the most ridiculous, in proportion as mankind were directed in their affections by the vanities of caprice or by the dictates of reason: and pieces of silver and gold were at last adopted, as the measure of every other commodity, because they enjoyed the most estimable qualities from nature. But in every standard, as in the yard, the gallon, and the bushel, fixedness is implied; since we can measure nothing by that which is not unalterably stable and universally known. Hence, in the earliest stages of society, public authority affixed its stamp to convenient portions of the metals, in order to denote to buyers and sellers, that in every piece which was now denominated coin, there was a specified weight, and an ascertained value. The coins, however, have this peculiarity, which no other measure has the honour of possessing, that, while they are the settled rate by which all things are regulated, they are themselves the equivalent, whereby contracts are to be fulfilled, and commodities to be exchanged. It was the confounding of terms, in themselves sometimes synonymous, and often different—*metal* and *bullion*, *gold* and *silver*, *money of account* and *price*—which, in the progress of refinement, introduced confusion and difficulty into the doctrine of money, that remained clear and intelligible so long as coins passed by *weight*, and not by *tale*; till the interest of rulers, misunderstood, induced them to add to the figure of their coins, what they deducted in value, with the vain expectation that mankind would fix their attachments on the apparent stamp, and not on the real worth. And thus, by a departure from original principles of self-evident operation, were there introduced *a numerary value*, and *different denominations*, *sometimes attached to one quantity of the metals and sometimes to another*; whereby the utility of a certain standard, and a convenient price, united at once in one piece of portable size, was nearly lost in the scramble of avarice and the delusions of credulity.

A standard, however, which had thus gained the approbation of the world, because the inconvenience of barter had been felt, was communicated to our forefathers by the Romans, who taught the art of coining to a body of men, whose disunited bravery had yielded, after an obstinate struggle, to united discipline. At the epoch

epoch of the Norman irruption, in 1066, the Saxon pound weight, which acquired afterwards, from its repository, the name of *the Tower pound*, was but 11 oz. 5 dwts; so that *twenty shillings in tale* were in those days exactly *a pound in weight*¹; as there were then precisely 11 oz. 2 dwts of fine silver coined into twenty shillings, of one pound weight, containing 11 oz. 5 dwts, which were of the value of £. 2. 18s. 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$ of our present money. Such was the standard of our coinage, which, to the honour of the nation, was inviolably preserved during two hundred and thirty-four years, when the doctrine of coins was so simple, since the pound *weight* and the pound *money* were the same; when little gold had yet been carried to the mint, and had not consequently passed into general circulation. The year 1300 forms the disgraceful epoch of the original debasement of our standard-coin, when our English Justinian, Edward I. coined the same quantity of fine silver into twenty shillings, weighing only 11 oz. 2 dwts. 5 grains, of the value in present money of £. 2. 17s. 5d.; so that he defrauded every creditor of eight pence halfpenny in every twenty shillings. His warlike grandson was induced by the pressures of war to commit still greater fraud, by coining, in 1344, the same quantity of fine silver into twenty shillings, weighing only 10 oz. 3 dwts. of the value in present money of £. 2. 12s. 5d. $\frac{1}{4}$; so that every creditor, who had made his contracts during four and forty years preceding, was defrauded of four shillings and eleven pence one farthing in every pound: but, he at the same time again introduced coins of gold, which, after a variety of changes, seem to have superseded, in modern times, the silver; that still however enjoys the pre-eminence of being considered only as the real sterling. After various innovations, which all produced their necessary evils, the grossness of Henry VIII. prompted him not only to make an innovation in the fineness of the metal, but also in the weight allowed to the twenty shillings; to deduct 1 oz. 2 dwts. from the *standard fineness* of the *silver*, (which had thus continued, notwithstanding every alteration, inviolably the same till 1543) while he withdrew 6 oz. 5 dwts. from the original standard weight. Still greater innovations were afterwards made, both in the fineness of the metal, and the weight of the coin, by himself
and

¹ Harris on Coins, Part II. Ch. 1.

and his immediate successor; which introduced disorder into dealings and tumult among a people, dissatisfied, because their understandings were insulted at the same time that their property was taken away. Elizabeth merits the praise of having restored the *standard fineness of the silver*, though not the *standard weight of the money*; and the regulation, which she at last established [1601] with regard to both, has continued to the present times. The following detail will shew us the difference between the *original* standard, and the *present* standard, after the innovations of three hundred years.

	Years.	Fineness of the silver.		Weight of 20s. in tale.		Value in present money.	Proportion.
		Oz. dwts.		Troy. Oz. dwts. gr.			
Original standard	1066	11	2	11	5	£. 2 18 1½	2.906
Present standard	1601	11	2	3	17 10	1	1.

While the rents of the land were paid in its product; while the freemen contributed personal service instead of a specified tax; while the arts had not yet been divided into their classes, there would be little use for the convenient measure of coins. The reign of Henry I. when almost every service and duty were converted into a payment of money, marks a considerable change in our domestic affairs. And in proportion as refinement gained ground of rudeness, as industry prevailed over idleness, as manufacture found its way into the nation, and as commerce extended its operations and its influence, coins must have become more numerous in the subsequent reigns, because they were more necessary. From the happy accession of Elizabeth, we may trace with sufficient certainty the progress and extent of our public coinage.

Coined

Coined by Queen Elizabeth, including the debased silver of the three preceding reigns, — — —				in gold	£. 1,200,000	
				in silver	4,632,932	
						£. 5,832,932
By King James — — —				in gold	£. 800,000	
				in silver	1,700,000	
						2,500,000
By Charles I. — — —				in gold	£. 1,723,000	
				in silver	8,776,544	
						10,499,544
By the Parliament and Cromwell — — —				in silver	—	1,000,000
Total coined during a century, from 1558, to 1659 ^k , — — —				in gold	£. 3,723,000	
				in silver	16,109,476	
						£. 19,832,476
Coined by Charles II. — — —					£. 7,524,105	
by James II. — — —					2,737,637	
						£. 10,261,742
by William III. (including the recoinage) — — —						^m 10,511,963
by Anne — — —						ⁿ 2,691,626
by George I. — — —						^o 8,725,921
by George II. ^p from 1726 } in gold —					£. 11,662,216	
to 1760 — — — } in silver —					304,360	
						11,966,576
Total coined during a century, from 1659 to 1760 — — —						£. 44,157,828
Coined by George III. ^q from June } in gold —					£. 30,457,805	
1760 to January 1781 — — — } in silver —					7,126	
						£. 30,464,931

It did not, however, escape the penetration of Davenant, or perhaps the sagacity of preceding writers,—“*that all this money was not co-existing at any one time.*” And he therefore endeavoured, with his usual industry, to ascertain the probable amount of our circulation, or the number of our coins during every period to which either his *conjecture* or his *calculation* could reach.

In

^k And. Com. vol. ii. p. 105.

^m Campbell's Survey.

ⁿ Tower Records.

^o Ibid.

^p Ralph, Hist. vol. i. p. 1078.

^q Ibid.

^r Tower Records.

In 1600, he states^r, that there probably
existed, — — —

in gold £. 1,500,000
in silver 2,500,000

£. 4,000,000:

*which were the tools, said he, we had to work with when
we first began to make a figure in the commercial world.*

In 1660, there were only, in all likelihood, co-existing, of every
preceding coinage — — —

£. 14,000,000.

Sir William Petty^s, who lived nearer the time, and had
better information, asserts, “ that the re-coinage at the
happy Restoration amounted to £. 5,600,000; whereby
it is probable (some allowance being given for hoarded
money) that the whole cash of England was then about — £. 6,000,000;
which he conceived was sufficient to drive the trade of
England.”

And from the progress of our commerce from 1600 to 1660, and
from the extent of our mercantile transactions, we may decide
which of the calculators was most accurate in his statement, and
most satisfactory in his inference. Sir Josiah Child, indeed, re-
marked in 1665^t, “ *that all sorts of men complain much of the scarcity
of money; yet, that men did complain as much of a scarcity of
money ever since I knew the world: for, that this humour of com-
plaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures, it being natural
for mankind to complain of the present, and to commend the
times past.*” That experienced merchant attributed “ *that pres-
sing necessity for money, so visible throughout the kingdom, to the trade
of banking, which obstructs circulation, and advances usury.*”
And from Child’s State of the Nation, during several years subse-
quent to the Restoration, we may infer that Petty was nearer the
truth in his representation than Davenant.

If the amount of our traffic, foreign and domestic, had doubled
in the active period between the Restoration and the Revolution,
we ought to conclude that the quantity of circulating coin ought
to have been in the proportion of six to twelve; consequently,

M 2

If

^r Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 364.
vol. ii. p. 142.

^s Pol. Arith. p. 278.

^t And. Com.

If there had been in 1660	—	—	£. 6,000,000,
There ought to have been in 1688	—	—	12,000,000 :
Yet, after a variety of <i>conjectures</i> and <i>calculations</i> ,			
Davenant states " it at	—	—	18,500,000 ;

which, he insisted, was absolutely necessary for carrying on our foreign and domestic traffic. But, the result of those conjectures and those calculations derive little support, and less authenticity, from the facts before-mentioned; which shewed, that a country, which for so many years paid considerable balances to the world, could not abound in coins. And there was a circumstance of still greater weight, that seems to have been little attended to by historians, or by theorists: a rise in the interest of money evinces a scarcity of specie; at least it demonstrates that the supply is not sufficient for every demand. The *natural* interest of money was eight per cent. from 1624 to 1645; and it from this year gradually fell to six per cent. before the Restoration; so that the Parliament were enabled, in 1650, to fix by ordinance the *legal* interest at six per cent^x; which was confirmed at the Restoration^y. But, the *natural* interest of money gradually rose again, from six per cent. in 1660, to seven pounds six shillings and six pence in 1690; and from this year to seven pounds ten shillings per cent. before the peace of Ryswick. From 1697, the natural interest of money gradually sunk, before the year 1706, to six per cent.; and continuing to fall, the Parliament were thereby induced [1713] to fix by statute^z the *legal* interest at five per cent. Yet,

In

^u Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 367. ^x And. Com. vol. ii. p. 85. ^y 12 Ch. II.

c. 13.

^z 12 Ann. stat. ii. chap. 16.—This act, "for reducing the rate of interest," recites, as one of the moving causes of its enactment, "that the foreign trade of this nation hath of late years been much neglected." It has been demonstrated, that the foreign trade of England flourished prodigiously during the years 1710—11—12—13—14: So this must be ranked in that class of acts of parliament which are supposed to recite a fiction. But the interests of truth require, that a brand should be affixed to the forehead of falsehood wherever it may be found.

In 1711, Davenant states, "that there might be of gold and silver coin in being,"			
to the amount of	—	—	£. 12,000,000
In 1688, he had already found	—	—	18,500,000
Decrease in three and twenty years	—	—	£. 6,500,000

Yet, it is highly probable, that the value of the circulating coins might amount to £. 12,000,000 in 1711. The gradual advance of our domestic industry and foreign traffic, the reform of the silver, the consequent augmentation of taxes and circulation, the greater credit both public and private, the sinking of the *natural* interest of money; all demonstrate the impossibility of any diminution of our coins during the period from the Revolution to the year 1711. Anderson^a, having given his suffrage to Davenant's statement of 1711, says, "that we may reasonably conclude, as our trade is considerably increased in fifty-one years, the gold and silver actually existing in Britain [1762] cannot be less than £. 16,000,000:" And we may fairly infer from the reasonings of Anderson, that the gold and silver coins actually existing now [1782] amount to about — — £. 20,000,000.

We have seen, during the present reign, an extraordinary augmentation of our manufactures and our trade, a quicker transfer of property, a vast credit, a productive revenue, an unexampled demand at the mint for its coins; which all evince a greater use for money, and consequently a proportional supply. And speculation has been actually confirmed by facts and experience. When by an admirable operation, which ought alone to immortalize a minister, a salutary reform was made of the gold coin, there appeared sixteen million of guineas.

The

^a Commerce, vol. ii. p. 105.

The three proclamations—of 1773—of 1774—and 1776, brought in, of defective gold coin, the value in tale of	—	—	£. 15,563,593	10	8
There moreover appeared of guineas purchased by the bank, and of light gold which fell as a loss on the holders of it, to the amount ^b of	—	—	2,380,643	—	—
			£. 17,944,236	10	8
There remained consequently in the circle, heavy guineas of the former reigns and the present, light guineas which were not brought in, and silver,	—	—	£. 2,055,763	9	4
			£. 20,000,000	—	—
If, from the amount of the coinage of the present reign,	—	—	30,464,931,		
the sum of light gold recoined is deducted,	—	—	15,563,594,		
we shall see in the result the sum which the increasing demand of the present reign required at the mint	—	—	£. 14,901,337.		

It is not easy to discover, because data cannot be easily found, what proportion of the coins, which constituted in tale this vast balance, was afterwards melted or exported. If one-fourth only continued in the circle of commerce, this circumstance alone, when compared with the quantity of money which, in 1776, was actually found in circulation, would demonstrate the existence of a greater number of coins, and consequently a greater amount in tale, than has been here on good grounds asserted. Mr. Joshua Gee^c, insisted, “that the right way of judging of the increase or decrease of the nation’s riches by trade with foreigners, is to examine whether we receive money from them, or send them ours:” And, having “bestowed some time in examining what silver and gold were sent out in 1723,” he discovered that there had been exported in bullion or *melted metal*, 119,120 ounces. Were we to adopt Mr. Gee’s mode of induction, without approving of his declamations, which were too often futile, because they arose from mistake and prejudice, we might find an argument, though we can add nothing to

^b Mr. Eden’s Letters, p. 215.

^c State of Trade, 4th edit. p. 173.—It has been already shewn, that our foreign commerce was in no very prosperous situation during the reign of George I. when Mr. Gee wrote those lucubrations which terrified the nation.

to certainty. During a period the most flourishing of any in the annals of our traffic, from 1763 to 1774, there was no bullion of *melted metal* exported from England. For, we had learned that foreign princes had been too often subsidized to fight their own battles; our commercial customers generally paid us considerable balances: and we were no longer obliged to send silver to the East, to purchase the manufactures of the Indian. We may thence infer, that there could have been no great quantity of our native coin drawn from domestic circulation for foreign export. One truth is however clear, "*that every community, which has an equivalent to give, may always procure as many of the precious metals, wherever they may exist, as it wants*"; in the same manner as the individual, who has labour, or any other property to offer in exchange, may at all times fill his coffers with medals, or with coins. Hence, we may conclude with Mr. Hume, that while we preserve our people, our skill, and our industry, we may allow the specie to find its own way in the world, without any other protection than what is due to the justness of our standard in fineness and weight, or without any other care than to give continual notice to the credulous to beware of the cheat; of the tricks of the clipper, the sweater, and the coiner.

But, what avails it, that our domestic manufacture and foreign traffic have risen, as we have seen, from an inconsiderable beginning to unexampled greatness; that our navigation has swelled even beyond the extent of both; that circulation has gradually filled, as a greater number of traders demanded a greater quantity of coins: what avails the flattering advantages of our social system, whose constitution is the envy of every people, or the blessed influences of our reformed religion: what avails our personal safety from the famed writ of Habeas Corpus, and assured property from a distribution of justice, at once impartial and speedy: what do all avail, if the numbers of our inhabitants are mouldering daily away; if the nation was sinking fast into the petty rank of a secondary power, even before she had felt the stroke of an enemy? And we look in vain for consolation to historians, who recount minutely the slaughter of battles, the famine of sieges, the devastation of provinces; but seldom regard the various arts of peace, by which the prosperity and comfort of a people are promoted,

moted, because a tale of woe is never told to an inattentive audience.

On the difficult subject of population, men, at once candid and able, have spoken a language often contradictory, and sometimes inconclusive. The Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Mr. Gregory King, have formerly, and Doctor Campbell, and Doctor Price, have lately, delivered opinions directly the reverse of each other with regard to an important position: the two first agreed in asserting, that a colony having been planted in an island, whose numbers amounted to a given sum at a given period, its populousness increased almost continually in a progressive augmentation, notwithstanding the diminutions from war, or pestilence, or continual debility: Doctor Campbell endeavoured to demonstrate, that the inhabitants of England diminished during every reign for several centuries subsequent to the Norman conquest: and Doctor Price has contended, with great knowledge of his subject, that the population of England has greatly declined since the Revolution of 1688, and continues to decline. While we yield the respect, which is on every occasion due to men, respectable as good citizens, no less than as able writers, we may review their sentiments, with design to ascertain the authenticity of facts, rather than to lay the foundations of system.

Having taken a comprehensive survey of that dark period of our annals, from the unhappy arrival of the Saxons to the more lamentable irruption of the Normans, Dr. Campbell^d discovers, "*that England was then every where improved, and consequently was in those early times thoroughly peopled.*" He had observed, that the Saxon policy preserved order, because the rights both of prince and people had been properly settled and secured; that justice was distributed equally to all men, while idleness was prevented and the poor were relieved; and that the celebrated regulations of Alfred^e produced at length the most salutary effects, which appeared in full lustre during the peaceable and propitious reign of Edgar, when the power, the riches, and superiority of this nation

^d Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 361.

^e Alfred reigned from the year 872 to 901. Edgar began his administration in 959, and governed to 975.

nation over all its neighbours, was in every circumstance carried to a demonstration. And that judicious author "does not lay this down barely as an opinion, but asserts it as a fact. For, Higden, the monk of Chester, affirms, that by virtue of a commission which was issued by William I. in the fourth year of his reign [1070] there were found to have been in England forty-five thousand and two parishes; a truth, which was regarded by Harrison, and the other antiquaries of Elizabeth's days, as absolutely certain." That England was, in ancient times, divided into districts extremely minute, which were denominated parishes, seems to be admitted. The parliament having, in 1370, granted to Edward III. a subsidy of £. 50,000, at the rate of twenty-two shillings and four pence on every parish, supposing that there were in England forty-five thousand parishes, the Chancellor declared to the Lords and Commons in the subsequent year, *that the rate would not raise the sum*; as, by the returns into Chancery, it appeared, that *there were only eight thousand seven hundred parishes in England, exclusive of Wales*: and the Parliament immediately laid a tax, in order to fulfil their former purpose, of five pounds sixteen shillings on every parish¹. That there have been, at all times, aged parliament-men, who knew much from tradition, we may discover from the history of our legislation; and we may thence infer, that it was the common opinion of the times [1370], that there were in England upwards of forty thousand parishes. It is moreover a known fact, that William the Conqueror destroyed six-and-thirty parish churches, when he established the New Forest in Hampshire. Anderson, however, justly considers the supposed number of parishes as a very slight evidence of a considerable population. The Saxon policy and laws, undoubtedly, offer stronger proofs, because they shew us more distinctly the condition of the people. The freedom that every one enjoyed from the Saxon constitution; the universal absence of the punishment of death; the personal safety and comfort of the

¹ Cotton's Ab. of Tower Records, p. 3—111—112.—This transaction was too remarkable to escape the notice of Mr. Hume: but he seems to have been mistaken when he asserted—"that the council assumed the power of augmenting the tax on each parish." Vol. ii. p. 479.

the individual ; and the partible quality of the lands, which divided the estate of the ancestor among the males of the family : all these offer decisive testimony of a considerable populousness ; which must, however, have often been checked and retarded in its progress, by the frequent devastation of wars, foreign and domestic ; by predatory irruptions, when the torch was sometimes set to the villages, and their inhabitants were still oftener carried into a miserable bondage. Yet, the Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Mr. Gregory King, agree in asserting, “ *that the people of England, at the arrival of the Normans [1066] might be somewhat above 2,000,000^e.*”

The first, animated by the noblest purpose, “ *to vindicate the ways of God to man,*” endeavoured to evince, from a train of reasonings which satisfied the mind of that illustrious Judge, that, notwithstanding every check which the procreative faculty might have received from war, and pestilence, and other casualties, there was a constant progress in population, making allowances for the sudden defalcation of particular years of great mortality^b. Adopting the theory of Lord Hale, because he approved of his mode of induction, Mr. Gregory King attempted to shew, by the most ingenious calculations, the numbers of people who probably inhabited England at specified epochs. It may gratify curiosity to contrast his singular speculationsⁱ with authentic facts.

In 1066, the kingdom might contain rather above	2,000,000
In 1260, ————— ——— ——— ———	2,750,000
In 1300, ————— ——— ——— ———	2,860,000
In 1400, ————— ——— ——— ———	3,300,000

Without

^e In order to give a general idea of the military force of the Saxons, Mr. Hume calculates, “ that there were 243 hides of land, containing 120 acres each ; and he thence infers, that their ordinary force was 48,720 men, though, on extraordinary occasions, a greater might have been assembled ;” and he supposes, that we have now [1762—72] six times more industry, and three times more people, than at the Conquest. [vol. i. p. 210—428.] If the whole numbers at that memorable epoch were 2,000,000, the one-fourth, or 500,000, ought to have been the sum of their fighting men, and one-tenth of these, or 50,000, ought to have been their ordinary force.

^b See the Appendix.

ⁱ Dav. vol. vi. p. 17—18.

Without regarding, however, the reasonings of the one, or the calculations of the other, Dr. Campbel has enumerated a great variety of circumstances to demonstrate the wretchedness of mankind, during those times, equally ferocious and unsettled, and, by a necessary consequence, the constant decline of their numbers. Few revolutions, said he, which have been achieved by the fiercest conquerors, appear to have been attended with so sudden an alteration, both of power and of property, as that which William I. unhappily introduced into England. The constitution of government, from being limited and free, became at once arbitrary and severe. While the class of the ancient nobility seemed to be annihilated, the great body of the Saxon people were assuredly reduced to vileyage: contumely seems to have been added to oppression; the natives were degraded to such a state of meanness, that the English name became ere long a term of reproach*. And those revolts ensued successively, which never fail to arise, when a gallant people are despised, at the same time that they are injured. The Conqueror, urged partly by revenge, perhaps more by policy, was provoked, by the insurrection of the northern counties, to prescribe remedies as severe as they were barbarous: he destroyed the whole country, from the Humber to the Tees; he wasted the sea-coast; and he so effectually depopulated this great region, that it lay for years wild and uncultivated; that multitudes, mean time, perished for want. The pleasures of William were as destructive to the people as his anger. In the formation of the New Forest in Hampshire, thirty miles of country were desolated, without regarding the sacredness of churches or the cries of villagers. And his gratitude to his followers, though attended with less violence and ferocity, produced in the end consequences still more fatal than resulted from either his resentment or his sport, with regard to the depopulation of England. He distributed such immense estates among his principal followers, that the whole kingdom was parcelled out among seven hundred land-holders in chief, who afterwards, indeed, subdivided their shares among their retainers, on such precarious terms as secured their submission, though not their happiness: and the slavish tenures, which were now introduced,

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must

* See Hume's Hist. vol. i. p. 282—3.

must necessarily have given rise to all the unfavourable effects with regard to population, in the same degree as the consequences had been salutary which flowed from the equitable regulations of gavel-kind. And that most curious survey, the Domesday-book, which was completed in 1086, demonstrates ¹, that the cities had felt severely the shock of the Conquest; and while they had fallen into ruins, the country mourned the loss of its inhabitants since the happy days of Edward ^m the Confessor.

The annals of England, from the Conquest to the epoch of the Great Charter [from 1066 to 1215] are filled with little more than insurrections of the people and revolutions of the government; with domestic war and foreign devastation; with frequent famines and their attendant pestilence. The great body of the people enjoyed neither protection, nor comfort, nor subsistence: commerce fled from the disorders of the times; agriculture was checked, partly by the inconveniences resulting from the vast possessions of the land-owners, perhaps more from the precariousness of universal property: the hand of the industrious no longer laboured, when it was no more sure of its reward: and we may thence infer, that the most numerous classes of the wretched inhabitants could not multiply, since they could not easily find a sufficiency of food. Though the concession of the great charter conferred security on the free, it did not, however, give freedom to the slave: the villeins, who formed the great body of the people, continued to wear the chains of their former bondage. Though it introduced no new establishment of ranks, nor made any innovation in public law, or in private rights; yet the barbarous licence, both of kings and nobles, was thenceforth somewhat restrained, and government, says Mr. Hume ⁿ, approached, by degrees, nearer to that end for which it was originally instituted; the distribution of justice, and the equal protection of the citizens. This general reasoning, however just, did not impose on the sagacity of Doctor Campbel ^o, who

¹ See Brady on Boroughs, who gives extracts from Domesday-book.

^m Who reigned from 1042 to 1066.

ⁿ Hist. vol. ii. p. 141—2.

^o Pol. Sur.

vol. ii. p. 508—9.

who minutely examined every circumstance that tended either to retard or promote population. He found no event, public or private, in the long reign of Henry III. filled as it was with distraction, proceeding from weakness, and with civil war, the result of turbulence, that could have added one man to our numbers. Though historians have celebrated the following reigns of our Edwards as the most glorious in our annals, yet he remarked, that the nation, during all that period, in which there was scarcely ten years of peace, declined in its most essential interests. The eclat of victories, the splendor of triumphs, or the acquisition of foreign territories, did not compensate the loss of the inhabitants, who continually decreased, from the destruction of foreign and civil wars, and from the frequent return of pestilential distempers. We have now, however, record-evidence, to demonstrate the justness of his sentiments with regard to this interesting subject, though a stronger reason may be assigned, to prove his positions. The numbers of mankind destroyed by war have been found, at least in modern times, to affect population no otherwise, than as the flock is thinned by the slaughter of the weathers; which only increases its amount, by leaving to the breeders and the young a greater quantity of food. The principal cause of an undoubted depopulation, from the Conquest in 1066 to the accession of Henry IV. in 1399, perhaps to the elevation of Henry VII. in 1485, was the horrible bondage, *not theoretic slavery*, of the great body of the people, whom Sir William Temple has finely compared to the base of a pyramid. The actual oppression of the villeyns, the state of poverty and debasement in which they were held by the lords, the discomfort and discouragement which put them daily in remembrance of their degradation, did not admit of a vigorous propagation, far less of a full population. The destruction of war may be likened to the wounds of a sword, which, however deep, are soon healed up, and leave little impression: the losses arising from habitual debility, ought to be compared to a consuming cancer, which, after inflicting in its progress excruciating pains, ends in death. And this general theory is confirmed by the depopulated state in which every country is at present found, as in Poland, in Russia, and in Iceland, where similar slavery and oppression are still permitted by a destructive policy. The ravages of a casual fever, or of an imported plague, are easily repaired, when.

when every class enjoys the blessings of health; as hath been ably shewn from observations on the bills of mortality, by Major Graunt formerly, and by Mr. Corbyn Morris[†] lately. Unfrequent famines, consequently, could have little affected the population of half a century, or even of five-and-twenty years. But, the ancient chronicles of England, and even our acts of Parliament, are full of dearths and of pestilence during every reign, proceeding chiefly from an unproductive husbandry. The ancient vills seem to have been placed in a state of wretchedness nearly similar to the lamentable station of the modern negroes of the colonies; who do not labour much, since they are not to gain, and who are not very solicitous to preserve what they are not to enjoy. And the people died, as they were not fed either by the produce of their untilled fields, or by the importations of a feeble commerce. It was an observation which did not escape the sagacity of Graunt, when he was reflecting on “*the sickness, the healthfulness, and fruitfulness of seasons,*” “*that the more sickly the years are, the less fruitful of children they also be.*” The celebrated critics of the present day have amused themselves and the world, by pointing out the singular coincidence of thoughts, and sometimes of expressions, of great authors in different countries and ages. It is pleasing to remark, that the same sentiment arose in the mind of the ingenious Mr. Wales, when considering the same subject, at the distance of a century, as had formerly occurred to the shrewd Major Graunt. “There is one cause,” says Mr. Wales, “why the number of births may be higher now than formerly, without supposing a greater number of people to produce them: Will not every cause which brings on a greater degree of mortality, impair the bodily faculties of the living before it ends in death?” If we apply those rational observations on the bills of mortality, to the constant state of unhealthfulness during feudal times, from the frequent scarcity and unwholesomeness of viands, we shall find a new but potent cause of depopulation, during the
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period

[†] See Birch's Collection of the Bills of Mortality.
 the Bills of Mortality, p. 21.

⁹ Observations on
 Inquiry into the present State of

Population, p. 22.

period of which we are speaking, continual in its operation, and deplorable in its effects.

The first notice which the parliament seem to have taken of the paucity of inhabitants, may be seen in the *Statute of Labourers* [1349.] The act of the 23d of Edward III. recites*: "Whereas a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of masters, and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages, some being rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living." Considering, therefore, "the grievous incommodities, which, of the lack especially of ploughmen, and such labourers, may hereafter come," that unfeeling monarch, with the assistance of the *prelates*, the *nobles*, and the *learned men*, ordained a variety of regulations, unjust in their theory[†], and violent in their execution. It is beside the purpose of this inquiry to shew, that those severe restrictions were only established by the king in council; the rather, as they were confirmed, extended, and enforced, by a complete parliament[‡] in the subsequent year—"on the petition of the commonalty, that the said servants, having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetise, do withdraw to

* In the preamble to the collection of that year.

† The heads of those regulations, as they were collected by the late learned Mr. Cay, will not only support what is said in the text, but will shew the reader to what a deplorable state of slavery the great body of the people were then reduced. "Every person able in body, under sixty years, not having to live on, being required, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else committed to gaol, till he finds security to serve.—If a servant or workman depart from service before the time agreed upon, he shall be imprisoned.—The old wages, and no more, shall be given to servants.—If any artificer take more wages than were wont to be paid, he shall be committed to the gaol." [Cay's Stat. at Large, vol. i. p. 261—3.] The severity of these penalties was soon after greatly increased. The act of 34 Ed. III. [1360] directs, "that if any labourer or servant flee to any town, the chief officer shall deliver him up: if they depart to another county, they shall be burnt in the forehead with the letter F." Thus, says Anderson, they lived till manufactures drove slavery away. [Com. vol. i. p. 204.] An examination of the policy of Ed. III. with regard to the coin, will be found the true key to open the genuine meaning of his laws of domestic œconomy.

‡ 25 Ed. III. Statute 1.

to serve great men and other, *unless they have wages and livery to the double or treble of that they were wont to take the twentieth year of the king that now is.*" He who proposes to write a commentary on *the Statute of Labourers*, without considering, at the same time, the cotemporary defalcations of the avaricious Edward in the coin, will probably find, that he has only written to confound his reader, and to entangle himself. An examination of the following detail will justify this remark.

The value of the *pound*, or twenty shillings in present money, as established

by Edward * I.	—	in 1300	—	£. 2 17 5
by Edward III.	—	in 1344	— 18th of his reign,	— 2 12 5½

Value deducted,	—	0 4 11½
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by D ^o	—	—	in 1346	— 20th of his reign,	—	£. 2 11 8
				Value deducted,	—	0 0 9½

by D ^o	—	—	in 1353	— 27th of his reign,	—	£. 2 6 6
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Value deducted,	—	0 5 2
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Yet, after adjusting minutely the prices, not only of labour but of natural products and manufactures, that iniquitous law directed^v, under the penalty of imprisonment at the discretion of the justices,—“that the artificers should be sworn to use their crafts, *as they did in the twentieth year [1346] of the same king.*” The parliament busied themselves, year after year, to the end of the present reign, in regulating labour, which had thus been defrauded. During an administration less active and vigorous, and respected, than Edward's, such regulations had produced tumult and revolt. That great king, indeed, was scarcely cold in his grave, when the same statutes, being confirmed in the first years of his successor, gave rise to the memorable rebellion of Tyler and Straw, so destructive in its immediate effects, so beneficial in its ultimate consequences. The common people acquired

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* Harris on Coins, part ii. ch. i.

^v 23 Ed. III. ch. i—7.

acquired implied liberty from insurrection, at the same time that the parliament were enacting², “that forced manumissions should be considered as void.” And such are the revolutions which insensibly take place during ages of darkness, before the eyes of chroniclers, who are carried away by the sound of words, without regarding the efficacy of things.

The declamatory recitals of such statutes ought to be generally regarded as slight evidence of the authenticity of facts, unless where they are supported by collateral circumstances. From the reiterated debasement of the coin just mentioned, we ought to infer, that the recited destruction of the pestilence was merely a pretence to palliate motives of avarice, or to justify the rigours of oppression. On the other hand, Doctor Mead assures us³, that the greatest mortality that has happened in later ages was about the middle of the fourteenth century [1340—60]; when the plague, which seized England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1349, is said to have dispeopled the earth of more than half of its inhabitants. The Commons petitioned, during the parliament^b of 1364, that, in consideration of the preceding pestilence, the king would allow persons who held lands of him in chief, to let leases without a licence, as had been lately practised, *till the country were become more populous*. The Commons were sensible, says Mr. Hume^c, that this security of possession was a good means for rendering the kingdom prosperous; yet durst not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains. From the æra of the first introduction of cities and boroughs, by their representatives, into the parliament of the 23d of Edward I. [1295] to the present time [1350—60] they appear to have felt a considerable decay: having lost their principal inhabitants, either by the sword or by famine, several of the sheriffs, during almost a century, returned^d, that there were no cities or boroughs from which citizens or burghesses could be sent to parliament, by

² See the statutes of the 5th Richard II. [1381.]

³ Discourse concerning Pest. Contag. 24—5; which cites Mezeray Hist. France, vol. i. p. 798. ^b Cot. Ab. of Records, p. 97. ^c Hist. vol. ii. p. 499. ^d See Brady on Boroughs, every where.

by reason of their low condition and poverty: and, during a long period of years, the poorer boroughs applied for an exemption from an expensive attendance on the king, in his court of Parliament, which they regarded as a burden rather than a privilege. From those decisive facts, we may certainly infer, that there must have been a great paucity of people in England, at least during the latter part of the celebrated reign of Edward III. And from *record-evidence*, we can now establish the precise numbers with sufficient exactness to answer all the practical purposes of the statesman, and to satisfy all the scrupulous doubts of the sceptic.

A poll-tax of four pence having been imposed by the Parliament of the 51st of Edward III. [1377] on all persons, male and female, upwards of fourteen years of age, beggars only excepted, an official return of the number of people who paid this tax has been happily preserved*. Having the evidence of an actual enumeration, we can now build upon a rock. From that satisfactory document it appears, that

In 1377, the numbers of lay-persons of fourteen years of age, who, in England, (exclusive of Wales) paid the duty before-mentioned, were,	1,376,442
Beneficed clergy,	15,380
Non-beneficed clergy,	13,780
	<hr/> 29,160
The whole people upwards of fourteen years,	<hr/> 1,405,602

If

* The precious record mentioned in the text, which contains the number of persons of fourteen years of age and upwards, in every county and town in England, at the demise of Edward III. is in the possession of Mr. Topham of the Paper-office; a gentleman, whose curious research, with regard to the jurisprudence and history of his country, as well as his communicative disposition, merits the highest commendation. There is reason to hope, that this instructive document will ere long be laid before the Antiquary Society; nor can the public receive a more valuable present; because it introduces certainty into an important part of political œconomy. The detail communicated in the text was taken from Sir Richard Worsley's splendid History of the Isle of Wight.

If we could ascertain, by any unquestionable rule, the numbers which existed in 1377 under fourteen years of age, we should discover, by an easy calculation, the exact amount of the whole people. Some have supposed, from the calculations of Dr. Halley, that there must have been only one-third under fourteen years. The nearest rule, which results from Mr. Gregory King's division of the people, is two-fifths for those under sixteen years of age. But, as men were governed then by the same passions as they have been in every age since, we may presume that there were several concealed, in order to exempt them from the tax. If we suppose, therefore, that the persons under fourteen years of age were nearly equal to those above that age, we may thus discover the true numbers.

Persons <i>upwards</i> of fourteen,	—	—	—	1,405,602;
Add two-fifths, according to Mr. King's rule, for those under fourteen,			—	682,241:
The whole people,	—	—	—	2,087,843.
But, to the taxables	—	—	—	1,405,602,
Add an equal number for those under fourteen, for concealed tax-				
ables and beggars,	—	—	—	1,405,602 ;
And we shall find the total inhabitants to have been			—	2,811,204.

Such then were the numbers of the people of England to whom Chaucer told his tales. And thus it appears, that the population of England, at the demise of Edward III. in 1377, was much superior to the populousness at the Conquest, in 1066. Yet, what a picture of private misery, and of public weakness, does such an increase display during a period of almost three hundred years ! We here see the powerful operation of the causes of depopulation, which have been collected by Dr. Campbel, in order to support his hypothesis of a decreasing populousness, *during feudal times*. But, were we to admit that one-half of the people had been swept away by the desolating plague of 1349, as Dr. Mead supposes; or even one-third, as Mr. Hume represents, with greater probability, we should find abundant reason to admire the solidity of Lord Hale's general argument in favour of a progressive population, because that circumstance would alone evince, that there had been, during that long effluxion of time, a considerable increase, in different ages, of tranquillity or of healthiness.

The notices of contemporary writers would, nevertheless, lead us to consider those early reigns as times of great populousness. Amidst all that depopulation, whence England could have scarcely contained seven hundred and two thousand fighting men, Edward III. was enabled, partly by his high renown, perhaps more by the hope of ransoms, to collect suddenly, in the spring of the year^f 1360, a hundred thousand men, whom he transported in eleven hundred vessels to France. It did not, however, escape the sagacity of Mr. Hume, when he reflected on the high pay of the soldiers, that the numerous armies mentioned by the historians of those days consisted chiefly of raggamuffins, who followed the camp for plunder. In 1382, the rebels, says Daniel^g, suddenly marched towards London, under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, and mustered on Blackheath sixty thousand strong, or, as others say, a hundred thousand. And in 1415, Henry V. invaded France with a fleet of sixteen hundred sail, and fifty thousand combatants, with whom he not long after won the famous battle of Agincourt^h. History is filled with such instances of vast armies which had been suddenly collected: yet we ought not thence to infer, that the country was overstocked with inhabitants. The statute of the 9th Henry V. recites, “that whereas, at the making of the Act of the 14th of Edward III. [1340] there were sufficient of able and proper men in each county to execute every office; but that, *owing to pestilence and wars, there are not now* [1421] *a sufficiency of responsible persons* to act as sheriffs, coroners, and escheators.” Thus the parliament refer to a period, as a standard of populousness, which we have seen was by no means populous. The laurels which were won by Henry V. are well known, says the learned observer on the ancient statutesⁱ; but he hath left us, in the preamble of one of his statutes, most irrefragable proof, that they were not obtained but at the dearest price, *the depopulation of the country*. The facility with which great bodies of men were collected only exhibits for our instruction a picture of manners, idle and licentious, and shews us only,

^f And. Com. vol. i. p. 191. Hume. Hist. vol. ii. p. 465—97.
Ric. II. p. 245.

^h And. Com. vol. i. p. 245.

ⁱ P. 312.

^g Hist.

only, that the most numerous classes of mankind existed in a condition, which is not to be envied by those, who, in better times, enjoy either health or ease. And Mr. Hume^k has remarked, that, as soldiers were then enlisted merely for a short time, they lived in idleness all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives; because, by one successful campaign, they gained, either from plunder or from ransoms, what was supposed to be a small fortune; which was a great allurements to enter into the service.

The period from the accession of Henry IV. in 1399, to the proclamation of Henry VII. in 1485, may be regarded as the most disastrous in our annals, because a civil war, remarkable for the inveteracy of the leaders, and for the waste of the people, began with the one event, and ended with the other. Doctor Campbell has collected^l *the various circumstances of depopulation*; which tended to prove, that the numbers of inhabitants, which before they began had been already much lessened, were in the end greatly reduced by a series of the most destructive calamities. Universal desolation ensued. The monuments of more settled times were demolished. The country was laid waste. Cities sunk into towns; and towns dwindled into villages. Owing to all these causes, the value of lands fell from five-and-twenty years purchase, which it had been at the demise of Edward III. to ten years purchase, in the reign of Edward IV. And, what shews with decisive evidence the extent of the deplorable evils, which during that period afflicted a miserable people, is a circumstance which historians have remarked with regard to the cruel devastations of the Goths, when they overturned the Roman empire; *that in succeeding ages, various things were mentioned as newly introduced, which in truth had been common many years before.* The justness of this general representation, gloomy as it is, and sad as the events must have been, is confirmed by the recital of the act of 4th Henry VII.^m inflicting the penalty for decaying houses of husbandry:—"Whereas great desolations daily do increase by destruction and pulling down, and wilful waste of houses and towns, and laying to pasture lands which customably have been used

^k Hist. vol. ii. p. 497. ^l Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 441—3. ^m Ch. 19; which is published at large in the Appendix to Pickering's Statutes, vol. xxiii.

used in tillage ; whereby idleness, which is the ground of all mischiefs, daily doth increase : for, where in some towns two hundred persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours, now they are occupied by two or three herdmen, and the residue fall into idleness ; and the husbandry, which is one of the greatest commodities of this realm, is greatly decayed, churches destroyed, and the defence of this land against our enemies outward greatly impaired." If, however, this representation is considered as a caricature rather than a portrait, it may still be regarded as a curious display of the opinions and practice of the times [1489.]

It is very difficult to determine, whether population continued to decrease from 2,811,204, the inconsiderable numbers of 1377, through the whole of the subsequent century of distractions ; or whether it did not revive and increase during particular periods of peace. If we may rely on the statute of Henry V. before recited, the people had wasted from 1377 to 1421 : During the reign of Edward IV. they probably augmented nearly to their former standard : And we may infer from the comparison of the numbers in 1066 with those of 1377, which had plainly risen to a considerable amount, notwithstanding every intervenient cause of depopulation, that there were rather a greater proportion of inhabitants in England at the proclamation of Henry VII. [1485] than there had been at the demise of Edward III. [1377]. It is however demonstrable, that population began to rise from the decease of Richard III. and continued a rapid progress during the subsequent century.

With regard to one of the darkest questions in the history of England, it may be conjectured, that the ancient villeyns must have gained their freedom during the foregoing civil war, long in its duration, though perhaps happy in its consequences, as to the improvement of our constitution, and the security of the subjectⁿ.

Owing

ⁿ It is curious to remark, that Jack Cade avowed to the commissioners sent him by Henry VI. in 1450, *that his aim was to amend whatever was amiss, and to make the poor Commons happy.* The paper, which Cade soon after published, under the title of *The Requests of the Great Assembly in Kent*, expressly requires, "that the statute of labourers be so regulated by the king and his council, that they may not be so intolerable a burden to the Commons of England." [See Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. i. 403.]

Owing to the previous paucity of inhabitants, the numerous armies, which for half a century desolated the nation, must have been necessarily composed of the lowest orders. And we may suppose, that the men who had been brought from the drudgeries of slavery, to contend as soldiers for the honour of nobles, and the rights of kings, would not again descend from their ranks, by exchanging the sword for the plough. There were few villeyms in England, probably, at the accession of Henry VII; at least it is known there remained very few during the reign of Elizabeth. And, the great body of the people having thus acquired freedom, and with it comfort, they also gained, from the conclusion of the civil wars, all the blessings that every where result from an orderly administration of law and government.

The whole policy of Henry VII. necessarily tended to promote a vigorous population. The chancellor Morton's speech to the Parliament of 1488*, confirms the justness of this observation: And, because, said he, it is the King's desire that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern you, do not bear unto you only leaves to shade you in safety, but also bear you fruit of riches and plenty, his Grace prays you to take into consideration matters of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom; and to repress the bastard employment of monies to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be turned upon commerce and lawful trading: and likewise, that our people be set on work on arts and handicrafts, that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped: but you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that whatsoever merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any overtrading of the foreigner. We have here a demonstration, that Henry and his ministers fully understood the celebrated policy of modern times. It was no hard matter, says Lord Bacon, to dispose and affect the parliament in this business. They passed a great variety of laws, which that illustrious historian enumerates

* Lord Bacon's Hist. of Hen. VII. in Kennet, vol. i. p. 593.

enumerates and explains with his usual perspicuity and force^p; all tending, in their singular policy, *towards the population apparently and the military forces of the realm certainly*. The persevering rigour, with which that monarch executed the laws, especially that excellent one against the retainers of the great, as well as the riots of the little, is well known. The similar policy of the immediate successors of Henry VII. must have naturally produced similar effects. The encouragement, in the subsequent reign, of agriculture, of manufacture, and of commerce; the annexation and final settlement of Wales; but, above all, the suppression of the religious houses, whence were discharged ten thousand monks and nuns^q; all must have produced in the end a considerable population. It was indeed the legislative fashion of that reign, to consider our cities and towns as tumbling into ruins, and to provide a remedy^r for the rebuilding of the old, and the erection of new habitations. But on those laws Anderson remarks^s, that they seem to have proceeded rather from a temporary humour of the House of Commons, than from any real decrease, as it is impossible that our principal cities and towns could be decaying, while the nation in general was increasing, though slowly, in commerce and wealth.

Having thus shewn the commencement of an increasing population, and traced a considerable progress, it is now time to ascertain the precise numbers. From the proclamation of Henry VII. to the accession of James I. this nation was governed by ministers remarkable for extent of talents, rather than for greatness of birth. And, during the interesting reigns of the Tudors, inquiries were therefore made into our political œconomy, and documents have been transmitted for the use of the historian and theorist, which perhaps no other period can boast. From the enumerations

10

of

^p P. 594—7.

^q Lord Anglesey, who is supposed to have written, in 1689, a tract, intitled, *The happy future State of England*, “thinks there were maintained all together, in the convents of England and Wales, 50,000 persons;” and he calculates, that there had been restrained from marriage, and consequently from effective procreation, before the dissolution of the monasteries, about 150,000 persons.

^r 32 Hen. VIII. ch. 18—19.

^s Com. vol. i. p. 370—1.

of the reign of Elizabeth, we are now enabled to ascertain nearly the aggregate of her people.

Harrison, who has left us an elaborate description of England during that reign, gives us the result of the muster of 1574-5, when the men *fit for service, or fighting men*, were found by enumeration to amount to ————— 1,172,674; adding withal, *that* it was believed a full third had been omitted. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, says Mr. Hume¹, the same author *complains much of the decay of populousness*: a vulgar complaint in all ages and places. Sir Walter Raleigh² moreover asserts, that there was a general review made in 1583, of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and these were found to amount to ————— 1,172,000.

Whether there had been two enumerations of the fighting men, one in 1575, and another in 1583, which, considering the politics and pressures of those times, is extremely probable; or, admitting that there had been only one enumeration, and that Harrison and Raleigh confounded the years³; we have two credible evidences to an important fact, that

In 1575 } the <i>fighting men</i> , according to an enumeration, amounted to	1,172,000;
83 } which, multiplied by 4, gives us nearly the men, women, and children,	4,688,000.
If we deduct the population of 1377,	2,811,000,
the result will shew us the increase of two centuries,	1,877,000.

But, as Wales was included in the enumerations of 1575—83, and not in that of 1377, the population of Wales ought to be deducted, to give us the real increase,

468,800.

1,408,200.

The

¹ Hist. vol. v. p. 481, which quotes Harrison's Description of Britain.

² Invention of shipping, cited in Hume's Hist. vol. vi. p. 179.

³ By endeavouring to collect every circumstance that could throw light on the population of the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Hume has bewildered himself and his

The number 468,800 is assigned as the then population of Wales, because Murden has published⁷ an abstract of the *able men* in England and Wales, whereby it appears, that the latter contained about one-tenth of the able men of the former. Thus have we found, that the people of England had gained more than one-half to their numbers in two centuries, or rather in one, from 1485, when, for reasons which have been already given, population may be said to have revived, to 1583, notwithstanding the depopulation of foreign and domestic war, the devastations of pestilence, and the habitual debility of an oppressed people. In this remarkable augmentation, we perceive what force there is in the generative faculty of man, what accumulations

reader. He has stated the accounts of Harrison and Raleigh, without perceiving that they confirm each other, or that the *fighting men*, or males from sixteen to sixty, form nearly the one-fourth of every people. He stated, from the Lives of the Admirals, the militia of 1575 at 182,929, and then gives, from Murden's State Papers, the military force of the kingdom in 1588, during the time of the Spanish invasion, amounting to 111,513 *able-bodied*: but, he doubts if this could be the real number, because he mistook the *able-bodied* of Murden for the *fighting men* of Harrison. He justly reports, from the Commons Journal of the 25th April 1621, "That Sir Edward Coke had informed the Commons, how he and Popham, Chief Justice, had been employed by Elizabeth, in 1599, to take a survey of the people of England, and that they had found them to be, of all sorts, 900,000." But the Parliamentary Debates of 1620—1, vol. i. p. 317, apply the same transaction to the city of London only. And Sir R. Cotton's Posthuma, p. 200, supports the accuracy of the Debates against the Journal; yet states the *inhabitants of London* at 800,000; "which are about the twenty-fourth of the people." The residents of London were then nearly *one-eighth* of the numbers delivered by Sir Edward Coke. There died in 1593, in the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, and the sixteen without (besides 421 of the plague) 3,508; and the next year 3,478 (besides 29 of the plague.) Now, if the average of these two years, 3,493 is multiplied by 32, because the city was then as healthful as the country, or as Norwich now is, we shall see in the result the numbers of the capital of England, while Elizabeth was endeavouring to prevent its increase by her proclamations, to have been 121,776 of all ages and sexes. By an actual enumeration it appears, that they had increased, before the year 1631, to 130,178. [See Graunt's Observ. on the Bills of Mortality, p. 27—39.] So that we may conclude, there was no foundation for Mr. Hume's difficulties; and that the number stated in the text exhibits the whole people of England during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Peck has preserved a paper, which, by proving that there were musters in 1574—5, confirms Harrison's account. [Defid. Curiosa, vol. i. p. 74.] It is a known fact, that there was an enumeration of the mariners of England in 1582; which corresponds with that mentioned by Raleigh. [Camp. Pol. Surv. vol. i. p. 161.]

⁷ State Pap. p. 615—25.

mulations there are in native population, except when both are checked by obstructions, overpowering and resistless. We have here a fresh proof of the solidity of Lord Hale's argument for a progressive augmentation of mankind, and indeed of every animal. And from the foregoing facts, it appears to be a fair deduction, that

If, from 1377 to 1575, the people of England,	—	—	2,811,000,
produced in two centuries	—	—	1,408,000;
<hr/>			
the people of England in 1575,	—	—	4,688,000,
must, from 1575 to 1775, have produced	—	—	2,348,000;
<hr/>			
which, if added to the numbers in 1575, shews the whole }			
to have been	—	—	in 1775 — — — } 7,036,000.
<hr/>			

Such then were the numbers of the fighting men, and of the inhabitants of England, during the reign of Elizabeth: such was the power wherewith that celebrated princess spread the renown of the English nation, and defended its independence. But, it is the ardour with which a people are inspired, more than their numbers, that generally constitutes their real force. Animated by an enthusiastic enmity against Spain, which the abortive attempt of *the armada* had inspired, the English nation, rather than the English court, adopted the arduous design of conquering the kingdom of Portugal for the bastard Don Antonio: and *twenty thousand volunteers* enlisted themselves in this romantic enterprize, under those famous leaders Norris and Drake². An effort, which shewed the manners of the age, more than its populousness, ended in disappointment; as might have been foreseen, if enthusiasm and reason were not always at variance. In the year 1599, an alarm being given of an invasion by the Spaniards, the Queen equipped a fleet and levied an army, in a fortnight, to oppose them. Nothing, says Mr. Hume, gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this sudden armament: yet, he remarks, that it would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland could alone exert at present [1776] a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of Queen Elizabeth².

² Hume's Hist. vol. v. p. 348.

² Ibid. 481—3.

The natural cheerfulness of honest Stowe led him to see and to represent the state of England, during the reign of James I. as it really was. He says, that it would in time be incredible, were there not due mention made of it, what great increase there is, within these few years of peace, of commerce and wealth throughout the kingdom; great building of royal and mercantile ships, the repeopling of cities, towns, and villages, beside the sudden augmentation of fair and costly buildings. Lord Clarendon exhibits a picture equally flattering of the condition of England during the peaceful years of the subsequent reign. Historians confirm the assertions of theorists, that the commerce, and agriculture, and industry of the English encreased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's administration^b. And it has been already shewn, how much their opulence had been augmented by an extended manufacture and traffic; and consequently, how many must have been added to their numbers from the commencement of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the civil wars. The general inference which may be drawn, with regard to an increase of populousness, from the greater demand for labour, and consequently for a proportional supply, is confirmed by a sort of evidence, that wise men regarded in those days as satisfactory, if not decisive. But, Major Graunt appears to have been the first, who applied the parish registers of births and burials to the important use of their original design. *The Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, which he published in 1676, were received by the philosophers of that age with an avidity, which a new mode of induction, that has *facts* and *experiments* for its foundation, always inspires. The Lord Chief Justice Hale remarked of them, because he was struck with the force of their proofs, *that they give a greater demonstration of the gradual increase of mankind, than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute*. That kind of evidence, therefore, which satisfied the cautious Lord Hale, ought not surely to be condemned now on slight objections. Speculations with regard to *a mere question of fact*, may at all times be either confirmed or disproved by an appeal to the parish registers; which, containing *a collection of facts* with regard to births and burials,

^b And. Com. vol. ii. p. 70.

burials, may be regarded as the *best evidence that the nature of the enquiry admits*. And from that source curiosity may at least be satisfied, if judgment is not convinced, with respect to

The Growth of LONDON^c.

		Medium of Burials not of the plague.		Medium of Christenings.		Proportion of Burials to Christenings.
Average of ten years,	1601 } 10 }	6,130	—	6,196	—	1,000 to 1,010
D ^o —	1611 } 20 }	8,084	—	7,517	—	1,000 to 929
D ^o —	1621 } 30 }	10,052	—	8,205	—	1,000 to 816
D ^o —	1631 } 40 }	10,353	—	9,799	—	1,000 to 948

From this detail, and other evidence^d, it clearly appears, that London, which had been no great city at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, had doubled in its numbers from the æra of the enumeration of 1575 to the beginning of the civil wars, notwithstanding the prohibitions of that princess, and her two immediate successors. Animated by his zeal of research, Major Graunt seems to have been anxious to apply the same mode of proof to the kingdom, which had enabled him to throw so much light on the internal œconomy of the capital. But, unhappily, his correspondents were not actuated by his ardour. Owing to his diligence, however, we are enabled to take a slight view of

The Progressive Population of ENGLAND.

Contrast the *christenings* and *burials* of a country parish in Hampshire^e, “neither famous for longevity nor the contrary,” at the epoch of the before-mentioned enumeration 1575, and at the commencement of the civil wars.

Average

^c Birch's Bills of Mortality, p. 79.

^d Petty's Pol. Arith. in Birch, p. 66.

^e Graunt in Birch, p. 47.

		Christened,	Buried,
Average of ten years, 1569 }	—	614	435
D ^o — — — 78 }	—	—	—
1629 }	—	741	611 ;
38 }	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

Of the Town and Parish of TIVERTON^f.

Average of ten years, 1560 }	—	857	529
69 }	—	—	—
D ^o — — — 1630 }	—	2,252	2,044 ;
39 }	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

Of the Parish of CRANBROOKE^g.

Average of ten years, 1560 }	—	687	564
69 }	—	—	—
D ^o — — — 1630 }	—	1,019	1,042.
39 }	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

Of this parish it may be moreover remarked^h, that it doubled in its numbers during the two centuries from 1575 to 1775, "though it had lost in the mean time no inconsiderable manufacture."

Having thus delivered the register-evidence of these *three parishes*, in Hampshire, Devonshire, and Kent, "as giving a sufficient view of the most easterly, southerly, and westerly parts of England," Graunt proceededⁱ, with great ability, to divide the people into their classes, to shew their gradual increase, and to demonstrate how easily the country could supply the capital with numerous recruits, without any sensible diminution.

It is curious to observe, that with whatever approbation those defective averages were received by the wisest men of that day, they would be little attended to at present, owing to their narrowness of survey more than from any want of exactness. The diffusion of philosophy never fails to dispel the vapours of credulity; and, as experience gains ground over ignorance, caution assumes the

^f Graunt in Birch, p. 49.
in Birch, p. 39.

^g Ib. 52.

^h Howlet, p. 98—100.

ⁱ Graunt

the direction of inquiry. Yet, let us do justice to the merits of Graunt, who sketched the plan, made himself a considerable progress in political arithmetick, and taught others to finish the noble design, which he had ably begun.

The rapid progress of population during the peaceful period of the reign of Charles I. which has been thus evinced, was probably stopped by the confusions and distraction, the proscriptions and terrors of the civil wars, more than by the slaughter of battles or the famine of sieges. Yet, the change of manners, and the intermixtures of the higher and middling ranks of the people by marriages, induced the gentry, and even the younger branches of the nobility, to bind their sons apprentices to merchants, and thereby to ennoble a profession that was before only gainful; to invigorate traffic by their greater capitals, and to extend its operations by their superior knowledge: hence, says Mr. Hume, commerce has ever since been more honourable in England, than in any other European kingdom. And the experienced Child was induced, from his attentive observation of the kindly influence of that salutary alteration, to remark, "that there were in 1688, on the 'Change, more men worth £. 10,000, than there had been in 1650 worth £. 1000; that £. 500 with a daughter was in the latter period deemed a larger portion than £. 2000 in the former." We may thence conclude, what indeed has been already proved, that the commerce and riches of England did never, in any former age, encrease so fast as from the Restoration to the Revolution. The activity of men established many new manufactures of iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, chrystal, paper, and other fabrics; several of which, having been gained from abroad, must have brought skilful and diligent people with them*. And from these circumstances we may infer, a considerable augmentation of inhabitants, the more important to the state, because they were the most industrious. If we should institute a comparison, says the Lord Chief Justice¹ Hale, between the present times [1670] and the beginning of Elizabeth's reign [1558] which is not above one hundred and twelve years, and compare the number of trained soldiers then and now, the number of sub-

sidy

* See Anderson's Com. during that period.

¹ Origin of Mankind, p. 237.

fidy men then and now, they will easily give us an account of a very great multiplication of people within this kingdom, even to admiration. Of the truth of a gradual progress, with little interruption, there can be no doubt. But, it appears that none of the calculators of an age, fruitful in philosophers, conjectured within a million of the truth with regard to the numbers of the whole.

By calculation and comparison, whereby he inferred that the capital contained one-fourteenth of the kingdom, Graunt^m was enabled to state the proportional inhabitants of both as follows:

	London.	England.	Both.
In 1675	460,000	5,980,000	6,440,000.

Sir William Pettyⁿ followed his track; and by a similar computation, in which he finds the capital to be one-eleventh of the kingdom, stated the population of both as in the following detail:

	London.	England.	Both.
In 1565	77,040	5,526,929	5,603,969
1682	669,930	7,369,230	8,039,160.

It is unnecessary to point out the improbability and extravagance of those calculations. The data and experience of those respectable citizens were not equal to their talents and their diligence. Mr. Gregory King soon after appeared, who, to a genius by nature formed for such researches, added a minuteness of enquiry, and a solidity of judgment, superior to any person of an age, which produced many considerable arithmeticians. He who was consulted on difficult occasions by a Board of Trade where Mr. Locke sat could have been no mean man. And, as his abilities were embellished by modesty, ever the attendant of real genius, he permitted his writings to be published by another, who has indeed done justice to his fame. Doctor Davenant laid before the public, in 1699, Mr. King's *Natural and Political Observations on the State of England*. The calculations therein contained,

^m In Birch, p. 22.

ⁿ In Birch, p. 67. But, Sir W. Petty, upon further enquiry, found, "that there are of men, women, and children, in England and Wales, about six millions." [Verb. Sapienti, published by N. Tate in 1691, p. 3.]

tained, says his editor, are very accurate, and more perhaps to be relied upon than any thing that has ever been done. This skilful and laborious gentleman, continues Davenant, has taken the right course to form his schemes about the numbers of the people; for, besides many different ways of working, he has very carefully inspected the poll-books, the distinctions made by the acts [of Parliament^o imposing the poll-tax] and the produce of money of the respective polls, going every where by reasonable and discreet mediums: besides which pains, he has made observations of the very facts in particular towns and places, from which he has been able to judge and conclude more safely of others; so that he seems to have looked farther into this mystery than any other person. And Davenant was so well convinced of the truth of what he thus assured the public, that he retracted the opinion of the populousness of England, which he had formed five years before from the looser calculations of Petty, and adopted the more judicious speculations of King; because, "*he had examined them very carefully, tried them by some little operations of his own upon the same subject, and compared them with the schemes of other persons, who take pleasure in the like studies*." And to the praises of Davenant, the learned of foreign nations have added their approbation, so honourable to the object of it, because it was merited.

That Mr. Gregory King concurred with Lord Chief Justice Hale, in maintaining the notion of a progressive population, "*notwithstanding the ravages of plagues, and great mortalities, and the casualties of emigration and the sea,*" has been already mentioned. It will at least exhibit a singular coincidence, though it may add little

^o 2 William and Mary, chap. 6, for granting certain duties on *marriages, births, and burials*, including the parish poor. This act, which appears to have been made by legislators who thought their country overstocked with inhabitants, and that population ought to be discouraged, may be seen in the Appendix to Pickering's Statutes, vol. xxiii. The whole money, which that impolitic tax brought into the Exchequer, in five years, was only £. 229,812. 6s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$; which amounted, on an average, to the petty sum of £. 45,962. 9s. 4d. a year. [MSS. Harley.]

^p Daven. edit. 1699, vol. vi. p. 15—25.

little to certainty, if we compare the result of Mr. King's calculations with the statements from the enumerations before mentioned. Taking it for granted, that there had been in England

In 1066	—	—	—	—	—	2,000,000,
	he found by calculations, that there must have been,					
In 1400,	—	—	—	—	—	3,300,000,
	By the official return it appears, that there were,					
In 1377,	—	—	—	—	2,811,204.	
23	Add to these the one-fourth of 440,000, being Mr. King's statement of increase during the foregoing century					110,000.
In 1400	the numbers ought to have been					2,921,204.
	The difference between the calculation and the enumeration					378,796.
	By adding the increase of the intervenient century to					780,000,
	the supposed number in 1500, he found that there were					3,840,000,
In 1600	—	—	—	—	—	4,620,000.
	By the enumeration of					
1575	there were discovered					4,690,696.
25	Add one-fourth of 780,000					195,000.
In 1600	the numbers ought to have been					4,885,696.
	The difference between the calculation and enumeration					265,696.

With the requisite abilities, together with every information that could be derived from the hearth-books, the assessments on marriages, births, and burials, Mr. King calculated the number of *families* in England to have been at the Revolution^a 1,349,586 ; which,

^a Dav. Works, edit. 1699, p. 22—3.

which, at $4\frac{1}{3}$ persons in each, shewed the numbers of people in England to have been — — — 5,500,520.

Dr. Davenant, four years before Mr. King honoured him with the communication of his most accurate calculations, stated¹, from the hearth-books of 1690, the number of *houses* in England at 1,319,215; which, multiplied by *five*, the number allowed by Dr. Price in each, shewed the people to have amounted to — — — 6,596,075.

Were we to deduct from this last sum — — — 4,690,696,
which were the numbers of people in 1575, the result — — —
would shew so great an increase in 115 years as — — — 1,905,379.

But, it has been debated, with an anxiety which the subject did not require, whether Davenant intended to state the number of *dwellings*, or *dwellers*; the number of *houses*, or *households*. By comparing Davenant with himself, Mr. Eden has very acutely shewn, that he wrote *houses* and *households* synonymously: for in his Essay on Ways and Means, p. 121, he says: "It appears from the hearth-books, that the *families* in England are about *thirteen hundred thousand*." In the subsequent page, he states, "of *the thirteen hundred thousand houses* that are in England, it appears from the books of hearth-money, that five hundred thousand are cottages with one chimney." There was then no inaccuracy in Davenant, because the ablest writers of that age wrote in the same manner *houses* and *households* synonymously, though disputes have lately grown out of his apparent confusion. We meet with this form of expression in Lord Hale, when speaking on this very subject: "The single city of Gloucester," says his Lordship², "contains within the walls at this day [1670] *houses* and *households* more than at the Conquest."

So our Poets used *household* to signify a *family living together*.

In his own church he keeps a seat,
Says grace before and after meat;
And calls, without affecting airs,
His *household* twice a day to prayers. SWIFT.

Q₂

Of

¹ Essay on Ways and Means, published in 1695, p. 76—7. ² Origin of Mankind, p. 236. ³ Dr. Johnson's Dict.

Of God observed

The one just man alive, by his command,
Should build a wond'rous ark, as thou beheldst
To save himself and *household* from amidst
A world devote to universal wreck.

MILTON.

Two *households* both alike in dignity,
In fair Verona, where we lay our scene,
From ancient grudge break to new mutiny.

SHAKSPEARE.

LET us recapitulate the different statements of different men, in order, by a general average, to ascertain nearly the numbers of the people at the Revolution; at least during the reign of King William: and through the darkness of confusion, resulting from various opinions, we may be able to trace the dawn of certainty, and to perceive the unclouded truth, so difficult of investigation, and so seldom beheld.

Mr. King's	—	1,349,586	—	families, at $4\frac{1}{3}$	—	5,500,520.	
Dr. Davenant's	—	1,319,215	—	houses, by Dr. Price's multiplier of 5	} —	6,596,075.	
D ^o	—	—	1,319,215	—	D ^o by Mr. Howlet's multiplier of $5\frac{2}{3}$	} —	7,123,761.
D ^o	—	—	1,319,215	—	supposing them families, by Mr. King's multiplier of $4\frac{1}{3}$	} — —	5,378,338.
Dr. Davenant's	—	1,300,000	—	families, at $4\frac{1}{3}$	—	5,300,000.	
Dr. Halley's	—	1,175,951	—	houses in 1691, by Dr. Price's multiplier of 5	} —	5,879,755.	
D ^o	—	—	1,175,951	—	by Mr. Howlet's multiplier of $5\frac{2}{3}$	} — —	6,346,135.

42,124,584.

The average of these seven statements — 6,017,797.

And six millions were probably the numbers of the people of England during the reign of King William; though they were rather

rather under that sum at the beginning of it, and rather more than six million at the conclusion of it". From the probable amount

In

" Mr. Stepney, the Poet and Ambassador and Lord of Trade, brought from Mr. Gregory King to the Board of Trade, in September 1697, a very accurate detail of *The endowed Hospitals and Alms-Houses in England*. From this precise statement it appeared, that the number of poor-houses was 1104; which contained ~~1765~~ ^{13,400} objects of charity: that the annual charge of supporting them was £. 134,900; that their yearly revenue was £. 165,000.

But, Mr. King stated the proportions of the people of England as follows :

In London	—	—	—	530,000
In cities and towns	—	—	—	870,000
In the rest of the kingdom	—	—	—	4,000,000
Total	—	—	—	5,400,000

Now, this number is 100,000 fewer than the amount published by Davenant. Mr. King afterwards added, it should seem, the poor, the transient, and the vagabond, which make the two accounts correspond. Sir John Dalrymple was too judicious a collector of State Papers, to pass over in silence "the curious report of an inquiry which was made in 1689, by the royal command, in order to find out the proportion between Churchmen, Dissenters, and Papists." From this paper, which he found in King William's cabinet, he states the number of *Freeholders* in England as follows :

	Conformists.	Non-Conformists.	Papists.
Province of Canterbury	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York	353,892	15,525	1,978
In both	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
	108,676		
	13,856		
In England	2,599,786		

According to which account, the proportion of Conformists to Nonconformists, is — — 22 $\frac{4}{5}$ to one.
 Conformists to Papists — — 178 $\frac{1}{3}$ to one.
 Conformists and Nonconformists to Papists 186 $\frac{2}{3}$ to one.

It appears from this interesting paper, that the inquiries in the province of Canterbury had been very minute; that the account of the province of York was only a calculation formed from the former, by supposing, that as York paid a sixth part of the taxes of Canterbury, the first province must contain one sixth of the freeholders of the last. [See the Appendix to the Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Part II. p. 12.]

Mr. King

	In 1695	—	—	6,017,797.
Deduct the numbers	In 1575	—	—	4,690,696.

120 years.

The increase in a century and a fifth — 1,327,101;

which shews us an augmentation altogether consistent with reason, and with facts. From 1377 to 1575, we have already beheld an increase of 1,408,200, though, during the first of those two centuries, the people suffered from the principal scourges of mankind, war, both foreign and domestic, famine, and pestilence; though, during the last, the inhabitants of England only began to taste the comforts of life. What force then must there be in the principle of procreation, and how difficult to prevent the accumulations of population! There must have been a very considerable increase of people, during the peaceful periods of the subsequent century and a quarter, as there assuredly were considerable defalcations, owing to a variety of causes. The plague continued its ravages from 1575 to 1666, when it seems to have happily disappeared*. During the peaceable and prosperous reign of James I. nine thousand lives were absolutely lost in the settlement of Virginia, the most ancient settlement on the American^y coast. From 1629 to 1640, upwards of twenty thousand persons emigrated to New England^z, besides those who settled Maryland

Mr. King states the Freeholders of the better sort at	—	—	40,000
the Freeholders of the lesser sort at	—	—	150,000
Farmers	—	—	150,000
Gentlemen	—	—	12,000
Esquires	—	—	3,000
Knights	—	—	600
Baronets	—	—	800
Lords	[temporal 160, spiritual 26]	—	186
			356,586

Now, admitting all these to have been Freeholders, there is still so great a deficiency, when compared with the list before-mentioned, as to throw discredit on the whole calculation. As there can be no dispute about the term *freeholder*, as there has been with respect to Davenant's *houses* and *families*, the enumeration in King William's cabinet would seem to denote even a higher population than that stated in the text.

* Birch's Bills of Mortality every where.
present United Colonies, vol. i. p. 69.

^y See Political Annals of the
^z Ibid. 166.

Maryland and the West-India islands. During the twenty years of distraction, from 1640 to 1660, the progress of domestic population stopped. "Another great swarm of inhabitants," says Sir Josiah Child^a, who lived at the time, "transported themselves, or were transported by others, to the said plantations upon his Majesty's restoration." That the nation would, in the first place, be dispeopled by colonies, which would in the end revolt, had in every age been objected to colonization. But, that able writer classed the objection, *that our plantations depopulate, and consequently impoverish the kingdom*, "among the common proverbial errors." On the other hand, Mr. Arthur Young has an idea, which is one of the greatest, and at the same time the justest, that was ever conceived by man: He says, "that had the millions, and tens of millions, which have been expended on the original settlement and subsequent protection of the colonies, been laid out on the melioration of England, this kingdom would have had at present double the quantity of cultivated lands, and double the number of useful inhabitants." Instead, therefore, of an increase of 1,327,101 of people from 1575 to 1695, there had probably been an augmentation of 1,400,000, had the energy of the nation been turned on its own improvement, rather than on the fruitless cultivation of distant deserts. After making "allowances for the casualties of plagues, great mortalities, the sea, and the plantations," which Davenant thought so reasonable "as not well to be controverted," Mr. King stated the amount of augmentations from 1600 to 1700, at 880,000 souls. Yet, so difficult is it to approach to accuracy on the intricate subject of population, without the aid of enumeration, that Davenant^b asserted in 1698, "there are undeniable reasons to be drawn from political arithmetic shewing that since the year 1600 we are increased in number of inhabitants about 900,000^c." And the late Sir James Stewart,

^a Disc. on Trade, p. 172.

^b Vol. iii. edit. 1698, p. 196.

^c Major Graunt informs us, "that upon exact enquiry, and a consideration of the bills of births and burials, he had found the country of England, exclusive of London, had increased in forty years, from 1600 to 1644, 600,000 people. [Observ. on Bills of Mortality in Birch, p. 22—3.] These calculations, owing to the deficiency of the data, ought to be considered, however, as containing only the semblance of truth.

Stewart, the most accurate and profound of writers on such subjects, having given his approbation to the statements of both, concludes; "could matters be kept at that standard, of about a million in a century, I should prefer it by far to a more rapid multiplication, because it is an indication of vigour; and the longer youth is preserved the better."

The ablest calculators have agreed in asserting, that the one-fourth of a people ought to be regarded as the men proper for war. Mr. King stated the number of fighting men in England, at the Revolution, at 1,308,000 males, between sixteen and sixty. If the whole inhabitants in 1695 were 6,000,000, the number of fighting men ought to have been 1,500,000. In giving an account of the affairs of that interesting period, Sir John Dalrymple remarked, "that three-and-twenty regiments having been ordered to be raised in June 1689, were completed in six weeks: for England, by a long peace, was filled with men impatient for war, because they loved its glories, and knew not its miseries." It is the happy choice of topics, and the pertinent remark, shewing the condition in which mankind exist, with the principles of their conduct, which discriminate the profound historian from the uncircumstantial annalist. Yet, admitting that three-and-twenty thousand men had been thus suddenly levied, from among thirteen or fifteen hundred thousand fighting men, this effort can afford but a slight evidence of an overflowing populousness. That inconsiderable levy ought not to be compared to the sixty thousand combatants whom Henry the Fifth conducted to glory, or to the hundred thousand warriors who were carried by the renown of Edward III. into France, or even to the twenty thousand volunteers who followed Norris and Drake to the conquest of Portugal. In calculating the numbers of a people, we must always consider attentively the state of society in which they exist; whether as hunters, as shepherds, as husbandmen, as manufacturers; or as in a mixed condition, composed partly of each.

The

The American tribes, who furnish a picture of the lowest state, require an immense desert to gratify their petty wants: though their numbers are few, they can send a large proportion of fighting men against their enemies, because the old men and the women only remain in the villages. The Asiatic Tartars, who being chiefly shepherds, represent the second state of society, send vast bodies of men into the field; because every fighting man goes forth with his wife, his children, his slaves, and his cattle. And the ablest writers have therefore inferred, that the Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns, who overturned the Roman empire, ought to be regarded as colonies emigrating from *the northern hive*, rather than as regular armies, marching against the devoted objects of their avarice or their hate. Yet, the ancient Scythia and Sarmatia could not have been so powerful as the modern Russia and Poland, which are not populous countries, because it is cultivation that always multiplies mankind, since it every where furnishes food. Hence we may perceive with what truth the historian attributed the ease wherewith men were levied in 1689 to manners, rather than to populousness; to their impatience

* The clamour with regard to the poor, and the burden of the poor-rates, having attracted the notice of the Commons in 1696, they referred it to the Board of Trade to consider of the fact, and to report the remedy. From the "Draught of a representation of the Board, proposed by Mr. Locke in October 1697," we may perceive the condition of England during the reign of King William; we may determine as to the truth of the picture by what we see and hear at present. "The multiplicity of the poor," says Mr. Locke, "and the increase of the tax for their maintenance, is so general an observation and complaint, that it cannot be doubted of; nor has it been only since the last war that this evil has come upon us: it has been a growing burden on the kingdom these many years: and the two last reigns felt the increase of it as well as the present. If the causes of this evil be looked into, we humbly conceive it will be found to have proceeded not from the scarcity of provisions, nor from want of employment of the poor; since the goodness of God has blessed these times with plenty, no less than the former: and a long peace during those reigns, gave us as plentiful a trade as ever. The growth of the poor must therefore have some other cause: and it can be nothing else but *the relaxation of discipline and corruption*; *virtue and industry* being as constant companions on the one side, as *vice and idleness* are on the other." It need only be remarked, that were the Board of Trade at present to describe the condition and principles of the lower ranks, they could not use stronger expressions. Of the higher orders Davenant represented, in 1698, "that luxury is so deeply rooted in this nation, that should we prohibit the East India, we should go to European markets for vanities." [Vol. iii. p. 48.]

tience for war, because they loved its glories more than the drudgeries of peace. Had one-fourth of the fighting men of England followed the experienced Schomberg to Ireland, in the manner of a Tartar hord, with their women and servants, what an army had they formed ! We learn from Sir Josiah Child, that it was a question agitated during the reign of Charles II: " If we have more people now than in former ages, how came it to pass, that in the times of Henry IV. and V. and even in prior times, we could raise such great armies, and employ them in foreign wars, and yet retain a sufficient number to defend the kingdom, and to cultivate our lands at home ? I answer firstly, says that judicious writer, The bigness of armies is not always a certain indication of the numerousness of a nation, but sometimes rather of the nature of the government, and distribution of the lands ; where the prince and lords are owners of the whole territory, although the people be thin, the armies upon occasion may be very great, as in Fesse and Morocco : Secondly, Princes armies in Europe are become more proportionable to their purses than to the numbers of their people." Thus, we find little in the writings of the moderns that can be considered as altogether new : they are occupied generally with sentiments that had often occurred to former writers, with objections which had been often raised, and with confutations that had successively been repeated.

The Revolution may justly be regarded as the event in our annals the most memorable and interesting ; because its effects have been the most happy with regard to the security, the comfort, and prosperity of the people. Yet, Dr. Price and others have insisted, with a plausibility and a force which preclude the charge of intended paradox, that every cause of depopulation ; a *devouring capital, the waste of wars, the drain of a standing army, the emigrations to the Colonies, the engrossing of farms, the inclosing of commons, the high price of provisions, and an unbounded luxury* ; all had concurred since that fortunate æra to dispeople the nation ; whose numbers have decreased a million and a half, and continue to decrease. When causes of depopulation are mentioned, we naturally refer to those principles which necessarily govern the increase or diminution of mankind ; when facts are mentioned as corroborative proofs, we are in the same manner led to examine their authenticity.

The Lord Chief Justice Hale formerly, and Sir James Stewart and the Count de Buffon lately, considered man, as to his bodily faculties, merely as an animal, directed by the same instincts, and urged by the same motives of procreation as other animals, and, like them, subsisted afterwards or destroyed by similar means. Among the irrational classes, we see the young supported by the mother till they are able to provide for themselves: The offspring of man, as we have all felt, are maintained during their childhood and youth by the parents, who divide with the objects of their tender care the means of their own subsistence. It is instinct, then, which is the cause of procreation; but it is food which keeps population full and accumulates numbers. We behold the force of the first principle in the vast numbers of animals, either of the fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, or the beasts of the field, which are yearly produced: we perceive the essential consequence of the last from the multitudes that annually perish for want. Experience has shewn to what an immense extent the domestic animals may be multiplied, by providing proportional subsistence. In the same manner man has been found to exist and to multiply in exact proportion to the standard of his means of sustenance, and to the measure of his comforts. How few are the wretched people whom our voyagers discovered shivering in the blast and pining in misery around the southern extremity of America! The savage tribes who hunt over that extensive continent are known to be more populous, because they are blessed with more ample food and raiment. Yet, the most potent body of the American Indians cannot be compared, as to numbers, with the Tartar hords of Asia, who derive their support, not only from the productions of the earth, but from the cares of the shepherd. How inconsiderable, however, are the numbers of the most potent nations of Tartary, when contrasted with the prodigious populousness of their neighbours of China, who find that subsistence which a barren soil has denied them in an unremitting industry. And universal history seems to demonstrate, that every people have increased or diminished in proportion to the means of existence and comfort which they enjoyed either from nature or art. During the celebrated times of antiquity, the citizens, who alone were free, derived their support, not indeed from their own diligence, but from the labour of those whom they had overcome in battle. During the subsequent centuries of superstition, whole com-

munities were maintained in idleness by the mistaken charity of the devout. In the progress of refinement and of freedom, men were gradually pressed by wants which they found no one ready to remove; and, being at length forced to labour, as the only mode of gratification, they derived in the end not only *the physical necessary*, but real independence, *from the sweat of their brows.*

Such were the considerations which induced Sir James Stewart to conclude, *that wants promote industry; industry gains food; and food increases numbers:* Among the ancients, men laboured because they were slaves to others; among the moderns, every one labours because he is a slave to his own passions. When mankind had been thus induced to labour, since they were free; when by cultivation the earth has poured out plenty, which all may enjoy, as each has learned that he has an equivalent in his power, we behold the energetic principle of population exerting its active powers of production: and here we discover the origin of barter, of husbandry, of manufacture, of commerce. What numbers were assembled on the marshes of the Adriatic, by a desire of safety, amid the wreck of the Roman empire, and were afterwards augmented by diligence! What multitudes were collected in the free cities of Italy, during the barbarism of the thirteenth century, by means of industry and traffic! What greatness and renown were acquired by the Hanse-towns of the Baltic, in the subsequent age, through the instrumentality of an active commerce and navigation! What populousness, and opulence, and splendour were gained by the Netherlands in the following century, by their energy, their manufactures, and traffic, while England was yet unhappily debilitated by her political system, perhaps more than by her civil wars! Hence Mr. Hume justly concludes, that if we would bring to some determination the question concerning the populousness of ancient and modern times, it will be requisite to compare both the *domestic* and *political* situations of the two periods, in order to judge of the facts by their moral causes; because, if every thing else be equal, it seems natural to expect, that where there are the wisest institutions, and the most happiness, there will also be the most people.

It was with a view to such a comparison, that the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale, of Mr. King, and Dr. Campbel, were reviewed, in order to discover the real foundation of each, in respect to an increasing population, or to a gradual decline. And it was

found by a fair examination of circumstances, that there was great truth in the respective reasonings of those eminent writers ; who did not so much differ in the essence of things, as in the form of words, expressive of sentiments. An increase of no more than 811,204 of every age and sex, during the effluxion of three centuries, from 1066 to 1377, gives a sad demonstration of the tyranny of the rulers, of the slavery of the governed ; of political distraction and domestic misery. An augmentation of 1,408,200 souls, during two centuries, from 1377 to 1575, evinces, that from the distractions of a long civil war had resulted a favourable change in the condition of the people, and a considerable progress in the arts of government. The additional increase of 1,312,000 inhabitants, in one century and a fifth, from 1575 to 1695, furnishes indubitable proofs, that the subject had acquired, from new changes, further securities for their property and freedom ; that more constant modes of subsistence had been found ; that the rulers had exercised at least a greater moderation. Thus, have we found a continual progress in population during six centuries, whereby were added four millions to the original two in 1066, notwithstanding every cause of diminution, arising from the most wasteful wars, the most desolating famines, and from an habitual debility, perhaps more destructive than either. We ought from these considerations to infer, that it seems at first view very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the general position of *a decreasing population* during a period of our annals the most free, and prosperous, and happy ; though all abstract reasonings must indeed give way to authentic facts ; to the decisive proofs adduced by enumerations, or even to a mode of induction nearly equal to them in the weight of its inferences.

A candid enquirer after truth would surely wish for no fairer appeal than to experience, which is so superior to argument in political investigation, and to *facts*, that furnish evidence so satisfactory to the judgment. It is proposed, therefore, to review briefly the principal occurrences in our history since the Revolution, that could have either continued the former progress of our population, or have promoted a gradual decline.

The Revolution did not produce so much any alteration in the forms of the constitution, as it changed altogether the maxims of the government, which have every where so great an influence

on

on the principles of the people. Yet, from thence a new æra is said to have commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more explicitly guarded by legal provisions, than in any other period of the English history. One article alone, in the Declaration of Rights, was worth, on account of the consolation which it must have administered to the lower orders, the whole expence of the ensuing war: "That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted." It has been justly remarked by philosophers, that severity of chastisement has as natural a tendency to debase mankind, as mildness to elevate them. It was not so much from the declaration, *that the levying money without consent of Parliament is unlawful*, that private property was secured, as from the impartial administration of justice, which has since regularly flowed from the independence of the Judges: A station that was not, however, absolutely certain till the present reign; when a young monarch, with an attachment to real freedom, which merits those high commendations that posterity will not withhold, recommended to parliament from the throne the stability of the Judges, "as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects." No comparison can surely be instituted between the free and comfortable condition of the people since the happy Revolution, and the slavery and miseries of their ancestors during any prior reign to the Norman Conquest. Honest Anderson⁵ did not forget to give "a brief view of the establishment of that free constitution, as it did certainly contribute greatly in its consequences to the advancement of our industry, manufactures, commerce, and shipping, as well as of riches and people, notwithstanding several expensive and bloody wars." The hearth-money was soon after taken away; "being a great oppression, say the parliament, of the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery upon the whole." During the same session, the first bounty was given on the exportation of corn:

"How

⁴ Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 213.

⁵ Com. vol. ii. p. 189—95.

“How much,” says that laborious writer, “this bounty has contributed to the improvement of husbandry, is too obvious to be disputed:” and accordingly, the year 1699 has been noticed as the epoch of the last great dearth of corn in England.” A flourishing agriculture must have necessarily promoted populousness in two respects; by offering encouragement to labour; by furnishing a supply of provisions at once constant and cheap, which were both extremely irregular in former times. The act of toleration, which was at the same time passed, by “giving ease to scrupulous consciences,” necessarily tended to promote our industry and traffic, and consequently the progress of population: for, we may learn from Sir Josiah Child how many people had been driven out of England, from the rise of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, to the blessed æra of toleration.

On the other hand, it has been already shewn how much the eight-years war which grew out of the Revolution distressed the foreign trade of England. As King William employed chiefly the troops of other nations; as the profligate and the idle principally recruited the army; as humanity now softened the rigours of war; it may be justly doubted if we lost a greater number by the miseries of the camp, than were compensated by the arrival of refugees, who sought security in England. And of this opinion was Dr. Davenant^a, who was no unconcerned spectator of those eventful times. Yet, it is a known fact, that the taxes which were successively imposed, did not produce in proportion to their augmentations. Were we to attribute this unfavourable circumstance to the inability and pressures of the people, more than to the novelty of contributions, to the enmity of many against the new government, and to the disorders of the coin, we ought undoubtedly to infer, that the imposition of additional burdens necessarily stopped the augmentation of numbers. Nevertheless, internal traffic flourished in the mean time. In 1689, the manufactures of copper and brass were revived, rather than introduced. The Sword-blade company, which settled in Yorkshire, “broughtⁱ over foreign workmen.” The French refugees improved

^a Vol. iii. p. 369.

ⁱ And. Com. vol. ii. p. 192.

proved the fabrics of paper and of silk, especially the lutestring and alamodes; which were so much encouraged by parliament, that the weavers had so greatly increased in numbers as well as in insolence, before the year 1697, that they raised a tumult in London against the wearers of East India manufactures*. The establishment of the Bank of England in 1694, by facilitating public and private circulation, produced all the salutary effects that were originally foretold, because it has been constantly managed with a prudence, integrity, and caution beyond example. By giving encouragement to fisheries in 1695, a hardy race must have been greatly multiplied: and by encouraging, in 1696, the making of linens, subsistence was given to the young and the old. The conclusion of every lengthened war deprives many men of support, who are therefore obliged to re-enter into the competitions of the world. Yet, Dr. Davenant¹ assured the Marquis of Normanby, in 1699, "that we really want people and hands to carry on the woollen and linen manufactories together." Admitting the truth of an assertion, of which indeed there is no reason to doubt, the observation is altogether consistent with facts and with principles. In less than two years from the peace of Ryfwick, the disbanded idlers had been all engaged in the manufactories which we have seen established, and in the foreign traffic that has been shewn to have flourished so greatly from that epoch to the demise of William. Now, what does the position of Davenant prove, more than that uncommon demand never fails to create remarkable scarcity, till a sufficient supply has been found. And Sir Josiah Child was therefore induced, a hundred years ago, to lay it down as a maxim; *Such as our employment is for people, so many will our people be.* Were we now to compare the circumstance mentioned by Sir John Dalrymple, of the raising of three-and-twenty regiments in six weeks, during the year 1689, with the fact stated by Dr. Davenant "of the scarcity of hands" in 1699, we ought to infer, that an alteration of manners, owing to whatever cause, had in the mean time taken place; that the idle having become industrious, the lower orders of men had learned from

* And. Com. vol. ii. p. 220.

¹ Essay on East India Trade, p. 46.

from experience, to prefer the gainful employments of peace to the less profitable adventures of warfare.

Yet, admitting that the *moral causes* before-mentioned had naturally produced an augmentation of numbers during the reign of William, we ought here to remark, that the people who chiefly shared in the felicities, and were incommoded by the factions of those times, must have drawn their first breath prior to the Revolution: the middle-aged, and the old, who enacted the laws, and as ministers or magistrates carried them into execution, must have been born during the distractions of the civil wars, or amid the contests of the administration of Charles I: and the gallant youth, who fought by the side of that warlike monarch, must have first seen the light soon after the Restoration. It was the check given to the progress of population, by the twenty-years animosities of the civil wars, which must have occasioned that paucity of numbers, which Mr. King found in England when he made his calculation for 1688. It was owing to the increase of births after that year, which probably gave rise to the augmentation towards the demise of that prince. And the children who were born during his reign, formed "the youth among the people," under the administration of King George I.

But, it ought here to be stated, as a circumstance that may be supposed to have checked the progress of population, that there had been actually raised, though with some difficulty, on about six millions of people, in thirteen years^m, £.58,698,688. 19s. 8d.

There

^m MSS. Harley.

There were moreover borrowed during the foregoing reign, at an interest of six and seven per cent	—	£. 44,140,801	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
of which there were repaid during the same reign	—	34,134,024	6	2
Debt contracted by King William, due at Lady-day 1702	^a £. 10,006,776	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Add to this the bankers debt, contracted by Charles II. } which was afterwards liquidated by Parliament at ° }		664,263	0	0
National debt at the accession of Queen Anne	£. 10,671,039	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
If we take the average of the whole sum of — —	£. 58,698,688	19	8,	
raised during the reign of King William, we shall		4,515,360	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
acquire a pretty exact idea of his annual income ^p —		2,061,856	7	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deduct King James's annual income ^q				
The balance shews how much more the people of } England were burdened with taxes in King } William's reign, than they had ever been before }		£. 2,453,504	6	0

It has nevertheless been shewn, that manufactures flourished in the mean time; that there was a great demand for labour; that the foreign traffic and navigation of England doubled from the peace of Ryſwick to the accession of Queen Anne: at the same time that Doctor Davenant^r stunned every coffee-house with his declamations on the decay of commerce: so different are the deductions of theory from the informations of experience.

A new war ensued, still more bloody and glorious than the former, which may have again interrupted the pursuits of industry, by imposing new burdens, and checked the progress of population, by the interposition of the various miseries resulting from hostility. Yet, both public and private men derived considerable

^a MSS. Harley.

^o Hist. of Debts and Taxes, p. 7.

^p The revenue of King William, during the years of peace, may be stated at only £. 3,355,000; of which one million was to cease before 1700.

^q Hist. of Debts and Taxes, p. 6.

^r See before, p. 6.

^s See his works

every where. Yet, Davenant thus described the state of the nation about the peace of Ryſwick: The great export England has had during this war, has given a good price to all commodities of our own growth; upon which score rents have been all along well paid. Till last year [1696-7] in the country manufactures proceeded briskly: *wages have been very high*; and, generally speaking, tenants, and the whole middle rank of men, were much at their ease; (peradventure we may say, in great plenty for the first seven years of the war).—The *decays in trade*, which the war may have occasioned, have been most sensibly felt in London, which depends upon foreign traffic, professions, and handicrafts, which cannot flourish in a time of war. [vol. ii. pub. 1698, p. 93-4.]

considerable advantages from the salutary measures of the late reign. The recoinage of the silver must have produced an exhilarating effect on industry, in the same proportion as the debasement of coin is always disadvantageous to the labourers, and dishonourable to the state. The revival of public credit at the peace of Ryf-wick and the rising of the notes of the Bank of England to par must have augmented private confidence, at the same time that they invigorated manufacture and traffic'. Owing to an increase of circulation, the natural interest of money began to fall at a time when no great balance of trade flowed into the nation. The ministers were thereby enabled to borrow money for the public, in 1702, at five per cent, and during the war at never more than six. And the natural interest of money having continued thus low, when compared with former times, the Parliament enacted, in 1713, that it should not again rise higher than five per cent, as hath been already mentioned. Thus, England gained, during the pressures of war, "*that abatement of interest by law*," which Sir Josiah Child" rather too fondly insisted, during the preceding age, would produce so many benefits to his country: *the advance of the price of lands in the purchase; the improvement of the rent of farms; the increase of foreign trade; the multiplication of domestic artificers; the promotion of general thriftiness; the employment of the poor; and the encrease of the stocks of people.* Though all those important consequences did not probably follow the reduction of interest which that excellent citizen supposed, we may draw this practical inference from an acknowledged fact—that the industrious classes found themselves little embarrassed in paying the taxes which the operations of war required. The "*famous treaty with Portugal*," in 1703, undoubtedly promoted a greater export of our woollen manufactures, and consequently animated domestic diligence. Our internal traffic was facilitated, in 1704, by giving the same remedy on *inland* bills, as the holders of bills of exchange had always enjoyed. The union with Scotland, in 1706, must have promoted the subsequent population of England: by consolidating the disjointed parts into one solid mass, considerable power must have been added to the whole, because in all compression there is force: and the former contributed thenceforth more than its proportion of

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recruits

* And. Com. vol. ii. p. 221.

* Discourse on Trade, 1693, p. 11—12.

recruits for the armies of Britain. Anderson* did not neglect to notice the useful revival, in 1710, of the ancient assize of bread and ale [1266] because "it was so necessary for our labourers and artificers, as well as for all other people." Whatever number of lives were lost during the wars of William and Anne, it seems certain^y, says that industrious compiler, "that the manufacturers of England did irreparable damage in the mean time to the French, by robbing them of many of their best manufactures, wherewith they had before supplied almost all Europe." It is now equally clear, whatever it might have been formerly, that our foreign traffic was little interrupted by hostilities; that our navigation was augmented, before the return of peace, at least a hundred thousand tons more than it had been at the beginning of the war, and the value of our merchandizes exported at least a million^z. The foregoing details throw an unavoidable ridicule on the furious party-contests during the last years of Queen Anne, in respect to the condition of our commerce; as if the prosperity or the decline of manufacture and trade were influenced by the stability of statesmen. The labourer and the sailor only look for employment, the mechanic and the merchant only inquire for customers, without caring who are the rulers from whom they enjoy protection, because they seldom gain from the contests of the great.

Yet, we ought to remark as a weighty circumstance, which may have affected general industry, and consequently checked universal population, that the supplies granted during the reign of Queen Anne, amounted to £.69,815,457. 11s. 3d. $\frac{1}{2}$: the expences of the war, as they were stated by the commissioners for receiving the public accounts, amounted to £.65,853,799. 8s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$: and the national debt had swelled, before the 31st of December 1714, to — — — — £.50,644,306 13 6 $\frac{1}{4}$;
on which was paid an annual interest
of^b — — — — £.2,811,903 10 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The

* Com. vol. ii. p. 251.
before, p. 11.

^y Ander. Com. vol. ii. p. 263.

^z Camp. Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 543.

Hist. National Debts, p. 80; which gives a particular statement.

^z See
Cunningham's
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The taxes annually levied on the people during the foregoing reign may be calculated from the average of the nett sums paid into the exchequer in the years 1707—8—9—10, amounting to £. 5,272,758. The public revenue had now been divided into the *established income*, as the inland duties, the excise, and the customs; and into *annual grants*, as the malt and the land tax. The inland duties, consisting at the demise of the Queen of fifteen distinct heads, were all managed by distinct commissioners, and may be estimated at the yearly amount of £. 453,002, from an average of the years 1707—8—9—10. The excise, properly so called, and collected under the peculiar management of the commissioners of excise, consisted of twenty-seven different articles, and may be calculated, from the same average, at £. 1,629,245, including the duty on malt. And we may thence determine how much it may have obstructed labour, and checked the progress of population. The nett customs arising from shipping consisted now of forty-one different branches, and may be calculated from an average of fifteen years, from 1700 to 1714 inclusive, to have amounted to £. 1,352,764. Having enumerated "that sad detail of taxes," the historian of our debts exclaims: "Can we wonder at the decay of our commerce, under such circumstances? Should not we rather wonder that we have any left?" But, what regard is due to a confident conclusion from defective premises, or to a general inference in opposition to authentic facts? It has been already demonstrated^d, that in no former effluxion of time did the manufactures and trade of England flourish so much, or amount to so large an extent, as at the death of Queen Anne, notwithstanding the greatness of our taxes and the immensity of our debts. And we may from these decisive circumstances certainly conclude, when we consider too that the taxes had produced abundantly, that the war had little incommoded the industrious classes; that the principle of procreation exerted its powers, and an attentive diligence preserved
a numerous

^d Philips's State of the Nation, p. 26.

^e See before, p. 112.

a numerous progeny*, by furnishing the constant means of subsistence.

It is a singular characteristic of the reign of King George I. that in no period of the same duration were there so many salutary laws enacted for promoting domestic energy and foreign trade; yet at no time did both languish more than during those days of captious peace, rather than decisive hostility. The foregoing documents have proved, that war is not always destructive to industry or to commerce. It is uncertainty which chiefly obstructs the diligence of the mechanic, and prevents the adventures of the merchant. Yet, Anderson^f felicitates his country, in 1714, with honest zeal on the accession of the present royal family, "as it gave great satisfaction to our monied and trading interests, which thereupon assumed new vigour: where liberty and property are inviolably preserved," continues he, "and every one secured in his religion, what can possibly hinder such a community and people from growing rich and powerful?" The treaty of commerce with Spain, in 1715, must have inspired with activity our traders. The prohibition, in 1716, which being confirmed by law in 1718, prevented any British subject from carrying on a commerce to the East under foreign commissions, turned their ardour upon more invigorating objects. The allowing of the exportation of *British-made linen* duty free, in 1717, must have given a bounty to labour, because the said manufacture, say the Parliament, employs many thousands of the poor of this kingdom. The year 1717 forms the epoch of the famous *sinking-fund*, which, by strengthening public and private credit, must have animated the spirit of diligence. The fisheries were encouraged by bounties, which must have increased the important race of our mariners.

The manufactories of iron, of brass, and of copper, being considered as the third in extent, since they employed [1719] two hundred and thirty thousand persons, were promoted with the attention which

* The Whigs, who published in 1711—13, *The British Merchant*, in opposition to *The Mercator* of the Tories, say [vol. i. p. 141, edit. 12mo.] "that it is computed we have *seven millions* of people." This would prove a very great encrease indeed, were there much attention due to loose statements, without either calculation or circumstance to support them.

^f Com. vol. ii. p. 267.

which was due to their importance. The continued encouragement that had been given to the fabrics of silk, the erection of the astonishing silk machine of Lomb, in 1719, had raised the annual value of this manufacture to be £. 700,000, in 1722, more than it had been at the Revolution. The year 1722 must be always memorable in the annals of our commerce, for the enacting of the great statute of Walpole, which removed every duty from the exportation of almost every article of our native products; which, however, was attended with more beneficial consequences in the subsequent, than in the reign wherein it was passed, because the wisest law, like the most salutary medicine, is not followed by the most immediate operation. The suppression of *the mint*, in 1723, which had long conferred peculiar privileges on the idle and the fraudulent, must have urged men to labour, and facilitated internal traffic. After enumerating all those measures of encouragement, Anderson^e remarks, in 1727, that nothing can more obviously demonstrate the amazing increase of England's commerce in less than two centuries past, than the great growth of its manufacturing towns, such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and others; which are still increasing in wealth, people, business, and buildings. Yet, Lord Moleworth^h complained, in 1721, "that we are not one-third peopled, and our stock of men daily decreases through our wars, plantations, and sea voyages." His lordship was arguing, when he made that observation, for a *general naturalization*; a policy of very doubtful merit, because in all sudden change there is considerable inconvenience; and he may have therefore been biased by his principle. If that nobleman intended to add his testimony to an apparent fact, that he saw a scarcity of labour, his evidence would only prove, *that the industrious classes were fully employed*; and employment never fails to promote population: now, a paucity of people in 1721, must have arisen from a supposed check which had been given to the gradual increase of numbers during the felicities of King William's reign. If his lordship only meant to give vent to his laudable anxieties for his country, this circumstance would lead us to infer, that great as well as little minds are too apt to complain of the miseries of the present.

Nevertheless,

^e Com. vol. ii. p. 374.
Gallia, 2d edit. p. 23-4.

^h Pref. to his translation of Hottoman's Franco-
3.

Nevertheless, there were assuredly events during the reign of King George I. which threw a gloom over the nation, and obstructed general prosperity. The immediate prosecutions of the great, on the accession of a new family, and the factious tumults of the mean, ought to give us a lesson of moderation, since they were attended with no good consequences to the state. The consequent rebellion of 1715, brought with it a twelvemonth of distraction, without leaving the terrors of example. The war with Spain in 1718, obstructed our Mediterranean commerce, though it did not long continue. But, it was the infamous year 1720 which disgraced and impoverished the kingdom by bubbles and projects, that ought to be blotted from our annals, if they did not form remarkable beacons to direct our future course. And these sad events gave rise "to the general complaint and concern of the nation, for some time, on the subject of a decline of trade¹." Owing to those murmurings, Mr. Erasmus Philips wrote his *State of the Nation*, in 1725, because "he found some men so gloomy, that they thought us in a worse condition than we really are, and that it would be impossible to pay the public debts; since all this pomp and shew is nothing but tinsel, a false lustre, as we owe more than we are worth, as our money is diminished, and as we have little left among us but paper-credit." Against this doleful declamation, which shews that man utters in every age his lamentations in a tone nearly alike, Mr. Philips asserted, what experience has proved to have been perfectly true, *the certain proofs of the prosperity and riches of a country*; great numbers of industrious people; a rich commonalty; money at low interest; land at a great value; and a quick circulation². Yet, during the life of that monarch, the extraordinary grants of Parliament for the public service amounted to £. 35,448,135. We shall form a more adequate idea, not only of the public revenue and burdens, but of the resources of the nation during that reign, than has been before given, from the following detail³:

The

¹ See Wood's *State of Trade*, which was dedicated to the King, in 1721.

² See the preface to the *State of the Nation*, 1725, which was also dedicated to the King.

³ See a more particular detail in *Hist. of Debts*, Part III. p. 145. The author remarks, that from the nett annual income there ought to be deducted the salt duty, of £. 185,595, which was then abolished; and the result would shew the real nett income to have been only £. 6,438,580.

The nett excise, according to a medium of four years, ending at Michaelmas 1726 (exclusive of the malt-tax)	£. 1,927,354	
The nett annual customs	1,536,361	
Various and promiscuous internal taxes	666,459	
Total appropriated		£. 4,124,175
The land tax at 2s. in the pound is given for	£. 1,000,000	
Malt duty brings in £. 686,000, but is given for	750,000	
Raised by lottery	750,000	
Total annual grants for current services		2,500,000
Nett annual revenue		£. 6,624,175
Charges of collection		600,000
The gross sum raised yearly on the people		£. 7,224,175
The public expenditure was as follows:		
Interest of a debt of £. 50,793,555, including the surplus of the civil list, which is 3,678 per annum	£. 2,240,983	
The civil list	800,000	
Surplus of the sinking fund		3,040,985
The current services of the army, navy, &c.		1,083,190
		2,500,000
The annual charges with current services		6,624,175
Salaries and other charges, at least		600,000
Gross sum annually applied		£. 7,224,175

Thus, during the reign of George I. the taxes had been augmented; though the public debts were not greatly diminished: and, little as the extraordinary expence of those days was, the sinking fund was constantly applied as a never-failing resource. Let us, however, with the candid spirit of Sir James Stewart, neither censure nor approve the rulers of that reign, since "every statesman must be supposed to have good reasons for what he does, unless his motives are shewn to be bad." Nevertheless, our manufactures and commerce continually increased; since it has been demonstrated^m, that the value of commodities which were annually exported, and the numbers of our shipping, had been greater at the demise of Queen Anne than they had been at the decease of her predecessor; that both our traffic and our navigation had been

^m See before, *The Chronological Table.*

been more extensive at the accession of King George II. than either had been at the arrival of George I. There must have been, therefore, a constant employment during those prosperous times, and consequently an augmentation of labourers.

The reign of George II. will be found, with whatever sinister events it opened, to have promoted greatly, before its glorious end, the industry of the nation, and consequently the numbers of the people. The reduction of the interest of the national debts, in 1727, from *five* per cent. to *four*, not only strengthened public and private credit; but, by reducing the *natural* interest of money, which sunk before the year 1760 to £. 3. 13 s. 6 d. it facilitated manufacture and traffic. The fabrics of wool were, at the same time, freed from fraud. The peace with Spain, in 1728, must have invigorated our exportations to the Mediterranean; the rather, as a peace was at the same time made with Morocco. Yet, party-rage ran so high in 1729, says Anderson^a, the friends of the minister found themselves obliged to prove by *facts*, what was before generally known to be undoubtedly true, *that Britain was then in a thriving condition*: the low interest of money, they insisted, demonstrates a greater plenty of cash than formerly; this abundance of money has raised the price of lands from twenty and twenty-one years to twenty-five and twenty-six years purchase; which proves, that there are more persons able and ready to buy than formerly; the *great sums* of late expended in the *inclosing* and *improving* of lands, and in opening mines, are proofs of an augmentation of opulence and people; the increased value of our exports shews an increase of manufactures, and the greater number of shipping cleared outwards marks the greater extent of navigation. The vast value of the corn exported in 1733, amounting to a million, and nearly the same in 1738, demonstrates equally the flourishing state of our agriculture^b. The whale-fishery was encouraged by parliamentary bounties in 1733. The encouragement given, in 1745, to British linens, by bounties on the exportation, and by prohibiting the wear of French cambricks, must have promoted domestic diligence. And the natural consequence of those salutary

^a Com. vol. ii. p. 322.

^b Ibid. 349.

tary measures, in respect to domestic œconomy, during the present and the foregoing reigns, was to raise the value of our manufactures exported yearly two millions, in 1738, more than it had been in 1728, and the number of our shipping fifty thousand tons ^p.

Notwithstanding all that apparent prosperity and augmentation of numbers, we ought to mention, as circumstances which probably may have retarded the progress of population, the Spanish war of 1727, which was not, however, of long continuance. The settlement of Georgia, in 1733, carried off a few of the lowest orders; the idle and the needy. The real hostilities that began in 1739, must have been attended with much more baneful consequences. The rebellion of 1745 introduced a temporary disorder, though there were drawn from its confusions measures the most salutary in respect to industry and population.

The eight-years war of 1739 cost this nation — — £. 64,032,957

The national debt, on the 31st December 1727, amounted to £. 47,581,531; on which was paid a yearly interest of — £. 2,139,123.

The public debt, on the 31st December 1738, — 46,314,829 10 0½
D^o, — on the 31st December 1749, — 74,221,686 10 11½

Augmented by the war ^q, — £. 27,906,857 0 11

To the taxes subsisting at the demise of Queen Anne, there had now been added five different branches to the inland-duties, the same number to the excise, and five to the customs: Yet, in no period were the manufactories of England carried on with more spirit and success than during the foregoing war; during none did her shipping increase so much, nor did she ever receive such considerable balances on the trade which she carried on with the world. And, if the industrious classes were fully and usefully employed, the progress of population must have consequently held its rapid course. We meet, however, with a passage in Mr. Corbyn Morris's Political and Natural Observations on the Bills

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of

^p See the Chronological Table, before inserted.
Taxes, part iv. p. 170—7.
tion of those truths before, p. 16—17.

^q Ibid. p. 169.

^r Hist. of Debts and
^s See a demonstra-

of Mortality, which would lead us to draw a contrary inference. "Let the country gentlemen," says he, when speaking 'on the then mortality of London [March 1750—1] "be called forth and declare—Have they not continually felt, for many years past, an increasing want of husbandmen and day-labourers? Have the farmers throughout the kingdom no just complaints of the *excessive increasing prices of workmen*, and of the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number at any price?" Now, admitting the truth of these pregnant affirmations, they may be shewn to have been altogether consistent with facts and with principles. Allowing his *many years* "to reach to the demise of George I. it may be asserted, because it has been proved, that our agriculture had been so much improved, as not only to supply domestic wants, but even to furnish other nations with the means of subsistence", and every branch of our manufactures kept pace with the flourishing state of our husbandry. It is surely demonstrable, that it required a greater number of artificers to manufacture commodities of the value of £. 11,141,202, and to navigate 554,713 tons of shipping, in 1748, than to fabricate goods of the value of £. 7,951,772, and to navigate 456,483 tons of shipping, in 1728. That the period wherein he wrote, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were times of great prosperity, has been very properly mentioned by Dr. Price, in terms of high celebration. But, great demand creates a scarcity of all things; the high prices, arising from scantiness of supply, never fail to procure

¹ In Birch, p. 106.

² Mr. Joshua Gee, who had not been unobservant of the commercial occurrences of his time, stated, in 1738, "that we have greatly increased in our *buildings* and *inhabitants* within these *forty years*." [Trade, edit. 1738, p. 100.] Yet, he was extremely apt to complain of the present.

³ It appears, by an account which was laid before the Parliament, that there had been exported in *five years*, from 1744 to 1748, corn from England to the amount of 3,768,444 quarters; which, at a medium of prices, was worth to this nation, £. 8,007,948. Now, the average of the five years is 753,689 quarters yearly, of the value of £. 1,601,589. The exportation of 1749 and 1750 rose still higher. "This is an immense sum," says the compiler of the Annual Register, [1772, p. 197] "to flow immediately from the produce of the earth, and the labour of the people; enriching our merchants, and increasing an invaluable breed of seamen." He might have added, with equal propriety, *enriching our yeomanry, and increasing the useful bread of labourers dependent on them.* Yet, in that prosperous period, Sir Matthew Decker published [2d edit. 1750] his *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade, and consequently of the Value of the Lands of Britain.*

procure plenty: And mankind, like other animals, are therefore multiplied in the same proportion as their labour is asked for, and their diligence is rewarded. That *the excessive prices of workmen*, mentioned by Mr. Morris, did in fact procure a reinforcement of *workmen*, may be thus demonstrated: It required a greater number of artificers to manufacture merchandizes of the value of £. 12,599,112, and to navigate 609,798 tons of shipping, in 1751, than it did to fabricate products of the value of £. 11,141,202, and to sail 554,713 tons, in 1748. He who has celebrated any given epoch as a period of great prosperity in respect to husbandry, manufacture, and commerce, yet labours to prove, that the industrious classes, from that epoch, declined in their numbers, is only diligent to shew, that *causes do not produce their effects*; or to leave an example to the world how easily even acute minds may be drawn into the mazes of contradiction, by an affectation of well-meaning singularity. And it ought to be moreover remarked, that the persons who were born during that prosperous effluxion of time from 1748 to 1760, form at present [1782] *the youth among the people*.

To those causes of prosperity, that having for years existed, had produced the most beneficial effects prior to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, new encouragements were immediately added. Owing assuredly to an augmentation of industry, of manufacture, of husbandry, of opulence, and of people, the rulers of that day were enabled to reduce, consistently with justice and public faith, upwards of fifty-seven millions of national debts, from four to three per cent. interest. That celebrated transaction not only shewed the flourishing condition of the kingdom, but tended to make it flourish still more; by producing all those salutary consequences, with respect to domestic diligence and foreign enterprize, which Sir Josiah Child supposed to result from a lowness of interest. An additional encouragement was at the same time given to the whale-fishery, partly by bounties, and partly by the naturalization of foreigners who engaged in that beneficial business. The establishment of the Corporation of *the Free-British-Fishery*, in 1750, must have promoted population, by giving employment to the industrious, however unprofitable the project may have been to the undertakers, whose success was unhappily so unequal to their good intentions and expence. The voluntary society entered into in 1754, for *the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures,*

Manufactures, and Commerce, must have been attended with still more beneficial consequences, by animating an active spirit of discovery and perseverance. The various laws enacted, and measures pursued, from the year 1732 to 1760, *for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors*, must have greatly promoted populousness, by preserving the health, the sobriety, and diligence of the lower ranks. And augmentation of numbers must have consequently been the result.

In opposition to those causes of prosperity, and therefore of population, we ought now to mention, that a new war broke out in 1755, unsuccessful in the beginning, yet glorious in the end. It is not easy however to calculate the numbers who die in the camp or the battle, more than would otherwise perish from want^r, or from vice, in the hamlet or city. It is some consolation, that the industrious are too wealthy and independent to covet the pittance of the soldier, or to court the dangers of the sailor. And though the forsaken lover, or the restless vagrant, may have looked for refuge in the army or the fleet, it may admit of some doubt how far the giving proper employment to both may not have freed their parishes from disquietude and from burdens. It is the expences, more than the slaughter, of modern war, which debilitate every community. The whole supplies granted by Parliament, and raised upon the people, during the reign of George II. amounted² to £. 183,976,624.

The supplies granted during the five years of the war before the decease of that prince, amounted to	—	—	—	£. 54,319,325
The supplies granted during the three first years of his successor, amounted ² to	—	—	—	51,437,314
The principal expences of a war, the object of which Mr. Hume has honoured with the epithet <i>frivolous</i>	—	—	—	£. 105,756,639

Yet, none of the taxes that had been established in order to raise those vast sums bore heavy on the industrious classes, if we except the additional excise of three shillings a barrel on beer. And, whatever burdens may have been imposed, internal industry pursued

^r The dearth of 1757 and 1758, which however was little comparable to those of former times, ought to be mentioned among the causes of depopulation. Yet, the wise and vigorous measures of the Parliament prevented, probably, any other bad consequence than a temporary inconvenience.

² Camp. Pol. Sur. vol. ii. p. 551.

² Ibid.

fued its occupations, and the enterprize of traders sent to every quarter of the globe adventures to an extent beyond all example. It is the boast of Britain, "that while other countries suffered innumerable calamities, during that long period of hostilities, this happy island escaped them all; and cultivated, unmolested, her manufactures, her fisheries, and her commerce, to an amount which has been the envy and wonder of the world." It is indeed demonstrable, that there never had been in England, at any period, so many *industrious* people, as there were at the return of peace in 1763^b.

For,

^b It is an acknowledged fact, that Scotland furnished a larger number of recruits for the fleets and armies of Britain, during the last war, than England, in proportion to the inferior amount of her fighting-men. The following detail will however shew, that the industrious classes were not the least affected by the drain of that long course of hostilities.

The amount of the linen manufacture of Scotland, which was stamped for sale: [And. Com. vol. ii. p. 415—20.]

In 1728	—	2,183,978	yards,	of the value of	£. 103,312	0	0
1738	—	10,624,435	D°	—	424,141	10	7
1759	—	10,830,707	D°	—	451,390	17	3
1760	—	11,747,728	D°	—	522,153	10	4
Increase of 1760	—	917,021	D°	—	£. 71,762	13	1

Of the augmentation of the whole products of Scotland during the war, and consequently of its labour, we may determine from the following detail: [See the Chronological Table before inserted.]

Value of merchandizes exported from Scotland in 1756	—	£. 663,401
60	—	1,086,205
64	—	1,243,927

There were exported yearly of *British-manufactured* linens, according to an average of seven years of peace, from 1749 to 1755 — 576,373 yards.

Ditto, according to an average of seven years of subsequent war, from 1756 to 1762 — 1,355,226 ditto.

Having thus discovered that the sword had not been put into useful hands, let us take a view of the great woollen manufactories of England; which will shew us, that no man had left the loom to follow the *idle trade of war*:

Value of woollen goods exported in — 1755	—	£. 3,575,297
57	—	4,758,095
58	—	4,673,462
59	—	5,352,299
60	—	5,453,172

As these prodigious exportations were so superior to those of any preceding period,

For, it must undoubtedly have required a greater number of artificers to produce merchandizes for foreign exportation, after feeding and cloathing the inhabitants, to the value of — — — £. 14,694,970 — in 1760, than it did to fabricate the value of — — — £. 12,599,112 — in 1750:

It must have demanded a still greater number of hands to work up goods for exportation, of the value of — — — 16,512,404 — in 1764, than it did to manufacture the value of — — — 14,873,191 — in 1761.

A greater number of seamen must surely have been employed to navigate	— — —	471,241	tons of national shipping, in 1760,
than	— — —	451,254	D° — in 1756:
And a still greater number to man	— — —	651,402	D° — in 1765,
than	— — —	609,798	D° — in 1750.

HAVING thus briefly stated the *moral causes* that, since the Revolution, may have either promoted an increase of population or a gradual decline, it is now time to enquire into the exact amount of our increase or declension. Could we ascertain the number of inhabitants during the present reign, with the same accuracy as we have established the probable populousness of the days of King William, as well as of former periods, the question would be already decided. Let us, in the mean time, remember, that though the comparison of numbers must be made between the current times and the age of the Revolution, yet their *moral causes* must have existed, and produced their effects, in periods prior to both: and of consequence, that the greater portion of inhabitants existing in the reign of King William, must have been born partly amid the distraction of the civil contests, and chiefly under the irregular administrations of Charles II. and his immediate successor: the great body of the people, who now exist in England, must have first seen the light under the more auspicious

period, it surely requires no argument to prove, that there were a greater number of artificers employed in 1760, than there had been in 1755, or in any prior year. [See a most curious document, shewing the *value of woollen goods of every kind*, which were entered for exportation at the custom-house, from 1696 to 1780 inclusive; in the Appendix to a pamphlet lately published, entitled "*The propriety of allowing a qualified Exportation of Wool discussed historically.*"]

auspicious governments of George I. and George II. With all candid inquirers, the question so worthy of their investigation ought therefore to be, Whether the moral causes, operating during the first period, must have necessarily multiplied mankind in a greater abundance than the moral causes operating during the last ?

There are who think we had no constitution, nor laws, nor government, nor security, civil or religious, anterior to the Revolution. Without adopting that sentiment in its full extent, we may safely decide, that there can be no comparison between the two given periods, in respect to their *domestic* and *political* situations ; to the *wisdom* of the institutions, and the *happiness* of the governed : neither the rights of conscience, the privileges of the person, nor the security of what each had acquired ; which all have so great an influence on the exertions of the individual, were so firmly established, surely, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. as they happily were during those of George I. and George II. What numbers were driven away during the first period, on account of their religion ! How many emigrated, because they thought they perceived a new civil war approaching from the contests of those unsettled times, or because they dreaded a hated successor ! And who could then feel that any property was safe, while the payments at the exchequer were stopped, and the money of the bankers was seized ; while juries were factious, and judges were partial ? Nor are ages of distraction, and alarm, and debauchery favourable to marriage, or consequently to augmentation of numbers. It was a consideration of such topicks that induced Davenant to lay it down as a maxim, in 1699 ; *that countries are more or less populous as liberty and property are well or ill secured*. If employment necessarily produces people, it seems impossible to maintain, that there was as great a demand for labour during the first period, as there assuredly existed during the second : the husbandry, the manufactures, the navigation of the first, though they undoubtedly prospered, cannot surely be compared to the flourishing agriculture, and traffic, and shipping of the last. It must not be supposed, that there could have been so many men employed in manufacturing commodities for exportation, after cloathing and feeding the inhabitants, of the value of £. 3,014,565, and

navigating 189,532 tons of shipping, in the period from *the Restoration to the Revolution*, as in fabricating merchandizes for exportation of the value of £.10,222,426, and sailing 675,364 tons, during the reign of George^c II: And consequently a greater number of breeders must have been employed to supply the demand for labourers during the last effluxion of time, than during the former. Influenced by such reasoning, Sir James Stewart insisted, “*that the making of roads must advance population*”, as they contribute to the advancement of agriculture: Nor did it escape the remark of that profound statesman, *that the making of highways, aqueducts, common-sewers, and bridges, extend the correspondence between the different places of the country*. It is unnecessary to remark how little communication there was, a century and a half ago, between distant districts of the same empire. Of the foundrous condition of the roads of England, while they were mended by the compulsive labour of the poor under our former laws, we may judge by the wretched state of the ways, which, in the present times, are kept in repair by the ancient mode. The year 1663 is the epoch of the first *toll-gates*, or *turnpikes*, for the collection of a tax for the repairing of highways^e: And the counties of Hertford, and Cambridge, and Huntingdon, enjoy the honour of having set an example which has since proved so beneficial to the kingdom. Yet, when Cowley retired from *the hum of men* to Chertsey, he thence invited Sprat to enjoy the pleasures of St. Anne’s Hill, by telling him, *that he might sleep the first night at Hampton-town*: A poet of the present days would invite his friend at London, by saying, *he might easily step into the coach and come down to breakfast*. Even in the subsequent age, when Sir Francis Wronghead was chosen into Parliament, we hear of much preparation for his journey to town, and many accidents by the way, owing to the badness of the roads: A Parliament-man at present sends to the next stage for post-horses, when there is a call of the House, and arrives in Westminster from any distance at any hour. But the reign of
George

^c See before, p. 29—30, and the Chronological Table.
vol. i. p. 58. vol. ii. p. 34.

^e And. Com. vol. ii. p. 122.

^d Pol. Econ.

George II. is the great æra of the improvement of the principal roads, by the general erection of turnpikes, and of the connecting of our counties and towns, by the cutting of canals. Population was therefore considerably promoted by present employment, and numbers were continually increased by the encouragements of an internal traffic; which, it is no paradox to say, was rendered thereby greater than our foreign, because it is an undoubted truth, *that the best customers of England are the people of England.*

It may nevertheless be objected, that general reasonings must ever yield to geometrical certainty, and metaphysical deductions must fall before the result of arithmetical calculations: "The matter in dispute must be determined," it is said^f, "not by vague declamation or speculative argument; but by clear and well-authenticated facts." For, the grand argument of Dr. Price in favour of the depopulation of this kingdom, and on which, as his coadjutor remarks^g, he judiciously lays the greatest stress, is at once extremely clear and comprehended in a very narrow compass. And this is undoubtedly true, as appears from the following statement of his "*grand argument*:"

The number of <i>houses</i> stated by Dr. Davenant, from the hearth-books of 1690, to have been then in England,	—	—	—	1,319,215;
which, multiplied by <i>five</i> , the number calculated by Dr. Price to inhabit every house, would shew the whole people to have been	—	—	—	6,596,075.
The number of <i>houses</i> returned by the proper officers to the tax-office in 1777, were	—	—	—	952,734;
which, multiplied in the same manner by <i>five</i> , shews the whole people to have been, in 1777,	—	—	—	4,763,670.
Pretended decrease in 87 years	—	—	—	1,832,405. — 366,481.

Nothing can be more intelligible than this argument; and nothing can be more decisive in its inferences, were we only to admit the authenticity of the very doubtful data from which the
U 2 calculation

^f Uncertainty of the present Population, p. 11.

^g Ibid. p. 6.

calculation was made. He who said he could remove the earth from its orbit, if he had only a stand and a lever, made his proposal in vain, as no man was found to comply with his requisitions. When a comparison is professedly instituted between the state of population, in any two given periods, the real condition of each must be clearly established, otherwise no genuine contrast can be certainly made. The number of houses and the account of population during the year 1690, "are given," says Dr. Price^b, "on the authority of Dr. Davenant." But, what regard ought to be paid to the specific numbers of a writer, who did not himself *stedfastly* believe; who relinquished his opinions with regard to the populousness of England, because he was convinced of his error, and ultimately yielded his judgment to a statement utterly inconsistent with that which is now studiously brought forward as decisive^c? Nor is it altogether logical to draw inferences

^b Ess. on Pop. p. 13.

^c The writings of Dr. Davenant are full of contradictions, because he published them in distinct essays at distant periods, and as he grew older he grew wiser. In his first work, with which he favoured the public in 1695, he says, page 34: "It appears from the books of hearth-money, that there are not above *thirteen hundred thousand families* in England; and, allowing *six* persons to a *house*, which is the common way of computing, not quite *eight millions* of people." In p. 51 of the same essay he says, "The *houses* in England, as appears by the books of hearth-money, are about *thirteen hundred thousand*." In p. 76—7 of the same essay, he gives "the number of *houses* in each county, according to the hearth-books of Lady-day 1690, 1,319,215." In p. 121 of the same essay, he says, "It appears from the books of hearth-money, that the *families* in England are about *thirteen hundred thousand*." Yet, in the subsequent page, he says, "Of the *thirteen hundred houses* that are in England, it appears from the books of hearth-money." And in p. 136, he concludes, "That the people of England, by the nearest computations that can be made, are reckoned *seven* millions; of which London is accounted a tenth part." In the most voluminous book in the English language, though comprized in five-and-twenty tomes in folio, there cannot be found so much contradictoriness in fact and uncertainty of inference, as we find in this petty volume of one hundred and sixty pages. If Davenant ever inspected the *books of hearth-money*, why did not he abide by the certainty of information which authentic records always give? Why did he reject 19,255 houses, if he had such good proofs of their existence, since they must have contained, according to his calculation of six persons in each, 115,530 inhabitants? If he never saw the books of hearth-money, but relied on the evidence of those

inferences from the specified number of 1,319,215, till it is clearly established whether Davenant intended to give the number of *houses* or *households*, of *dwellings* or *families*; as it is now certain, that the multiplier, according to the quality of the one or the other, is so extremely dissimilar as to make a difference of half a million. The number itself, as well as the ultimate result, differs from Mr. King's account, who had also inspected the hearth-books, and had other means of information which were allowed by Davenant to have been superior to his own. And the deduction of the aggregate body of people, which, by Dr. Price's mode of calculation, were supposed to have existed in England at the Revolution, is not consistent with the operation of those *moral causes* that worked their effects during the preceding period.

The

those who had, why did he use the qualifying expression *about*, if he believed the accuracy of their information? And, if Davenant himself did not consider the number of houses as absolutely certain, why should we adopt his cyphers, in order to form arithmetical calculations, which require so much precision? That diligent and well-meaning writer published his *Essays on the Public Revenue, Trade, &c.* in 1698, in two parts. He sets out with praising Sir William Petty as the first who *argued from figures*, though he seems to regret the insufficiency of his data. But, says he, "the hearth-books have given us a view certain enough of the number of *families*, which is the very ground-work in such speculations:" and he concludes, p. 17, "as to the numbers of the people, that matter is made yet clearer by the present duty on marriages, births, and burials; and, *though the returns are very faulty and imperfect*, Mr. Gregory King, by his general knowledge in political arithmetic, has so corrected these returns, as from thence to form a more distinct and regular scheme of the inhabitants of England, than peradventure was ever made concerning the people of any country." And in 1699, Davenant communicated to the public the valuable computations of Mr. King, in his *Essay on the Balance of Trade*. This judicious gentleman, who had seen the hearth-books, it seems, stated the *families* at 1,349,586, and the number in each at $4\frac{1}{3}$, which average agrees very well with late accounts; and by multiplying the one by the other, he found the whole people to have been 5,500,520. From this time Davenant speaks, in all his writings, of the inhabitants of England as amounting to *five million and a half*, instead of seven million. As a witness is admitted to explain himself, so an author is entitled to the same privilege: as what the witness delivers upon cross-examination is allowed to be the truth of his tale, so the last writings of the author ought to be regarded as containing his real sentiments. And from this examination we may now conclude, that there is not that certainty in the statements of Davenant, as to authorize the calculator to *argue by figures*, and to draw *arithmetical deductions*, so decisive in their inferences when the *data are certain*.

The number of inhabitants then in England, according to Dr. Price's statement of five persons, in 1,319,215 houses	—	—	—	6,596,075.
Deduct the numbers found by enumeration in 1575	—	—	—	4,688,000.
Increase in 115 years	—	—	—	1,908,075.
The number of inhabitants in England in 1690, according to Mr. Howlet's statement of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ persons in each house	—	—	—	7,123,761.
Deduct the numbers in 1575	—	—	—	4,688,000.
Increase in 115 years	—	—	—	2,435,761.

Were we to admit the truth of so great an augmentation of people during an effluxion of time which is admitted not to have been the most favourable, it would demonstrate a state of high population at present; because the productive causes have operated much more powerfully since 1690, than they did in the preceding century. Nevertheless, Dr. Price does not hesitate to declare^k, in his zeal of diminution, "*that in Queen Elizabeth's time the number of inhabitants in England might have been greater than it was even at the Revolution.*"

HAVING thus confuted the major proposition of our celebrated calculator, it is now time to examine his minor. As his statement of 1,319,215 houses in 1690, has been shewn to have been so destitute of that certainty which accurate computation requires, the statement of 952,734 houses in 1777, from the surveyors returns, will be found still more faulty. The anonymous author of *The Uncertainty of the present Population of this Kingdom*, who seems, in the metaphysical spirit of Mr. Hume, to have written a petty volume of *sceptical doubts*, considers it indeed as *a random way of talking* in the ingenious Mr. Wales, to shew *that the surveyors returns are by no means sufficient to support any calculations of this nature*: for Dr. Price's argument does not suppose a perfect accuracy in the returns, but admits *that they are exceedingly deficient, not less than nearly the twentieth part of the whole*^l. Was it then no answer in Mr. Wales, to prove by fair discussion, as well

as

^k Essay on Population, p. 13, in the notes.
tion, p. 10—11.

^l Uncertainty of Popula-

as by just information, that *the surveyors returns were not sufficient to support the main pillar of his adversary's argument?* Every fact assuredly, and every inference, which tended to shew that the surveyors returns were so inaccurate as to deserve little credit, evinced how little qualified they were for the ground-work of arithmetical calculations. It was Mr. Wales then who by a well-judged attack first undermined the foundations, but it was Mr. Howlet who overturned, by an argument which scarcely admits of a reply, the superstructure of Dr. Price. Inquiry has now discovered, what reason might have indeed inferred, that the surveyors were lately what such officers have always been, sometimes ignorant, and sometimes careless; often foolish, and often factious. We may learn from Davenant^m, “that *the returns of marriages, births, and burials, were during the days of King William very faulty and imperfect.*” And similar returns, owing to similar passions existing in the breasts of men, thus indolent and weak, have continued *very faulty and imperfect* ever since. Doctor Price, in order to shew the rapidity of decrease, has publishedⁿ the returns of several successive years, which evince that lamentable fact.

The surveyors returns of houses of all kinds			
in England	—	in 1759	— 986,482
		in 1761	— 980,692
		in 1777	— 952,734

In every investigation of truth, a variety of evidences concurring in one relation establish unquestionable certainty. Had the returns of 1759—61—77, all nearly agreed in asserting one sum, they would have merited belief, by corroborating each other. But, the successive diminution of numbers does not shew a progress in depopulation, so much as it demonstrates a continuance of error. And Dr. Price was himself so sensible of the *exceeding fallibility* of the returns on which he relied, that he admitted^o “that there might be a *million* of houses of every kind, in England and Wales, during the year 1777:” and that, as *five* to a house is too large an allowance,

^m Vol. ii. p. 17.

ⁿ Essay on Pop. p. 11—12.

^o Essay, p. 14.

allowance, the number of inhabitants must be short of *five millions*.^{*} What sort of arithmetic is that, which allows an error in the multiplicand of 47,266, yet, by applying a multiplier derived equally from *speculation*, pretends to the honour of geometrical demonstration? If an error of 47,000 is allowed, because a faulty return could not be supported, why may not an error of 57,000 be in the same manner supposed; or why acknowledge a million of houses, more than any other sum? If no rule can be given whereby we may set bounds to conjecture, we are left to wander unguided in the wilds of uncertainty. Might not a candid investigator of truth with a similar spirit insist, that, having found by a fair deduction of causes and effects, a gradual augmentation of numbers during six hundred years, it was just to infer, since there were in England and Wales, during 1690, 1,319,215 houses, the number of dwellings must necessarily have increased in proportion to the progress of population? And to those general reasonings Mr. Howlet[†] has added demonstration, by contrasting the faulty returns of the officers with precise enumeration. That gentleman, with a diligence of research and an ingenuity of application which give him a high place among political calculators, has framed a table, without the preference of selection or the art of design; shewing the number of houses returned by the surveyors, and the total number of houses in more than a hundred towns and parishes discovered by real enumerations. By thus contrasting the houses actually returned, with the houses actually enumerated, we perceive that the first were to the last as 17,225 to 29,261⁹; and the whole number returned in 1777 must consequently have been to the whole number existing in the nation nearly as *seventeen* is to *twenty-nine*. He who examines Mr. Howlet's facts and deductions, will find no difficulty in believing, that Dr. Price had as little reason to *conjecture*, that we had 1,000,000 of houses, rather than 952,734, as there is now room to doubt there were at least two thirds more than appeared in the return of 1777; and consequently that there must have probably been in England and Wales,

^{*} Examin. of the Essay on Population, p. 58—61.

[†] Ibid. p. 138—43.

Wales, during the year 1777, 1,587,915 dwellings, instead of 952,734¹. While we cannot allow, either to Mr. Howlet or to Dr. Price, that mere calculations from disputable data amount to decisive proofs, let us do justice to both: they merit the praise due

¹ Though there appears to have been a new survey of houses made in 1780, yet the Commissioners of the Tax-office seem to have given in officially the *return of 1777*, to the parliamentary Commissioners of Public Accounts in January 1781, because the general aggregate of this document agrees with the total sum of that. As this paper is now printed, we are thereby enabled to examine with a little more attention its contents. It professes to give, in a distinct column, "the number of inhabited houses chargeable to the window duties:" Yet, the return of Bristol is 3947: though there had been found in that populous and wealthy town, 13,000 houses in 1751; and when Anderson perambulated "that largest city except London," in 1758, he had discovered not only *new foundations*, but even *entire new streets*. [Com. vol. ii. p. 421.] The return for Liverpool is however 3974; whence we ought to infer, contrary to truth, that Bristol is less populous than Liverpool: yet there has been found in it, by enumeration, 6340 dwellings. The return for Carlisle is 430; though an enumeration shews it to contain 891 houses. The return for Chester is 1244; yet an enumeration has found in it 2,883 houses. The return for Nottingham is 1533; yet an enumeration has discovered 3267 dwellings. [These returns are stated from the before-mentioned official report to the Commissioners of Accounts: the enumerations, which seem to have been made in 1780, were taken from Mr. Howlet's Examination.] Though that official report professes "to distinguish the number in each city and town, wherein there are *four hundred* houses and upwards, chargeable to the duty on houses and windows," yet it does not distinguish *Presbury* in Chester county, which contains 2883 houses, and was once returned for 1366. It does not distinguish *Portsea* in Hants, which contains 2883 houses, and was once returned for 1540. It does not distinguish *Old Swinford* in Worcestershire, though it contains 1579 houses, and had once been returned for 414. And opportunity is only wanting to discover a greater variety of such imperfections. One grossness of error is too remarkable to be omitted: It returns for the whole county of Gloucester, including the city and towns, 20,465 houses, which, multiplied by Dr. Price's multiplier of five, the supposed number of persons in each dwelling, would discover, in that flourishing county, no more than 102,325 souls. Now, "Mr. Rudder has shewn, by a minute detail of its several parishes, that the whole county of Gloucester has raised its numbers, even since the commencement of the present century, from about 105,000 to almost 150,000." [Mr. Howlet's Exam. p. 129.] This evinces an increase of nearly one-third, which corresponds with the reasonings in the text. But, can there be a stronger demonstration of the utter inaccuracy of the surveyors returns and of the singular insufficiency of Dr. Price's boasted mode of induction, which was to give proofs to the world equal in decisiveness to the evidence of enumerations?

due to acuteness of investigation, though they must be denied the honours that certainty of demonstration always may claim.

Fearless however of the consequences that might be drawn from his reasonings, because he thought he argued on the side of truth, Dr. Price concluded ' from his previous *calculations* and *conjectures*, that

<i>The inhabitants of England and Wales must have been short of</i>	5,000,000 in 1777 :
Yet there were found in England and Wales, as we have } seen ^t — — — — —	4,690,696 in 1575 :

Whence we ought to infer, that the numbers of our people now are nearly equal to those of Queen Elizabeth's days. Having shifted his original ground, as he advanced in his researches, Dr. Price does not hesitate to compare the populousness of his country during the present reign, so much with the inhabitants existing at the epoch of the *Revolution*, as with those existing at the more distant æra of the *Reformation*. And this deduction that able investigator inferred, partly from temper, but more from reasonings which satisfied his own judgment, whatever conviction they may convey to the minds of others: "That it is probable the civil war in the time of Charles I. and the emigrations which then took place, lessened the number of people in the kingdom; and therefore in Queen Elizabeth's time, or about the Reformation, the number of inhabitants in England might have been greater than it was even at the Revolution, agreeably to the facts mentioned at the end of my Appeal to the Public on the subject of the National Debt, p. 87", &c."

The reader has already determined how contradictory these characteristic inferences are to the before-mentioned proofs and to the opinions of Mr. King, Lord Hale, Sir William Petty, and Major Graunt. The population of the given periods of Dr. Price, have been already ascertained with the requisite certainty^x:

Thus, the number of souls in 1695 were	—	6,017,797
in 1575	—	4,690,696
in 1377	—	2,811,204
in 1066	—	2,000,000

We

* Essay on Pop. p. 14.
in the notes.

^t Before p. 105.
^x See before, p. 99—105—116.

^u Essay on Pop. p. 13,

We may therefore conclude, that it is morally impossible there could have been in England, at the *Reformation*, more than six million of souls. Were we to admit that the people had more than doubled in their numbers during that unhappy effluxion of years from 1377 to 1558, what ought we to infer with regard to that happier period, extending from the accession of Elizabeth to the demise of George II. ? It is to be lamented how seldom political calculators withdraw their eyes from their paper and their cyphers, to contemplate those *moral causes* that are continually producing in the world their correspondent effects: we should otherwise behold common sense correct sometimes the self-sufficiency of arithmetical calculation, and sound philosophy triumph over the mistakes of delusive speculation.

Having thus evinced that our learned arithmetician's *grand argument* ought to be considered rather as *speculative ingenuity* than as *decisive proof*, we may now pass over his corroborative circumstances, either in slight review, or with casual remark. The inference drawn from a consideration of an augmented or diminished consumption merits some regard, because it evinces an increase or diminution of consumers. And Dr. Price thought he had found, in the hereditary and temporary excise, arising from duties on ale, a subject suitable to his purpose. But, having been attacked in this strong hold by Mr. Eden, he brought himself from the excise-office the gross produce of that branch of taxes for many years; which, as a two-edged sword, Mr. Howlet did not fail to handle with admirable skill. By taking from his adversary's documents a four-and-twenty years average, because *long periods* only admit of rational estimates^y, from 1686 to 1710; and a twenty-seven years average, from 1751 to 1778, he has clearly shewn that the tax yielded yearly in the first series £. 488,808, and during the second, 501,087; that by a seventeen-years average, from 1693, and by the same from 1759, the hereditary and temporary excise produced during the first period £. 435,981, and during the second £. 544,586. A very able correspondent has enabled^z Mr.

X 2

Howlet

^y Exam. of Pop. p. 71.—The long periods chosen by Mr. Howlet, instead of the three-years averages of Dr. Price, include a sufficient number to prevent any variation from seasons, or other temporary causes that may affect consumption.

^z See his Appendix.

Howlet to state the produce of other taxes arising from consumption, as the duty on malt, leather, and candles, which all equally establish the position of a greater consumption in the present times than during the former. It is however apparent, that unless circumstances continued the same, both as to number of articles excised, and as to the amount of the duties, no rational comparison can be made between any two given periods. But, have not additional excises been continually imposed since the Revolution: does not the weight of the general aggregate naturally tend to press down the amount of any individual class? And this consequence was early foreseen and greatly deplored by contemporary ministers, because its effects had been powerfully felt. Davenant, whose documents suggested to Dr. Price his argument of a diminished consumption, remarked in 1695, "that this great decrease [of the hereditary excise] is by the commissioners of that revenue chiefly attributed to *the new additional duties*, which in the country have made *numbers of victuallers in every county leave off their trade*, and in London put many private families to brew their own drink". If we would bring this question to a satisfactory determination, we must compare the net product of the whole revenue of excise, which arises altogether from consumption, during the reign of King William, with the net product of the whole excise in the present:

The

* Essay on Ways and Means, vol. i. p. 46.—A greater personage than Davenant, and surely as well informed as he in every thing with regard to the public revenue, may be now allowed to give his testimony on this subject. The Lord Godolphin informed King William, in 1693: "That the two nine-pences granted this year upon the excise, with that which was last year given upon the same revenues for raising a million of money upon lives, are allowed *to sink the hereditary excise above £. 250,000 per annum*; and the remainder, being made a collateral security, that the salt and tonnage shall answer £. 280,000 per annum till May 1695, will in all probability be thereby sunk above £. 100,000 a year more; for that from the salt branch must not be hereafter expected more than £. 300,000 per annum; though formerly it yielded, when the half-crown stood singly, (and that is only hereditary) £. 650,000 a year." [See Lord Godolphin's letter to King William, in the Appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Mem. of Great Britain and Ireland, part ii. p. 7.]

The amount of the excises in England, including the malt-tax, being the annual medium of the payments into the Exchequer during the *three* years 1698—9—1700^b — — — £. 1,265,014.
 D^o during the three years 1771—2—3^c — — — 4,649,892.

The first sum was collected from six million of consumers with difficulty. What must have been the numbers of people who paid the second with ease? And Mr. Eden has mentioned it properly as a decisive proof of an increasing consumption, even during the war, that the *gross* produce of the excise for 1778, ending the fifth of July, amounted to — — — £. 5,754,076 0 1
 D^o for 1779 — — — 5,869,081 18 7

In respect to the other collateral circumstances mentioned by Dr. Price, as having promoted depopulation, few remarks seem to be necessary. Dr. Watts, who has lately gained his proper station among our literati and our poets, would not probably have considered it as a very legitimate logic, to argue from a position as proved, which is yet suspended in doubtful controversy among the learned, or to insist on certain appearances as indubitable proofs of depopulation, which wise men still regard as causes of increase. The late Sir James Stewart could not, after mature consideration, “find great force in the objections against so overgrown a capital as London, in such a kingdom as England, though he could see no evident advantage in it.” The same profound statesman did not consider the destruction occasioned by war as an *absolute* cause of depopulation, but from circumstances he thought it might be a *relative* one: to remove “*the sons of vice and idleness*” from the community, he supposed to be advantageous: to obstruct the industrious, or to destroy the breeders, he regarded as highly pernicious. Sir Josiah Child gave it as his opinion, upwards of a hundred years ago, when he had seen much greater emigrations to the colonies than have taken place in the present century; “that our people in England are not thereby in any considerable degree abated, but on the contrary^d.” Nor, after all our experience, could the ablest politician of the present times argue more justly in support

^b MSS. Harley.
 Trade, p. 173—4.

^c Dr. Price's 2d tract on Liberty, p. 166—7.

^d Disc. on

support of his determination. He wisely resolved the whole question, in respect to population, into the state of employment: for, said he, "if we have in England employment but for one hundred people, and we have born and bred among us one hundred and fifty people; the fifty must away from us, or starve, or be hanged to prevent it, whether we had any plantations or no." These are also the reasonings of Sir James Stewart, and must be the reasonings of every other intelligent person, who considers the subject with the attention that its importance deserves. The late Dr. Campbell regarded the inclosing of common fields and wastes as promotive of general population, though it may give a different direction to the labour of the poor, because *wages are higher* in inclosed countries; and the intent of inclosing is to increase the quantity of provisions: as to the nation at large, said he, the consumption shews that our people do not decrease*. Of *the common complaint, that luxury extends itself even to the lowest ranks of the people*, a writer†, respectable no less for talents than humanity, remarks, "What improves the circumstances of the greater part of a people, can never be regarded as an inconvenience to the whole: no society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable: and it is but equity, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour, as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged."

We may now attempt to ascertain the probable amount of our present populousness; which must have arisen from a continual progress, since it has been shewn, that there are no *valid reasons* for supposing a decline, though temporary obstructions may have sometimes thrown in casual checks. It is, mean time, of importance to carry in the mind an idea of constant progression, which is so natural, because human affairs never stand still, otherwise the weight of the proofs can make little impression. And it is therefore proposed to recapitulate briefly the amount, at different periods,
of

* Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 278.
the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 96.

† Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of

of our manufactures exported and our navigation, on the one hand, and of our taxes and debts, on the other.

The value of our merchandizes exported, in 190,533 tons of English shipping^e, amounted at the *Revolution* to £. 4,086,087. The taxes which were then levied on the people amounted only to £. 2,061,856. But, at that æra we had no public debt for which any interest was paid. The value of merchandizes that were exported at the demise of King William, in 273,693 tons of English shipping, amounted to £. 6,045,432. The taxes which were levied on the people during the greater part of his reign amounted to £. 4,515,360; and during his peaceful years, to £. 3,355,000. But a national debt remained at the accession of Queen Anne of £. 10,671,039. Notwithstanding these burdens, and the obstructions of the subsequent war, there were exported at the arrival of George I. in 421,431 tons of British shipping, products of the value of £. 7,696,573. Yet, there had been annually levied on the people, during the foregoing reign, taxes amounting to £. 5,272,758, besides the charges of collection. And the national debt had now swelled to the immense sum of £. 50,644,306; which induced wise, though unexperienced men, to prophesy what would be the dangers when it should amount to one hundred million. Nevertheless, there were exported at the accession of George II. in 432,832 tons of British shipping, merchandizes of the annual value of £. 7,951,772. Yet, the *gross sum* that had been yearly levied on the people during the foregoing reign, amounted to £. 7,224,175. And the national debt which still remained unpaid, continued at £. 47,581,531. Notwithstanding, there were exported in 1750, soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 609,798 tons of British shipping, products of the yearly value of £. 12,599,112. Yet, the foregoing war had cost the nation £. 64,032,957; all the different branches of the *standing revenue* had been considerably augmented: and the national debt had swelled, before December 1749, to £. 74,221,686. Notwithstanding these unexampled burdens, and the superadded obstructions of the subsequent war, there were annually exported, upon

^e We are here speaking *roundly*. The reader is referred for *accuracy* to the foregoing documents.

upon the return of profound peace in 1763, in 639,872 tons of British shipping, products of the value of £. 14,925,950. Yet, the foregoing war, the events of which assuredly brought on the calamities of the present, had cost the nation £. 105,756,639; many additional taxes had been imposed; so that there were thenceforth annually levied on the people between ten and eleven million of pounds: and the national debt had swelled, before 1764, to £. 146,582,845. Nevertheless, there were annually exported, at the commencement of the present hostilities in 1774-5, in 756,187 tons of British shipping, merchandizes of the value of £. 15,613,003; which is clearly superior to that of any former period. The national debt indeed had in the mean time been lessened to £. 135,943,061, in 1775, because £. 10,639,784 had been actually paid: yet, though taxes had been meliorated and changed, the burdens of the people remained nearly the same, as all savings and surplusses were thrown into a *sinking fund*; which undoubtedly would perform wonders, were it constantly applied as it was originally intended. Such is the language of theory; which cannot, however, be always carried into the practice of the world, because statesmen, while they are men, will be directed by the circumstances amid which they are successively placed.

Thus, it plainly appears, that our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, have grown up from the Revolution hand in hand with our taxes and our debts. Let no one however pretend, that burdens ever create facilities, or that the payment of heavier duties ever enabled the individual to exert a greater energy. Whether, if we had had no Revolution, and wars, and taxes, and debts, the product of our internal industry, and the income of our foreign traffic, would have been much greater, or much less, is a question of difficult determination, because data cannot be found. All that is here asserted is, that *in fact* our manufactories and trade have extended themselves with the successive augmentations of our taxes and our debts. Wise men, who had considered this subject, have remarked, that in no other country are the public revenues imposed so equitably, collected so mildly, and therefore bear so lightly on the subjects, as in Britain; so that judicious duties sometimes form the wisest regulations, without the impertinent interference of the magistrate. Of the debility arising from taxes it may be moreover remarked, that *the state* may be greatly embarrassed, while *the individual* follows his occupations

pations at ease. We have an idea of a corporation, as London or Bristol, Edinburgh or Glasgow, distinct from the inhabitants living within its district: the first, by erecting aqueducts, and churches, and prisons, or by enjoying the pleasures of the feast, may be greatly indebted and debilitated, while the mechanic and the merchant, who reside within their jurisdictions, are pursuing an active business, and are acquiring a vast opulence. The King, the Lords, and the Commons, when assembled in Parliament, form the great corporation of the empire; and may in the same manner, by engaging in treaties and wars, either useless or necessary, contract prodigious debts, and feel an overpowering debility, while the great body of the people follow in security their gainful employments, and amass an immense wealth. But, have not wise men, Montague, Walpole, and Pelham, prophesied of our danger and distress when the national debt should swell to the alarming sum of one hundred millions? Yes. They each felt the difficulty of his own station, and shuddered at the supposed fate of his successor. The first may have spoken from a consideration of the backwardness wherewith six millions of people paid three millions and a half of revenue, while he may have laughed at the distress of Queen Elizabeth and Burleigh, who had sold beer, as a national resource. When Walpole seized the helm, the public creditors appeared terrible to ministers, because they had not yet forgotten that their *capitals* were due. And so great a revolution had taken place before the patriotic Pelham appeared, that creditors feared the payment of *principals*, and opposed the reduction of *interest*, which was now only regarded as of importance to families. It may nevertheless be pertinently asked, Are taxes and debts to increase thus without end? The answer can only be general, and here it is: They may accumulate, while our people, and industry, and manufactures, and commerce, with the consequent opulence, continue to increase: as both have grown up together, without affecting much the industrious classes, the period of both is the same. It is a strong argument of the superior populousness of the present times over those of King William, that ten million and a half are now levied with ease, while three million and a half were collected then with difficulty.

If from general speculations we apply to positive proofs, we shall see that important truth in a still stronger light. The inquiry is not so much with regard to the number of the higher

classes of the community, as of the middle and lower orders, because the question would not merit much discussion, if we could as easily augment our peasants as we can increase our peers. Agriculture has at all times employed the greatest multitude of hands, because it is the foundation of every other branch of business. It can admit of little controversy, whether our husbandry has been pursued, before or since the bounty on the exportation of corn, with the most skill, diligence, and success. Mr. Gregory King, who accurately divided the people into their classes, found in England at the Revolution the farmers and their families to amount to — — — — 750,000.

The whole labourers and out-servants, and their families^b, *whether employed in agriculture or manufactures* — — — — 1,275,000.
 —————
 2,025,000.

Mr. Arthur Young found in 1770, by enquiries in the counties, and by calculations from minutes which approach almost to the accuracy of enumeration, the persons engaged in husbandry to amount alone to — — — — 2,800,800;
 “exclusive of a vast number of people as much dependent on, and maintained by agriculture, as the ploughman who cultivates the soil; the whole tribe of landlords; those artificers who work for the farmer alone; such as wheelwrights, blacksmiths, &c.” There can surely be no comparison made between the extent of manufactories during the reign of King William and the present. Of all the fabrics of England, the woollen has always been considered as the greatest; and the body of persons now collectively employed in it are roundly calculated at 1,500,000: But we certainly know, that there were exported, after clothing the inhabitants, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1701, of the value of woollens — £. 2,561,615.
 D°. according to an average of the years 1769-70-71 4,323,463.

Allowing

^b Dav. vol. vi. p. 22—3.

^d North, Tour, vol. iv. p. 364—5.

Allowing however that labour is divided as improvement is introduced, that artificers become more skilful in the progress of refinement, while machinery is introduced to abridge their toil, we may safely conclude, that there were many more workmen employed in the woollen manufactories in the last series of years, than during the first. And we ought to recollect the facts stated by Davenant in 1699, that *wages of every kind were excessively high, and they had not people to carry on the woollen and linen business together*. Yet, we have since gained the linen manufacture; we have improved the silk and cotton; and we have extended the fabrics of hardware, of iron, and of brass; besides the finer arts. We may determine with regard to the probable amount from the following detail:

There were exported, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1701,	
products, <i>exclusive of the woollens before mentioned</i> , of the value of	£. 3,863,810.
Ditto in 1769—70—71	10,565,196.

Thus have we demonstration, that while our woollen manufactories nearly doubled in their extent during seventy years, our other fabrics had more than trebled in theirs. And therefore it is equally demonstrable, that the great body of artists, who were constantly employed in all those manufactories, have increased nearly in the same proportion during the same busy period.

The body of sailors who were found in England, by enumeration, in January 1700-1, amounted to	16,591.
By a calculation ^k , which agreed nearly with the accuracy of the enumeration, there appeared to have been annually employed in the <i>merchants service</i> , between the years 1764 and 74	59,565.

The tonnage of English shipping during King William's reign, amounted only to	230,441 tons.
D ^o during the present reign ^l	992,754

We may thence certainly determine with regard to the number of useful artificers, who were employed during the latter period more than in the former, in building and repairing our ships. It

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is

^k See before, p. 29—30.

^l Ibid.

is husbandry, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, which every where, in later ages, employ and maintain the great body of the people. Now, the labour demanded during the present reign, to carry forward the national business, agricultural and commercial, could not by any possibility have been performed by the inferior numbers of the industrious classes who probably existed in the reign of King William. And from the foregoing reasonings and facts, we may certainly conclude, with one of the ablest writers of any country on political œconomy: "The liberal reward of labour, as it is the effect of increasing wealth, so it is the cause of increasing population: To complain of it [high wages] is to lament over the necessary effect and cause of the greatest public prosperity^m."

Were corroborative proofs of an augmented population necessary, they might be found in the parish registers; which were considered during the last century as so decisive in their evidence, by Major Graunt, Sir William Petty, and by the Lord Chief Justice Hale. Yet, let us not attribute to the registers a certainty and an information that they do not contain. As they neither divide the people into their several classes, nor comprehend every birth and burial, they ought not to be regarded as sufficient grounds from which to calculate the value of annuities, that form, in modern times, so great a property in every European nation. They do not, perhaps, enable us to ascertain the number of persons in any parish during any given year. But, when averages of ten, seven, or five years are taken at two distant periods, they give a demonstration of an increase or decline, or of neither. For, it is of the essence of averages to correct inequalities, and to absorb errors; because, whatever passions contributed to either in one age, continued in the subsequent period to produce similar omissions and mistakes. And they furnish therefore the best evidence that the nature of the case admits or requires, to prove, either an augmentation of inhabitants, or decline. Nevertheless, those registers, so instructive in their informations, and so satisfactory in their proofs, seem

^m See the Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations, ch. 8; wherein Dr. Adam Smith treats *Of the Wages of Labour*, and incidentally of population, with a perspicuity, an elegance; and a force, which have been seldom equalled.

seem to have been overlooked by Dr. Price, owing to whatever cause. Messrs. Wales and Howlet may have therefore studied them with the greater attention; and their diligence of research, as well as pertinence of application to an important question, merit the high praises which are always due to the detection of error and to the establishment of truth.

In whatever direction those gentlemen turned their inquiries, without the preference of selection, they found the most unequivocal proofs of augmentation of numbers, with few signs of depopulation. Our *overgrown* capital seems to have engaged, because it was the most conspicuous object, the earliest notice of our contemplators of births and burials. He who has shed a tear over the dismal devastation of the human species, which Mr. Corbyn Morris found in London during the year 1750, before the removal of obstructions and nuisances, must see with satisfaction, in the documents of Mr. Wales, that it is now the healthiest capital in Europe, and by further improvement may be restored to its former healthfulness of a country parish. That candid investigator has shewn, by accurate observationsⁿ, that the increase of London since the Revolution is nearly as nine is to ten. By a still more minute investigation, because he thought *that a computation from the imperfect bills of mortality alone must fall short of the truth more than a third*, Mr. Howlet has clearly evinced, that London and its suburbs have increased since the Revolution *nearly one third*^o. From the city, Mr. Howlet walked out into "the immediate vicinity, to the distance of eight or ten miles;" and by an examination of seven-and-twenty registers, and by taking averages of twenty years from the Revolution, and twenty years from
1758,

ⁿ Inquiry into Population, p. 13—33.

^o Examin. p. 83—95.—It may be here proper to observe, that the number of houses in London, Middlesex, and Westminster, as stated from the hearth-books of 1690, by Davenant [vol. i. p. 76.] and adopted by Dr. Price, was 111,215: the number returned for the same districts in 1777, and presented by the tax officers to the Commissioners of Accounts, on which Dr. Price relies, was 62,123. Now, who can believe these accounts to have contained even the semblance of truth? Maitland found, by a careful survey in 1737, that, exclusive of Middlesex, there were 95,968 dwellings; and there have been added since 4,032. [Inquiry into Population, p. 13.] Here then is a demonstration, how insufficient the hearth-books and returns are, whereon to form any just comparison of the number of houses in 1690 and in 1777.

1758, he found that population in this surrounding district had nearly doubled since the arrival of King William^p. The decisive evidence of the registers is altogether consistent with facts and with principles. Experience has shewn to every observer, that the vicinage of every town, much more of every capital city, is the most populous part of the country, because in it is there the most cultivation: there is the most cultivation, since there is the most demand for the products of the earth: and cultivation gives employment to labourers, and comfort to all. Departing from the neighbourhood of London, Mr. Howlet naturally surveyed the county of Kent; and, from an examination of seventy registers, he found from similar averages the whole county had advanced in its populousness about one-fourth since the Revolution, though Sandwich and Rochester had each declined, and other towns had lost no inconsiderable manufacture^q. Mr. Howlet next visited Sussex and Surrey; and, by an examination of eighteen registers in the first, and seventeen in the second, he discovered, by taking the same averages, that they had both advanced in population above one-third since the Revolution^r: nor did he fail to remark the falshood,

^p Exam. p. 96—7.

^q Exam. of Essay on Pop. p. 99—101. It is proposed, because we shall be enabled to determine with regard to Dr. Price's famed mode of induction from the returns of houses, to contrast the numbers mentioned by Davenant in 1690, and the numbers returned in 1777, with the correspondent evidence of the registers.

The number of houses in Kent in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				46,674
The number in it in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price				36,447
Pretended decrease				10,227

^r Houses in Sussex in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				23,451
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price				14,880
Pretended decrease				8,571

The number of houses in Surrey and Southwark in 1690, according to Davenant				40,610
D ^o — — — in 1777, according to Dr. Price				28,553
Pretended decrease				12,057

falsehood, not to say frivolity of the notion, that if the inhabitants of towns are multiplied, it is by the depopulation of the country. That groundless position must have originated from the supposal, that a nation, or a county, has in it at all times a standard number of people; and consequently if one hundred should remove, there must be a hundred less than the standard; without reflecting on the command of nature to increase and multiply, or on the fluctuation of human affairs, which do not admit of stability. From an examination of registers in the five south-western counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, Dorset, and Cornwall, Mr. Howlet infers, that these counties have nearly doubled; though he admits, indeed, "that the extracts are not sufficiently numerous to form a satisfactory average." From an examination of registers, and a comparison of similar evidence furnished by Mr. Arthur Young and Mr. Wales, Mr. Howlet concludes, that Suffolk must have

* Houses in Hampshire in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				28,557
D°	—	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	17,999
Pretended decrease				10,558
Houses in Wiltshire in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				27,418
D°	—	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	22,134
Pretended decrease				5,274
Houses in Devonshire in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				56,202
D°	—	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	40,789
Pretended decrease				15,413
Houses in Dorset — in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				17,859
D°	—	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	14,554
Pretended decrease				3,305
Houses in Cornwall in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant				26,613
D°	—	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	18,185
Pretended decrease				8,428

have increased more than a fourth since the Revolution, though St. Edmond's Bury has declined, and Ipswich has not advanced^c. Notwithstanding the popular accounts of the depopulation of the county of Norfolk, because *its wastes had been improved, and its farms enlarged*, that attentive inquirer had the satisfaction of finding, from the inspection of seventeen registers, that its populousness is increased one-fifth since the Revolution; and that the city of Norwich had advanced even one-fourth since the year 1729^d: a new proof that the augmentation of towns does not depopulate the neighbouring country. From a contemplation of the improvements of Norfolk, and the healthfulness of Norwich, Mr. Howlet proceeds to take a slight view of the midland counties. By an inspection of eight registers in Middlesex, of thirteen in Northampton^e, of five in Huntingdon, of four in Cambridge, of six

^c Houses in Suffolk in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	47,537
D ^o — — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	27,950
Pretended decrease	19,587
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^d Houses in Norfolk and Norwich in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	56,579
D ^o — — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	33,194
Pretended decrease	23,375
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^e Houses in Northampton in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	26,904
D ^o — — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	21,799
Pretended decrease	5,105
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Houses in Huntingdon in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	8,713
D ^o — — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	5,800
Pretended decrease	2,913
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	Houses

fix in Hertford, of four in Leicester, of five in Stafford, of eight in Salop, of six in Berks, of seventeen in Bucks, Derby, and Oxford,

Houses in Cambridge	in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	18,629
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	12,582
	Pretended decrease — —	6,047
Houses in Hertford	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	17,488
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	11,038
	Pretended decrease — —	6,450
Houses in Leicester	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	31,606
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	15,835
	Pretended decrease — —	15,761
Houses in Stafford	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	26,278
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	25,825
	Pretended decrease — —	453
Houses in Salop	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	27,471
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	18,213
	Pretended decrease — —	9,250
Houses in Berks	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	16,996
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	11,560
	Pretended decrease — —	5,436
Houses in Bucks	— in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
D ^o Davenant	— — — — —	18,688
D ^o — —	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	13,075
	Pretended decrease — —	5,673
		Houses

Oxford, he found those midland shires to have increased nearly a third since the Revolution. From a slight survey of Wales, Mr. Howlet concludes, that it must equally have increased one-third in its numbers since the arrival of King William: and Mr. Wales, from a more extensive examination of registers, has evinced, that it must have augmented, even since 1700, in the proportion of two to three. But, all the inquirers into the state of population travel into our *northern counties* with peculiar pleasure, because there is exhilaration in the appearance of prosperity. Mr. Howlet has discovered, by an inspection of fourteen registers in Yorkshire^y, of
 sixteen

Houses in Derby in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	24,944
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	17,431
Pretended decrease	7,513
Houses in Oxford in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	16,627
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	13,654
Pretended decrease	2,973
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The houses in Yorkshire in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	121,052
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	98,278
Pretended decrease	22,774
D ^o in Lancashire — in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	46,961
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	43,092
Pretended decrease	3,869
D ^o in Cumberland — in 1690, according to the hearth-books and Davenant	15,279
D ^o — in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	16,261
Accidental increase	982
D ^o in	

sixteen registers in Lancashire, of six in Cumberland, of nine in Chester; that the northern counties have *more than doubled* since the Revolution: and this estimation, he argues, is strongly confirmed by the returns of four hundred parishes in the diocese of Chester. Having at length collected into one view the register evidence of upwards of one hundred and sixty parishes, exclusive of those of Chester, in every county and division; having drawn together his whole force, he does not hesitate to determine, "that our people are almost doubled since the coming of King William;" but, having reviewed his subject, and re-examined his proofs, he ventures to conclude, that our population upon the whole has increased full one-third². And he is supported in this satisfactory conclusion by the accurate though less extensive inquiry of Mr. Wales; who infers, from just premises, that the number of the present inhabitants of England is, to the number existing at the Revolution, as eight is to three nearly³.

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D ^o in Cheshire	—	in 1690, according to the hearth-books and	
Davenant	—	—	—
D ^o	—	in 1777, according to the return and Dr. Price	25,592
			21,938
		Pretended decrease	—
			3,654

That the account of houses from the hearth-books, as stated by Dr. Davenant, and the statement from the surveyors returns, as relied on by Dr. Price, can be both supported as just, we have thus shewn to be impossible; since it has been proved, that these northern counties have doubled their inhabitants. And whether the one or the other is relinquished as false, Dr. Price's *grand argument* must be equally overthrown. But, it is admitted by the world, and therefore by Dr. Price, that the number of people in those *northern counties* have greatly increased since the Revolution. Yet we find in Yorkshire a decrease of dwellings of nearly a fifth; and in the others no agreement with the actual state of population. Nevertheless, it is still insisted [The *Uncertainty of Population*, p. 9—10.] "that the returns are acknowledged to be greatly deficient by the Dr. himself, not less than nearly the twentieth part of the whole, and therefore the business of his antagonists is to prove, that this deficiency greatly exceeded 50,000." To this it is answered: That in arguing from cyphers no calculator can be allowed to guess at his multiplicand, to fancy his multiplier, and then to contend, that the result is an incontrovertible proof. A piece of evidence, which, in more solemn inquiries, is proved to be untrue in part, is altogether rejected. A suitor, or a lawyer, who, in Westminster-hall, should admit that his witness had prevaricated, yet call his adversary to prove the amount of the prevarication, would be driven from court as a person no less destitute of modesty than of common-sense.

² Exam. p. 128—30.

³ Inquiry, p. 68.

The anonymous author of *The Uncertainty of Population*^b blames Mr. Wales for making his inquiries in *the north*, because, *every body knows*, and Dr. Price himself is ready to acknowledge, that the county of York has acquired an amazing addition of inhabitants within the last thirty years. But a genuine disputant should never admit the truth of any position, however demonstrated, or however certain, since his adversary is sure to build on his admission, as a rocky foundation, whose stability defies attack. Now, what were the *moral causes* of this *amazing addition of inhabitants* in Yorkshire? Was it owing to this; that York was the most agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial county in England; that there was found here a greater demand for labour; that constant employment having furnished steady subsistence and continual comfort, men multiplied abundantly where they were fully fed and enjoyed in security what they had gained by toil? It is pretended, however, that the astonishing body of people before-mentioned were not procreated amid this scene of prosperity and happiness, but were brought from other districts by the allurements of gain. They did not come assuredly from the adjacent Lancashire, Cheshire, or Cumberland, because in these we have beheld the same increase, owing to the same causes. They could not have come in considerable numbers from more distant counties, as a general survey has discovered no real diminution any where. And the history of internal migration might be comprized in a very little volume. At the æra of the Conquest, when our communities were yet inconsiderable, the land certainly supported the great body of the people. It was the introduction of manufacture that first collected the artificers into villages, which ere long swelled into towns: and it was commerce, that, in the progress of traffic and the arts, raised the towns into the importance of cities. But, it was the improvement of husbandry which first *purged the country* of useless hands, and forced consuming multitudes to look for subsistence from the labour which manufactories and trade employ. Admitting that this last revolution had taken place subsequent to the epoch of the bounty on corn, we must still remember, that it is useful employment which promotes population, while idleness only augments the rolls.

^b In p. 14—15.

rolls of the dead. Norfolk may be regarded as the county in England where husbandry is carried on the most as an art; Norwich may be considered as one of our most flourishing cities: And, were we to apply to both the beforementioned facts from the parish registers, they would exhibit nearly the proportion of people, which every other county supplied to every other town. The county has increased one-fifth since the Revolution; but the city has augmented one-fourth since 1729°. It is not therefore the migration of the adult from the country to the town, that swells the amount of the busy multitudes that are seen to swarm where the spirit of diligence animates the people. Few, of the miriads, which are born age after age, grow up to puberty, because want and its consequences destroy millions every where. It is some consolation, however, to reflect, that in the progress of refinement, of commerce, and of arts, the parents are enabled, by the greater comforts they enjoy, to rear a more numerous progeny, who can only supply a vigorous population. And it is the employment and habits of industry, which are given to children in manufacturing towns, as soon as they can distinguish the right hand from the left, that adds to the aggregate of dwellers more than the arrival of strangers. From these considerations we may certainly conclude, that, as the same causes existed in every other county, in proportion to the extent of their manufactures and traffic to those of the northern districts of England, there must have been in all a similar augmentation.

Allowing, because it has been proved, that the nation has increased one third in the numbers of its people since the Revolution, it seems to have been a work of supererogation in Messrs. Wales

* From actual enumerations, we learn that there

were in Norwich	—	—	28,881 souls	in 1693;
which had increased to	—	—	36,196 D°	before 1752.

Increase	—	—	7,315, or one-fourth,	in 59 years.
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Now, the parish registers evince, as we have seen, that there had been an augmentation, from 1729 to 1775, of one-fourth in 46 years. And consequently the enumerations and the registers not only confirm each other, but demonstrate a greater augmentation in the last period than during the first. The *poor laws* ought to have been mentioned among the checks to population. The *regulations of settlement*, which sprung from those unjust and impolitic institutions, and which, contrary to the genius of English freedom, prevent the poor though industrious labourer

Wales and Howlet to establish, by authentic documents, that the progress of population had held its rapid course during the last twenty years; as the greater always includes the less: He who had surveyed the state of England during the present reign, in respect to its roads and canals, its husbandry and manufactures, its traffic and navigation, and had beheld at the same time its accumulated wealth and steady employment, would have thence inferred that the industrious classes had increased prodigiously. By examining one hundred and sixty-two registers, and taking five-years averages from 1758, and the same from 1773, Mr. Howlet discovered^d in twenty-two parishes in Kent, in twenty-four in Essex, in four in Sussex, in nine in Surrey, in three in Suffolk, in sixteen in Norfolk, in seven in the South-western counties, in forty in the twelve Midland counties, and thirty-seven in the four Northern counties, an increase of people of more than one-eighth in the short interval of ten years. By a very accurate inspection of one hundred and forty-two registers, kept in various parishes in almost every county; by comparing proper averages from about the year 1740 with similar averages lately, Mr. Wales has moreover shewn^e, that the inhabitants in the former period are to those in the latter somewhat less than as two to three. Such is the sum of the register evidence, so satisfactory in its notices, and so decisive in its proofs. In more solemn inquiries, if the birth or the decease of an individual is disputed, the parish register is admitted to decide the contest: And they ought to be admitted much more in the researches of philosophers, to determine a question in respect to the births or deaths of many persons at two given periods; since they contain a collection of authentic facts; shewing, that in the reign of King William there were fewer persons born and buried than in the present; and consequently, that fewer people existed then than now: the registers are therefore the best evidence that can be submitted to the public, since general enumerations cannot be obtained. Mr. Wales^f has indeed found, in his ardour of
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labourer from looking for better employment at a distance from the place of *his nativity*, stops migration from one district to another, in England, more than in any other European country. Every one knows with what tyrannical rigour the law of settlements is enforced: And we may thence infer how little reason there is for supposing, that the northern were peopled from the southern counties, or even the towns from the circumjacent country.

^d Examination of Essay on Population, p. 131.

^e Inquiry, p. 61.

^f Inquiry, p. 67.

of inquiry, that from lists carefully taken in distant years, the augmentations of our villages and our towns have been prodigious, since the re-establishment of civil and religious freedom at the Revolution: Liverpool, he remarks, from counting, in 1700, only 5714, reckoned, in 1773, 34,407; and is said by Mr. Howlet to have contained, in 1781, upwards of 40,000 souls: Birmingham, from enumerating, in 1700, 15,032 inhabitants, counted, in 1770, 30,804: Nottingham, from listing, in 1740, 11,000, enumerated, in 1779, 17,711: Manchester, from reckoning, in 1757, 19,839, discovered, in 1773, 34,407: Leeds, from counting, in 1770, 16,380, reckoned, in 1775, 17,121 dwellers. From Mr. Howlet² we learn, that Sheffield has doubled its inhabitants six times since the year 1734; that Halifax, Bradford, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Middleton, Rochdale, Warrington, Whitehaven, and Workington, have grown up nearly in the same proportion; that Carlisle, having listed its inhabitants in 1763, found only 4,158; but discovered, in January 1780, 6299. Without entering into nice speculations as to the cause of these striking appearances, Anderson insists³ “that all this astonishing augmentation has proceeded principally from our general increase in domestic manufactures and foreign commerce.”

Having in this manner traced a gradual progress from *The Conquest* to *The Revolution*; having established thus, by the best proofs which the nature of the enquiry admits, that the usual current of population not only continued to run, but acquired a rapidity and a fullness as it flowed; we shall not find it difficult to ascertain the probable amount of the present inhabitants. Mr. Howlet has adopted two different modes for the solution of this famous problem; the one, by finding the number of houses, with the number of dwellers in each; the other, by calculating from the men actually ballotted for the militia, compared with those actually existing in given districts: and, while both his methods shew great acuteness of investigation, neither brings complete conviction to the mind, though the reasoning is perfectly logical, because his ingenious premises are not altogether free from objections.

He

² Exam. p. 132—3.

³ Com. vol. ii. p. 406.

He insists, with great plausibility, that the number of houses which the surveyors ought to have returned in 1780 must have been, for England and Wales, 1,609,555; which, multiplied by the dwellers in each, found from a fair average to be $5\frac{2}{3}$, the inhabitants existing in 1780 must have been — — 8,691,597.

Having divided the people into their classes, he discovered, by mediums drawn from the proportion of the persons balloted for the militia, when compared with the whole inhabitants in particular districts, that there must be

in the country	—	—	5,266,800 souls;
in the towns	—	—	2,633,400:
and in England and Wales	—	—	7,900,200.

Mr. Arthur Young¹, whose inquiries have been studiously minute, and whose writings on this subject are extremely rational, by a different manner of calculation computes the present numbers of the people [1774] at — — — 8,500,000.

25,091,797.

The average of three dissimilar calculations 8,363,932.

But, admitting, as it has been proved, that the people, in the year 1695 — — 6,017,797 have added one-third to their numbers 2,005,932;

we find as the certain result the present^k inhabitants to be 8,023,729:

And

¹ North. Tour, vol. iv. p. 419.

^k Mr. Pulteney states “that the number of inhabitants of the united kingdom cannot be reckoned at less than *seven* millions; — in England — 5,650,000 in Scotland — 1,350,000

7,000,000

See his Considerations on the Present State [1779] of the Nation, p. 90.—Nothing can be more detrimental to any country, than that the men of real consequence, talents, and good intentions, should entertain erroneous opinions with respect to its political œconomy.

And an augmentation of 2,005,932, in eighty-seven years, is altogether consistent with reason, and facts, and experience. Mr. Wallace, the learned antagonist of Mr. Hume, justly remarks¹; "that it is not owing to the want of prolific virtue, but to the distressed circumstances of mankind, that every generation do not more than double themselves; for this would be the case if every man were married at the age of puberty, and could sufficiently provide for a family." And the foregoing documents have demonstrated the truth of his general reasonings. That able writer has endeavoured indeed to illustrate his principle by calculation, since he could find no resource in the relations of history. He plainly evinces, that there might have easily proceeded from the *created pair* of human beings 6,291,456 persons in seven hundred years. In the foregoing detail we have seen, that there remained in England of the issue of about two million of inhabitants, at the end of six centuries and a quarter, only 6,017,797. We behold in the result of both accounts what force there is in the procreative energy, which produced miriads. But, how few, alas! of all those arrived at the age of puberty, and reproduced. Numbers enow were born, then, in every period, to replenish the earth with people: It is to be lamented, that in certain ages of tyranny, of war, and of pestilence, so many millions should have perished, owing to various causes of misery. The facts in the annals of England have been investigated, in order to discover the effects of those *moral causes* of increase or of diminution: And we have discovered, from the most authentic documents, the specific numbers of people who inhabited this nation at given epochs. If 4,690,696 inhabitants, in 1575, left an augmentation of 1,327,101 in no very favourable effluxion of 120 years, 6,017,797 may have very easily produced 2,005,932, during a more invigorating period of eighty-seven years. Were we indeed to reason from Dr. Price's data, we ought to infer that the increase of 4,690,696 amounted to 1,908,075 souls in 115 years. And when we consider too the greater employment and comforts of the people, their superior freedom and security, and their higher state of healthfulness, we may assuredly conclude, that there has been an augmentation in their numbers of at least two millions since the Revolution.

A a

I T

¹ Dissert. on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 8.

I T is now time to recapitulate briefly the comparative resources of Britain during

The reign of King William III. — and during — The reign of King George III.

The people of England of disunited Scotland	— —	— —	6,000,000 1,200,000	— —	— —	8,000,000. 1,350,000.
The fighting men of both	—	1,800,000	7,200,000	—	2,337,500	9,350,000.

The famous Mr. Gregory King calculated the revenues derived from *land* in the following manner^m:

Landlords rents	—	—	—	£. 10,000,000
buildings	—	—	—	2,000,000
other hereditaments	—	—	—	2,000,000
				£. 14,000,000;

which, valued at 18 years purchase, the current price in 1688, were worth a capital of £. 252,000,000.

He computed the annual value of the cultivated product of the arable land in the following manner:

Corn, as wheat, rye, &c.	—	£. 9,075,000.
Wood	—	1,000,000.
Total of corn and wood	—	10,075,000
Live stock (exclusive of horses)	—	20,107,630
Hay consumed	—	2,300,000
Whole annual produce	—	£. 32,482,630

Mr. Arthur Young, whose calculations are equally accurate as Mr. King's, computes the revenues derived from *land* in the following mannerⁿ:

Landlords rents	—	—	£. 19,200,000.
buildings	—	—	2,000,000.
mines, timber, &c.	—	—	3,200,000.
			24,400,000;

which, valued at 30 years purchase, the lowest price in 1774, were worth a capital of £. 732,000,000.

He computes the annual value of the cultivated product of 32,000,000 of acres of land, in the following manner:

Corn, as wheat, rye, &c.	—	£. 41,734,526.
Copse-wood	—	2,395,721.
Total produce of corn and wood	—	44,729,177.
Live stock (exclusive of horses)	—	24,171,488.
Hay sold off the farms	—	3,926,162.
Whole annual produce	—	£. 72,826,827.

But, he deducts the rent — — £. 19,200,000.
 tythes — — — 6,250,000.
 poor rates — — — 1,926,666.
 parish charges — — 310,000.
 seed grain — — 5,085,359.
 expence of labour 27,559,619.
 Whole expenditure — — — 60,331,644.

Farmers profit — — — £. 12,495,183.

And he justly considers this profit of $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on a capital stock of £. 122,000,000 as very low; though he admits, indeed, that the maintenance of the farmers families was not included in it.

By a recapitulation he finds, that the land yielded an income to the landlords of — — £. 24,400,000
 the farmers — — — 12,495,183
 the clergy — — — 6,250,000
 the idle poor — — — 1,926,666
 the labouring poor — — — 14,016,503
 the artizans — — — 4,000,000
 Total revenue from land — — — 63,088,352.

By calculations, which are not so satisfactory, as his data were not so good, he estimates the revenue from *manufactures* at — — — 20,000,000.
 By similar calculations, he estimates the revenue from commerce at — — — 17,000,000.
 The income of Scotland he states roundly at — — — 10,000,000.

Annual income of the people of Britain — £. 110,000,000.

And, admitting the whole taxes levied yearly on the subject to be £. 13,000,000, the public revenue is only twelve per cent. on that income, or about two shillings and four pence in the pound.

But, he deducted the various charges, and at last found that the farmers net profit only amounted to three rents, or — — — —

£. 8,375,000

Dr. Davenant, when considering, in 1698, "the most reasonable modes of taxing a people," states the income of the nation from land at — — £. 22,000,000
 from arts and manufactures 20,000,000
 from trade — — — 10,000,000

Annual income of the people of England — £. 52,000,000

And, admitting that the whole taxes levied on the kingdom during that reign amounted to £. 4,515,300, the public revenue is not quite nine per cent. and less than two shillings in the pound; which yet was collected with difficulty.

^m Dav. vol. vi. p. 70.

ⁿ Pol. Arith. Part ii. p. 32.—Mr. Pulteney states the land-rent at £. 20,000,000. Confid. p. 29.

Though neither of these statements can be allowed to contain the reality, or indeed not much more than the semblance of truth, it must nevertheless be admitted, that they fill the mind with vast ideas of wealth, if they do not altogether satisfy the judgment in regard to authenticity of facts. It is however known, that the rulers of King William's days were much more embarrassed with a national debt of fifteen or even of twelve million, than those of the present times have been with a public debt of one hundred and forty or fifty million; so greatly had the people, the industry, and opulence of this kingdom increased in the mean time. If Dr. Davenant* justly insisted in 1698, that "this nation still having the value of six hundred millions in land and stock of all kinds, which, being made liable to public debts, must be judged a sufficient security to such as have dealings with the Government," who ought to doubt at present, since Mr. Pulteney^p ventures to affirm, "*that the wealth of Great Britain now exceeds very much ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS?*"

SUCH then is the estimate of our comparative resources, of the losses and gains of our commerce, and of the augmented numbers of our people since the Revolution. He who has honoured the foregoing documents with an attentive perusal, may probably be induced to ask, What valid reason is there for relinquishing hope, by despairing of the Commonwealth? The individual who desponds, indulges a passion the most to be deplored, because it is the most incurable. The nation, which in any conjuncture entertains doubts of her own ability, or thinks of submission to her unprovoked foes, is already conquered, since she is enslaved to her irresolution, or her fears. The weakness of the state, during a war of unexampled embarrassments, consists partly in the division of its members, placed as they are on every quarter of the globe, and to the consequent dispersion of its vast force; but perhaps more to the dissimilarity of the principles and views of the leading characters in the nation. While the empire remains entire, there may be applied

* Vol. ii. p. 58.

^p Confid. p. 28.

applied to the former evils temporary palliatives, but not an absolute cure. While the passions of men continue to produce their accustomed effects, domestic unanimity, however desirable, may be wished for without reasonable expectation: and every lover of his country ought therefore to pray, that whoever may be called to the helm, during the storm of the times, may be directed in their counsels and actions by wisdom, and moderation, and vigour.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

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A P P E N D I X.

WHAT the Reader may expect in the following ESSAY ON POPULATION, is nothing more than the tenth chapter of that elaborate performance, *The primitive Origination of Mankind considered; by the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE HALE*; a book, which, if piety of purpose, ability of performance, and candour of disquisition, are estimable qualities, ought to occupy every closet, as well as the cabinets of the curious. The Editor thought he could not offer a more valuable present to the public, than the mature sentiments of so great a master of evidence, and so judicious a writer, with regard to an interesting subject, which has lately engaged the pens of the ingenious and the learned: and the original volume, which is only in the hands of the few, is of so great a bulk, as to repel rather than invite perusal. Though this performance “*was written, as Lord Hale remarks in his preface, at leisure and broken times, and with great intervals,*” it appears to have been corrected by him for the press in 1675: He desired his readers pardon “*in that in my transcript of some entire texts out of Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, and others, I use the Latin translation, and not the original Greek, wherein the authors wrote: I was a better Grecian in the 16th, than in the 66th year of my life: and my application to another study and profession, rendered my skill in that language of little use to me, and so I wore it out by degrees.*” Sir Matthew Hale was born in November 1609: he died in December 1676. And “*The primitive Origination of Mankind considered,*” was first published in 1677.

“WE are not now inquiring what the wise and glorious God might or could do, in order to the equable reduction of the world, upon a supposition of an eternal duration: But, we are upon a question of fact indeed, namely, What he hath done, and whether, upon the supposition of all those reductives instanced in the former chapter, at least without the wise and intelligent regimen of God, they have

have been, or well could be, considering the nature and course of things, of that efficacy to correct the increase and excess of mankind, that may render it compatible with an eternal duration.

"I therefore shall now come to the things I oppose, and they are these two; viz. 1. That these means considered simply in themselves (without the conduct and guidance and interposition of the mighty God) are in themselves incompetent and unsuitable to the ends proposed: and 2. That *de facto* they have appeared to be so; and notwithstanding their admission, yet *de facto*, the world hath in all ages increased.

"Touching the former of these, the incompetency of these expedients to the end proposed (considered singly in themselves) this will best appear by induction of particulars.

"For famines, they are *de facto* incompetent to these ends: for 1. There was never yet known a universal famine, but the defects of one country supplied by another, as Caanan was by Egypt. 2. It is ordinarily not sudden but gradual, and foreseen before felt in the extremity, which gives people opportunity of transigrations. 3. Though the ordinary supplies fail, yet necessity makes men ingenious and hardy; and if they have but land-room or sea-room, they find some supplies for their hunger which they did not before think of or use; though it be otherwise in a close siege, but that is but a narrow compass, and not of moment to be compared to the multitudes abroad.

"2. Plagues are indeed a sharp and speedy visitation, yet it hath these allays: 1. Many there are that are able to escape it by flights, some by physick, and some by their age and complexion. 2. It is not ordinarily of long continuance, the strength of the disease seldom continuing longer than a year. 3. Though the desolation be terrible while it lasts, yet it rarely consumes one half of the inhabitants. The late computation of the number of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, in the city of London, and the sixteen and ten out-parishes, are estimated at 384,000, and about six millions in the whole kingdom of England. 2. The greatest plagues in our remembrance have not swept away above 100,000 at most in London and the suburbs: indeed that before mentioned by Walsingham, which was in a manner universal, and successively in several places of the world lasted about fifteen years, is said to be so great, that scarce a tenth part of the people survived it; yet if it left a tenth part, suppose in England, it left near a million of people, which in a little time would and did recover and increase considerably, as shall be shewn. 4. Again, suppose the devastation by plagues greater than history gives us an account, yet it is for the most part a disease that reigns in some times and some places, it may fall in those places where the numbers are already too small, and need an increase. And so taken singly by itself, is incompetent and unsuitable to the excess, unless managed by the wise conduct of Almighty God.

"3. Touching wars and internecions. It is true it hath been a great consumption of mankind, but yet it is not an equal corrective of the excess of generations: 1. Though such have happened, and frequently, yet they seem against the nature and disposition of mankind, ordinarily and in a course of human constitution: naturally mankind is a sociable creature, and more than bees, as the philosopher observes; and though sometimes passions, jealousies, and politic ends produce wars, yet naturally man is not a creature of prey upon others, as lions and tigers are. Ordinarily, though wars are by one kingdom or state upon another, yet they preserve their own societies with increase under foreign wars; and therefore civil wars, as they are more destructive, so they are more rare, because they are more unnatural and destructive to that which men usually are careful to preserve; namely,

namely, their own societies. 3. It seems an improper and unsuitable corrective, because accident and the wills of men have so great an influence in the production of wars; whereby it may fall out that wars may happen in those ages, times, or places, and consequently, devastations upon them where or when they need not to correct. And though it be true, that a plethory or excess of numbers of men, sometimes by a kind of natural or at least moral consequence cause wars, yet we have hardly known any produced singly upon that account; though it hath oftentimes occasioned transmigrations, deductions of colonies, and new plantations; and the world hath been never yet so full, but a weaker or oppressed party have found room to retreat from the violence or insolence of their oppressors.

“ 4. Touching floods and conflagrations. It is true that Almighty God, as he manageth the forementioned reductives by his wisdom and providence, so he hath done these especially in that universal deluge: but as they are instanced in by the philosophers as natural or periodical events whereby mankind is reduced to an equability, we have no reason to believe them. Therefore I say, 1. That there doth not appear, either in history or in the observation of nature, any such periodical floods or conflagrations; those that we have relations of happened indeed near together, and in the same country, viz. in Greece; had they been periodical or natural, probably either by a continued circulation or rotation, or else by the interposition of some reasonable intervals, the like would have happened before in Persia or some easterly parts of Asia, or since in Italy or Germany, or some other western parts of the world; which we have not observed to be. And therefore this supposition of the *Hyems magna*, whereby parts of the earth should be successively drowned, seems to be only an imagination, or at least it cannot be known with any tolerable certainty; in as much as the periods are supposed to be vast, and not happening within any competent time to give us an observation or proof thereof. And therefore, although we yearly see a reduction of the numerous increase of insects, by the winter frost and storms yearly happening; we have no warrant from thence to imagine that great winter that must make the like reduction of men and brutes; for every year gives us experience of the one, but never any age gave us any reasonable observation upon which to build an hypothesis of the like periodical revolution of the other: and the same I say touching conflagrations. Indeed there have been accidental and particular instances of both, but not any periodical return, or revolutions thereof, *quasi in quodam ambitu & circuitu naturali*. 2. If such were supposed, yet unless they were very sudden, and very general, they would not be sufficient to make the correction: men would escape floods by running up to mountains and hills; and though some might perish through improvidence, or through the suddenness of a deluge, many would escape. 3. Natural and periodical floods or conflagrations would not be suitable nor commensurate to the increase; which, depending either upon accidents or the wills of men, would possibly be more in one place than in another: The country of Palestine would be more peopled than the sands and deserts of Arabia; Egypt, than the mountains of Ethiopia; and fruitful countries, or countries open to trade, and safe from incursions and invasions, more populous than barren countries, or such as are out of the way of trade, or subject to inroads: but natural and periodical floods or conflagrations would probably keep some constant or ordinary tract or course, either from east to west, or from north to south; and possibly keeping in such a climate or latitude, possibly in another; whereby possibly these plagues might be more fierce in those places or continents where the world wants people, and less vehement in those places where there needs a corrective for their excess:

if these should be universal, they would destroy the race of mankind; if partial, they would be perchance weak and insignificant reductives of the excess of mankind.

“ When all therefore is done, though it be plain that these and the like calamities are certain reductives of the excess of mankind, yet they are incompetent of themselves, and upon a bare supposition of natural or accidental effects. But it is true, as they are either brought and inflicted, or managed and governed by a most wise and intelligent Being, they are useful, and wisely applied to this end among others.

“ But in the whole management and conduct of these events and occurrences, whereby mankind hath been reduced and corrected, we shall observe very easily *that mankind hath still increased, and the world grown fuller, even to manifest sense and experience*; which was the second thing I propose to be considered.

“ 2. Therefore I do affirm, that, notwithstanding all these ordinary and extraordinary occurrences that have afflicted mankind, as shortness of life, divers casualties and common diseases, loss of men by navigation, the intemperance and luxury of mankind, the weaknesses and destructive sicknesses incident especially to infancy, childhood, and youth; abortions voluntary or accidental, and all those ordinary casualties incident to our nature: And notwithstanding also those great and vast consumptions by famine, by pestilence, by strange and epidemical diseases, by wars and battles, sea-fights, internecions, massacres, and persecutions, earthquakes, floods, inundations, conflagrations, or what other extraordinary or terrible and universal accidents that have happened to mankind in any or all the ages past since the flood of Noah; *mankind hath notwithstanding all these increased and grown fuller, the generations of mankind have exceeded their decays.*

“ And because this is an assertion of fact, it is impossible to be made out but by instances of fact.

“ And although it be impossible for any man to give an account of all the nations of the world collectively, and so to make out the fact; yet if the instance can be made out in one or two nations, whereof a true and clear account may be given, it will be more than a common probability that the same may be concluded concerning the generality of mankind.

“ And therefore I shall single out the instances of two nations, touching whom the clearest account of their original and increase may be given, and such also as had as great an experience of the severest of these correctives, and possibly much greater, than any determinate people or nation in the world besides. The first instance I shall give is the nation of the Jews.” [Here the illustrious author treats of the increase of population among that people from the evidence of the scriptures.]

“ The next instance that I shall give shall be nearer home; the kingdom of England: I shall not give any instance touching it before the Conquest, because those times are dark, and besides, the vicissitudes and successions of various nations in this kingdom render the discovery of the progress of generations of men, or the increases thereof, difficult; as *Britons, Romans, Picts, Saxons, and Danes.*

“ The ancient inhabitants were the Britons, the body of which people hath been in a great measure shut up and contained within the country of Wales; but what by the transplanting of many of the Welsh into England, and by transplanting of the English into Wales, it is not possible to say that all the Britons are confined to the country of Wales, or that none but Britons are there: and therefore there can be no particular or evident conclusion made touching their increase or multiplication.

But

But I shall take a shorter period or compass of time, namely, the last six hundred years or thereabouts, since the Norman conquest.

“ And although it may be true, that many persons of foreign countries have come into England and planted themselves here, so that the whole increase of this kingdom cannot be singly attributed to those that were either natives, or such as came in with the Conqueror, but many Scotch, Irish, Dutch, but especially French, either by naturalizations or transmigrations have increased the inhabitants of this island; yet, considering that probably the migrations of the English into Scotland, Holland, France, and other countries, have made amends for their migrations hither, we may make a reasonable conjecture, that the descendants from those that inhabited this kingdom in the time of the Conqueror have increased exceedingly above what they were in that time.

“ And the evidence thereof is this: King William the First, after his victory over Harold, did, in the sixteenth year of his reign over England, cause a survey to be made of all the cities, towns, manors, and inhabited lands in England, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and North Wales.

“ This survey was finished in the twentieth year of his reign, and the book itself preserved to this day among the records of the Exchequer, not only a transcript or copy, but the very original book itself, and is called *Doomsday*: In this book are entered the names of the manors or inhabited townships, boroughs, and cities, and the owner of them, the number of plough-lands that each contains, and the number of the inhabitants upon them, under the several names appropriate to those places: as for instance, *Ibi 12 Burgenfes, 5 Villani, 5 Bordarii, 5 Nativi, 5 Radiminches, 5 Cotterelli*; and the like, according to the quality or condition of the inhabitants: So that this book in effect gives an account not only of the manurable lands in every manor, town, or vill, but also of the number and natures of their several inhabitants.

“ To make a calculation of the number of plough-lands and inhabitants through all England, as they are recorded, and to make therewith a comparison unto the present state and number of inhabitants at this day throughout England, is a laborious piece of work, but it is not difficult to be done in any one county; I have tried the comparison in the county of Gloucester through some great boroughs, as Gloucester itself, Thornbury, Tetbury, and other places, and in effect through the whole county; and I do find,

“ 1. That there are very many more vills and hamlets now than there were then, and very few villages, towns, or parishes then, which continue not to this day; but now there are as many as then, and many more. The fifth of March, 9 Edw. II. there issued writs to the sheriffs of the several counties, to return the names of the several vills and land owners in their several bailiwicks, which was accordingly done, and remains of record in the Exchequer, under the stile of *Nomina Villarum*; and the sum of the vills of Gloucestershire, together with the five boroughs of Gloucester, Bristol, Berkley, Dursly, and Newnham, amounted to 234, which I take it are more than are in *Doomsday*, and yet not so many as are at this day; and those that continue to this day, are far more populous than they were at the taking of either of those surveys.

“ 2. That there is much more tillage and more plough-lands now than there were then; which happens by the reduction of many great wastes and commons into tillage, or meadow, or pasture, which then were only wastes, and therefore not particularly surveyed because of no considerable value, and not taken notice of in that survey.

B b 2

“ 3. That

“ 3. That the number of inhabitants now are above twenty times more than they were at that time, as well in particular towns, boroughs, and manors, as in the general extent of the country; and yet that survey, even as to the number and quality of those that resided in those towns or manors, at least as householders, is very precise and particular: I have not yet made an exact particular calculation of the number recorded in that book through the whole county, but I will give a few instances of particular towns, which may give an estimate touching the whole.

“ Gloucester is now a very great and populous city; formerly, before the time of Henry VIII. a borough: In the survey of Domesday, it is surveyed distinct from the *Bertun* of Gloucester; the gross of the borough is surveyed together in the beginning of the county, but there are some other particular burgages thereof mentioned under the titles of particular men's possessions; as, *Terra Rogeri de Lacy*, *Terra Elnuffi de Hefding*, &c. The whole concretion of the city of Gloucester consists partly of what was the ancient borough, partly of accessions from the manors or villages adjacent, as Barton and some others: I shall therefore cast up the whole number of all that were in Gloucester or Barton.

“ In the survey of Gloucester there are reckoned 23 burgages and houses; 16 that were demolished for the building of the castle, fourteen that were wasted, and some that belonged to *Osbertus Episcopus*, not numbered, but yielded the yearly rent of 10 shillings; which, according to the usual rate of the houses in Gloucester at that time, which was at five pence or six pence a house, might produce twenty houses; *in toto*, — — — — — 73.

“ Besides these, there are surveyed under the titles of several owners of lands *sparsim* through the book, as under the title *Terra S. Dionysii*, *Ecclesia S. Martini*, and others, according to my best computation and observation, — 82.

“ Besides these, under the title of the possessions of St. Peter of Gloucester, there are reckoned up as many *Burgenses* as yielded the abbot anciently the rent of nineteen shillings and five pence, and sixteen salmons; but at that time sixteen salmons and fifty shillings rent, without any certain number of Burgesses; but if we allow six pence for a burgess, we may suppose them to be — — — 100.

The total — — — 255.

“ The manor of Barton, or the Barton of Gloucester, some part whereof hath been taken into the suburbs of Gloucester, was of two owners; part was the King's lands, part belonged to the abbey of St. Peter's; but the whole number of the householders inhabiting the whole Barton, with its members, Tuffly, Barnwood, &c. were as followeth,

<i>Villani</i>	56
<i>Bordarii</i>	39
<i>Servi</i>	19
<i>Molini</i>	4
<i>Liberi homines</i>	10
<i>In toto</i>	— 128.

And the total of the whole account of the city of Gloucester, the Barton with its members, Brewere, Upton, Merwin, Barnwood, Tuffly, Norwent, amounted then only to — — — — — 383.

“ And the single city of Gloucester within the walls contains at this day near 1000 houses and households.

“ Again,

“ Again, the borough and manor of Barclay, with the members thereof enumerated in *Doomsday*, viz. Alkington, Hinton, Cam, Gofington, Derfiloge, Cowly, Ewly, Nimsfield, Wotton, Simondshall, Kingscote, Beverscote, Ofelword, Aldmondsbury, part of Cromhall, Harefell, Weston, Elberton, Cromale, Erlingham, Escelword, are surveyed to contain in the whole to 590 families; whereas at this time there are near 5000 families in this precinct; the parish of Wotton yielding upon the point of 2000 communicants, and that of Derfilege above 500 at this day.

“ Again, Tetbury and the hamlet of Upton belonging to it, the survey of *Doomsday* gives us an account of about 73 families of all kinds belonging to it: but now I believe there are little less than 1500 communicants in that parish.

“ *Sodbury*: the survey gives us an account of about 46 families of all sorts; they are now near twenty times as many.

“ *Thornbury*, with the hamlets thereunto belonging: the account of *Doomsday* is of 105 families of all sorts; there is now near six times so many.

“ *Aderly*, a little village at the time of making of that survey, consisting not of above seventeen families of all sorts; now above twice as many.

“ The like instances might be produced, with the like evidence of very great increases, in the towns of Cirencester, Minchin Hampton, Teuxbury, Campden, Winchcomb, Avening, Westbury near Bristol, and generally through the whole county of Gloucester; which I do not without just reason suppose hath more than twenty times the inhabitants which it had at the time of the coming-in of William the First, which is not now above 604 years since.

“ And if we should institute a later comparison, viz. between the present time [1670], and the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, which is not above 112 years since, and compare the number of trained soldiers then and now, the number of subsidy-men then and now, they will easily give us an account of a very great increase and multiplication of people within this kingdom, even to admiration.

“ And let any man but consider the increase of London within the compass of forty or fifty years, we shall according to the observations framed to my hands find, that the in-parishes, until the late fire, in that time have increased from nine to ten, or a tenth part; and that the sixteen out-parishes have in that time increased from seven to twelve; and yet without any decrement or decay of the rest of the kingdom.

“ By which, and infinite undeniable instances that might be given, it is apparent, that within the compass of the last 600 years this kingdom hath increased mightily in its number of native inhabitants.

“ And yet it is most apparent, that it hath had as great allays and abatements of the multiplications of mankind in it, as any kingdom in the world. For instance,

“ 1. In respect of the nature of its situation, which is all maritime, and consists much in navigation, which exhausts abundance of people by diseases and casualties at sea.

“ 2. It hath been as often visited with sore pestilences, epidemical diseases, and mortality by reason thereof, as any country: the experience of the last sixty years gives us abundance of instances thereof, and former ages were as frequently visited in this kind as later.

“ 3. Foreign wars, both at sea and land, have devoured great multitudes of our inhabitants; as those formerly with Scotland, France, Spain, and lately with the Netherlands and French.

“ 4. No kingdom of Europe hath had greater experience of civil wars, nor greater consumption of men thereby, than England hath had since the time of William the

First : for not to instance in our wars with the Welsh and Irish, let any man read but the histories of the wars here in England between King Stephen and Henry I. and his mother ; King John and his nobles ; King Henry III. and the nobility ; between King Edward II. and the Earls of Lancaster and Mortimer ; the wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster, and their partizans, from the time of Henry IV. unto the beginning of Henry VII. in one battle between Henry VI. and Edward IV. killed of one side 30,000 ; the rebellions in the times of Henry VII. and others the kings and queens that succeeded him, and the loss of many lives that happened by the suppression thereof ; the late cruel wars within these thirty years last past in England ; there cannot be instances given in any one kingdom of greater abatements of the increase, by wars and internecions, than may be given in England.

“ 5. Let us also consider the vast evacuations of men that England hath had by foreign assistances lent to foreign kingdoms and states, by volunteers and auxiliaries ; as to Scotland in the late Queen’s time, to France, to the Netherlands, to Germany.

“ 6. To these also add the vast numbers of men that have transplanted themselves not only into France, Holland, and our neighbour nations, but also to Virginia, Maryland, New England, Barbadoes, Bermudas, to Amboyna and other places in the East India, and lastly, into Jamaica : we shall find, upon these and other accounts, that England hath had as great correctives of the excesses of their generations, within these last 600 years, as any people in the world.

“ Add to these the great famines and pestilences which have happened within the compass of 600 years, recorded in history, and obvious to our own experience.

“ And therefore, if notwithstanding all these correctives the number of men have continually increased, and that in so vast and observable a degree above their decrease ; we have as much reason to conclude a parity in the rest of mankind : and possibly were we as well acquainted with the concerns of other kingdoms or states, especially of the Netherlands and France, the instances of this increase would be as much, and possibly more conspicuous than among us.

“ Upon the whole matter therefore I conclude, that as the correctives instanced in the last chapter are not in themselves likely to be sufficient and suitable to the reduction of the increase of mankind to an equability, especially in an infinite succession of eternal generations : so by plain experience it is apparent and sensible, that *de facto* they have not done it in a finite limit of ages ; but mankind have notwithstanding them increased every age, and the multitude of them that are born and live, overbalance the number of them that die, *communibus annis*, or being taken upon a medium ; though possibly some one year gave the advantage of number to the descendants, yet it is not common nor ordinary, but more than two or three years for one give the advantage of number to them that are born and live.

T H E E N D.

ERRATA & ADDENDA.

- In p. 13, l. 1, for *revenue* read *grants*: But, see p. 137 for a more accurate account of the revenue and resources of Britain during the reign of George I.
- In p. 16, l. 1, for *revenue* read *supplies*: And see a more precise state of the revenue during the reign of George II. in p. 137—9—42.
- In p. 28, for *revenue* read *custom*, in all the calculations, except the last.
- In p. 106, in the note, for 1699 read 1599.
- In p. 141, in the note, for *bread* read *breed*.
- In p. 153, in the note, for *one third* read *one half*.

In p. 100, in the note, for 1869 read 1868.

