

EXTRA OFFICIAL
STATE PAPERS.

ADDRESSED TO

The RIGHT HON. LORD RAWDON,

AND THE OTHER MEMBERS

OF THE

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

ASSOCIATED FOR

THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

AND

PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY

OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY A LATE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

L O N D O N :

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MY LORD,

THE preservation of our excellent constitution, and the promotion of the public prosperity and happiness, being the avowed principles and purpose of that most laudable association of independent Members of Parliament, which your Lordship is at the head of, entitle you not only to the good wishes, but to the assistance, also, of every sincere friend to Great Britain; and if in our idea of the constitution we include the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, without which, the monarchy cannot subsist, nor the liberty of the subject be preserved; and give credit to the charges brought by either of the

two parties which now divide Parliament against the other, there never was a time when the interference of the independent and unattached Members of both Houses was more necessary. These charges I shall therefore briefly state, as I have heard them urged by each party as the ground of the measures I mean to suggest for averting those calamities, which both agree are impending over us. The old Whigs, as they call themselves, it is said, have been uniform in the pursuit of their plan of lowering the King's authority, by depriving the Crown of its influence, ever since their expulsion from Ministry by the Earl of Bute. The affectation of Patriotism, and a zeal for the liberty of the people, or more properly, for their own power over their Sovereign, is allowed to be fair game in every opposition; for as they receive no emoluments for their services, the breath of the multitude is as slender a diet as even courtiers could wish them to have to subsist on. But when an opposition gets into office, and the King trusts them with the exercise of his power, the farce is at an end, and, after a few awkward apologies, and a few ineffectual votes with old connections,

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by way of consistency, the business of Government is expected to be taken up, and carried on in the usual way. Such, however, was not the conduct of the old Whigs, when they came into office in 1765, for, connected by many ties of relationship, they found themselves the most numerous body in Parliament, except the dependants of the Crown, and therefore they imagined that if they could augment their own power by measures subversive of the King's authority, they would so reduce the influence of the Crown to an inferiority, or at least to an equality with themselves, that they would lay the Crown under the necessity of continuing them in employment, for, *they in opposition* could, upon all popular questions, when the country gentlemen would go with them, defeat the Minister; but *they in administration* could defy all opposition. Hence it is said that they sacrificed the revenue to their popularity in the cyder countries by the repeal of that most equal tax upon it, and that they sacrificed the commerce, revenue, and sovereignty of Great Britain, to popularity with the American faction, by the repeal of the stamp tax. Their short continu-

ance did not permit them to do much more mischief, and their being out of power from the year 1776 to the year 1782, left them without the means of pursuing their plan any farther than by fomenting and abetting the rebellion in America, and lending some of their party to the Minister to defeat his plans for subduing it. The hard conditions they imposed upon the King when they came into power in 1782, were in perfect conformity to their plan of inthralling Majesty, and the eagerness with which they framed and pursued measures for reducing the King's influence, is too well known to require being particularly mentioned. They indeed so effectually employed the power of the sovereign, to destroy his authority and influence, that in their short continuance in office, they found means to reduce the number attached by offices to the Crown, in the House of Commons, below the number necessary to form an House, and by depriving all revenue officers, whether freeholders or freemen, of their votes at elections, they did not leave any other Minister the power of securing even his own seat in it. And had they succeeded in seizing into their own hands the whole revenue

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nue of India, they would have confirmed themselves in office for life. The immediate consequences of their measures were such as the party intended; for when the coalition administration was dismissed in 1784, the new Minister, Mr. Pitt, found a determined majority against him; and so open were they in avowing their purpose of reducing the King to a dependance upon their party, that they carried a resolution to the effect of insisting that the King had not a right to appoint any minister they did not recommend; and to force His Majesty to acquiescence, they threatened to withhold the supplies and disband the army. Of the democratic principles of this party, therefore, the ministerialists assert there can be not doubt, and that it is the duty of every well-wisher to the monarchy to keep a strict watch over them.

Mr. Pitt's purpose to reduce the Crown to a dependance on him, it is said by the old Whigs, though more concealed, is not the less to be apprehended. If he does not diminish its power, he takes care to prevent the Crown from exercising it by any other than *himself*
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alone, by filling all the departments of the Government with men not only attached to, and dependent upon, himself, but such as are so incapable of discharging the duties of their offices, that they are sure no other minister would continue them, and therefore can have no hope of remaining but from supporting him; for should the King be displeased with Mr. Pitt, which of the other Ministers, they ask, could he send to to supply his place for a day? so that Mr. Pitt by his management has reduced the King to the necessity of either continuing him *sole Minister*, or of making an entire and total change of his administration, a thing highly disagreeable and disgraceful to the Crown, and not to be done but from great necessity.

It is beside my purpose to examine or controvert the truth of either party's charge against the other; but the whole nation will make an exception in the last in favour of that great Atlas of the constitution, and ornament of the woolstack, whose brilliant wit, vast comprehension, sound judgement, and inflexible integrity, give equal dignity and strength to the Crown, and security to the liberties and properties

properties of the people : but whatever be the designs of the parties, the injurious effects of the curtailments of the influence of the Crown already begin to shew themselves, and call for immediate remedy. A long course of parliamentary proceedings having decided against the Lords' interfering in the grant of money to the Crown ; the Members of that House have had no other way of preserving their own importance on those occasions, than by placing in the House of Commons the younger branches of their families, and for whom the public Boards offered offices suitable to their rank and talents, and it is very remarkable that almost all the great ministers this country ever produced, were younger brothers, and these gentlemen, at the same time they maintained the balance against the prevailing power of the democracy by preserving the influence of the Lords, gave effectual support to the King's measures, and were a creditable connection for his Minister. The abolition of the Board of Trade, Board of Green Cloth, and Board of Police, with so many of the other appendages of the Court, has deprived these gentlemen of the expectation of obtaining office

office, by getting into the House of Commons, and the great Lords, finding they cannot obtain a comfortable provision for their relations, by sending them into Parliament, will probably give up the idea of maintaining an influence there, and *sell their seats to the best bidder*. These *bidders* will probably be the plunderers of the East, and the spend-thrifts of the West, who seek a screen for their speculation, or protection for their persons; General Officers, without regiments, who calculate upon obtaining them during the time of the Parliament, and so to lay their money well out; Lieutenant Colonels, who seek promotion; and Naval Officers, who wish to enjoy the fortunes they have made, without more fighting; or such as expect profitable commands in case of a war, or lucrative stations in times of peace. These, with masqued contractors and subscription-seekers, will make up the great body of the Commons; and it will be no wonder to find the ancient country Gentlemen of large estates eager to leave such company, and become Peers. But what will then become of the dignity and independence of the House of Commons? and where are we to look for
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the supporters of public liberty, and the opposers of the encroachments of the Crown? It, therefore, appears, from this simple deduction, that the measures, which have for their avowed object the diminishing the influence of the Crown, will, in their consequences, render the Commons a more dependent body than they have ever been upon it; and therefore, before the evil takes root, and the malady becomes incurable, I trust, your illustrious body will *dare to save the Constitution*, by bravely combating popular prejudices and extirpating those empiric remedies, which, by pretending to cure it of an imaginary disease, have endangered its health. Let it, then, be your first motion to ask leave to bring in a bill to amend Mr. Burke's Reform Act, by restoring those three Boards, with a capacity to their members to sit in the House of Commons.

The restraint laid upon the Crown, in the grant of Pensions, by that act, ought also to be taken off; for it has a most mischievous operation respecting the public business. Old and faithful servants can no longer look up to a competent provision for themselves or

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families; and such as become inefficient, cannot be removed, without the greatest cruelty, for want of an adequate compensation. It is true, the King may still grant pensions; but if he does grant any, exceeding the paltry sum of three hundred pounds, which will nett the receiver not above two hundred pounds, the Minister must state it to Parliament, and expose himself to the cavil and abuse of Opposition; a situation which every Minister will avoid, upon every possible occasion: so that as long as a man can either see or hear, he may expect to be obliged to continue in his office, or quit it without any thing to live upon.

But when you have thus restored the dignity of the House of Commons, and efficiency to the Public Offices, the rendering those offices the careful depositories of all transactions in them, and communications made to them, will be a most essential service to the King and Nation; for by so doing, you will put every succeeding officer in possession of the knowledge and experience of his predecessor, and if the confidential *commis* are retained,

tained, the people will not suffer materially by any change in the principals.

Before the accession of his present Majesty, it had been the practice of every Secretary of State, when he resigned the seals, to carry out of the office as many of the original papers and letters which came into it during his administration, as he thought fit, considering all the correspondence addressed to him, as Secretary of State, as his private property. This practice was intended to be put a stop to, by a signification of the King's pleasure, after Mr. Pitt's resignation, "That no original papers should be taken away by any future Secretary of State, but that he might have copies of whatever he desired." This order was followed by another regulation, the establishment of the Paper Office; the occasion of which is so curious a fact, and will so clearly shew the little care which had been taken of public documents, that I shall state it particularly. My very good friend and former colleague, Mr. John Pownall, whose great talents, and comprehensive knowledge, rendered the Board of Trade so highly beneficial to this country for many years, having occasion to refer to some transaction

before the Restoration, expected to find an account of it in the books of the Privy Council, in which, until that time, the whole executive government was absorbed,

Upon inquiry at the office, he was informed, there were no books there of so old a date; but one of the clerks told him, there were several old books in a room over the old gateway into Privy Garden, which was then standing, and that it was probable he might find what he wanted there. My indefatigable friend immediately climbed up the rotten staircase, and finding the door of the room fastened by a lock, which had not been opened for many years, and to which there was no key to be found, procured a smith to break it open with his sledge-hammer; which being done, he was covered with a cloud of dust, raised by a flock of pigeons, who had long made that room (the windows being broken) their dwelling place. When the cloud was dissipated, he removed the filth, and there found the books he was in search of, with many other ancient and public records. Mr. Pownall acquainted Mr. Grenville with the discovery he had made; and that great and excellent Minister, who was
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always accessible to men of talents and experience, and received, with thankfulness, whatever useful information they brought him, and gave it the attention its importance merited, immediately concerted with him the plan of the Paper Office, for the reception and preservation of such papers as might be spared from the several public offices. These two measures, it might be supposed, would have rendered any further provision for their preservation unnecessary. But a *late transaction*, which I was ordered to give some account of before the House of Lords, and some others, which are not yet known to the public *, has shewn that something is still wanting, and *that*, I humbly apprehend, is, a resolution of one or both Houses of Parliament, declaring, “ That all original papers, “ of a public nature, that are received in- “ to any of the public offices, are the “ property of the Crown ; and that to re- “ move them, or destroy them, without

* I lately applied for a copy of my evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, in the year 1765, upon the state of the American colonies ; when I was told that the proceedings of that most important Committee was not to be found.

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His Majesty's command, is a high crime and misdemeanor.

As my evidence upon the occasion alluded to, as well as my conduct towards the Earl of Shelburne has been much canvassed and misrepresented, I shall here take the liberty of giving a full history of my situation, and transactions with his Lordship.

Every one who is at all acquainted with the constitution of this government, must know, that all warlike preparations, every military operation, and every naval equipment, must be directed by a Secretary of State before they can be undertaken. Neither the Admiralty, Treasury, Ordnance, Navy or Victualling Boards can move a step without the King's commands so signified. The heads of the three first Boards are generally of the Cabinet, and consequently informed of what is intended; but the Constitution requires that two other Members of each should sign any order issued by the Board to give it validity. Hence arises the almost impossibility of keeping our designs a secret from the enemy. As it was my duty to prepare

pare all such orders, I represented to Lord George Germaine the great advantage the enemy had over us, and the improbability of our enterprises ever succeeding under such a practice, and I proposed a method of carrying on the business where secrecy was required, which his Lordship adopted, and the whole Cabinet and His Majesty approved; and I have the great satisfaction to reflect, that not one of our secret expeditions were discovered or defeated. It was owing to that plan that although the preparations for the succour and maintenance of Gibraltar, were the greatest ever known; the secret was so well kept, that the great restorer of the character and discipline of the British navy, the gallant, but persecuted, Rodney, was able to surprise the Spanish Admiral,* and that St. Lucia and St. Eustatius were

* In justice to the memory of a man who possessed the best talents for executive business that I ever was acquainted with, Mr. Richard Atkinson, I think it proper to mention the preparation of one article, which, with the forges, was so successfully employed in the destruction of the enemy. The article was coals, with which it was found the Mr. Foxes had a contract for supplying Gibraltar. To have desired the contractors to provide them, would have been to tell all the world where they were going, at
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were likewise surpris'd.* I sincerely hope, that before this country is engaged in another war, all those whom I had the honour to serve with, and myself, may be beyond the reach of its alarms; but whenever that misfortune happens, the plan will be found *where it was my duty to deposit it*. An especial confidence was, in consequence of this plan, necessarily placed in me; and therefore, although it was my wish to have retired when Lord Sackville resigned the seals, as I imagined such a change of measures would fol-

the same time the sending them from any other person was a violation of the contract. To preserve the secret, and avoid giving offence to the contractors, Mr. Atkinson offered to procure the coals in quality of agent for the Mr. Foxes, and to give to them the advantage of the purchase, without making any charge for commission, when the business was executed, and he actually procured the coals accordingly.

* The orders to the General and Admiral (those to the latter from the Admiralty, being only a transcript of the Secretary of State's letter to that Board) were dispatched to Portsmouth within *two hours* after the resolution of the Council was reported and approved by the King, and it was owing to that extraordinary speed, that the expedition arrived in time to send after and overtake the Dutch fleet, which had sailed two days before.

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low, as I should feel great repugnance in carrying into execution; yet I submitted my continuance or removal to his Majesty's good pleasure; and my repugnance to continue was not a little increased by the apprehension that Mr. Dundas, who had been the occasion of his Lordship's resignation, was to be his successor. But I soon perceived by his friend Mr. Atkinson's conversation, that a new distribution of the three Secretaries' offices was in that gentleman's contemplation, and that he meant to content himself with the *ótter* of the East-India rose, without endangering the pricking his finger with the American thorn; though he had no objection to its representative, the thistle, of his own country; the well-known qualities of that plant to *offend those who touch it gently but to do no injury to those who squeeze it hard*, being very much to his mind. I was however made happy by the appointment of Mr. Ellis, and was honoured with the King's approbation of my continuing in the office. The short time the administration lasted after Mr. Ellis's appointment, did not allow the Public much opportunity of profiting by his sound judgement and great experience;

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but his recommendation of Sir Guy Carleton to be Commander in Chief in North America, was a service that met with general applause, and gave a promise of better success in the next campaign, than in any that had preceded it. Sir Guy was not failed, nor had he received his full instructions, when Mr. Ellis resigned. As the change of Administration was general, and the whole opposition was to come in, and the Earl of Shelburne was said to be the American Secretary, I begged Mr. Ellis to request from the King permission for me to retire. The strong part I had taken against the American rebellion made me particularly obnoxious; and my having done the only vigorous act of the late Administration against its abettors in England, by seizing Captain Hutchins and his papers, *without any warrant at all*, in defiance of all the bad law, and factious oratory that had been bellowed out against *general warrants*, was not likely to have conciliated the noble Earl's good will, or that of *his* friends; and as I had no title to their friendship, neither had I any claim upon their gratitude, for I had done my utmost to keep them out of office; and if every one of
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King's servants had acted with the same zeal, or those who did not had been punished as they deserved; I am well persuaded that neither the Earl himself, nor his particular friends would have seen the inside of the Cabinet Council Chamber. Knowing so much of each other, therefore, as we did, it was not possible for that mutual confidence to grow up, or subsist between us, which is so essential to the situation I stood in, the most important of all the subordinate offices of the State. But as I knew how injurious to the King's service and the public affairs my then withdrawing must be, I begged Mr. Ellis to acquaint his Majesty, that I should remain in the office to bring up all the depending business, and to give every information I was possessed of, to whoever his Majesty should think fit to appoint his Secretary of State, as long as my attendance should be desired. I was therefore found in the office by the Earl of Shelburne when he brought the seals to Whitehall. Our persons were not unknown to each other; I had furnished his Lordship in the year 1763, with some materials for his speech in approbation of the peace, and

he had given me in return a commission to execute in Paris, which, if I had attempted, would probably have procured me an introduction to Mr. de Sartine's acquaintance, and a *cheaper lodging* than the Hotel de Tours, where I resided with my noble friend and patron Lord Grosvenor: we therefore met as old acquaintance.

His Lordship informed me that the American Department and the Board of Trade were to be suppressed, and all the business transferred to the Southern Department as formerly; that it was his intention to make a critical survey of the three offices, and retain those of the best abilities in each, and make a complete and perfect establishment out of the three; but that the supernumeraries who had behaved well should be amply recompensed for the loss of their offices. I begged his Lordship would be so good as to leave me out in his survey, as it was my wish to retire; he replied quickly, sure I would not think of leaving the office at such a time, and in such a state—I said, by no means; I had promised to the King that I would give his Lordship every information

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he desired, and would remain as long as he thought my attendance necessary; but that I must desire his Lordship would not think of employing me in any *new or confidential matter*. He smiled, and asked me what were my reasons for that?—I had two, but I chose to give his Lordship only one, which was, that his Cabinet was a very numerous one, and some of the Members had never been accustomed to secrets of State, and that in my long acquaintance with ministers, I had ever found a State secret very burthenfome to a new Cabinet Counsellor, and that, either through vanity or imprudence, it was probable their consultations would get abroad, and it was not unlikely that I should be charged with having divulged them. He laughed heartily, and went away saying, he dared to say every thing would be very safe with me. My stipulation was, I believe, unnecessary; for his Lordship had not, I imagine, any intention of confiding his secrets to me; but as I *had made the stipulation*, I considered myself at liberty to deny any charge of being in *his confidence*, which was the thing I aimed at; for, after possessing the fullest confidence of

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an Earl of Hillsborough, an Earl of Dartmouth, and a Lord George Germain, I could not brook the *suspicion* of being the repository or adviser of the State artifices of the Earl of Shelburne.

After the arrival of that very intelligent, attentive, and obliging gentleman, Mr. Nepean, my attendance at Shelburne House was no longer necessary, and I took the first opportunity to request his Lordship to dispense with it, and I believe he was as well pleased to get rid of me, as I was to be gone, and for a similar reason; for I was daily subject to the mortification of seeing persons pass through the room where I was kept in waiting, some of whom, if my advice had been taken by the late Administration, or I had been at liberty to have followed my own, should have come into my presence upon a very different footing. One circumstance that happened, and as it was followed by another the most highly gratifying to me, and as both were public, I will mention. The American merchants had one day come up to wait upon his Lordship with a state of their situation with the revolted Colonies,

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and to request his attention to their interests in any negociation he might enter into. On their return from their conference, they passed through the room in which I was attending as usual, amusing myself with my own thoughts, and as I was well known to them all, they stopped to speak to me, and told me, with an air of ridicule, that they had just learned how very ill I had done my business, for they had been told that every thing in the American Office was in such confusion, that it was impossible for his Lordship, as yet, to possess himself of any information, or to do any business*. The next Sunday I went to pay my duty to the Queen, and being stopped at the entrance into the upper drawing room by the crowd, I could get no farther than the passage,

* Conceiving, I presume, that the disposition of the office papers should bear a strict analogy to the arrangement of the principal's ideas, his Lordship ordered all the books and papers of the Board of Trade to be taken out of the presses and thrown in heaps *bigglety pigglety* on the floors of the chambers, in which state they remained, while I had any acquaintance with the office. His Lordship's successor, it may be supposed, has since had them placed in the most exact and methodical order, to correspond with the clear arrangement of *his own* ideas.

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where the Earl of Shelburne was forced against me, and I, with much difficulty, got room for his Lordship to come before me, in which situation we were, with my chin over his Lordship's shoulder, when His Majesty came up to him, and after speaking to him about the country, perceiving me, with his usual great goodness and condescension to me, he raised his voice, and said to his Lordship, with a look of benignity to me, " You found the American Office in pretty good order, I believe." " Oh, yes, Sir," replied the Earl, "*in the most perfect order :*" to which I added, as His Majesty looked as if he intended I should join in the conversation, and I was happy in the opportunity of doing justice to the merit of two worthy friends, " That Mr. Pownall " had regulated the office so extremely well " at its first establishment, that nothing " more was necessary than to keep every " thing in the same order; and that Mr. " Pollock, who had the care of the papers, " and of making up the dispatches, was so " extremely attentive and diligent, that, in " the whole of the twelve years I had been " Under Secretary, I never knew him leave " out a single inclosure, but in one in-
" stance:"

“ stance ;” upon which, his Majesty, turning to Lord Shelburne, said, “ *That* was very “ diligent and careful indeed, to make only “ one mistake in twelve years.” “ Yes, Sir,” said his Lordship, “ but that diligence and “ attention which is so useful to others, is “ generally prejudicial to the persons themselves ; and Mr. Pollock has suffered greatly “ in his health.” “ Why,” replied the King, “ that was *his* case,” looking most graciously towards me, “ for I remember him “ in a very bad state of health ; but he now “ seems quite well.” “ Yes, Sir,” rejoined I ; “ and Mr. Pollock is also very much recovered, and perfectly capable of doing the “ business of the office.” I need not add, that Mr. Pollock was not put upon the suppressed list.

His Lordship, not being very perfect in the geography of America, as all the world now knows, I took the pains to trace out, upon the maps before him, every post, station, and mode of communication throughout the whole seat of the war, and explained to him the plans which Lord Sackville had concerted for carrying it on, and the measures which

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had been taken, and the preparations which had been made for the next campaign, with which he was so much pleased, that he desired I would meet Sir Guy Carleton, and go over the whole again with them both, which I accordingly did; and Sir Guy entered so entirely into the idea, that he went out with a full purpose of pursuing it, and, as I understood, with his Lordship's concurrence, notwithstanding the resolution of the House of Commons against offensive operations; and as he hath both zeal to incite, ability to plan, and judgement to execute, there could have been no doubt of his succeeding; but he had scarcely landed at New York, before he received orders from his Lordship to desist from all military enterprizes.

Upon the subject of making peace with America, his Lordship was pleased to ask my opinion; and I told him that I had laid two projects before Lord George Germain. The one was, to divide the eastern side of the Continent into three great Governments, a northern, a middle, and a southern one, and to put each upon the same footing with Ireland. The other was, to treat upon the
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footing of the *uti possidetis*, which his Lordship liked the best; and with that view, had ordered the attack of Penobscott, the establishment of a port on the Chesapeake, and the expeditions for the recovery of Georgia and South Carolina; and that the retaining them, with the islands of New York, Staten, Long Island, Canada, and Nova Scotia, would, I was convinced, secure to this country all the trade of America which was worth having, at a much less charge to the Nation, than we had hitherto been at for that country. He asked me, if I thought America would treat with us, upon such grounds? I said, that *I had good reason to believe they would*, or that Mr. de Vergennes would oblige them to do so; for his Lordship would see, in Mr. Laurens's papers*, that the French Minister had

* Mr. Laurens, when President of the American Congress, made copies of all the dispatches he received from the Commissioners at Paris, and of all the dispatches he transmitted to them, which, with other interesting papers, were with him in a trunk, when the vessel, which was carrying him to France, was taken off the Banks of Newfoundland. When he found the capture of the ship inevitable, he threw the trunk into the sea, which an intrepid English sailor observing, plunged in after it, and

had declared to the American Commissioners, *that France was incapable of giving them further assistance*, and they must do the best they could for themselves ; and that the only hope the Congress now had of maintaining their independence, was upon the inactivity or inability of our officers in carrying on the war, or the retardments thrown in the way of its decision, by such as had an interest in its continuance ; but that making an example or two, would presently deprive the rebels of even that hope. His Lordship shook his head, and said, America would never agree to any thing less than total independence. Why did

recovered it, and it was brought to England with Mr. Laurens, and delivered to me. The papers were all carefully dried, and selected for the inspection of His Majesty and the Ministers ; and the information they contained, was deemed of the *utmost importance*. Mr. Laurens makes no secret of saying they *were all given back to him*. A *precis* of them however, may be found where it ought to be. That very able negociator, Mr. Forth, who possessed the esteem and confidence of both Maurepas and Vergennes, and was in negociation with those Ministers, when the *famous* defensive resolution was come to in the House of Commons, can testify what probability there was that they would have obliged the Americans to accept of peace upon the footing of the *uti possidetis*, when that resolution was passed.

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we not send for him a year ago? he could then have done something for us, but now it was too late.

The Quebec dispatches of the last year, which I had undertaken to prepare answers to, had been a month with his Lordship, without my being able to get any directions from him respecting the answers to be given. He had appointed me a dozen mornings at least, to read over the letters with him, but he had as often sent me away without opening the boxes. I at last received a message at eleven o'clock on a Sunday night, to come to him immediately; but as I had ever made it a rule, while I was Under Secretary, neither to go to the office, nor to do any business that was not necessary to be immediately dispatched, upon that solemn day, I returned his Lordship for answer, that I was just going to read prayers to my family, and would wait upon him early the next morning. The messenger instantly came back, with his Lordship's compliments, and that he did not know it was so late when he sent, but would be glad to see me the next morning. The next morning I accordingly went; when his
 Lordship

Lordship observing the dispatches to be very voluminous, asked me, if I could not give him some account of them ? and I gave him my *precis*, by which I meant to answer them, with which he was vastly pleased ; and told me to draw such letters as I thought fit, and bring them to him. I then said, he must first tell me what I was to say upon *particular topics*, (which I named) for it was my duty to obey his directions. He considered a little, and then told me to do as I thought best myself. I prepared the drafts accordingly, and sent them to his Lordship's house, where they remained some days, without receiving any directions respecting them ; so to save myself from blame, I wrote the following note, and sent it in a box to his Lordship :

“ The Quebec merchants have repeated
 “ their application for the immediate sailing
 “ of the convoy, without waiting for any
 “ ships that are not ready. Your Lordship
 “ will be pleased to recollect, that there are
 “ several drafts with you, waiting your Lord-
 “ ship's correction, before they can be writ-
 “ ten for your signing. There will be two
 “ more official letters, which Mr. Knox pro-
 “ poses

“ poses to prepare, when he gets answers
 “ from the Treasury and Commander in
 “ Chief, which will complete what relates
 “ to *past measures, and he does not think it*
 “ *would be proper in him to prepare any letter*
 “ *respecting the future, lest it should have the*
 “ *appearance of obtruding into your Lordship’s*
 “ *confidence, which he has always carefully*
 “ *avoided, as unbecoming in his present situ-*
 “ *ation.*”

18th April, 1782.

This produced an order for me to come to him. When he looked over the drafts, he said they were very sensible and very well drawn, but he should consider them by himself. He did so; and some days afterwards produced them with very material alterations; and when I pointed out to him the want of consistency between the parts, he put them in his pocket, saying he should write something himself. And so ended my official attendance; for the next day I found Mr. Ord in my Room, when I went to the office; his Lordship soon came down, and, sending for me, told me how much

much he was obliged to me, and that my behaviour had made a very deep impression on his mind, and asked me if I wished him to do any thing for me. I expressed my sense of his Lordship's goodness to me, but told him that as the King had been so very compassionate and kind to me, I could not think of being any farther charge to His Majesty ; that it would make me happy to receive such a permanent mark of His Majesty's approbation of my conduct as had not unusually been given to Under Secretaries, and offered to others who had declined it ; but that as I could not now tell what part of my American property might be restored to me, I would not at present solicit it, but I begged his Lordship would beseech His Majesty to have me in his remembrance upon some future occasion. His Lordship was so very obliging as to say that he considered the pensions given to Mrs. Knox and me, as given to me as an American sufferer ? and that when the compensation to be made for the suppressed offices was settled, as the expence would be provided for by Parliament, I might rely upon his taking care that I received ample compensation for my office of Under Secretary, for, added his
 Lordship,

Lordship, *you will take notice that you are not superseded: Mr. Ord is not your successor, your office is suppressed.* His Lordship was appointed to the Treasury before the compensation for the suppressed offices was settled, and I was the *only person* to whom nothing was given; and when I understood that to be the case, I writ the following letter to Mr. Rose, then Secretary to the Treasury, and received the following answer.

5 March, 1783.

SIR,

LETTERS having been written to the Secretary of the late Board of Trade, and to my colleague, for the last six months, as Under Secretary of State in the American Department, and to all the clerks who have been deprived of their situations in those offices by their suppression, acquainting them that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had made them all allowances in compensation of the *incomes* they had been deprived of; and no such letter having come to me, I am constrained to give you the trouble of this letter

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to

to request the favour of you to move their Lordships to permit you to inform me on what account it is that I, who had served as Under Secretary to every Secretary of State that has filled the American department, from its institution to its suppression, and even attended the Earl of Shelburne when that department was absorb'd in the domestic, until his Lordship was more ably served, should be the *only person* pass'd over upon this occasion without compensation, and even without notice.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

*Copy of Mr. Rose's answer, dated 17 March,
1783.*

SIR,

UPON reading to My Lords Commissioners of the Treasury your Letter, dated the 5th instant, respecting a compensation for your office of Under Secretary of State for the American department, I am directed to acquaint you that my Lords are of opinion that
you

you have *no claim whatever to a compensation* for the loss of your office, you having already a pension of 600*l.* a year for yourself, and the like sum for Mrs. Knox.

I am, Sir, &c.

GEO. ROSE.

And when, after Lord Shelburne's resignation, I writ to him to request he would give me a testimony of my conduct towards him in the Secretary of State's office, similar to that the noble Lords, to whom I had been Under Secretary, had given *, to prove to
Mr.

* The following are copies of the certificates of the Earls of Hillsborough and Dartmouth, and Lord Sackville, the originals of which I put into Mr. W. Grenville's hands, with a state of my case, which he was so good as to say he would deliver to Mr. Pitt; for *the Minister* would never allow me the honour of an audience.

“ These are to certify that William Knox, Esq. executed the office of Under Secretary of State for the American department, from the time of his appointment, until I resigned the seals, with fidelity and ability, to my entire satisfaction and His Majesty's approbation.

“ Signed,

“ HILLSBOROUGH.”

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Mr. Pitt that it was not for *treachery* or *misbehaviour*, at least, I was so hardly treated,

His

This certificate was enclosed in a letter to me, dated at Hillsborough, the 9th July, 1785, in which his Lordship, with his wonted nobleness of sentiment and kindness for me, was pleased to express himself in the following terms: “ I have great pleasure in hearing you
“ are in good health, but am much concerned you meet
“ with any harsh treatment from administration, and I
“ am certain it is very undeservedly. I send you, *with*
“ *all my heart and from my heart*, the certificate you desire; you will find it at the back of this Letter, and I
“ sincerely wish it may be of use to you.

“ I am,

“ With great truth and regard, &c.

“ HILLSBOROUGH.”

“ These are to certify that William Knox, Esq. executed the office of Under Secretary of State for the
“ American department, during the time I held the seals
“ of that department, with distinguished fidelity and ability, to my entire satisfaction.

“ Signed,

“ DARTMOUTH.”

The noble Earl, whose approbation only is a sufficient testimony of any man's integrity, was pleased to convey this certificate to me with the following note, dated the 26th June, 1785.

Dear

His Lordship sent for me and told me he thought it was *civiler* to tell me what he had to

“ Dear Knox,

“ I am much surpris'd that there should be any occasion for a certificate of your fidelity ; but if the present Treasury do not know you so well as I do, it is their misfortune as well as yours. You have on this, as on every other occasion, the hearty good wishes of

“ Yours,

“ DARTMOUTH.”

My noble friend, Lord Sackville, being then in London, desired me to write whatever I thought would be useful to me, and he would put his name to it ; but I thought the following copy of the certificate Lord Hillsborough had sent me would satisfy the Treasury, if any thing could, that I was not deserving the stigma fixed upon me, and desired nothing more from his Lordship ; but the public will, *in some future time*, be more fully informed of his Lordship's sentiments.

“ These are to certify that William Knox, Esq. executed the office of Under Secretary of State, for the American department, during the time I held the seals of that department, with fidelity and ability, to my entire satisfaction and His Majesty's approbation.

“ Signed,

“ SACKVILLE.”

These

to say, than to write it. Every thing (he said) relating to the American war, and every one concerned in it, he wished to avoid thinking of, and he could not do any thing that might look like an approbation of any thing belonging to it, and besides he could assure me that nothing that came from him would be of any service to me with Mr. Pitt. He then, to get rid of the subject, asked me about my *adventurous undertaking* in Pembrokeshire with an old friend of his, adding some very shrew'd observations which shew'd his deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, and might have been of much use to me if they had not unfortunately come too late.

These certificates, however, instead of being of the use to me those noble persons hoped, and I expected, they would have been, seem only to have confirmed that jealousy of my official knowledge and *resentment* against me, which what was before known of my services under Lord North's administration had excited; but as I intend to throw myself upon the justice and candor of that Parliament which has so honourably wiped off the stain fixed upon the national character, by the sacrifice of the properties of the Loyalists, by the generous and just compensation they granted for them, I shall here take no farther notice of the treatment I have met with.

What

What passed between his Lordship and me respecting the St Eustatius papers, is stated in my evidence before the House of Lords, a correct copy of which is in the Appendix, No. I.; but there is an expression in it which it is proper I should explain. I said Gouverneur and Curzon remained in *custody* until the revolution of the ministry in 1782, which was *legally* accurate, as they were held to bail, but not so in the sense I really meant it, and believed to be the case; for I did not know they had been admitted to bail, and considering the situation I was in, and the particular charge I had of them, I could not suppose such a step could have been taken without my knowing of it; for, besides my having sat as a Middlesex justice with Sir Sampson Wright at their examination and commitment, though it was not thought necessary I should sign the warrant, their keepers had special directions not to suffer any person to have access to them without an order from me: this was done, not to prevent any of their *mercantile* friends or connections coming to them, but to deter any of the abettors of the American rebellion from making them an instrument of annoyance to
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the Administration"; for as *they* knew I kept a pretty good watch over them, and that no consideration of myself would withhold me from taking any step which the King's service and the public safety rendered necessary, trusting to the purity of my motives, and the good sense and integrity of an English jury for protection, there was no likelihood that any of *them* would apply to me for such permission, and that order had never been revoked, to my knowledge; but the fact was, that from the time Mr. Rigby and Mr. Dundas, conspired to break up Lord North's Administration, by attacking Lord George Germain in the House of Commons, until the day of his resignation, the seals of the American department might be said to have been in *abeyance*, as his Lordship neither attended the Cabinet nor went to the King, and, indeed, was mostly out of town, as will appear from two of his Lordship's letters to me at the time, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 2 and 3; and it became my duty, in consequence of his Lordship's orders, to keep aloof from the offices, and if business did not come to look for me, which was not probable in that Administration, not to go
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to look for it. Hence it was, that I remained ignorant of the whole transaction ; and that ignorance will, I trust, excuse the inaccuracy of my expression ; and the reasons I have given that nothing *should* have passed, without my knowledge, will account for my presumption, that nothing had passed, but what I was acquainted with.

Next to the measures I have proposed for strengthening the Constitution, I would recommend to your attention an object, with which the *safety* of the State is most intimately connected ; I mean, *the provision of timber for the construction of ships of the line*. I am well aware, that it is the general opinion, that such is the state of the growing timber throughout England, as to afford no ground to apprehend a deficiency ; but I will, notwithstanding that opinion, venture to foretel, that if no better care is taken than has been, there will not be a single tree to be *purchased* in another century, fit for the construction of a ninety-gun ship ; and I will give the reasons upon which I found that prediction.

I happen to be a proprietor of woods, and I have cut down oak trees of different ages: a wood of eighty years standing, produced a sum only equal to a rent of one shilling per acre, with compound interest, for the time it had been standing; while a copice of twenty years growth, produced equal to four shillings per acre, the interest computed in the same manner. Can it, then, be expected, that any owners of woods will let his oak trees stand two hundred, or even one hundred years, which they ought to do, for the purpose I have mentioned, when he must evidently lose so greatly by it. Trees in parks or ornamental situations, I grant, may be permitted to stand the full time of their growth; but even when they are arrived at it, the proprietor will find himself no gainer by selling them to the navy *entire*, instead of cutting them up for country use. The mischief done to the ground where the tree is fell'd, and over, or rather through which it must be drawn, the pulling down fences, and all the other damages their removal *entire* must occasion in a fine park, or beautiful lawn, would be so great, that I am convinced every
inland

inland gentleman of taste would do as the Marquis of Buckingham has done, give up the price of the timber, and suffer the trees to die of old age, rather than dispose of them upon such terms. But the most forcible reason for my opinion, is still to mention.—What owner of a landed estate is it, in the present times, that will prefer the emolument of his great grandson to his own? and what probability is there, that the heirs for four or five generations will all be such self-deniers, as to suffer marketable timber to descend, untouched, to their successors; and indeed, the universal practice of making every landed man a tenant for life only, upon his marriage, and the dissipated turn of males and females, renders it highly improbable that any timber in the kingdom will be suffered to stand beyond one generation; for it is to the timber upon the settled estate, that recourse must be had for relief from pecuniary embarrassment, under such circumstances.—To flatter ourselves, therefore, that because much is planted, and much is now standing, that a sufficient quantity will be suffered to arrive at the proper age for the construction

of large ships, would be the most consummate folly, and argue a great ignorance of mankind ; and therefore, I trust, posterity will have to thank your Society, for securing to them a sufficient supply of large timber, by inciting Government to make use of the only means that can be effectual, or at all to be depended upon, for the purpose ; which is, the *inclosing the Royal Forests, and planting them with acorns.*

That any people could be happy without virtue, that virtue should thrive without religion, and that religion should flourish without a priesthood, and that a priesthood should subsist without an establishment, can only be imagined by such politicians as are qualified for lodgings in one of the sides of Moorfields. In so far, therefore, as the cry against tythes has the depriving the clergy of a legal maintenance for its object, it is to be reprobated by all mankind ; but as the *maintenance itself* is not so generally declaimed against, as the *impolicy* of the *mode* that produces it, which is represented as a great discouragement to tillage, and the improvement of the kingdom,

dom,

dom, it may not be amiss to examine the ground of *that objection* to tythes.

In the natural state of all countries, flocks and herds must be the general property of the people, and their increase the means of acquiring wealth, as that is a produce which requires little labour and less skill in the owner to obtain ; but a people, whose sole property is in sheep and cattle, cannot be numerous ; for their very prosperity prevents their increase, the land becoming *too freight* for them, as the plains of Canaan did for Abraham and Lot. The necessity of acquiring property, and procuring subsistence by other means, therefore, necessarily introduces tillage ; and the cultivated products of the earth becomes the sustenance of the poorer and more numerous classes. As the demand for vegetable food increases, that for animal lessens ; and as the quantity produced of the vegetable, must be greatly inferior, for many years, to the produce of the animals, the price of the one will be vastly higher than that of the other. Such was the case in England from the earliest accounts to the present century ; and we may observe, that the price
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of grain has been gradually decreasing, and that of animals rising, according to the proportion which the produce of each bore to the demand, infomuch, that flesh and corn have *now* changed the places they stood in, with respect to each other, and the prices they bore in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Sheep and cattle are certainly necessary as well as corn, and a due proportion ought to be observed between them, which the *price* would of itself regulate, if things were left to take their natural course, and each to find its own level; but as, in order to promote tillage, the Legislature has interfered, and given to Corn products an advantage over the animal, which has destroyed the equilibrium, and checked the natural operation of the increase of that produce beyond the demand of the inhabitants, by giving a bounty upon the *export* of corn, (which is, in fact, calling in the inhabitants of other countries to assist in the consumption of a superabundant produce of corn, and thereby keeping up its price,) it prevents the farmer from reducing the quantity to the home consumption, and increasing the animal produce, by turning more of his land into pasturage; so that the danger now
to

to be apprehended, is, that England, from being a country of pasturage only, will become a land of tillage only. To prevent the running from one extreme to the other, ought to be the care of the Statesman, and the giving attention to such subjects in times of peace, would as well become his station, and be infinitely more beneficial to the public, than his *riding in the whirlwind, and directing the storm* of the most successful war. But besides the consideration of a proper supply of both animal and vegetable food for the people, the procuring supplies of such materials for our manufactures, as are connected with each of those species of sustenance, is another most important object; and in this respect, the animal species has infinitely the preference to the vegetable.

Of the ten millions of inhabitants this island is said to contain, full five millions are employed in manufactures; and the materials for the greater part of them are taken from the sheep or the horned animals, while very few in comparison are taken from the grain or straw of corn: Let not then the encouragement of tillage be the sole object of your
zeal;

zeal; but spare a little of your attention to the procuring a proper supply of sheep and black cattle also; and in this view consider tythes as only operating as a counterpoise to the bounty on corn, and withholding the farmer from too eagerly availing himself of the certain profit which that bounty at all times, holds out to him from a corn produce, and inducing him to throw out a proportion of his land into pasturage. This salutary effect the demand of tythes certainly has, and in fact they, with the bounties, are the great regulators of the national agriculture, and they mutually check and controul each other; though the influence of tythes is become too feeble to preserve the equilibrium between the two products, as is evident from the late prodigious advance in the prices of animal food, beyond that of vegetable, and therefore the continuance of the *whole of the present bounty* is a fit object of consideration; but the abolition of tythes would certainly increase the mischief, and the price of flesh would not only rise much higher than it now is, but those most necessary and essential materials for our manufactures, wool, leather, tallow, bone, and hair, be so much increased in price,

as to deprive us of all foreign consumption.* In this investigation of the subject, I have confined myself to political considerations only, that being the strong ground of the adversary, and I think I have shewn that it would be *impolitic* to abolish tythes, or make any change in the manner of their payment. But although I do not admit the claim of the Clergy to be *jure divino*, and should be no more influenced by the example of Melchisedeck and Abraham, than by that of Dr. Price, and Alderman Sawbridge; yet, as all tenants take the payment of tythes into their account, when they agree to rent land, and all land-owners let their lands for a proportionably larger or smaller rent, according to the condition of their being free from, or subject to, tythes, all the complaints of the tenants of the *hardships* of paying them are unjust and ill founded; and as the legal right

* If facts be desired in proof of what I have been advancing, let the prices paid by the Victualling Office for beef and pork, wheat and barley, since its first establishment, be called for, and compared together, and for our future guidance, let the same clerks of the different markets who now make weekly returns of the prices of grain, make the like returns of the prices of flesh.

is unquestionable, I trust the clergy will meet with your support in the enjoyment of them.

We are often called upon to pray for a blessing on all schools and seminaries of *sound learning, and religious education*, and yet I believe we should find it difficult to describe the religious part of the education in any of them. The boys in the great schools are taught their catechism and the Latin articles, and at the Universities, they read the Greek Testament, and perhaps Grotius *de veritate*; but in fact the *Christian Religion is almost the only thing we are not taught* in the course of what is called a *liberal or regular* education; and a man may become entitled to put an L. L. D. to his name, without knowing as much of the Religion of his country, as he does of the Heathen Mythology. However, as I have in a late publication* endeavoured to call up the public attention to a reform of our Liturgy, and to render the practice of our church more correspondent with its principles; I shall not farther enlarge upon the subject here, only to observe that our

* Observations on the Liturgy, printed for Debrett.

College Chapels are the only consecrated edifices in the kingdom, in which the Liturgy is read, and no sermon ever preached. What I have to propose for remedy of this defect in the system of our education, will be attended with some small expence to the nation; but as the religious instruction of our youth is an object of such infinite consequence, it ought not surely to be grudged; and indeed it is a disgrace to all former Administrations, that it never has been granted. There are, I believe, in both Universities, forty-three chapels in which prayers are read about twenty-four Sundays in every year. Let, then, the small sum of two guineas a Sunday be given to each for a *Sunday lecture*, or elementary discourse upon the principles of our religion after the morning prayer; and those who have a relish for a *common place* of a superior style, may afterwards attend the procession to the great church. The whole expence would be no more than 2064 guineas per annum, not half the charge of the government of Cape Breton; and surely we ought to lay out as much for cultivating the minds of all our youth of the superior classes with the true principles of our religion,

as we do to improve the barren rocks of an island on the other side the Atlantic. In serious truth, if some step of this kind be not taken, the youth of the lower classes, by means of the Sunday and other charity schools, will be the best-instructed Christians in the kingdom ; and our prayers must refer to those schools, as the only seminaries of *religious education* entitled to the blessing of the Almighty.

When I determined upon this publication, it was my intention to furnish you with an historical account of the several *extra* official transactions I had been engaged in respecting this country, Ireland, and America, and to make you acquainted with the plans which had been formed, the parts which had been executed, and what still remained for consideration ; but as the present calamitous state of the King's health occasions a general stagnation of all Government, I shall reserve the history of what has passed respecting the British Colonies in America and the United States, as well as what I have to propose respecting them, until better times, and only take notice of two important parts of my
plan,

plan, which have been already under the consideration of His Majesty's servants.— These are, the *religious establishments* in the remaining British Colonies on the Continent, and the *correspondence* between Great Britain and Ireland and America. In respect to the former, the annexed copy (Appendix No. IV.) of the draught of the letter from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel to Lord Sidney, and of mine to Mr. Pitt, (Appendix, No. V.) which refers to it, will furnish all the information necessary to ground an enquiry into what *has been* done*; and in respect to the *correspondence* with America, the annexed plan, (Appendix, No. VI.) which I prepared at the request of my noble friend and former colleague in office, Lord Walsingham, will, I imagine, give full satisfaction to whoever has geographical knowledge or capacity sufficient to comprehend it, which unfortunately was not the case with all those in official situations, to whose consideration it was submitted; and although I

* The two tracts respecting the Negroe Slaves, and the one respecting the Free Indians, lately reprinted by Debrett, may also be considered as a part of my general plan.

had

had the honour to receive from His Majesty's own mouth, many months since, his repeated entire approbation of it, no part of it has yet been carried into execution, nor any step taken towards it, except the survey of Crooked Island by Lord Walsingham's directions, which has been found to contain an excellent road, easy and safe to enter and depart from, with great plenty of fresh water, in direct contradiction to the report of the late Board of Admiralty, which asserted there was neither the one nor the other. To obviate all objections to the *plan*, through the apprehension of the increased charge it might bring upon the revenue, I proposed to carry on the whole correspondence upon either of two footings, viz. to pay to the Post Office the full amount of the clear revenue hitherto received from the American correspondence, as a rent for a lease for a number of years, or to take the sum the *monthly packets have hitherto cost the public*, as a full allowance for carrying on the whole *nine* days correspondence: if, however, your Society be of opinion that it is as great a national object as I conceive it to be, you will,

will, no doubt, lend your force to *compel* its adoption.

The commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland cannot long remain upon its present footing ; and as an exceedingly wise and politic step has been taken in uniting the two Privy Councils into one, for the purpose of investigating and deliberating upon such subjects as affect both kingdoms, I trust that an equal and just tariff will be settled, and a gentle and mutually agreeable commercial band will be added to the other tender ligaments which tie, and, I hope, will for ever bind, the two islands together. The better to enable your association to give their assistance in this important and delicate business, I shall give, as a second part of this publication, an historical account of what has been already done for Ireland, in which I had so large a share, that I shall, in fact, be only writing my own memoirs.

A P P E N -

A P P E N D I X.

P A R T I.

No. I.

Extract from the Minutes of the House of Lords.

Die Mercurii, 5 July, 1786.

UPON the second reading of the St. Eustatius bill, William Knox was called in, and being sworn was examined.

Q. Do you know any thing of the books sent and delivered from St. Eustatius at the Secretary of State's office in the year 1781?

A. There were two transmissions of books and papers from St. Eustatius; they came first to the Admiralty, and by the Admiralty were sent to the Secretary of State's office. The first

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came

came in the Vengeance ; they respected two persons sent as prisoners in the name of Gouverneur and Curzon ; they were British subjects, but merchants settled at St. Eustatius. They were brought in custody, and accused of high treason, and of supplying the Rebel Congress with military stores. Upon their arrival I was directed to send for Sir Sampson Wright, and we examined them upon the charges which we found in the papers that came along with them, and the facts appeared so evident and strong against them; as well from the papers as from their own confession, that Sir Sampson Wright committed them for high treason. One was sent to Clerkenwell Bridewell, Newgate not being in a condition to receive him at that time; the other, not being in a good state of health, was suffered to continue in the hands of one of the King's messengers. The papers were secured in the office. *The two men remained in custody till the revolution of the Ministry in March 1782.* I, conceiving from the completion of the new Administration, that neither Gouverneur nor Curzon would be long continued in confinement, but more likely that I myself might be prosecuted for the share I had

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in their confinement,* thought it for my own safety, and of those with whom I had the honour to act at that time, to lay my hands on one part of those papers which contained the principal evidence of their criminality ; and those papers I have kept in my custody ever since. I was not much mistaken in my conjecture, for in a few days Gouverneur and Curzon were discharged. They came down to the Secretary of State's office to demand their papers ; I was asked by the Earl of Shelburne what I knew of the papers ? I told him they were in the custody of the first clerk, Mr. Pollock, except the papers I had, which I did not acquaint his Lordship with, and I afterwards understood his Lordship had directed Gouverneur and Curzon to get their papers. The other parcel of papers came some days after the former ones in the *Venus*, as I recollect. They were in great boxes, a great number of them, and were under the care of the chief Justice of St. Christopher's, a Mr. Gorges, and Capt. Nichols. - Mr. Gorges

* The *part* of that Administration of which I had this opinion can best be described by a certain Mr. Jennings, who it is *now* generally known was employed as a *double spy* ; and as he is *said* to have received a reward of 500*l.* of the public money (besides having his St. Eustatius papers restored to him) since the peace, the public has a right to his information.

gave me some account of what those papers were. I, finding them so very voluminous, and being engaged in business of more importance at that time, my then colleague, Sir Benjamin Thompson, was appointed to examine them, and he took to his assistance a Mr. Leonard, now Chief Justice of Bermudas, and a Mr. Savage, an American loyalist ; and I begged of them to make what we officially call a *precis*, or small abridgement of the contents of each paper. They made a considerable progress in it ; I have seen the *precis* ; it contained several particulars of the commercial transactions of the people of St. Eustatius, with both the Rebel States and the enemy : but as there were no persons charged specifically, or prosecutions intended against any of them, nor any proceedings respecting the state, I gave no more attention to the papers, and they were suffered to remain in one of the clerk's rooms in the office, where I believe they were when I left the office.

Q. Whether you examined any of the letters as well as the books ?

A. I did not.

Q. You

Q. You said you kept back some papers, what might they be ?

A. They were the duplicates of the bills of lading, which contained the cargoes of the different vessels which Gouverneur and Curzon had laden with military stores, and sent to America for the Congress.

Q. Are those papers now in your custody ?

A. They are. They are the duplicates of the bills of lading. It is customary for there to be more than one copy of bills of lading, and these are those which were kept by Gouverneur and Curzon.

Q. Did you see the letters of Gouverneur and Curzon under their own hand, going to Holland, and which were intercepted in the Dutch Fleet ?

A. I think I did.

Q. Were not those letters laid before his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General ?

A. That I do not recollect.

No.

No. II.

*Extract of two Letters from Lord GEORGE
GERMAIN to W. KNOX, Esq.*

Drayton, 7th January, 1782.

IF Lord North can strengthen the hands of Government by removing Lord Sandwich and me, without prejudice to the King's honour and interest, I should be the first to advise him to adopt the measure; my only motive for accepting office was, the hope of being of use when our affairs in America seemed desperate; the moment my retiring from employment can answer the same end, if my consent was necessary I should most cheerfully give it, all I dread is, that the Parliament should meet again without any plan being settled, which may afford a prospect of success; for if Lord North is to guard against *avowed enemies and the treachery of professed friends*, he will risk not only his own defeat, but may subject the King to disgrace.

You will remember to excuse me to Lord Hillsborough, for not attending the dinner on Thursday; my being present can be of no advantage

vantage, as I cannot push forward any business till I know whether I am to have any share in the execution of it.

No. III.

Drayton, January 11th, 1782.

I RETURN you the letter to the Admiralty signed, and I am glad you have worded it with *proper caution*. I conclude you have the minute of Cabinet to justify my proceeding, for in the precarious situation in which I stand, I can take no measure of consequence upon myself. *You will therefore be so good as to keep me as much out of the scrape as possible.* The surrender of St. Eustatius must be the effect of treachery. The Marquis de Bouille would never have hazarded such an attempt with so small a force, unless he had settled the business beforehand; this affair is too bad to be passed over even in these times. I hope you will explain to those who say I ought to be in town, that I am not here for amusement, but that I thought it more proper and decent to keep out of the way: and I beg you would acquaint Lord North with my reason for being absent.

[THESE

[THESE letters, written in the sincerity of that fervent friendship and unbounded confidence his Lordship placed in the man to whom they were addressed (and which was never abated till that hour of calamity to his country and his friends in which he breathed his last, as will appear in due time :) baffle all attempts at panegyric, and pronounce an eulogium upon the superiority of his understanding, and the pure disinterested patriotism of his heart, equal to what the seraphs must have proclaimed upon his arrival among them.]

No. IV.

Copy of the Draught of a Letter from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Lord SYDNEY, alluded to in my Letter to Mr. PITT.

THE Society for Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, having under their consideration the state of their missions in North America, and of the church of England, in such parts of it as remain under the dominion of his Majesty, are anxious to be informed what steps have been taken by Government since the last peace, towards forming a *church establishment*

ment therein, and making a permanent provision for its ministers. They have learned with much satisfaction from the communication your Lordship was pleased to make to them, that instructions have been given to the Governor of New Brunswick, to appropriate tracts of lands in the parishes to be laid out in that province, for glebes for the ministers to be appointed to such parishes, and other smaller tracts for schoolmasters, and that a salary of 75 l. per annum is intended to be allowed in the estimate to be granted by Parliament to each of four ministers of the church of England within that province; but the Society wish to know whether any sum is intended to be allowed for building churches for those ministers to officiate in, and houses for their residence, both of which they conceive to be absolutely necessary, as the circumstances of the inhabitants, who they understand are chiefly distressed Loyalists, will not admit of their contributing any thing at present to the construction of such edifices, and on the same account they are induced to express their wish that the allowance of 75 l. to each of the ministers, may be increased to at least 100 l. which was the salary allowed to the ministers appointed to East

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and West Florida, when that country was erected into those two provinces; the climate of which being more benign, requires less expence for cloathing, fuel, and other defences against cold, than is necessary to provide in the long and severe winters of New Brunswick.

The Society also understand that similar instructions have been given to the Governors of Quebec and Nova Scotia, to appropriate tracts of lands for glebes, and smaller portions for schoolmasters, in all the districts laid out for the accommodation of the Loyalists in those provinces, and they request to be informed how far the Governors have complied with those instructions; in what places the emigrants are seated; whether they have carried any clergy of the church of England with them; whether any assignments have been made for the subsistence of such clergymen, upon the revenue of Quebec, or upon the quit rents of Nova Scotia, or any other fund appropriated for the erection of churches and parsonage houses?

The Society are strongly incited to request information upon these several heads, from their apprehensions of the want those people must be
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in of religious instruction and spiritual comfort, and from the consciousness of their own inability to supply them from the great decrease of their funds, which are now so reduced, that they find themselves under the necessity of discontinuing some of their missions, and lessening the allowance to others. They are, indeed, persuaded that such is the flourishing state of the Quebec revenue, that ample stipends for such church of England clergymen as may be wanted in that province may be afforded from it; and they are not less confident that the quit rents payable in Nova Scotia would, if collected, raise a fund from which not only the sums now allowed by the Society to missionaries in that province might be taken without any public inconvenience, but what might be necessary to maintain a *complete establishment of the Church of England*. And upon this subject they beg leave to observe, that the allowances made by the Society to the missionaries in Nova Scotia, at the time of the settlement of that province, in aid of the salaries granted them in the estimate, were in consideration of the then indigent state of the settlers, consisting of reduced soldiers and German emigrants, and that no revenue was to be raised from quit rents for ten

years; but that it never could have been the intention of the Society to continue those allowances longer, than untill the inhabitants were in circumstances to contribute to the support of their clergy, and the quit rents became sufficiently productive to afford them an augmentation of their salaries; the Society conceiving the maintenance of missionaries among the indigent and scattered inhabitants of new settled countries where the Crown is without the means of an immediate revenue to be the proper application of their funds, and the calls they have upon them of that nature, are more than their funds can now enable them to comply with. They request, however, that it may not be supposed that they mean in any respect to decline the care and superintendance of the church of England in the American provinces, for on the contrary, should Government think fit to make them assignments upon the revenue of Quebec, and the quit rents of Nova Scotia, sufficient to maintain such ministers as are wanted, they will cheerfully undertake to supply them, and superintend their conduct.

No. V.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX to the
Right Hon. Mr. PITT.*

Soho Square, 7th Aug. 1787.

IN laying any material information before you, I consider myself as doing the best I can for the public advantage, and thereby expressing my duty and gratitude to his Majesty in the most acceptable manner; and therefore it is that I now take the liberty of acquainting you with the history of a measure which I understand is soon to be adopted, the appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia, which I took much pains to promote, as Under Secretary of State under a former Administration, and since the peace as a Member of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and I assisted in preparing the letter from that Society to Lord Sydney for the same purpose. I did not, however, make that proposition as a separate and distinct measure, but as part of a general plan for the introduction and establishment of the church of England, and through it combating and repressing the prevailing disposition of the Colonies

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to republicanism, and exciting in them an esteem for monarchy.

My long experience in colony affairs, and thorough knowledge of their state, had shewn me, that the great source of all our disputes and difficulties lay in the mutability of the measures of Government from the want of system, and their partaking of the fashion of the times, and wearing the complections of their several authors, and I therefore recommended it to the King's servants, whose confidence I had the honour to be in, to form a plan for the Colonies, and lay the foundation so deep and wide as to insure firmness and duration to the fabric to be erected upon it. It was my duty to sketch out the plan, and it was *adopted by a very intelligent Cabinet* ; my authority for saying so will be seen in a future publication ; and although it was not made an office paper, I believe his Majesty saw it. *So much of this plan* as I thought applicable to the then state of our remaining possessions in America, I communicated to Lord North, when he was Secretary of State, and I have the satisfaction to find that *every step taken in pursuance of it*, has been judged fit to be followed up in your Administration. The appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia was agreed to be made,

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though it was among the things left undone when the Administration was changed, as the *concomitant* measures had not been settled, for I was far from considering that appointment as a neutral measure not likely to do either good or harm, for, on the contrary, I apprehended it might be attended with very mischievous consequences if the concomitant measures I had proposed did not accompany it. The immediate and obvious effect of the appointment of a bishop would be the superseding the necessity of sending out missionaries from hence, or candidates for orders coming here from America for education and ordination, by *which one of the strongest bands of union between the Colonies and Great Britain would be cut through*; for it is well known, that the church of England missionaries in general exerted their influence with their congregations in support of the authority of Government in the late contest, and that it was owing to their endeavours that so many of that persuasion were Loyalists, an advantage which Government is not likely to be able to avail itself of on any future occasion, if nothing more be done towards the establishment of the church of England in the Colonies, than the appointment of a bishop. Nay, the pre-
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late himself, if left to subsist on the interest of the fund appropriated to him in the hands of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, will probably prove a clog upon Government; for his appointment being for life, and without prospect of preferment, he will be apt to consider how he may make the most of his situation, and, in order to obtain an allowance from the country, attach himself to the popular leaders. To counteract these evils, I had proposed that the church dignitaries of dean and archdeacon should take place with the appointment of the bishop; that a salary out of the quit rents should be allotted to every parish minister, but to some more than others; and that those of the dean and archdeacon should be the most considerable, but all given only during his Majesty's pleasure, and the presentation to all benefices to be in the Governor: an additional salary to be likewise given to the bishop during pleasure, as *head of a seminary for the instruction of youth, and qualifying them for orders, to be established at Halifax*; and as in due time a Canadian bishop was intended to be appointed, with larger emoluments than the Nova Scotia bishop, who might look up to that see as a beneficial translation, and be thence in-

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cited to conduct himself with such propriety, and acquire such a habit of acquiescence with the views of Government in his subordinate situation, as might secure his promotion, and preserve him in the same line of conduct when he became pre-eminent. It was not meant that either should be of the Council, but wholly excluded from temporal affairs. Should you be led to conceive from this representation that it would be most prudent to postpone the appointment of a bishop, I must beg leave to acquaint you, that by doing so *now*, the danger will not be avoided, since bishops have been consecrated for the United States, (the policy of which proceeding I will say nothing of) and there are colleges in most of them, where education can be had sufficient to entitle the students to the apostolical benediction of those prelates; and such ordination will equally serve to supersede the necessity of candidates for orders coming to England for education or ordination, and the sending out missionaries from hence, as would the appointment of a bishop for the British Colonies, with this important difference, that as the mode of education and the principles inculcated in the students in those colleges must be entirely Republican, the supplying the

churches in the British Colonies with *such pastors* would be like garrisoning our strongest fortresses with troops of the enemy.—The spirit and ability which have distinguished your administration will not therefore allow me to suppose that this appointment will be suffered to remain a *solitary measure*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. VI.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX to Lord WAL-
SINGHAM, in answer to his Lordship's desire
that he would assist him in putting the Ameri-
can Packets upon a better footing.*

My Lord, 28th August, 1787.

THE subject you propose to me in the letter I have just received, is perhaps the one which I have least considered of all the branches of Government; but as far as I have knowledge, or can acquire information, the result shall be at your service to make whatever use you think
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it may be applied to. It is my constant habit to treat every thing which respects Government systematically as a part of the whole, and to consider, in the first place, its relative uses and effects with regard to the whole, before I think of any means for its improvement, for *that* is only to be encouraged in so far as it is promotive of the general welfare, which I presuppose to consist in the preservation of the Constitution.

The Post Office has been hitherto considered as a mere engine of revenue to the public, and of jobs to individuals ; its utility to Administration as a quick and preferable mode of intelligence, under the controul of Government, was never thought of, and even its *convenience* to commerce was very little attended to. My ideas always run in a different channel, but it was impossible for them to reach the fountain head when there were such insurmountable obstructions in the passage. Mr. Pitt's adoption of Palmer's plan for expediting the domestic correspondence, and directing the establishment of Packets between Milford Haven and Waterford, in consequence of Mr. Beresford's and my representation, shews his views to be as enlarged

upon this subject, as upon points of greater magnitude, and therefore I hope your Lordship will give full scope to your judgement in forming a plan for his consideration, comprehending the several objects of *Government utility, commercial benefit, and increase of revenue*, but each in preference to the other in the order in which I have placed them. If such be your Lordship's purpose, I will sketch the outline of it, and suggest every measure which may be necessary for giving it effect: but as in doing this I may be only wasting time, from not knowing your Lordship's or Mr. Pitt's intentions, I should wish to have some conversation with you upon the subject.

I beg your Lordship to believe me your most faithful and affectionate servant,

WILL. KNOX.

No.

No. VII.

Plans for improving the Correspondence between Great Britain, Ireland, and the several British Colonies in America, the West Indies, and the United States, and between each other.

TIMES of tranquillity are the most proper seasons for reviewing the state of the empire, improving its advantages, mending its defects, and preventing future evils; and the great alterations which have been made in the political condition of the British dominions since the peace of 1763, furnish the strongest reasons for so doing, both speedily and with great attention. The separation and independence of 13 of our American colonies, and the emancipation of the legislature and legal judicature of Ireland, make such a change in our circumstances, that the old mode of treating our *dependencies* must be exploded, and a new system formed, better adapted to our present situation. What that system should be, is matter for the serious consideration of his Majesty's confidential servants, and it would not become me to

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suggest any ideas respecting it, but such as the particular branch of Government upon which my opinion is desired must necessarily have with it, give occasion to. At the same time I think it proper to observe, that as the great annual increase of the public revenue (exclusive of what may be supposed to arise from the prevention of smuggling) is chiefly occasioned by the general increased consumption of taxed commodities by the inhabitants of the improved parts of England, whose expenditure is now become nearly equal to the whole of their income, no considerable addition to it can be expected to be drawn from them by any new mode of taxation whatever; for if nearly the whole be already spent in taxed commodities, any new imposition, if it be productive, must necessarily lessen the produce of some former one, where there is no room for increasing the income by greater exertions of labour or skill. The *unimproved* and *distant* parts of the empire must therefore be looked to for farther resources, and every encouragement should be given to *their* acquiring wealth, stimulating them at the same time to the exercise of the means put in their power to attain it, and to spend it again, by facilitating their intercourse
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with the capital, and circulating among them a relish for its luxuries and refinements. The ablest minister cannot extract a considerable revenue from an indigent people; but he must be a sorry financier who cannot find the means of making wealthy subjects contribute largely to the support of Government, and therefore the first great principle of finance is to make the *people rich*. Should then, what I am now going to propose, (*or may hereafter propose if called upon*) for promoting the prosperity and facilitating the communication with the *distant* and *unimproved* parts of the empire in a manner *beneficial to the constitution*, be the occasion of some immediate and direct expenditure of the public revenue, I must beg that due credit may be given to me on the other hand for the augmentation it may receive from the operation of the measures I recommend. And in order to prevent too hasty a judgement of the probable effects of those measures, I will give an instance of the extraordinary, and (to such as are not in the habit of reflecting deeply upon such subjects,) unexpected consequences which have followed the embodying the militia of England: great was the outcry at the time of the loss of hands to agriculture and manufactures, and the injury

injury the public would sustain by the habits of idleness and dissipation the lower people would acquire from it, and none of the most fervent of its advocates ever ventured to defend it as likely to promote tillage and extend manufactures. Yet such have been its effects; for the men who had never eat any other than barley or rye bread at their own houses, having been fed with wheaten in their camps, carried back with them such a relish for it, that neither they or their fellow labourers have since eaten any other bread; and hence the consumption of wheat has so greatly increased, that although much more is now grown than before the peace of Paris, very little has since been exported, nor is it likely that any large quantities will be to be spared hereafter, as the consumption is every day increasing. The good cloaths too, with which the men were supplied while they served, has had a like effect upon their taste for apparel, and as they consume more manufactures, and their expence has become greater, they have been forced to work harder; for no people can sustain an increased expence without increase of labour, those who subsist by fraud or plunder being too few in number to be allowed an exception. The removal of the regiments raised in
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in the manufacturing counties into others where there were none, or some only in their infancy, has also served to spread or perfect such manufactures, and consequently to increase them, so that in fact the expenditure of revenue, which the calling out the militia occasioned, has been compensated for in a superlative degree, by the increase of the produce of the taxes upon consumption, besides augmenting the national wealth by the increase of its tillage and the spreading of its manufactures; and thus, while our ingenious estimators are endeavouring to account for the diminution of our exports of wheat by supposing bad harvests and scanty crops, or the conversion of arable land into pasturage, all of which are untrue. The increase of *our home consumption*, which never occurs to them, gives a fair explanation of the phænomena.

The getting possession of the general correspondence of the subjects is a great object of government, and separated as the several parts of this empire are, and feeble as are the civil powers of the executive, it is almost essential to the existence of the state; for where there is not sufficient strength to repel an attack when

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made, the greatest vigilance is necessary, in order to prevent it, and the getting early intelligence of the design is what renders preventive measures effectual. The great improvements lately made in the English post-office, has brought the whole inland correspondence of this island, and between it and Ireland, into the government channel, but a very small part only of that between Great Britain and our American Colonies, and between them and Ireland, passes through it. The infrequency and tediousness of the West India and North American packets would be sufficient to induce all sorts of persons to send their letters by private ships, as *the quicker conveyance*; but they are likewise incited to do so, by the consideration of saving their correspondents the charge of the sea postage. It would however be a most cruel outrage to humanity, and exceedingly injurious to trade, in the present state of the packets, to lay the masters of private ships under the same restrictions respecting the carriage of letters, as the drivers of waggons and stage coaches; but if the Government conveyances were made so frequent and expeditious as to fully answer every purpose of trade, there could be no ground of objection to the subjecting all letters brought by
private

private ships, which did not relate to the cargo, to the payment of the *same postage* as they would have been chargeable with had they come by the packets, and as an additional number of packets would be necessary to justify this regulation, so would the increase the revenue would thereby receive, be much more than sufficient to defray the additional expence; for I believe it is now pretty generally known, that frequency and expedition in the conveyance will multiply the correspondence, and that giving facility to correspondence will increase trade, and the increase of trade will again increase the correspondence; but should any one doubt of the truth of these positions, they will find them fully proved by the post-office accounts laid before Parliament; for it appears that in 1710, the gross produce of that revenue was only 111,641l. and in 1744, it was 235,492l. but in 1764 it amounted to 432,048l. so that in the first 34 years, although the gross posts had been established towards the latter end of that period, the increase was only 124,031l. which is equal to an increase of 3648l. per annum, whereas, in the 20 years following, the increase was nearly 200,000 which, is equal to an annual increase of 10,000l. And it ought to be

considered, that of the last 20 years, 12 were years of war with Spain, and six of those 12, of war with France also ; and that of the preceding 34 years, only 5 were years of war, and that with Spain only. And if we take a view of the progress of manufactures through this country, we shall find they have followed *the same track with the post, and extended with every facility given to correspondence* ; nor can there be assigned any other cause for the manufacturers of the west travelling to the north, without taking Wales in their way, than the want of communications through that country, and out of it ; and I have the great satisfaction of being able to produce the recent establishment of a cotton manufactory at Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, and of a Newfoundland fishery on Milford Haven, as the immediate effects of the promise, and completion of that promise, of establishing packets between that haven and Waterford, and the hope (though hitherto a delusive one) *of better interior communications.*

Warranted by these facts, I am not afraid to assert, that the plans I am going to propose, by placing the whole correspondence between Great Britain, Ireland, and America, in the hands of
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Government, and by its celerity increasing the trade of the empire, will be found beneficial to the revenue in its consequences, though it should be expensive to it in the outset, which, however, will by no means be the case.

WEST INDIA PLAN.

THERE are now two packets dispatched every month to the West Indies, one to proceed directly to Jamaica, the other to make the tour of the Windward Islands. They perform their voyages in something more than four months, and ten packets are employed in the service. Neither of these packets touch at Providence or Bermuda, and the mails for those places and the Carolina's are left to find their way thither as well as they can,* so very defective, though expensive, is the present system. But if it took in all those places which I have said are left out, still would a monthly conveyance be insufficient to answer the pur-

* Such was the arrangement at the time this plan was prepared, some alteration has since been made, but of little consequence.

poses of trade, or to give Government possession of the whole correspondence.

My proposition, therefore, will go to the providing *three conveyances in every month instead of one*, and to the dispatch of *thirty-six West India mails instead of twenty four*, in every year, and to take into the system not only Providence and Bermuda, but the Carolinas and Georgia also. To effect this, no more than eleven packets will be wanted to sail from England and return to it, and three large Bermuda floops, and three small schooners to continue in the West Indies. One packet only to sail from England on the first, tenth, and nineteenth of every month.

I will suppose the first to depart on the first day of January, with the mails for Barbadoes, and all the windward islands, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Jamaica, and Providence, and for the Carolina's and Georgia also. Upon her arrival at Barbadoes (suppose on the first of February) her mails, with her passengers for St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, are to be put on board one of the three Bermuda floops, which I shall call the Leeward island packets, and she (the
English

English packet) is (after stopping twenty-four hours to take in water for the rest of the voyage, and the homeward mail, which must be ready, and any passengers that are ready also, and such bags, with letters for the other islands and the Continent of America, as the postmaster shall deliver to her) to proceed to Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Tortola, stopping only twelve hours at each, to land or take on board passengers and change her mails, and to take on board such bags with letters, as the postmaster shall deliver to her for the places before mentioned, and proceed to Crooked Island, where she is to deliver to one of the three small schooners, which I shall call the Carolina packets, the mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and her bags with letters for those places, and also for Bermuda, Virginia, Maryland, and the whole northern district, and proceed directly to England with the homeward mails she has collected in her route. It is supposed she will make her passage from Barbadoes to Crooked Island in nine days, so as to arrive there the 10th of February, and that her whole voyage will be performed in twelve weeks.

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The second English packet is to sail the 10th of January, and to arrive at Barbadoes the 10th of February, and, after stopping 24 hours, and dispatching her mails for St. Vincent's, Grenada, Jamaica, and Bermuda, by the second Jamaica packet, proceed as the first had done to Crooked Island, where she will arrive the 19th of February, and where she is to deliver her mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and her bags with letters for Bermuda, Virginia, and Maryland, and the whole northern district before mentioned, to the second Carolina packet, and as the first Jamaica packet will then have had 18 days to go from Barbadoes to St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, stopping only 12 hours at each of the first, and 24 hours at the last, and to beat up the windward passage to Crooked Island, she will be *there* also on the 19th of February, and the English packet having received from her all her homeward mails and passengers, is to proceed directly to England, and the Jamaica packet having delivered to the second Carolina schooner all her bags with letters for Bermuda, and for the whole Continent of America, is to make the best of her way to Barbadoes, to meet the fourth English packet on the 28th of February.

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The third English packet is to fail the 19th of January, and arrive at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and after stopping 24 hours, and dispatching her mails for St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, by the third Jamaica packet, and taking on board her bags with letters for the Windward Islands, Bermuda, and the Continent of America, as the former had done, proceed as the others did to Crooked Island, where she will arrive the 28th of February, and *there* meet the second Jamaica packet, and having received her mails, and delivered to the third Carolina packet the mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and the bags with letters for those places and Bermuda, and the whole northern district, proceed directly to England, and the Jamaica packet, having also delivered to the third Carolina packet her bags with letters for the last mentioned places, is to return directly to Barbadoes,

The fourth English packet is to fail the 28th of January, and arrive at Barbadoes the 28th of February, where, finding the first Jamaica packet returned from Crooked Island, she is to take on board the bags with letters she may have brought for the Windward Islands, and

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dispatch her as before to Jamaica, and proceed herself to Crooked Island, in like manner as the preceding packets did, where she is to arrive the 6th * of March, and there meet the third Jamaica packet from Jamaica, and the first Carolina packet returned from Charlestown, and having exchanged mails with the latter, and taken on board those brought by the former, and delivered to both her bags with letters for their respective districts, proceed to England; and those packets having exchanged their bags with letters for and from their respective districts, are to proceed on their respective routes.†

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* The shortness of the month of February will always occasion a little derangement, but the length of the preceding and following months will balance it.

† My reasons for sending the Bermuda sloops down to Jamaica, and the English packets along the Windward Islands, were these two; The first, that the voyage the English packets would have to make being shorter, ten packets would be sufficient for the business, whereas if they went to Jamaica, eleven would be wanted, and the saving the expence of a packet was of some consequence. The other, That large Bermuda sloops were better adapted for beating up to the windward than the English packets, and would therefore perform the voyage with more certainty, and in less time. However, as the accommodation of Jamaica is deemed superior to those considerations, I have no objection to changing the destination of the English packets and
sending

The plan for the southern district being now complete, and the proper measures taken for connecting it with the northern district, I shall submit a plan for giving equal facility and celerity to the correspondence between Great Britain and the northern district, and connecting the two together, so as to form a complete and comprehensive system for the whole American correspondence.

There is at present only one monthly packet established between North America and Great Britain, and the packet goes from Falmouth to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where she delivers her mails for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, St. John's, Canada, Newfoundland, and Cape Breton, and from thence proceeds to New York, where she delivers her mails for all the United

sending them to Jamaica, and sending the Bermuda sloops along the Windward Islands; and in that case *they* should be ordered to come back by Bermuda, and the bags for that island, and the whole northern district, delivered to *them*, instead of the Carolina schooners, which might be ordered to return to Crooked Island directly from Charlestown; and as their voyage would be so much shortened, and might be performed in 18 days, two schooners would be sufficient for the purpose, and a saving of one of them, set off against the addition of an English packet to accommodate Jamaica.

American States, and from thence returns to Falmouth. As she must remain at Halifax and New York some days, in order to give time to the inhabitants of those places to answer by her the letters she brings them, her voyage takes up near five months, and occasions the employment of six packets for that service. The time of her stay at Halifax cannot, however, admit of even the people of Shelburne and Lunenburg, much less of New Brunswick, or St. John's, Cape Breton or Newfoundland, answering the letters brought for them by the same packet; nor can the answers arrive at Halifax from Quebec in time for even the next succeeding packet. The like may be said of the people of Albany, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolina's and Georgia, on the one side of New York, and of the people of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts Bay on the other; so that in fact, the English traders can receive answers to their letters to Halifax and New York only, in the five months, by the return of these five months packets, and it must be six months before they can receive their answers from Shelburne and New Brunswick and St. John's, Albany, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts Bay, and seven months

months before they can receive them from Quebec, Maryland, and Virginia, and no computation can be made of the time they may be received in from Newfoundland, as there is no regular conveyance for letters between that most important island and Halifax, or any other part of the world ; so that the system for this district is still more defective and imperfect, than that for the southern, and *no provision whatever is made in either of them, or in any other way, by Government, for the conveyance of letters from any part of the whole Continent of North America, to any one of the West India Islands ;* such is the case at present, and therefore I trust that a plan which aims at remedying such great defects will meet with a candid consideration.

Upon the same principles which I before established, in my introduction to the preceding plan, and others which I do not think necessary to mention here, I have formed the following plan for carrying on the correspondence between Great Britain and North America, as far south as Virginia, and connected it with that proposed for the West Indies, and the three southern states, so as to give *every part* included in both, an opportunity of corresponding with
every

every other, and with Great Britain, three times in every month.

To effect this, eight English packets, and six Bermuda floops or brigs will only be wanted, and a land post three times in every month from Halifax to Quebec by New Brunswick; should, however, two mails a month be judged sufficient for this district, the number of English packets may be reduced to six, and the Bermuda floops or brigs to four, and the land posts from three to two a month. But as three mails in every month is the most perfect and connects more exactly with the West India system, I have formed my plan according to that idea.

NORTH AMERICAN PLAN.

MY proposition then is, to send the English North American packets to Caplin Bay in Newfoundland, and no farther, except in the months of November, December, and January, when they should go to Halifax; the voyage is much shorter from England to that Bay than to Halifax, and it can be made with the wind at North West, which is the violent wind in that
quarter

quarter. I allow, however, for the packet out and home two months, though I have known the voyage home made in 15 days.* From Caplin Bay three of the fix floops or brigs are to go to Halifax, and from thence to Rhode Island, and return from thence to Halifax and back to Caplin Bay ; the other three are to go to Bermuda and from thence to Norfolk in Virginia, and return from thence to Bermuda, and so back to Caplin Bay ; they will each make their voyage in less than 27 days, so that six will afford two for every nine days. I shall suppose then, that the first North American packet upon this plan should sail from Falmouth the first of February with mails for Newfound-

* The vast importance of the Newfoundland fishery to this country has been long known and admitted, and yet no provision has ever been made for enabling the fishers to carry on any correspondence with their employers in England, or their employers with them, though nothing could more effectually promote the business than such a correspondence, as a speedy conveyance of intelligence of the success of the fishery would enable the merchants to judge what vessels to send out to carry the fish to market, and on the other hand, the knowledge of where the fish was most likely to be in demand, would enable the fishers to send their fish to the proper markets ; to convey such intelligence, the owners are now frequently obliged to dispatch light vessels at their own charge, and to the great reproach of Government,

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land, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, St. John's, Canada, and all the American States (except the Carolina's and Georgia, which are provided for in the West India plan) and for Bermuda also, and arrive at Caplin Bay in Newfoundland, the first of March, and from thence dispatch one of the three brigs or sloops, which I shall call the Halifax packets to Halifax, with the mails for Nova Scotia, St. John's, Canada, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, and one of the three brigs or sloops, which I shall call the Bermuda packets to Bermuda, with the mail for that island, and those for Virginia and Maryland, and having so done return to England. The second English North American packet should sail on the 10th of February, and proceed to Caplin Bay as before, and dispatch the second Halifax packet and the second Bermuda packet with their respective mails; and the third in like manner to sail on the 19th of February and proceed as the others had done to Caplin Bay, and dispatch the third Halifax packet, and the third Bermuda packet with their mails, and then return to England. The first Halifax packet to proceed to Halifax by the 8th of March, and there deliver her mails for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick,

wick and Quebec, and taking on board such bags with letters as the Postmaster may deliver to her for Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and staying twelve hours proceed to Rhode Island, where she is to arrive the 15th, and there deliver the whole of her remaining mails and bags, and take on board the mails for England from all the said states; and also such bags of letters as may be delivered to her by the Postmaster from Nova Scotia, Canada, St. John's New Brunswick, Newfoundland, or any of the West India Islands, or for Virginia, Maryland, the Carolina's or Georgia; and after staying twelve hours return to Halifax by the 22d, where having delivered the bags with letters for Nova Scotia, Canada, New Brunswick and St. John's, and taken on board the mails from those places for England, and any bags with letters for any of the West India Islands, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolina's or Georgia, which may be delivered to her by the Postmaster, and staying twelve hours return to Caplin Bay by the 29th of March; and there meeting the fourth English North American packet exchange mails with her, and meeting there also the first Bermuda packet, returned from her

voyage, deliver to her all the bags with letters for the West India Islands, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolina's and Georgia, and receive from her such bags with letters, as she may have brought up from Norfolk in Virginia, or Bermuda, the Bahamas, and West India Islands, for any of the places in the district of the Halifax packet, and then proceed to Halifax, as she had before done.

The first Bermuda packet to proceed to Bermuda, where she is to arrive the 8th of March* and there deliver her mail for that island, and after staying twelve hours, stand over to Norfolk in Virginia, where she is to arrive the 15th, and there deliver her mails for Maryland and Virginia, and take on board the mails from those states for England; and also such bags with letters for any of the West India Islands, or any of the northern or southern states or British colonies in America, that the Postmaster may deliver to her, and after staying twelve

* The voyage from Caplin Bay to Bermuda being much longer than from Bermuda to Norfolk in Virginia, the arrival of this packet at Bermuda will not be so regular as I have supposed it, but the whole voyage may be performed in the 27 days with great ease.

hours return to Bermuda by the 22d, and there deliver to the Carolina packet (or to the Postmaster for her if she be not there, as neither of these packets must wait for the other) all the bags with letters for the West India Islands, and the Carolina's and Georgia, and receive from her or from the Postmaster, if she be not there, such bags with letters, as she may have brought from any of the northern states or colonies, and after staying twelve hours, return to Caplin Bay, where she is to arrive the 29th of March; and meeting with the fourth English North American packet, she is to exchange mails with her, and as she will also meet with the first Halifax packet returned there from her voyage, deliver to her the bags with letters for the places within her circuit, and receive from her such bags with letters for the West India Islands, or the Carolina's or Georgia, as she may have brought with her, and then proceed as she had done before.

By this arrangement a letter from Halifax will be carried to Jamaica in 28 days, and the answer will be brought back in 28 more, and so in respect to all other places. Some deviation, as I before observed, must however necessarily be made from this plan in the months of No-

vember, December, and January, when the English North American packet should be sent from Falmouth directly to Halifax, and the Halifax and Bermuda packets directed to meet her there, instead of Caplin Bay; but as only two of the three Halifax packets will then be wanted to go between Rhode Island and Halifax; the other one may make a voyage or two to Newfoundland, when the weather permits, or it is found necessary.

Both plans being now completed, the intercourse will continue constant and regular with the whole connection every *nine days*; and although none of the places touched at, except Barbadoes and Jamaica, will have more than twelve hours to answer their letters by the same packet that brings them, yet as only nine days will intervene between the arrival of every two packets, there will be no just ground of complaint on that account. I have proposed making Rhode Island the place for the Halifax packet to deliver and take up the northern and middle American States mails at, instead of New York, because the voyage is shorter, and the harbour open all the year, *and for other reasons not necessary to mention*; but if it be
thought

thought more fit to send the packet to New York instead of Rhode Island, the change will make no alteration in the plans, as there is time enough allowed for either voyage.

To give Ireland the full benefit of this plan, and secure the whole of her correspondence to it, the English packets place of sailing and arrival should be changed from Falmouth to Milford Haven, and the letters for Ireland directed to be made up in separate mails from those of England in the West Indies and North America, and as soon as the packets arrive at Hubberstone, delivered to the Waterford packet, to carry over to Ireland, and the English West India and North American packets directed to receive the mails from Ireland, in like manner at Hubberstone, and carry them out with them; this would occasion a great increase of the revenue, and be such an advantage to the trade of Ireland, as would put that kingdom in good humour with the Administration that obtained it; but as the Cornish members might feel hurt by such a removal, I would propose to compromise the matter with them, by appointing every other American packet only to sail from and arrive at Milford Haven, which would give Falmouth

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five American packets every two months, instead of the monthly ones that now go from thence, so that Falmouth would be a gainer by this plan of six packets in the year, more than she has at present, which must silence all complaints or opposition from that quarter; and once in eighteen days may be a frequent enough conveyance for the generality of the Irish merchants correspondence with America, especially as they would get their letters so much sooner after the packets arrival than they now do, and could take proportionably so much longer time in answering them, they having now a daily conveyance to and from Hubberstone. The intervention of eighteen days between the sailing of every two packets would give time for the northern as well as the southern parts of that kingdom, to answer the letters by every subsequent packet, which were brought by the preceding one, and the people of Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Dublin, who are the chief exporters to the colonies, might avail themselves of the intermediate Falmouth packets, to answer their letters brought by every Milford Haven one. But should all the American packets continue to sail from and return to Falmouth, none of the towns in Ireland, except Dublin, could possibly
answer

answer the letters brought by any of the American packets by the return of the next; for, as after the American mails arrived in London, the letters for Ireland would be four days in getting to Dublin, and the answers would be four days in returning to London; eight of the nine days between the sailing of the packets would be spent in the travelling of the post between London and Dublin, and consequently only one day would be left for the people of Ireland to receive and answer their letters in, which therefore none but the people of Dublin could avail themselves of; indeed the people of Cork and Kinsale would not have more than three days to answer their letters by the second packet that sailed after they received them, as fifteen days of the eighteen would be spent in the posts travelling between London and those places, whereas the people of London would have the whole nine days, and the people of Bristol six; Liverpool four, and the most distant parts of England at least one whole day to answer by the next packet, the letters brought to them by a former one. Nor would the removal of the packets from Falmouth to Milford Haven deprive any of them of that advantage, as the distance from Milford Haven to
London

London is not greater than from Falmouth to London, and therefore, as the trading interest of England can receive no sort of injury by the removal, and it is of most essential importance to the trade of Ireland, other inferior considerations ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of so great a national object to that kingdom, nor would that loyal but high spirited and sensible people brook so offensive and injurious an instance of disregard and partiality in the British Administration, as the preferring the petty advantage a little borough in Cornwall derives from a few travellers, to the *commercial interests of all Ireland*.

I have mentioned Crooked Island as the place of rendezvous for the three packets in the southern district, because I am informed it is a good and safe road, and has plenty of excellent water, and exactly in the way from Jamaica by the Windward passage; and Caplin Bay in Newfoundland for the rendezvous of the three packets in the northern district, as the place most convenient for all the three.

To make my plans more easily understood, I have marked by dotted lines upon a chart of
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the Atlantic Ocean, the tracts of each of the several packets, and referred to them by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, but it is only for the purpose of explanation I have done it, and not with any intention of describing their exact courses ; any discovery therefore that I have gone to the leeward of a rock, or shoal, or island, when I should have kept to the windward, or the contrary, will bring no imputation upon the plans, or the want of accuracy in their author, for I am not proposing any improvement in the manner of navigating the packets, but only mean to shew how their voyages may be rendered more beneficial to the public.

P A R T

T H E

S E C O N D,

PART the SECOND.

BEING a native of Ireland, and receiving the first rudiments of my political education from one of the ablest and best informed statesmen that island ever produced, the late Sir Richard Cox, I was early well acquainted with the state of that great, but unknown and neglected member of the British empire, and so thorough a knowledge had I obtained of its wants and grievances, that soon after I returned from America, in the year 1761, I was able to take up their consideration, and lay some proposals for their redress before a respectable body of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, who called themselves the Donnegall Society, whose avowed purpose was to promote the interests of their country, but which ended, as Irish meetings generally do, in toasting its friends in

the British Parliament, and drinking full bumpers, with three cheers, to the prosperity of Ireland. And in the year 1763, when the peace was negotiating, I presented to the Earl of Hallifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and First Lord of the Admiralty, a statement of the comparatively higher duties imposed by Spain upon Irish linens, than upon those of France, and joined the late Mr. Ellis, Agent to the Linen Board, in soliciting his Lordship's good offices to obtain an equalization, which his Lordship assured me he would mention to the Earl of Bute, but nothing was then done, or *has yet been done in the business.*

The general indisposition of the great men of Ireland, to do any thing for their country, and their fear of obstructing their own promotion in England, by being suspected of attachment to it, left me no hopes of their support in carrying into execution the plan I had formed for promoting the prosperity of Ireland, in coincidence with that of Great Britain and America, and combining them in one common interest, unless I could give an influence to the great body of the people over them, and engage *them* to exert it for their own, and their country's

try's interest and advantage. The administration of Ireland (for it never had any thing like a systematic government) had long been carried on by contract, and a reciprocity of jobs between the contractors and those birds of passage, the Lord Lieutenants and their secretaries, without the least attention to the state, or interests of the country; and as the members of the House of Commons held their seats for life, there was no sort of intercourse between them and their constituents, much less had they any influence over them. The government therefore of Ireland, though in speculation an exact picture of that of England, was, in fact, an aristocracy, or rather an oligarchy, and therefore my first object was to demolish the corrupt fabric, and to give the people their proper share in the government, and compel their representatives to pay attention to their interests. The obvious means of effecting this was to procure a limitation to the duration of Parliament, and with that view I drew up the paper, No. 1, in the Appendix, and presented it to Lord Frederick Campbell, when he was appointed Secretary to Lord Townshend. How far that paper influenced the measure I know not, but

Ireland owes the octennial act to that administration.

My situation of Under Secretary of State, enabled me to discover the sentiments of the King's confidential friends towards Ireland, and it was with exceedingly great satisfaction I perceived in them all, particularly in Lord North, the most liberal and friendly sentiments towards it, inasmuch that I entertained the strongest hopes that if we succeeded in settling matters with America, every part of my plan would be adopted.

The first measure I proposed was, the admission of the Irish into a participation of the Newfoundland fishery ; and when I found my proposal relished by the ministers, I drew up the paper, No. 2, which I put into Sir Stanier Porteen's hands, to deliver to Sir John Blaquiere, then Secretary to Lord Harcourt, who was in London, but with whom I had not then the honour to be acquainted, and afterwards transmitted to him the further propositions contained in my letter to him, No. 3. That very spirited and sensible gentleman, the first Irish Secretary that, I believe, ever thought of soliciting

liciting any commercial favour for Ireland, adopted my propositions respecting the fishery, and pursued them with such zeal and ability, that the bill was immediately brought in and passed here, and a similar one in Ireland, a copy of which Sir John sent me in his letter, No. 4. The sense that gentleman had of my services to Ireland, and Lord Harcourt's administration, will be best seen in his own letter to Lord Harcourt, upon an application I had made to him in behalf of an unfortunate brother, which he was so candid and honourable as to send to me open, with permission to keep a copy of it, and which I have given in the Appendix, No. 5.

The acquisition of Lord George Germaine to the Cabinet was a fortunate circumstance for Ireland, and insured the accomplishment of my plan, which I opened fully to his Lordship, and which he found to correspond so entirely with his own ideas, that it was his constant declaration to his intimate friends ever afterwards, that whoever wanted to know any thing of Ireland or America must come to me. To remove the absurd prejudices which their patriots had instilled and inculcated into the people of Ireland, and to give them right notions of their political

litical situations and commercial rights, in order to prepare them to accept my intended propositions, and give them their full support, I drew up and privately circulated the Tract, intituled, "*Considerations on the State of Ireland*," in the Appendix, No. 6, taking care that I should not be known for the author, and I find it has been generally attributed to Mr. Jenkinson, (now Lord Hawkesbury) who never saw the manuscript. And in my Pamphlet in defence of the Quebec Act,* I placed the harsh and impolitic conduct of the Irish Protestants towards their Roman Catholic fellow subjects in so strong a light, and treated their prejudices in a note with such striking ridicule, that its publication served more to reconcile them to that persecuted people than all the laboured appeals of their advocates; and whoever attentively reads Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Ord's speeches, for which the one was rewarded with a grant of 50,000l. and the other with a pension of 2000l. per annum, will find the whole substance of both comprised in those publications.

The next step which I took, with Lord George Germaine's concurrence, was to open

* A second edition of which, with other papers, is preparing for the press.

a part of my plan to the Irish administration, and to get them to make the application for allowing Ireland a participation in the trade of the British Colonies ; and as I had then no correspondence with Sir Richard Heron, I wrote my letter, No. 8, to my friend Sir Lucius O'Brian, which produced the letter from Sir Richard Heron to me, No. 9.

Soon after, Sir Richard Heron came to England, and from his conversation I found that the Irish Privy Council were afraid of giving offence to Administration, by making the application I had pointed out ; but upon my assuring him that all I proposed they should ask for would be readily granted, he went back with the determination to make the application, but before his departure, recollecting that no such application had ever been made by the Irish Privy Council, and that there was no precedent for it in their books, he begged I would give him a draft of the letter which it would be proper to send over, which I accordingly drew up. The delay in transmitting the demand, however, occasioned me to write the letter to him, No. 10 ; and as our correspondence from thenceforward became regular, I have only to refer to the

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the series of it, as arranged in the Appendix, to shew the part I took in a business which all mankind had hitherto looked upon as impossible to succeed in, but which was accomplished with very little noise or bustle, and with the greatest cordiality and most perfect good humour on both sides. The whole of this correspondence I sent up from Pembroke-shire to Mr. Rose, on the 17th of February, 1785, for Mr. Pitt's information, when I first heard of his Commercial Propositions to Ireland: but such is the transcendant superiority of intuitive omniscience over the dull acquisitions of experience and scientific knowledge, that the receipt of my letter was not even acknowledged to me, and I believe not one of my papers were ever read, for when I applied to Mr. Rose for them, at Lord Sackville's desire, who wished to see them before he spoke upon the Propositions, they were returned to me in the very form I had sent them up, and my own letter to Mr. Rose upon the top of them.

An intimation had been given to me by Sir Lucius O'Brian, in 1778, of the injury Ireland sustained by the embargo upon butter, and I represented the grievance in such a light, that
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its removal was ordered; and the paper, No. 44, with the letter, No. 45, from that most able and firm friend of Ireland, the late Speaker, will testify to whose application it was owing that the embargo upon the beef was likewise taken off.

A restriction injurious to Ireland which had been clandestinely inserted in the fishery acts, I got removed the next session, and obtained a declaration in the act of Parliament that Irish ships were to be deemed British in all respects whatever.

I had proposed to Mr. Eden, when he was appointed Secretary to Ireland, the establishment of a national Bank, which was a part of my principal plan, and upon receiving his letter, No. 46, from Ireland, I sent him the answer, No. 47.

I have not given this detail of past transactions merely to emblazon my own merit, or to deprive others of the importance they had assumed from them, but to set the public, and especially my countrymen, right in two very

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material

material points in which they have been much deceived, or deceived themselves. The one is, that all the concessions made to Ireland, and all the advantages given to her trade antecedent to the year 1782, were *forced* from the Administration by the terror of the Irish Volunteers. The other, that there was no plan, no system, or any connection, either political or commercial, in what was done, but that one thing was given up after another, just as the necessity urged, or the conceding humour prevailed. For whoever reads over the correspondence in the Appendix, must be convinced that the whole Cabinet, and particularly Lord North, and my much-lamented noble friend Lord Sackville, who testified the most friendly, generous, and enlarged sentiments towards that country, throughout the whole proceeding; and that every thing which was done, was well considered, consistent, and wise; that the plan was formed and agreed to before any volunteers were raised, and would have been carried into execution to the same extent if they had never existed; and when the late indigested, rash, ignorant, and abortive management is contrasted with what was then effected, I trust those noble

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persons,

persons, with whom I had the honour to serve; will not suffer by the comparison. I trust too, that the Earl of Buckinghamshire and Sir Richard Heron will receive, through this publication, that share of the public regard which their hearty desire and earnest endeavours to promote the interests of Ireland and the general welfare, so well entitle them to.

As I well know that the generous and warm hearts of my countrymen, who may peruse these papers, will incite them to inquire what has Ireland done for a man who has done so much for her, when she does so much for those who never rendered her any service; I think it fair to set down an answer, which I shall do in the words of St. Paul, that *I have not ought to accuse my nation of*, nor either of the administrations who had the credit of my services. Lord Harcourt obtained the office I solicited for my brother; and besides the letters to me from Sir Richard Heron, which so repeatedly express the Earl of Buckingham's kind disposition towards me, that gentleman made me, on the part of his Excellency, an offer of a handsome pension, for myself or Mrs. Knox, upon the Irish establishment;

blishment ; but as I had then good hope of recovering my American property, which produced me an income equal to all my desires for myself and my family, I declined the generous offer, preferring the gratification of being able to reflect that I had rendered my country more essential services than had ever been performed by any of her sons, and that I was the only one of them, that had ever declined her bounty, or refused to be a burthen upon her. Could I, indeed, have foreseen what has since come to pass, that I should not only be deprived of my estate, which remitted me from 1700*l.* to 2000*l.* per ann. but of all my offices, which yielded me 2500*l.* more, and that a pension, which pays 440*l.* per ann. would be here deemed an adequate compensation, not only for them, but for all my services also, I confess I should have been less ambitious of displaying my disinterestedness in the eyes of my countrymen.

Since my removal from office I have had no opportunity of bringing forward any of the remaining parts of my plan respecting Ireland, nor have I had any epistolary intercourse with the chief governors of that kingdom, except upon
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the subject of the American *correspondence*; for I thought it right to apprise the Marquis of Buckingham of what I had proposed, in order to give his Excellency an opportunity of laying his claim to the merit of obtaining so considerable an advantage to the trade of Ireland, by an early and strenuous application for the station of the alternate packets at least, at Milford-Haven, and I accordingly transmitted to his Excellency a complete copy of my paper, with my letter, No. 48, Feb. 27th, 1788. Had his Excellency judged it necessary to take any step for augmenting the inhabitants, and preventing emigration from Ireland, I presume my ideas would have been called for, and in that case I should not have been found unprepared or backward to communicate. I had taken the liberty to suggest a measure for the like purposes to Mr. Pitt, in a paper I sent to Mr. Rose, No. 49, which I never heard more of; but as, notwithstanding the disregard shewn to those objects by those great men, I still conceive them to be deserving some attention, and as the same measures will in a good degree serve for both kingdoms, and the same reasons will excuse me from making at present any farther disclosure of my plans

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to either, than I did in the paper I sent to Mr. Rose, I shall beg leave to refer you to the copy of it, which I have given in the Appendix ; but should your respectable society think proper to take up the consideration of those important objects, I shall be at all times ready to furnish you with every information I am possessed of.

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AS during the whole of the transactions to which the following correspondence refers, I had the business of the American Department to attend to, and which never stood still on that account, the reader will not expect more than a clear and plain communication of my ideas in such of the letters as were written by me, for, in truth, they were all written upon the spur of the occasion, and I had not time to revise, much less to copy any of them.

I have not asked the permission of the writers of any of the others for publishing them, but as they must all derive honour from them, I trust they will excuse the liberty I have taken.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

*Paper delivered to Lord Frederick Campbell, when
appointed Secretary to Ireland, 1767.*

THE state of Ireland in respect to defence, distribution of justice, liberty of the subject, and almost every branch of internal policy, (revenue only excepted) is the worst of any country in Europe; its calamities are still aggravated by the unwillingness of the people to be relieved from them. The government of that kingdom has been for several years purely aristocratical, notwithstanding the apparent form is the same as that of Great Britain. For as the King's representative resides but while the Parliament is sitting, he never has it in his power to exercise government uncontrolled, and as his attention must then be chiefly engaged in legislation, he has no opportunity of displaying his executive authority, and for that reason, he is rather contemplated by the people as a branch

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of the legislature than the executor of the laws. The vacation of Parliament, which in this kingdom is the time for the kingly power to manifest itself and recover its lustre, which is always eclipsed by the sitting of Parliament, is in Ireland the season for the aristocratic influence to extend itself; the administration of government being then committed to the leaders in the House of Commons.

This is the source of all the mal-administration in that kingdom. The party leaders will always be more attentive to the support of their own authority, than to the well-being of the state. Popularity, or the general voice of the people, is not very material to them, because the members of Parliament being chosen for life, they are not dependent on the good will of the people for their seats. The attention of the leaders is, therefore, confined in a great degree to the members themselves and their friends. Instead, then, of equal justice to all the King's subjects, the laws are frequently permitted to be violated with impunity, by those who have interest with members of Parliament. Rights of commonage are taken away from the tenants without any compensation, and all presentments of such grievances are rejected by the grand juries, nor will
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an Attorney General move for redress. No inquiry after the perpetrators of crimes the most shocking, if suspected to be persons of condition; witnesses publicly bought off, escapes managed, or pardons procured, when all other methods of evading justice have been found ineffectual. Neglect of duty and false returns in the military officers connived at, and the fortifications suffered to fall to ruin, notwithstanding the frequent grants of Parliament for their repair, for similar reasons. All public works converted into flagrant jobs, and the private gratifications voted by Parliament, distributed without even the colour of desert or impartiality. Commitments to prison are neither restrained nor limited by law; any subject may be confined, and none can demand his trial or release. People of any interest have nothing to fear from this want of protection in the laws, for the reasons before given; and the wretches who suffer, have no means of making their grievances known, or of obtaining redress. Assaults upon the lower people, if committed by a gentleman, are never punished. No grand jury would find a bill against him, nor is the practice of the Crown office there, equally in favour of the sufferer with what it is here. The receipt of the revenue is the only

thing attended to, and its produce is amply sufficient for all the purposes of Government; there is, however, evident marks of partiality to the better sort, and oppression of the poorer, in the laying of some of the taxes from whence it comes. The hearth-money tax is a flagrant instance, as there is no exception of a single hearth to any who does not receive alms, and there is no increase of the rate, let the number of hearths in a house be what they may. The coach duty is also an instance of the partiality of the great ones to themselves above the midling people, for no man pays for more than one carriage, let him keep as many as he will, and he who keeps but one, pays the same for it,

All these evils being reducible to this one, the tyranny of the higher orders over the lower, the redress of them is, on that account, exceedingly difficult, and the chief Governor who aims at it, must expect opposition from those who have the power to injure him, they being the oppressors; and he can hope for little assistance from those he serves, who are the oppressed. I have taken no notice of the House of Lords, because, in effect, there is none in Ireland; the Privy Council compose the second branch of the legislature in that kingdom. The
Lords

Lords must be vested with authority, however, before the present oppressive system can be dissolved.

The Crown has now no use of its Peers, and without their aid, the Commons will always be too strong for it. The two points to which a chief Governor's whole administration should tend, ought to be, the exaltation of the Peers, and the protection of the lower people. The depression of the Aristocracy will follow of course; but any measure directly for that purpose would bring destruction on a chief Governor. The measures which I should propose, would be slow in their operation, and whose tendency would not immediately be perceived. Popular bills might be begun in the Lords, and some of the Irish Peers, who are able men, sent over for that purpose.

The constant residence of the Lord Lieutenant would be of all things the most necessary; but as the use intended to be made of that step has been so publicly declared, it might be better to postpone that for some time, at least, until some other things were done. Directions should be given to the Judges of Assize, to inquire after grievances among the lower people; and
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where presentments were rejected by the Grand Juries, to order the Attorney General to prosecute *ex officio*, at the expence of the Crown. The Judges should also be directed to quash all presentments of roads or bridges, or such like jobbs, which were calculated for the accommodation of particular gentlemen, and not of public utility. In fine, to encourage the lower people to look up to them for protection against the 'squires, and to teach them something of independency.

Limiting the duration of Parliaments would, in my humble opinion, be a measure of great importance to these ends. There is much to be said for and against a septennial bill : but, to me, the arguments in favour of prerogative seem to promote that bill. It may be worth while to investigate them a little. A House of Commons once chosen, without limited duration, it is said, will have no apprehension but of disobliging the Crown, because, from the Crown only will the members have to fear for the continuance of their seats. But it is to be considered, that the measures of the Crown are not always unpopular, and, that when they are not, the Crown loses the weight of the people with the members. The purposes of the
Crown,

Crown, I suppose to be the good of the nation, and the opposition, I fear, is an opposition to public good, for the sake of private advantages or factious combinations : the business is how to controul such oppositions.

If a Parliament has an unlimited duration, the fear of a faction will be that of a sudden dissolution by the Crown ; and to provide against that, they will go all lengths to flatter the prejudices of the people. If the Crown dissolves them, in such a case, they are sure of being re-chosen, and the Crown loses by the exercise of its dernier prerogative. If the people be with the Crown, and against their representatives, the Crown can dissolve them, the septennial bill notwithstanding. But the legal expiration of their term is a much safer ground for the Crown to get rid of them on, than by a prerogative dissolution. The exertion of that prerogative will ever be unpopular, and may change the minds of the people who are favourers of the Crown, whereas a dissolution of course leaves the Crown at liberty to take measures for the annoyance of its opponents, without the charge of making the occasion. Besides, the acquaintance with business acquired by members from long sitting, the factions to be formed, and the cutting

ting off all projects for opposition in future elections, make long Parliaments infinitely more formidable than those of limited duration.

The Crown will always find means of having its servants chose ; and it is no small advantage to meet with veteran troops, an undisciplined army. I once had the honour of being a Minister in an American Colony,* and I held my post for six years ; the three first I had to do with the same assembly, but I had an annual one for the other three ; and if I wished to make the Crown absolute, I would propose a bill for an annual Parliament. Experience is clearly on

* I was appointed one of his Majesty's Council and Provost Marshal of Georgia by the Earl of Halifax, in the year 1756, to assist in promoting the settlement, and forming the civil constitution of that infant colony, the newly appointed governor, my earliest and most intimate friend Mr. Ellis, a gentleman whose transcendent talents had then raised him to that high office, and afterwards made him the confidential friend of the Earl of Egremont when Secretary of State, and still renders him the delight and improver of all the literate societies in the different countries he visits, as well as in his own. He used to say of himself and me, when consulting upon the little affairs of that colony, that we were like two fire engines erected to raise water for a cabbage garden.—What we did for that Colony will be seen in a future publication.

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my side. It was a House of Commons that had sat sixteen years, that proposed the bill for excluding the King's brother; and it is evident to all men, that the Crown has less influence in the Irish House of Commons than in the British. The sum is, no House of Commons will long act in opposition to the sentiments of the people, unless they have power to re-chuse themselves; if they have *that*, the Crown can never dissolve them, nor will their legal dissolution be of any importance. If they be dependent on the people for their seats, they will be careful not to forfeit the regard of the people, because their regard will make them independent of the Crown. If the Crown has any influence in the elections, a dissolution of course is the only way for the Crown to avail itself of that influence, and a prerogative dissolution will destroy all possibility of advantage from it. As a means therefore of reducing the Irish House of Commons to a Democracy instead of the Aristocracy they now form, I would advise a septennial bill. Such a bill would greatly serve to raise the lower sort, and to prevent the oppressions of the gentry, and, in every view, would much serve distributive justice, and to release the tenants from their abject servility to their landlords.

No. II.

Paper delivered to Sir John Blaquiere, in 1776.

UNTIL the act of the 12th of Charles the Second, called the Navigation Act, there was no restraint upon the Colonies exporting their commodities in foreign bottoms, and to foreign ports; by that act they are prohibited from exporting any of their commodities except in English, Irish, or Welch ships, three-fourths of the crew to be English. That act did not prevent the importation into Ireland of any American products directly from the Colonies in Irish ships, nor were any commodities whatever prohibited to be imported into the Colonies from Ireland.

The 15th of Charles the Second is the first act which restrains Ireland from a free communication with the Colonies, by enacting, that all commodities of the growth or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the Colonies from England, Wales, or Berwick, and in English built ships. Such ships are, however, allowed to take in provisions in Ireland. That the ships must be English, is further declared in
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this act, by requiring the Master to produce to the Governor on his arrival in the Colonies, a certificate, that the ships are English built, or belonging to England, Wales, or Berwick.

By another clause in that act, all fish is prohibited from being imported into England, except in English built ships or vessels, or ships or vessels belonging to England, Wales, or Berwick.

The act of the 22d and 23d of Charles the Second directs, that the word *Ireland* shall be left out of the bonds to be given for the due landing of enumerated commodities, and therefore they can no longer be imported into Ireland from the Colonies. All such commodities, and every other except hats and woollen manufactures, may be imported into any of our Colonies from any other of them, and in ships belonging to any of the Colonies, and the products and manufactures of every Colony, except hats and woollens, may be exported from any Colony to another in Colony ships.

By the 10th and 11th of King William, for the encouragement of fishing on the banks

of Newfoundland, all his Majesty's subjects are authorised to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, *as heretofore*; even if these words should be allowed to include the Irish, they cannot avail themselves of it, for the island of Newfoundland is an English plantation, and no ship belonging to Ireland can enter any of its harbours; neither can any fishing tackle or materials for the fishery be carried from Ireland; nor can provisions be carried there in ships belonging to Ireland, and therefore it is impossible for the Irish to carry on any fishery at Newfoundland. The same may be said respecting the Whale and Oil fishery, in the gulph and river St. Lawrence, and coast of Labradore, while every Colony is intitled to a full participation in both with the people of England, and their ships allowed to be English.

No. III.

To Sir JOHN BLAQUIRE.

Whitehall, 12 March, 1776.

(Copy.)

MY earnest wishes for the prosperity of Ireland; and in that for the honour of its present administration, incite me to send you the inclosed

closed copy of a letter from a gentleman much connected with the New England southern whale fishery, but a true friend to this country, and to acquaint you, that the principal proprietors of the vessels fitted out from Rhode Island and Nantucket last year for that fishery, were lately here, and I had much conversation with them. I endeavoured to direct their attention to Ireland for the seat of their fishery, now that they can no longer carry it on from North America; and enumerated the many advantages they would have in fitting out from thence, which they appeared sensible of, but opposed to them the want of men of sufficient capital to make the necessary advances, and the probability of a bounty being given by Parliament here upon the importation of bone. These objections, Sir John, point out the difficulties which Ireland labours under in the establishment of a fishery, and yet I think they are to be removed by the exertions of an able administration. One great object of the plan I formerly opened to you was the *attracting the unemployed money of Europe into Ireland*. My present situation, and the circumstances of American affairs, will not admit of my making Ireland a visit for the purpose of putting matters in train for bringing my
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propositions before Parliament ; waving that business therefore *for the present*, I will mention to you what occurs to me as the best means of promoting the Irish fishery; and inducing the New Englanders to make Ireland the seat of their whale fishery. A bounty, similar to our Greenland bounty, upon all ships fitted out from Ireland for the whale fishery ; a premium upon the erecting of boiling houses for the blubber ; an application to ministry here to allow the importation of oil from Ireland duty free, a bounty in Ireland on the exportation of oil from thence. The grant of a bounty, similar to the Greenland bounty, on whale bone imported into Ireland by ships fitted out from thence ; the permission to import whale bone from Ireland into England duty free.—The Irish Parliament taking the start in this business, of whatever may be designed here, will turn the attention of the New Englanders to that country, and the manifest profit to be made by this fishery, will induce the monied agents here to supply them. We can have no hopes of obtaining bounties here on ships fitted out from Ireland, but if you give the same bounties, and the importation from Ireland into England is free, it will operate very nearly as much

much in favour of Ireland as if the bounties were given here. I think when you are doing this, it would be a good time to give a bounty (similar to that given here by the Act of last session) to the first twenty ships fitting out from Ireland for the Newfoundland fishery. No opportunity can ever be more favourable than the present for pushing any measure for increasing the navigation of Ireland. Indeed I do not think it would be difficult to obtain an act, declaring Irish ships to be English to all legal intents. You will pardon me for stating these matters to you, for I am sure you are anxious to mark Lord Harcourt's administration by public services; and the readiness you have shewn to receive any communications from me with that view, leaves me no doubt of your giving this the attention it may deserve.

No. IV.

Dublin Castle, 14 May, 1776.

My dear Sir,

It must be some satisfaction to you to see how little your ideas are unattended to, how likely they
are

are to prosper for the good of this country. My unusually hurried time has put it out of my power to enter upon this correspondence in the way I could have wished, and that it deserved; but the cause has not suffered, my friend Sir Lucius, who professes a million of obligations for my having consigned him to your acquaintance, has followed it up with his wonted diligence. I feel a remorse of conscience when I say, that I have been engaged in any business which could supersede this; assure yourself it has not been in pleasure.

I am, with unfeigned esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful

humble servant,

J. BLAQUIRE.

This letter transmitted copy of a bill for the improvement of the fisheries of Ireland, giving bounties to the Newfoundland ships.

No. V.

No. V.

(Copy.)

*From Sir JOHN BLAQUIRE to Lord HARCOURT.**Greenwich, 20 Oct. 1776.*

My Lord,

MR. William Knox, the Deputy Secretary of State, was with me yesterday to acquaint me with the death of Mr. Ellis, Agent in London for the Irish Linen Board, and to request my best offices with your Excellency to obtain this employment for his brother ; *I owed at least this much to Mr. William Knox, the kingdom of Ireland owe him a great deal more ; nor is your Excellency entirely free from being indebted to him for a very warm and successful exertion of very superior abilities in the cause of the several bounties granted to Ireland under your Excellency's administration, the fisheries in particular ; and in the late extension of the bounties to the southward, he has not, he cannot have a competitor in your favour.* I fancy your Excellency will find that Mr. Knox is a person of eminent character, unquestionably very fit for the office, and with the advantage of recurring, upon important occasions, for the

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assistance

assistance which his brother, from ability, inclination, the most extensive knowledge of the commercial interests of Ireland, and the situation he is happily placed in, can give: I have not a doubt but the most beneficial consequences might accrue to Ireland, supposing your Excellency has not engaged yourself for the appointment, and on any other grounds than those I would not have mentioned this matter, although Mr. William Knox is a person for whom I have a high regard.

I am,

With sincere respect and attachment,

Your Excellency's devoted

And obliged servant,

JOHN BLAQUIRE.

No. VI.

Considerations on the State of IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is the common misfortune of all dependencies of great empires, that such of their citizens as are able to make their way to the metro-

metropolis, seldom return to their native province, or bring the knowledge or influence they have acquired to its service. No country feels this misfortune more sensibly than Ireland ; for notwithstanding it is no more than a member of the British empire, its constitution partakes so much of a separate state, that almost the whole of its polity is left to the arrangement of its own domestic government ; and besides the aptness of men, removed to a distance from the seat of empire, to be swayed by early prejudices or local attachments, their best calculated projects for promoting the particular interest of their country must ever run the hazard of being defeated, by clashing with the particular interest of some other member, or interfering with the general and combined interests of the whole.

To the want of a knowledge of the general and combined interest of the empire, in those who have had the direction of the affairs in Ireland since the Revolution, may in a great measure be ascribed the slow progress Ireland has made in population, cultivation, commerce, and wealth, compared with other parts of the British dominions.

It is not my present purpose to point out instances of proof of this assertion, but there is one so striking and obvious, that I cannot help mentioning it.

In the 19th year of the reign of James the 1st. the whole number of white inhabitants in what was then called Virginia, which comprehended the greatest part of the British territories in North America, amounted to no more than 4000, at which time Ireland contained at least a million; yet, with such a prodigious start, we have seen Ireland, in little more than a century, overtaken by America, and in some particulars surpassed; for it is beyond controversy, that until her late imprudence in exciting the jealousy, and provoking the resentment of Great Britain, British America was nearly as populous as Ireland; her people were better fed, better clothed, better lodged, and more happy; she had more shipping, more trade, and more credit; and during the whole time laboured under more restraints from English laws than Ireland did, with a soil much less fertile, and a climate neither so temperate or salutary.

The author of the following sheets is a native of Ireland; and, although he has been many years engaged in the public service in other parts of the British dominions, he has not forgot what he owes to the country from whence he derived his birth, and where he received those principles that have supported him at all times, and carried him through a variety of situations, without reproach; and he thinks he cannot better discharge his duty to his parent country, and to the empire at large, than by bringing to the public stock of Ireland whatever knowledge the many means of information he has had, may have enabled him to acquire.

His first object is to endeavour to lead his countrymen to reflect upon their own condition as a people, to investigate the constitution of their government and the nature of their connexion with England; and in doing this, he intreats them to divest themselves as much as possible of their early prejudices; to inquire before they form their opinion, and not to take that upon trust from others, the truth of which they ought to have examined themselves.

What is now laid before them will, he hopes, call up their attention, and turn their thoughts
into

into a right channel. He intends to wait its effects, before he proceeds to offer any propositions, respecting either the external connexions or internal polity of Ireland; but he pledges himself to his countrymen to bring forward, in due time, some of importance in each class.

CONSIDERATIONS.

THE end and purpose of all government being the advantage, safety, and happiness of the community, the general discontent of the people is at all times an argument of a defective constitution, or of misconduct in those to whom the administration is committed: when the latter is the case, a change of ministers will probably prove a remedy; but if the mischief lies deeper, and has its source in the constitution itself, a change of ministers will only serve to increase the public ill humour, and by exciting hopes which cannot be gratified, add the resentment of disappointment to the anguish of former grievances. It seems therefore highly proper to inquire into the nature of our public evils, and to trace them to their fountain, before any method of redressing them is propounded; for,

for, until we have a fair view of the disease, we shall not be able to judge of the probable effects of the regimen that may be offered for our relief.

Without going back farther than our memory will serve us, we shall find such diversity in the characters of our several chief governors, and variety in the measures of their administrations, as strongly to incline us to suppose that they would not *all* have failed as they did in giving content to the people, were it in the power of any chief governor to give it. We execrate the subtle Lord Carteret for aiming to deprive us of the advantages of biennial sessions of Parliament ; and we are not better pleased with the undesigning Lord Townshend, who has secured and improved that privilege by an octennial election ; we accuse Lord Chesterfield of sapping the foundation of the Irish interest in Parliament ; and we censure Lord Harrington for putting himself into the hands of the Aristocracy, and consenting to their violent and arbitrary attempts upon the freedom of our elections. The Duke of Dorset is never to be forgiven for opening a new channel of circulation for the King's favours, and it seems to
be

be the great grievance of the present hour,* that the hands through which they then passed are no longer employed in distributing them. The Duke of Devonshire is blamed for effecting an union of the contending parties; and that he governed by a faction, is one of the crimes of the Duke of Bedford; and whilst the unaccommodating pride of the latter nobleman is recollected with disgust, the facility and politeness of Lord Halifax is branded with the epithets of falshood and insincerity. In short, splendour and magnificence is useless profusion in Lord Northumberland, and an attention to domestic œconomy miserable parsimony in Lord Hertford. A large redundance of public treasure had well nigh undone the kingdom in 1753, and an increase of its domestic expences have brought it to the verge of bankruptcy in 1772. It is needless for me to multiply instances of our discontent, or to expose the contrariety of the causes we assign for them, especially as it is not my purpose either to vindicate the characters or conduct of our Viceroy, or to revive the public clamour against them; all I mean to shew is, that the people have been uneasy under

* This paper was written in the year 1772.

all administrations, and that, judging of the future by the past, there is no likelihood of their being content with any chief Governor, until the constitution of Ireland receives some improvement. This is a point of which I wish my countrymen to be fully convinced ; for so long as they entertain a hope of seeing an administration to their mind, they will be apt to join in the cry raised by the factious against every chief Governor, vainly flattering themselves, by his removal, to make way for their favourite ; and thus, instead of bending their force to remove the cause, they will continue to be, as they have been, the dupes of designing and artful leaders, exclaiming against its necessary effects, without any public principle for the basis of their opinion, or any constitutional rule for the direction of their conduct. Let me then entreat my countrymen to consider this matter with serious attention, and then fairly say what are the public acts they wish to see take effect, and what are the measures they wish to see pursued by a chief Governor, and I will appeal to their candour for confessing that neither those acts nor those measures are to be expected from any chief Governor so long as you consider yourselves, and are considered by Eng-

land as a separate kingdom and having separate interests; can you hope to be deemed a dependence of the English crown only for the purpose of being protected by the English fleets and armies, and enjoying the advantages of the treaties and alliances procured by England, and be considered by her as an independent people in all other respects? Such notions are too absurd to be entertained by so sensible a people, and therefore I flatter myself you will give me your candid and serious attention, whilst I endeavour to trace the causes of your uneasiness, and point out the means of their removal.

To have the clearer view of this very important subject, it will be necessary to go back to the origin of the connection between England and Ireland, and to inquire into the motives which induced it, and the principles upon which it was founded.

From the imperfect accounts we have of the state of Ireland antecedent to the arrival of Henry the Second, compared with what we know to have been the state of England at the same period, it is easy to prove that the introduction of the laws and customs of England
into

into Ireland by that monarch was a considerable boon to the people of Ireland. The tenure by which the inhabitants hold their lands is in all countries a fair test of the freedom or despotism of the government, for where-ever the people have a right to be consulted upon acts of state, they never fail to use that right to secure to themselves a fixed property in their lands, which, next to the liberty of their persons, is deemed the most important consideration ; and indeed there is good reason it should be so considered, for personal freedom in a country where there is no certain property, is no otherways beneficial than as it enables the inhabitants to remove out of it, and seek their fortunes under a better constitution of government.

Nothing could be more wretched than the ancient condition of the people of Ireland appears to have been in respect to property in their lands ; possession was the only rule of right among the inhabitants, and as by the custom of tanestry, the captain, or head of each sept, was elective, it is easy to suppose, that upon the succession of every new captain, room was to be made for the accommodation of his friends, by the removal of those of his predecessor or oppo-

nent ; and as the same custom prevailed in the
 succession of their princes or kings, the conti-
 nual wars, rapines, murders, and desolation,
 which we are told of, appear to be no more
 than the necessary effects of the barbarism of
 the constitution ; what a blessing then was the
 introduction of feudal tenures to this people !
 and therefore it is not surprising that the great
 men of the island so universally and immediate-
 ly embraced the offers of Henry, and, relin-
 quishing their former titles, consented to hold
 their principalities and domains of him as their
 feudal Lord ; for by so doing they acquired for
 their children a right of inheritance, and conti-
 nued their own possessions in their families ; nor
 were their tenants less benefited by the change,
 as they were of course to hold their farms of
 their lords upon the like conditions ; and of this
 they were made more secure, as well as in their
 personal estates and liberties, by the abolition
 of the Brehon law, and the introduction of the
 laws and customs of England in its room. Few
 of the laws of England, more than those of Ire-
 land, were at this time written ; but as in Eng-
 land all criminal, and the greatest part of civil
 causes were tried by juries of the vicinity, a per-
 petual memory of what was law was kept up
 among

among the people, and the rule which governed in a former case became a direction in all succeeding ones ; and as all decrees and sentences were recorded in the county or manor rolls, a fixed and regular system of jurisprudence in course of time took effect in each county and manor ; in some instances, indeed, different from that which prevailed in others, but in nothing of great importance, as the superior courts which attended the king, and the itinerant judges had the controul over all the inferior courts, and we may suppose took care to establish, as near as could be, an uniformity of proceeding among them. The Brehon law was on the contrary the most despotic and arbitrary that can be imagined ; every captain or chief of a sept appointed a brehon or judge to decide all causes, criminal and civil, among the people of his tribe. Causes between the people and the chief were seldom brought, or if they were, it is not difficult to guess in whose favour they were decided ; but the lord was not content to benefit by the decisions of the brehon in his own causes only, he was equally careful that some profit should accrue to him out of the suits of his tenants. Hence all rapes, felonies, murders, and other crimes, were made commutable
for

for money, and punished only by fines to the lord, and some compensation to the party injured. As the brehon held his office at the good pleasure of the captain, and as every succeeding captain appointed his own brehon, there is no room to doubt that the interests of the party in possession were leaned to by the brehon, and indeed that his decisions were made the means of recompensing the services of the friends of the present chief at the expence of those of his predecessors. Hasty and unjust, therefore, are the censures of those zealous champions of what they think the privileges of Ireland, upon the want of sense and spirit in the natives to defend their own laws and possessions, and in meanly submitting both to the will of Henry, consenting to hold their lands of the crown of England, and to be governed by the English laws ; for in fact they acted in this respect with more wisdom than we find any other people ever did in the like circumstances. They changed a mode of government and laws replete with tyranny and oppression, and productive of every enormity, for a constitution framed upon principles of equal right, and for laws which gave them security in their persons, and property in their possessions ; but this was not all, for instead of
submitting,

submitting, as it is weakly and falsely alledged, to the condition of a people conquered by an invader, they stipulated for a common right with their invaders, not only to all the privileges *they* should enjoy in Ireland, but to a community of rights and privileges with them in their own country England. Where, let me ask these traducers of our ancestors, shall we find in modern history a conquered people admitted to a community of rights and privileges with their conquerors? or, which of the many nations overcome by the Romans stipulated with that proud people, in the zenith of their power, for all the privileges of Roman citizens? Yet this the people of Ireland did, with that great and mighty monarch Henry the Second of England; they became incorporated with the English, and were made one people with them, by an union, the most entire and perfect that can be conceived. Their king was the same, they held their lands by the same tenure, their laws were not similar but the same, their legislator was the same, their religion was the same; how happy would it have been for the people of both islands, but especially for those of Ireland, had this union proved as lasting as it was complete! What horrid scenes of wretchedness and

and misery would it have prevented ! Rebel-
 lions, massacres, and devastations, would not
 have then filled every page of our shocking
 history, nor would the poverty of the bulk of
 our people have been, as it now is, our re-
 proach among civilized nations ; but on the
 contrary, participating with our brethren in
 England in every benefit of commerce, profit-
 ing by their wealth and skill in manufactures
 for the perfecting our own, deriving equal ad-
 vantages with them from the increase of the
 colonies, and beneficial treaties with foreign
 states ; peace and plenty must have taken place
 of poverty and desolation, and the happiness
 and prosperity of Ireland would have been the
 envy of all nations. But Providence, which
 frequently uses the wickedness of one man as
 the instrument to punish the crimes of others,
 by permitting that monster of bigotry and de-
 ceit, Louis the VIIth of France, to call Henry
 into Normandy before he had seen his new con-
 stitution take effect, left the miserable natives
 to suffer by their new rulers, and each other
 for their former enormities.

When a new mode of government and new
 laws were to be introduced, it was highly re-
 quisite

quisite to appoint magistrates, well skilled in both, to administer them to the people; but this Henry had not time to do, and therefore it fell of course to the brehons to pronounce judgement, by laws which they were wholly unacquainted with, and to establish customs which they had never heard of. No provision seems to have been made for the tanist, or elected successor to the chief of each sept, and as each captain or head was now become a baron, and his barony descendable to his son, the tanist was barred of his succession, and without any compensation. It is unnecessary to look for other sources of mischief; these two were more than sufficient to deprive the people of Ireland of all the advantages the new constitution held out to them, and even to render it more odious in their eyes than their own; for as the tanist would naturally claim the succession by the old law, and the heir of his predecessor would endeavour to retain it under the sanction of the new tenure; and Henry the lord of the fief being absent, a civil war in every sept was the necessary consequence of the death of the Chief. The tyranny and oppression of the Chief, which the people hoped to have seen restrained by the English laws, were,

on the contrary, increased under pretence of them; for it was easy for him to direct his Brehon to give a colour to the most iniquitous decision, by declaring it to be according to the English laws; and it was in his own power to seize upon the possessions of any of his sept under pretence of their being forfeited to him by these unknown laws. Indeed when John became Lord of Ireland, we find him endeavouring to remedy these evils by renewing the charter of Henry, and carrying over from England a number of learned judges, and appointing them to dispense the English laws to the people; his own troubles, however, soon took off his attention to the affairs of Ireland; and it was the misfortune of this country, that those to whom its government was committed, in these early times, instead of labouring to draw the band of union still closer between England and Ireland, took every possible measure for separating the native Irish from the English, and their descendants who were settled here. It was their villainous policy to excite quarrels among the Irish Chiefs, and then declare them rebels, and to seize upon their countries as forfeited by their treason; and finding the Brehon laws more convenient to their purposes of

tyranny

tyranny and oppression, they denied their wretched tenants the benefit of the laws of England, and forced them to resort to their brehon. In public and notorious violation of the great charter of Henry, confirmed by John, they set up a pale as a boundary between the possessions of the English and Irish inhabitants, and confined the jurisdiction of the English laws within the limits of that pale; nay, what was still more unjust, they denied the benefit of those laws to such of the descendants of the native Irish as dwelt within the pale. It is with pain I relate these iniquities of my countrymen; for it was *our* ancestors who practised them on each other. The descendants of the Laceys, the Fitzgeralds, the Cavennaghs, the Courcys, and many more who may find themselves injured by the recital of the injustice done to those they take to have been their ancestors; by those they call English, ought to change the subject of their complaint, and lament that *their* ancestors were capable of such cruelty and injustice to *their* countrymen; neither the government or people of England were instrumental in this wrong, any farther than by neglecting to take proper measures for preventing it; and the unsettled state of those times;

the continual disputes about the succession, and the wars on account of the territories in France, furnish excuses for that neglect. Equally malicious and absurd are the endeavours of those who by an exaggerated account of these transactions, labour to excite in the present inhabitants of Ireland, resentment and ill will against their fellow subjects in England, as if it were the ancestors of the present English who inflicted these hardships upon the ancestors of the present Irish. No, my countrymen, let us not be deceived by such incendiaries; they were equally our own ancestors who perpetrated the cruelties with those who suffered them. Even such, whose names denote them to be of the native stock which first peopled this island, ought to be cautious how they indulge their feelings against the cruel invaders; for their names are no security that their ancestors were not among the oppressors, as it became a practice with many of the descendants of the English, as Spencer informs us, to change their names, or alter them to Irish, in order to give a better colour to their refusing the benefits of the English laws to their tenants, and obliging them to submit to those called the Brehon; neither have we better grounds to look upon
all

all those whose names are not of Irish origin, as descendants of the invaders, for we find an act of the Irish Parliament, held at Trim by the Earl of Desmond, in the year 1465, the 5th of Edward the IVth, requiring “ every Irishman
 “ that dwelt in the counties of Meath, Unil,
 “ and Kildare, to take to him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester,
 “ Trim, Skryne, Cork, Kinsale; or colour, as
 “ White, Black, Brown; or art or science, as
 “ Smith or Carpenter; or office, as Cook,
 “ Butler.”

And here it is proper I should take notice, that the chief of the hardships inflicted on the native Irish, and those which we are the most shocked at, were the necessary consequences of the revival of the brehon law; for by that law, all crimes, as I have before observed, were commutable for money; and, therefore, when we find a price set upon the head of a native Irishman, and his murderer was acquitted upon the payment of that sum, we ought not to consider it as a single act of tyranny or cruelty, but impute it to its source, the refusal of the benefit of the English laws, and the revival of that of the brehon: and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the violent partizans of what they call the liberties of Ireland, who declaim so loudly upon these barbarous

barous doings, in the same breath impeach the authority of the English laws in Ireland, which alone made them criminal, and thereby render these very proceedings legal, if not justifiable. That the government in England was far from countenancing these proceedings of the administration in Ireland is evident, from the act or letters patent of the 17th of Edward the First, dated at Nottingham, in the year 1288, two and twenty years before the date of the first act passed by an Irish Parliament, as printed in the collection of the Irish statutes. The preamble to this act declares it to be, *for the amendment of the government of our realm of Ireland, and for the peace and tranquillity of our people of the same land*; and, indeed, the enacting clauses very well correspond with the intention expressed in the preamble, for they prohibit the justice and all other officers of the crown from purchasing lands within their respective bailiwicks without special licence from the King. It commands that they should not take victuals, or any other thing, of persons against their will; that they should not arrest ships or goods of strangers or subjects; but, *that trade should be free and unrestrained between England, Wales, and Ireland*. And to correct this abuse of par-

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doning or commuting for murder, the King reserved to himself the power of pardoning in all such cases, and restrains his justice or chancellor from exercising that prerogative in future.

I am not writing the history of Ireland, although it is highly fit it should be done by some one;* for there is no civilized people upon earth who know so little of their own history or affairs as we of Ireland do of ours; but I conceive it to be a good service to the public, to remove the prejudices which ignorance of the truth has laid us open to, and which prevail among us, even to this day, in a degree extremely injurious to the welfare of our country, and highly disgraceful to us, as an enlightened people; for not content with the single absurdity of supposing that no intermixture has happened among the inhabitants of so small an island in six centuries; a new mark of distinction has been borrowed from religion to supply that of descent, which might otherwise have been worn out in so many ages; and although the reformation did not take place in England

* This was written before Dr. Leland's History was published. I am sorry its publication has not given me occasion to alter what I had written.

for 350 years after Henry's invasion of Ireland, yet the Protestants of Ireland are weak enough to stigmatize the whole body of the Roman Catholics, as descendant of the ancient Irish, and as such, are unwilling to allow them a community of rights and privileges with themselves: but that the ancient inhabitants of this island were equally entitled to all the laws, rights, and privileges of Englishmen with the English adventurers, has been, I persuade myself, sufficiently proved; and although the charters of Henry the Second, and of his son John, granting those laws, rights, and privileges to the people of Ireland, had not the express consent or concurrence of the English Barons or Parliament, yet I am bold to affirm, that such consent or concurrence was not necessary, and the English statutes themselves afford abundant proofs that the Parliament of England acquiesced in these acts of their kings, and considered the people of Ireland for 300 years afterwards as Englishmen, and entitled to a community with themselves in all their laws, rights, and privileges.

It is difficult to avoid carrying with us our ideas of things as they appear at present, into the
dis-

discussion of the practice that prevailed in ancient times ; and as we now see Parliament the source of legislation, and vested with high, perhaps boundless, jurisdiction, we are apt to conceive that such has always been the case, in some degree at least. Laws too are now generally made to restrain the people, and give power to the officers of the Crown ; and Parliament, instead of petitioning the King for privileges, is continually authorising the Crown to abridge the people's liberties in some instance or other ; but the truth is, the King and the Parliament have changed places in latter times, and the fundamental maxims of Government are entirely reversed. The doctrine in former ages was, that all power was in the King ; the doctrine now is, that all power is derived from the people. Every liegeman was then in the power of the Prince, and subject to his will, except where he could shew a grant or charter of the Crown in his behalf. Now the King has no power over any man unless there be some law to give it to him. Instead of being assembled to signify their *acceptance* of the grace of the Crown in the grant of a charter or law, Parliament now meets of right, *propounds* and enacts laws, and presents them to the Crown for as-

sent ; and woe be to the advisers of the Prince, if that advice be with-held.

The expressions *legislative jurisdiction of Parliament*, which are applicable to the present state of things, have no meaning when applied to former times. Parliament was then nothing more than an assembly of such of those who held lands in capite of the Crown, as the King thought fit to call together by his writ, in order to *accept*, on the part of the whole people, such laws or charters as the King might be pleased to *grant*, and in return, to signify the people's *consent* to the King's levying, for his own use, a certain sum of money ; how then was Henry obliged to have the consent of the English Parliament to his granting to the people of Ireland all the laws which himself or his predecessors had granted to the people of England ? Neither could he be restrained by any law or rule then in being, from calling, by his writ, certain of his Irish tenants in capite to the assembly of his tenants, or Parliament, in England, and receiving their *acceptance* of his laws in common with his English tenants, and their *consent* to the same subsidies also ; but whether the King thought fit to call any of his Irish tenants

nants to these assemblies or not, the people of Ireland were equally entitled, with the people of England, to the benefit of the laws *accepted* by such assemblies ; or as the modern most improper phrase is, were equally *bound* by them ; for the King was in no case obliged to summon *all* his tenants to such assemblies ; and as the states and people of Ireland had adopted the laws and government of England, they were thenceforward included in all the transactions of those assemblies ; for it was the law of England that those assemblies should *consent* for the whole people, and we find the fact corresponds with this doctrine ; for it appears manifest from the English statutes (which are always the best and surest guides to the national opinions) down to the 1st of Henry the Vth. the year 1413, that this island was deemed a part of England, and its inhabitants in all respects Englishmen.

In all the acts for regulating trade, England, Ireland, and Wales are coupled together, and the liberties and prohibitions extended to all alike. By the statute of the 11th of Edward the III^d. neither man or woman in England, Ireland, or Wales, were to wear cloth, but of the manufacture of England, Ireland, or Wales,

and of such parts of Scotland as were then in the King's power ; no foreign cloths might be brought into any of those countries ; none under a certain degree might wear furs ; all foreign clothworkers might come into any of those lands with safety, and have franchises granted them. By the 8th of Edward the III^d. wines of Gascoigny imported into England, Ireland, or Wales, are directed to be gauged. All people of England, Ireland, and Wales, that are not artificers, may pass into Gascoigny in virtue of the 43^d of Edward the III^d. and purchase wines, provided they import them into England, Ireland, or Wales. The staple of wool, leather, fells, and lead, by the 27th of Edward the III^d. is appointed for England at Newcastle and nine other towns, at Carmarthen for Wales, and at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, for Ireland ; and all the wool, leather, fells, and lead to be exported out of any of those countries, are directed to be first carried to a staple town in the respective countries, and there sold to foreign merchants for gold or silver, but not for foreign merchandise. Merchants of Ireland or Wales, by the 17th of Edward the III^d. are allowed to bring their merchandise to the staples in England, and
sell

sell them there without paying any but the Irish or Welsh customs; because, says the statute, “ Foreigners do not so generally go to purchase at the Irish and Welsh staples as they do to those of England.” The 34th of Edward the III^d. accords that all the merchants, as well aliens as denizens, may come into Ireland with their merchandises, and from thence freely to return with their merchandises and victuals, without fine or ransom to be taken of them, saving always to the King his ancient customs and other duties. By the next chapter of the same act, it is enacted, “ That the people of England, as well religious as other, which have their heritage and possessions in Ireland, may bring their corn, beasts, and victuals, to the said land of Ireland, and thence to re-carry their goods and merchandises into England *freely*, without *impeachment*, *i. e.* hindrance, paying their customs and *devoirs* to the King.” By the 43^d of the same Edward, the wool staple at Calais is taken away, but the former acts, appointing staples in England, Ireland, and Wales, are confirmed.

The act of the 9th of Richard the II^d. which is the first essay of the English Parliament towards

wards a navigation act, prohibits the King's subjects from carrying forth or bringing in any merchandises, but only in ships of *the King's allegiance*. Neither Ireland or Wales are mentioned in any of the enacting clauses or chapters of the 14th of that King, but from the preamble it is evident that the regulations then made were to take place in those countries, as well as in England; the words of the preamble are, " for the relief and increase of the common profit of the realm of England and of *the lands of Wales and Ireland*, which have been in divers manners greatly hindered in times past, our Lord the King," &c. From henceforward we find no mention of Ireland in any statute, until we come to the 8th chapter of Henry the Vth. so that from the acts I have quoted, it is most evident that during this long period of near three centuries, and in the course of many reigns, England and Ireland were deemed by the King and Parliament and people of England to be incorporated, and the inhabitants of the two islands to be one people, and equally entitled to the same immunities, and subject to the same restraints. Nor are there the smallest grounds to suppose that there was any exception of the descendants of the native Irish

Irish from this community, and that only the English adventurers and their descendants were included in it ; for, on the contrary, all the terms which might lead to such ideas of distinction are carefully avoided, as the statutes never speak of *Irishmen*, but people of *Ireland*, which certainly includes the whole inhabitants. How wicked and ill-founded then, my countrymen, are those cruel aspersions upon the English government, which our hot-headed and ignorant zealots have thrown out, as if it was *they* who out-lawed the natives, and excluded them from the common rights of subjects, and even of men ? And how ought we to detest such base incendiaries, for endeavouring to create in us a jealousy and animosity against our English brethren, and to make the English government odious to us by such notorious falsehoods and atrocious calumnies ? You cannot possibly refuse to give credit to the evidence I have laid before you, and if you do not, it will be equally impossible for you to refuse your assent to this consequence which is so clearly deducible from it ; namely, that during the whole period I have run over, it appears to have been the uniform purpose of the laws and government of England to abolish all distinctions among the inhabitants

habitants of Ireland, and to consider all as enjoying the rights and privileges of Englishmen. Who then, you will ask, if not the English government, created and fostered those cruel and unjust distinctions between one part of the inhabitants and the other ? I answer freely, Irishmen ; perhaps the descendants of Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen, or Danes, but more especially our Irish rulers. Upon those, and upon those only, is to be charged all the misery, wretchedness, and destructions that have befallen us. Before we had a Parliament, we see by the act of the 17th of Edward the 1st. that the conduct of our great men in power did not escape the notice of the English government, and that a wise and effectual measure was taken to put a stop to their oppressions upon our trade and exactions of office, as well as to deprive them of the power of making distinctions in cases of murder and felonies between one part of the people and the other, and pardoning or punishing according to that wicked rule they had made of allowing the English laws to the descendants of English only, and allowing the descendants of the native Irish no other than the brehon law. But when a Parliament was once held in Ireland, the English government

com-

committed the care of the inhabitants to it, and from thenceforth the English Parliament did not once interfere with its domestic government or intermeddle in its affairs. How well the Irish Parliament and those in power here pursued the beneficent and wise purposes of the English government, may easily be collected from the terms they made use of to distinguish the descendants of the native Irish from those they supposed to be descendants of the English adventurers, 170 years after the incorporation of the two nations by Henry the Second, denominating the one *Irish enemies*, and the others *Englishmen*. Of this, and of the cruel, violent, and illegal methods of proceeding with those unhappy men, whom they were pleased to confound under the general name of *Irish enemies*, the acts of the Irish Parliament in the 25th of Henry the VIth. chapter the 2d and 3d, which I have copied in the margin * are shocking proofs.

There

* The 25th Henry the VIth. chap. 4th. enacts
 “ that he that will be taken for an Englishman shall
 not use a beard upon his upper lip alone. The offender
 shall be taken as an Irish *enemy*.

“ For that now there is no diversity in any betwixt
 the English marchours and the Irish enemies, and so by

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colour

There is good ground to believe, from the
style and tenor of the Irish acts of these times,
that

colour of the English marchours the Irish enemies do come from day to day to other into the English counties as English marchours, and do rob and kill by the highways, and destroy the common people by lodging upon them in the nights, and also do kill the husbands in the nights, and do take their goods to the Irishmen; wherefore it is ordained and agreed, that no manner of man that will be taken for an Englishman, shall have no beard above his mouth; that is to say, that he have no hairs upon his upper lip, so that the said lip be once at least shaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the nether lip. And if any man be found amongst the English contrary hereunto, that then it shall be lawful to every man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and to ransom them as Irish enemies."

C H A P. V.

"Also for that divers Irish enemies be many times received by lieutenants and justices of this land to become liege men, and thereto are sworn to be loyal lieges during their lives; and after many times they do not perimplysh the same, but do rob, burn, and destroy the king's liege people; and the same liege people, for fear to be impeached, dare not kill nor imprison the said enemies, nor take their goods nor chattels, whereby the said liege people do take great hurt and hindrance. It is ordained and established, that if any such Irish enemies, so received to the legiance of our sovereign lord, be found with any such offence aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to every liege man that may meet with them to do with the said Irishmen, so received to the legiance
afore-

that they were passed by the deputy or lieutenant, without having been transmitted to England, or approved by the King; for it is not to be supposed that the English government would have consented to acts so directly contrary to the laws of England, or have suffered it to be declared by statute, as is done in that of 35th of Henry the VIth. chapter 3d. *that there were sundry persons in Ireland who were not amenable to the common law*; and indeed we find it is expressly declared in the preamble of the 11th of Elizabeth for confirming Poyning's act, that when liberty was given to the governors under her Majesty's progenitors to call Parliaments at their pleasure, acts passed as well to *the dishonour of the prince as the hindrance of their subjects*. It was the *abuse* then of this liberty of making laws by the Irish Parliament and chief governors that called for that now obnoxious and be-

aforesaid, and to their goods and chattels, as to a man that never was become liege, without any impeachment of the law, notwithstanding any statute."

The 5th of Edward the IVth. chap. 2d. "An act that it shall be lawful to kill any that is found robbing by day or night, or going or coming to rob or steal, having no faithful man of good name or fame in their company in English apparel."

waited act of the 10th of Henry the 7th, commonly called Poyning's act, which obliges the lieutenant, or deputy, and privy council of Ireland, to represent to the King the necessity or expediency of holding a session of Parliament; and if we dispassionately examine the several acts which I have quoted as passed by Irish Parliaments, antecedent to this king's reign, and compare them with those which followed this restriction, I am confident it will appear that this *restraint was necessary for the common good of the people of Ireland, and that it has been productive of beneficial consequences to them.* Indeed the several laws enacted in this reign shew an attention to the quiet and good government of Ireland, which is not discoverable in the Irish statutes of any preceding reign. The act *that no citizen receive livery or wages of any lord or gentleman*, was certainly highly necessary for the peace and prosperity of the city of Dublin, and the other cities and towns, if what we are told in the preamble be true, “ that it was usual for the
 “ citizens to be retained by certain lords and
 “ gentlemen, contrary to their own laws and
 “ customs; whereas they should take part with
 “ no man but only the part of their sovereign
 “ lord,

“ lord, and his lieutenant for the time being,
 “ and to see their said cities and towns surely
 “ kept under due order and obedience, the
 “ which retainders, partaking, and division
 “ have been a great cause of all the trouble
 “ within the said land.”

The acts “ *that no person take any money or*
 “ *amends for the death or murder of his friend or*
 “ *kinsman, other than the king's laws will; that*
 “ *no person stir any Irishry to make war; that*
 “ *no peace in war be made with any man with-*
 “ *out licence of the governor; that for extirpa-*
 “ *tion of a new manner of coin and livery; for*
 “ *abolishing the words Cramabo and Butterabo,*
 “ *and that whereby murder of malice propense*
 “ *is made treason;*” all speak sufficiently for
 themselves; but there is something so expres-
 sive of the desire of government to restrain the
 violences of the great men, to protect the lower
 class, and do equal justice to all in the last
 mentioned act, that I cannot help reciting it.
 “ Forasmuch as there hath been *universal mur-*
 “ *der* by malice propense, used and had in this
 “ land by divers persons contrary to the laws of
 “ Almighty God and the King, *without any*
 “ *fear or due punishment had in that behalf,* be it
 “ enacted,

“ enacted, &c. That if any person or persons
 “ *of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition, be*
 “ *or they be of*, of malice propense do flee or
 “ murder, or of the said malice provoke, stir,
 “ or procure any other person or persons to flee
 “ or murder *any of the King’s subjects* within
 “ this land of Ireland, be deemed traitor at-
 “ tainted of haute treason, *likewise as it should*
 “ *extend to our said sovereign lord’s* person, or to
 “ his royal majesty.”

The English act of the first of Henry Vth.
 by which I limited my assertion that the island
 and people of Ireland were, by the King and
 Parliament of England, deemed incorporated
 with England, marks no line of partition be-
 tween the two islands, neither does it make
 any discrimination of the rights and privileges
 of the inhabitants, but inasmuch as it fixes an
 opprobrious stigma upon the natives of Ireland,
 and restrains them of that free intercourse with
 England which the incorporation of the two
 islands entitled them to ; it must be allowed to
 indicate in the Parliament of England an idea
 of distinction between the natives of Ireland and
 the natives of England: the like observation
 may be made upon the first of Henry Vith,

chap.

chap. 3d, and the second Henry VIth. chap. 8th, which are properly amendments of the former act of Henry Vth. But although these acts unquestionably set up a distinction between the natives of the two islands, yet they do not appear to have been followed by any others of a similar nature ; nor indeed is there to be found upon the statute roll down to the 15th of Charles the IIId. a single act for laying any partial restraint upon the trade or manufactures of Ireland, or imposing any duty upon the manufactures, products, or merchandise of Ireland, when imported into England. On the contrary, all the laws respecting trade passed in the several reigns antecedent to the restoration, convey to the people of Ireland the same advantages which they confer on the people of England. Third of Edward the IVth. which declares certain “ Merchandises not lawful to be brought
 “ ready wrought into England, has this proviso, that all wares and chaffres made and
 “ wrought in the land of Ireland or Wales,
 “ may be brought and sold in this realm of
 “ England, *as they were wont*, before the making of this statute, this act or statute notwithstanding.” The first of Henry VIIth. enacts, That no Gascoign or Guien wines be brought
 in

in but by English, *Irish*, and Welshmen, and by their ships.

The 4th of that king enacts, “ that no person,
 “ of whatsoever degree, convey or bring into
 “ this realm, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Ber-
 “ wick, any manner of wines or Tholouse
 “ wood, but in ships owned by the king, or
 “ some of his subjects of his realm of England,
 “ *Ireland*, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, and
 “ the master and mariners being Englishmen,
 “ *Irishmen*, or Welshmen, or of Berwick, or
 “ Calais.”

The first of Henry the VIIIth. chap. 5th, declares that “ every Englishman, *and all other the King's* subjects, may enter the goods of another Englishman, or the king's subjects, in any port in England, Ireland, &c.”

The 23d of this king confirms the before-mentioned statute of Henry the VIIth. respecting wines and wood, and in the 5th and 6th of Edward the VIth. it is repealed.

The 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 3d. inflicts a penalty upon carrying out of England, Wales,
 or

or *Ireland*, over sea, any rams, lambs, or sheep alive. The 43d of this reign prohibits the stretching woollen cloths within her Majesty's realm of England, or the dominions of the same.

The 2d of James the 1st. forbids to employ in hat-making any person born out of his Majesty's realms and dominions of England, Scotland, and *Ireland*.

Another act of the same year permits, under certain restrictions, any persons, *being subjects of the King's Majesty*, to transport corn in any ship whereof any English-born *subject* shall be the owner. The act of the 3d of this King, chap. 6th, for enabling all his Majesty's loving subjects of England and Wales to trade freely into the dominions of Spain, Portugal, and France, has a preamble so expressive of the sense Parliament had of the common right of the King's subjects to a free trade, and abhorrence of a monopoly, that I shall recite it at full length, "Whereas divers merchants have of late obtained from the King, under the great seal of England, a large charter of incorporation for them and their company to trade
I " into

“ into the dominions of Spain and Portugal,
 “ and are most earnest suitors to obtain the like
 “ for France, whereby none but themselves,
 “ and such as they shall think fit, shall take
 “ benefit of the said charter, disabling thereby
 “ all others his Majesty’s loving subjects *of this*
 “ *realm of England and Wales*, who ought in-
 “ *differently* to enjoy all the benefits of this
 “ most happy peace, *and also debarring them*
 “ *from that free enlargement of common traffic*
 “ *into those dominions which others his Majesty’s*
 “ *subjects of this realm of Scotland and Ireland*
 “ *do enjoy.*”

These, together with those which I before-
 mentioned, are the only laws respecting trade
 that I find to have been made in England before
 the Restoration, and it is most evident from the
 extracts which I have given, that the legisla-
 tures which enacted them, clearly held the in-
 habitants of Ireland to be entitled to all the pri-
 vileges and immunities enjoyed by the inha-
 bitants of England; but as commerce now
 became a principal object of the attention of the
 English Parliament, a spirit of monopoly and
 exclusion of others, which a love of trade never
 fails to generate, discovers itself in all their fu-
 ture

ture measures, and Ireland is no longer considered as a part of England, and incorporated with it, but it is henceforth regarded as the competitor instead of the sister of England, and all its commercial advantages viewed with partial and jealous eyes. Other causes, besides the selfish nature of trade, were not wanting to create a breach in the union of the two islands; the vanity of Henry the VIIIth. in taking the title of King of Ireland, and by consequence erecting the island into a kingdom, had no small share in the mischief; for this fatal name of kingdom, whenever it was sounded in the ears of a native of England, could not but excite in him ideas of a distinct state or dominion, having interests and views peculiar to itself, separate from, and incompatible with the views and interests of England. The repugnance which the Roman Catholics of Ireland had always shewn since the Reformation to the English government, and their then late horrid massacre of those they deemed the descendants of Englishmen, must also have greatly served to strengthen this jealousy in the people of England, and the number of settlers which had flowed into Ulster from Scotland, whose principles Charles and his loyal Parliament equally

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disliked,

disliked, was no small inducement for them to countenance by law the popular prejudices.

What happened to Wales in the reign of Henry IVth. gives weight to these suggestions; for the people of that principality having supported Earl Mortimer's title, Henry and his party in revenge procured several acts of Parliament to be passed, by which Wales and its inhabitants were separated and cut off from England and the rights of Englishmen; nor was that country re-united to England, and its inhabitants restored to their privileges, until the reign of Henry the VIIIth. The case of Scotland in later times affords another proof of the mischievous effects of prejudice and jealousy; for immediately after the restoration of Charles, that free trade and communication with England and its dominions, which had been allowed to Scotland from the accession of James, was abridged, and Scotland and Scottishmen laid under the same disabilities in respect to trade as foreigners. It was however the happiness of Wales to have no distinct government of its own, to continue the jealousy of England by its ridiculous attempts at independency; and Scotland, by relinquishing her separate legislature,
and

and absorbing it in that of England, by that one act, the wisest she ever did, removed for ever all the bars and obstructions to her intercourse and commerce with England and its dominions, and became entitled to all the benefits, rights, and immunities, that the power, wealth, and wisdom of England had for many ages been acquiring.

Should my countrymen refuse to profit of these examples, from an unwillingness to absorb their local legislature in that by which the whole empire is governed, still there are other means they may employ to recover their former situation.

No. VII.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir LUCIUS O' BRIEN
to W. K. Esq. dated Dromeland, 5th August,
1777.*

MY dear friend, for such I must ever esteem the man who demonstrates his strenuous attachment to the interests of Ireland, independent of those instances of personal civility
which

which I daily receive from you, will you now allow me to make a request to you? It is for *your general opinion on what ought to be solicited, and what may be obtained for Ireland on your side the water, and what you would recommend us to do here.* I know you have turned your thoughts often to these points, and the solicitude with which I wish for information from you, will prove how high a value I put upon it.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from W. K. Esq. to Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

Whitehall, 23 July, 1777.

Dear Sir,

THE time for the meeting of your Parliament being fixed, I agree entirely with you, that such measures as may be proper to propose should now be taken into consideration, and put into form, ready to be laid before them when they meet. *In my private opinion there will be no great difficulty in carrying the points*
you

you mention, and several others, if they are not properly solicited here. The alteration in the fishery bill is certainly proper, and the clause you refer to should have been worded differently, for I believe it was only meant to exclude Americans and foreigners from covering their property under our people's names, and receiving the advantage of the bounty; the clause should therefore be amended, by saying, "belong to some of his Majesty's subjects, residing in some part of his Majesty's dominions in Europe." I am not willing to allow you to employ foreign built ships; the trade of ship building is of itself of more value than any other, and no country is better situated for carrying it on than Ireland. To encourage it, therefore, you should give local bounties in addition to what is given for the fishery; but were you allowed to purchase foreign built ships your own building trade would not thrive. The direct importation of sugar, and other West-India products, as well as Rum, is, I think, a considerable object to you, and a very trivial one to Great Britain; but there is a strong prejudice among the trading people here against it. You can remove that by obtaining an account of the loss of ships, detention in port, expence thereby

thereby incurred for any given number of years, and state against it the advantage to England by commission, and landing in the British ports, and the balance of, loss to Ireland, beyond the gain to the English merchants will appear so great and striking, that no reasonable man will venture to make a stir against you ; and if you propose increasing your duty upon all sugars imported *directly* from the West-Indies, without adding any thing to those brought from England, you must silence all cavil, and gain the support of Administration. Can you tell me if Mr. Heron means to come over before the meeting of Parliament ? If he does not, I will write to him *upon what I think may be obtained*; but if he comes here I can talk to him more fully. I wish he came, for personal solicitation does much more with great men than applications at a distance.

I send you the *return* of the board of trade upon the African business, but I must apprise you that it relates but to one part of the coast and trade. Another part is free from the Company's jurisdiction, and indeed has no settlements of ours upon it though we trade there,
I mean

I mean Angola, and another is managed by the Crown Senegambia.

You will observe what advantage the New Englanders made by the sale of *their* rum, or molasses spirits. Why could not Ireland supply the place of it by their malt spirits? I have time to say no more, but that

I am, with great regard, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. IX.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

SIR Lucius O'Brian sometime since did me the honour of communicating a letter he had received from you, in which you are so obliging as to mention, that if I did not go to England before the meeting of Parliament, you would write to me upon such points as you thought Ireland might obtain, for which I should have immediately troubled you with my acknowledgements, but was in hopes of being able to submit some things upon the subject to

K

your

your consideration, which, however, I am not yet fully prepared with, I have therefore only to say, that my Lord Lieutenant would most readily concur in any measure for the benefit of Ireland, which might be found practicable, and will be much obliged by any assistance you can give him towards it.

I took an opportunity, immediately after receiving your letter, of mentioning these views to the Speaker, who shewed me a letter he had received from England upon the subject. He is disposed to be active in all things which may be for the benefit of this country, but seemed to think great caution necessary, and that, unless the opportunities were very favourable, it were better to wait till circumstances brought forward the measures Ireland wished, than to attempt the forcing them, it being clear that every unsuccessful attempt will throw the object to a greater distance. I mention this merely to apologize for my seeming tardiness, and lest you should be discouraged by it from expecting my assistance in any measures your experience and knowledge of this country may suggest to you for the benefit of it, in which you always
find

find the support of my Lord Lieutenant, and
the best endeavours of,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And most obedient servant,

Dublin Castle,
Sept. 27, 1777.

R. HERON.

[Sir R. H. came to England soon after this letter was written, when I suggested to him the application the Lord Lieutenant and Council should make to Lord North. I afterwards wrote to him No. 10. which produced his No. 11.]

No. X.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, Feb. 9, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE been in constant expectation of hearing a demand had been made by my Lord Lieutenant, of a grant to Ireland in the terms we had settled, but I am told nothing of the kind has yet come. Lord George Germain ex-

K 2

pressed

pressed to me this day his wish that it was come, and when I tell you that it is not intended the Parliament should sit after Easter, you will concur with his Lordship and myself in opinion, that no time should be lost if you intend to make the proposition this session. I conceive the matter is highly beneficial for Ireland, and advantageous for the empire, and therefore I proposed it, and wish it success; I have no private motives for proposing that, or any other matter, unless it be the desire of perfecting a business which I first gave the hint of, and transferring to Lord Buckingham's administration a share of a very creditable measure of Lord Harcourt's.

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX,

No. XI.

Dear Sir,

MY Lord Lieutenant has by this mail wrote to Lord North a dispatch upon the subjects you recommended, of which I have the honour to inclose you a copy. This would have been done sooner, but
upon

upon such occasions it is necessary to consult many gentlemen here who would otherwise think themselves neglected, and that is not to be done without delay. You will see his express letter refers to another British act passed *since that referred to in your instructions upon this subject*; and Sir Lucius O'Brian being doubtful whether this country might not be entitled to carry into the ports of Africa the articles allowed by the 5th and 6th sections of the 15th of his present Majesty from Ireland to Newfoundland, and perhaps others as consequential to the right of fishing given to Ireland, the allegation that the ships which had them on board would be liable to seizure is left out, yet he wishes to have the clause inserted. *You formerly gave Sir Lucius O'Brian expectations of greater advantages as he esteemed them, but I conclude the occasion does not offer. My Lord Lieutenant is exceedingly obliged by the assistance you have given him in this business, and hopes you will be so kind as to have an eye to the progress of it.*

The extreme hurry I am in during the sitting of Parliament affords little opportunity of considering measures at large for the benefit of this country; in a few months I shall hope for
suffi-

sufficient leisure ; and having now been some time in the country so as to see its views, that leisure might be usefully employed, *if you would give me the benefit of your advice*, I could have points well considered, and the business properly prepared against the next session of your Parliament, for it is in vain, during the sitting of Parliament, to attempt any thing which requires consideration.

My Lord Lieutenant will by to-morrow's mail transmit to Lord North an address of the Trustees of the Linen Board, upon points which seem very important ones, and may, perhaps, not be obtained at this time, notwithstanding the claim Ireland has from Great Britain to every indulgence towards the linen manufactures of it.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

With great respect,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Castle,
20th Feb. 1788.

To the Right Hon. Lord NORTH.

[*Inclosed in No. 11.*]

Dublin Castle, Feb. 1778.

My Lord,

BY the 3d section of the British act of Parliament of the 15th of his present Majesty, chap. 31, intituled, “ An act for the encouragement of the fisheries carried on from Great Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe, and for securing the return of the fishermen, sailors, and others employed in the said fisheries, to the ports thereof at the end of the fishing season,” such vessels employed in carrying on the whale fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland and the seas adjacent, as shall appear to be British built, and owned by his Majesty’s subjects residing in Ireland, and which shall be fitted and cleared out from some port in Ireland, are equally intituled to, and put upon the same footing with respect to the bounties allowed by that act, with such vessels as shall be fitted out from Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, for carrying on those fisheries. And by the 21st section of the same act, the like bounties which are granted by the British act,

act of the 11th of his present Majesty, intituled,
 “ An act for the better support and establish-
 “ ment of the Greenland and whale fishery,”
 to ships fitted out from Great Britain, or any of
 his Majesty’s dominions in America, for those
 fisheries, are granted for ships fitted out for that
 purpose from the kingdom of Ireland, every
 ship or vessel being British built, and owned by
 his Majesty’s subjects of Ireland.

The Parliament of this kingdom, in their ad-
 dresses to his Majesty in October 1775, testified
 their sense of the advantages which must arise
 to the navigation and trade of Ireland by this
 act, which extends the great benefits of British
 fisheries to Ireland, and which has been the
 source of industry and wealth to other nations ;
 but I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship, that
 according to representations which have been
 made to me from persons of knowledge and au-
 thority residing here, the benefits held out by
 the former part of the act to this kingdom, are
 in a great measure defeated, by a proviso in the
 30th section thereof, by which it is enacted,
 “ That no bounty shall be allowed or paid for
 “ any ship or vessel so employed, either by
 “ virtue of this or any former act of Parlia-
 “ ment,

“ ment, unless the whole and entire property
 “ of such ship or vessel shall belong to some of
 “ his Majesty’s subjects residing in that part
 “ of his Majesty’s dominions from whence such
 “ ship or vessel shall be respectively fitted and
 “ cleared out.” And which restraining pro-
 viso is repeated in an act of the 16th of his pre-
 sent Majesty, chapter 47, intituled, “ An act
 “ for the further encouragement of the Whale
 “ fishery carried on from Great Britain and
 “ Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe,
 “ and for regulating the fees to be taken by the
 “ officers of the customs in the island of New-
 “ foundland.” For the gentlemen of this coun-
 try alledge, that almost the whole of the Irish
 trade being carried on with British money, and
 and in British ships, the only means by which
 Ireland could have shared in these bounties must
 have been by being concerned in joint adven-
 tures with the people of Great Britain. The
 ships must be British, and the owners advance
 part of the money for defraying the expence of
 fitting out ; but by these provisos there can be
 no coparceny between the subjects of the two
 kingdoms, at least no bounty can be claimed by
 either in such circumstances, nor can the inha-
 bitants of Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle of Man,

be joined in partnership with natives of Great Britain, or with any other than the inhabitants of their respective island.

It is very probable that this proviso was inserted to prevent the rebellious colonies in America from having shares in these bounties, and if that was the intention, it is apprehended this object might be obtained, so as to exclude the American colonies *only*, by making it run thus, viz.
 “ That no bounty shall be allowed or paid for
 “ any ship or vessel so employed by virtue of
 “ either of the said acts, or by any former act
 “ of Parliament, unless the whole or entire property of such ship or vessel shall belong to
 “ some of his Majesty’s subjects residing in Great
 “ Britain, Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle
 “ of Man.”

I have also been requested to lay before your Lordship another matter, which it is alledged would be of very great advantage to the trade of this kingdom if approved of by your Lordship as consistent with the trade and welfare of England, and might be inserted in the act for making the amendment above proposed, which is this : the House of Commons of this kingdom,

dom, in the last session of the last Parliament, voted resolutions for passing an act for the extension of the whale fishery of Ireland to any of the seas to the southward of the limits of those seas in which the whale fishery is encouraged, by an act passed in Great Britain in the 11th year of his present Majesty's reign, intitled " An act for the better support and establishment of the Greenland and whale fisheries, from the 1st of August 1776, to the 1st of August 1779 ;" and I understand it is proposed to bring in heads of a bill this session, to pass here into a law for that purpose, and for granting a bounty of forty shillings per ton to the masters or owners of such British or Irish ships as shall be fitted out from any port in this kingdom, and proceed upon such whale fisheries, on their landing in this kingdom all such whale fins, oil, or blubber of whales, seal oil, seal skins, or other produce of seals, or other fish or creature, as shall be caught by the crews of such ships in such seas : but as the ships to be employed upon this fishery must have occasion to go into the ports of Africa, it is submitted whether a clause allowing the exportation from Ireland to the coast of Africa of any provisions, and also of any hooks, lines, netting, or other tools

or implements necessary for and used in the fishery by the crews of the ships or vessels carrying on the same, and the craft belonging to and employed by such ships or vessels in the said fishery, being the same articles as are allowed to be exported from Ireland to Newfoundland, by the 5th and 6th sections of the before-mentioned act of the 15th of his present Majesty, might not be very proper to be inserted? And in order to obviate all doubts whether Irish ships, or ships owned or employed by his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, are to be considered as British, I would farther submit to your Lordship, whether it might not be declared in the same act, that all such ships are to be entitled to the same privileges with ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, as if the same were British built.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

No.

No. XII.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 2d March, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I WAS very glad to find by your obliging favour of the 20th of last month, that my Lord Lieutenant had made application to Lord North on the points we had talked of ; and from what I have seen of his Lordship's disposition since the dispatch was received, I think we shall succeed : he is, however, so much engaged in Parliament with conciliatory bills, and out of Parliament with his loan, that it is impossible he can at this moment attend to any thing else. I have had the linen board papers before me, and prepared a case which is printing in order to be delivered by the agent to the persons interested in the success of the application he is directed to make, as individuals. I do not expect much from their support ; they are so much afraid of being thought attached to Ireland, that they are mighty cautious of interfering in any matter that has the appearance of being beneficial to her, although it is at the
same

same time advantageous to the whole empire, I, who have no property but in America, must be allowed to act disinterestedly, when I press measures of utility to either Great Britain or Ireland, or both ; but duty makes me take a part that even interest will not excite my countrymen to undertake, and I readily engage in the solicitation, with only the hopes of success in prospect for my reward. The African business, which was agitated last year in Parliament, lies dormant this session, there will, therefore, be no opportunity of moving the proposition *I made to Sir Lucius O'Brian, upon that subject* ; but if you obtain what you have asked, a good progress will be made towards obtaining a more liberal share of the African trade, and if the exportation of cheques and printed, &c. linens, to the colonies in Africa and America, be also granted, as prayed for, Ireland will find more benefit from those indulgencies than is imagined ; the fishing ships may then take with them all sorts of linens, &c.

The prospect of raising companies is laid aside for the present, but I do not imagine, we are so sanguine in our expectations of peace with

with the Colonies, that we mean to relax in our preparations for another campaign. I beg you will do me the honour to present my respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and believe me,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XIII.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, March 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE confideration of the whole system of our commerce, you will see by the act for appointing commissioners to treat with the Colonies, must soon be taken up. I always imagined this would be the case, and I apprized the Speaker of it when I had the pleasure of seeing him here in the summer of 1776. I then suggested to him how necessary it would be for the leading men in Ireland to consider what indulgencies it would be proper to apply for, and in what instances they would wish to be included

cluded in any compact that might be made with America. I am afraid the Speaker is too much of an Irishman to have taken his measures so long before hand, as now to be in readiness to bring forth the propositions for this purpose, but I am sure he will do me the justice to acknowledge I gave him the notice.

In the instructions our commissioners are to have, something ought to be said respecting the trade between Ireland and the Colonies, but if nothing is already prepared you will not be in time, for every thing is pressed forwards as much as possible to get those gentlemen out. *I have not, nor shall not neglect you*, but I want support from your side ; I think the most immediate and powerful application from you, would be a letter from my Lord Lieutenant, stating it as the expectation of all the King's servants and supporters of his Majesty's measures in Parliament, that whatever privileges or advantages in trade shall be granted to the Colonies, the same will be extended to Ireland, and that the Colonies will in no respect be put upon a better footing than Ireland. I shall write to you again on the subject of your applications
already

already made, at present I have only time to add my respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and assurances that

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XIV.

(Private.)

Dear Sir,

IN consequence of your letter to me of the 14th my Lord Lieutenant wrote last night to Lord North, a dispatch, of which I shall inclose you a copy. This would have gone two days sooner, but as I was preparing it, his Excellency received a notification of the treaty of friendship and alliance between France and America. The Speaker is of opinion Ireland cannot be essentially benefitted by any thing short of a free commerce, which he affirms would produce in this country, dispositions to make the most ample returns. How wise soever this bold measure might be, there are, I fear, many prejudices, in both countries, to be got over before

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it could be effected. Ireland will, I believe, upon the present occasion, give every proof of a good disposition to Great Britain. *My Lord Lieutenant esteems himself much obliged by your attention to us, and hopes you will give your best assistance in forwarding any proposition which may be thought for the benefit of Ireland. If I can, in a post or two, inform you of any particulars which might be wished beyond what have been already proposed, I will not fail to communicate them to you.*

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obliged,

And most humble servant,

Dublin Castle,
March 21, 1778.

R. HERON.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency the LORD LIEUTENANT to the Right Honourable LORD NORTH, inclosed in No. 9, written in consequence of my No. 10.

Dublin Castle, 20th March, 1778.
(Copy.)

My Lord,

IN consequence of the very kind dispositions expressed by both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain

Britain towards this kingdom at this critical juncture, which have been received here with the utmost satisfaction and gratitude, I have been pressed by many of his Majesty's principal servants, and other gentlemen who have uniformly and steadily supported his Majesty's measures in this Parliament, to lay before your Lordship their humble hopes, that the present situation of affairs may afford an opportunity of improving those favourable dispositions into some real benefits for this country.

As they apprehend that the act lately passed in Great Britain for appointing commissioners to treat with the Colonies, and the present state of the British empire, must soon bring on the consideration of the whole system of the British commerce, they have thought it incumbent upon them to represent it to me as their true sentiments concurring with those of the public, that this would be a proper time for me to solicit your Lordship's favour, and to submit to you their earnest request that whatever privileges or advantages in trade shall be granted to the Colonies, if the conciliatory plan shall take effect, may be extended to Ireland, and that the

Colonies may not in any respect be put upon a better footing than Ireland.

In different conversations which have passed between me and some of the ablest men here concerning the trade of this kingdom, I have been thoroughly convinced, that an enlargement of it in many instances is become absolutely necessary for its support, as well to enable it to answer the many drains to which it is annually subject, particularly to Great Britain, as to make provision for the expences of his Majesty's government, which of late years have in every branch been increased to a considerable amount. And I am persuaded, that the wealth and advantages proceeding from such enlargement of their trade, would not only redound to the benefit of Great Britain, but that in return, his Majesty may expect the utmost efforts of his subjects in this kingdom in support of his government, and for the general service of the British empire ; I have therefore made no difficulty in complying with their request, that I would represent this state as the general sense of the country to your Lordship, in order, that when any system of commerce shall be agitated, such steps may be taken with respect to the
trade

trade of Ireland, as shall appear to be most for the benefit of the two kingdoms.

I cannot entertain a doubt of your Lordship's readiness to promote such a solid advantage to this country, and in justice to it I must declare, that the steadiness of all persons of any rank to co-operate in every measure which can at this crisis conduce to the maintenance of the dignity of Great Britain, and their zeal and attachment to his Majesty and his government, very fully entitle them to all the assistance which can be given them by his Majesty's Ministers, and to every mark of favour that can be granted them by the British Parliament. Your Lordship will therefore permit me to recommend this measure in the strongest manner to your support.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

My Lord, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

No. XV.

*Right Honourable Mr. HERON.**Whitehall, 28th March, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

THE extraordinary occupation which you will easily suppose the late proceedings of the Court of France must have given me, will prepare you to excuse my delay in the performance of my promise to write to you on the subject of Irish applications here. I am exceedingly gratified by your letter, and the copy of the one to Lord North inclosed in it that I received yesterday. Nothing could be better judged or better timed than the address and the application, and I think now I really see a probability that *Ireland will at last become a favoured country, and add that strength and riches to the empire it is so capable of doing.* Lord Nugent, you must have known, has undertaken the sugar business. I thought it was brought forward a little prematurely, but I was happy in being able to check the opposition intended against it. The ground I had proposed putting the application for a direct importation upon, and which I believe I mentioned to you, was the increase of
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the consumption of rum in Ireland, to the exclusion of French brandy. This I had stated to the *West India Planters*, in hopes of engaging them to ask for it, at least to support the application. While this matter was under consideration, some zealous friends of Ireland, in the city, applied to the *Merchants* on the same subject, and *they* immediately suggested to the *Planters*, that the purpose of the people of Ireland was to introduce foreign sugars instead of British, and foreign rum also. They therefore joined with the Merchants, in requesting that the liberty of a direct importation might not be granted. They came of course to this office, which gave me an opportunity of entering fully into the matter with them. I set out with granting that the liberty requested would be a very trivial benefit to the north-eastern side of Ireland, as the vicinity of the coast of England and Scotland made it no great inconvenience to that part of the country to land their sugars in England or Scotland, and then bring them over, and perhaps they were fully paid for that inconvenience, by having the monopoly of the whole kingdom. But *there* was the evil and hardship to be redressed. The whole west and south-west parts of Ireland were

were excluded almost entirely from the West India trade ; for if they brought any rum from thence, they could bring no sugar with it, as the expence and difficulty of sending the sugar to England to be landed, and then bringing it back again, would be more than even the land carriage from Dublin, or the other eastern ports. An entire cargo of rum being too much for one Merchant, in an out-port, to import (and he could not bring one assorted with sugar) the consequence was, that very little rum was imported, and French brandy was encouraged to be smuggled, to supply the consumption in its stead. That a direct trade with the West India islands from all parts of Ireland would be the certain means of extending the consumption of both rum and sugar over the whole kingdom, and that in point of regulation and domestic œconomy, it was most illiberal and unjust to oppose a proposition, which had for its object the fair circulation of trade, and putting all parts of a country upon an equal footing. They were so candid as to own, that in the light I represented the matter, they did not see any just ground of opposing what was desired, if care was taken to prevent the introduction of foreign sugars ; which I promised should be done ;

done; and I hope if any regulations are wanting in your custom-houses for that purpose, you will have them supplied. The exportation of soap and candles, from Ireland to the West Indies, was also spoken of; and the Merchants assured me they would not oppose it, if such a liberty was asked for. Your linen business does not go on as I could wish; but as you will see the agent's correspondence with the linen board, I need not say any thing more upon the subject. In the Fishery Bill, I hope to steal in a liberty to send all sorts of linens, of Irish manufacture, to Africa, if nothing better can be done this session. The Parliament will not rise at Easter, as was intended, though most of the business will be done before it, but will be kept on by adjournments for some time.

I have prepared a bill for granting free trade from Ireland to the plantations in Africa and America (except in the article of wool, and woollen goods) and the importation from thence of all their products, with this proviso, that none imported, in consequence of that act, shall be re-exported from Ireland, except to Great Britain. This I do to remove the merchant's apprehensions, that Ireland may become the

depôt of American goods, to send to other parts of Europe, which certainly ought not to be; and if we get the direct importation of our own consumption, I think we should be content. I have run this over in so great a hurry, I fear you will not be able to read it.

Believe me, however,

Most truly your's, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

P. S. Orders have been given, this day, for transports to take two Highland regiments from the Clyde to Ireland; they will make 2000.

No. XVI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I SHOULD have immediately thanked you for your very obliging and satisfactory letter, but that I have been so employed as not to have one moment for it. My Lord Lieutenant is exceedingly happy in your having had an opportunity of disposing the planters and merchants to the bill giving us a free trade to Africa and America (except

cept in the article of woollen goods) *and a direct importation of their product, and he is much obliged by your having undertaken to bring into the House a bill for that purpose.* It is much to be wished a proper advantage may be taken of the present concurrence of circumstances in favour of Ireland. My Lord Lieutenant would have stated propositions, but that the stating particulars at such a conjuncture is difficult; too much or too little might be asked, and therefore his Excellency thought it best to make a general requisition, *and as you have not suggested the expediency of making any particular application,* and the Speaker is now in England, my Lord Lieutenant will rest the cause of Ireland upon that dispatch to Lord North. I shall, however, inclose to you the draught of an act, which was prepared some time since for the purpose you are now pursuing, as it may possibly be of some use, *and if it occurs to you, that any particular application from my Lord Lieutenant to government can promote your work, I beg you will state it to me by express,* that I may lose no time in laying it before his Excellency. Since writing the above, Sir Lucius O'Brien has mentioned to me his intention of going to England; he has a great deal of information

upon the subject of commerce, and may be
useful to you.

I have the honour to be,

Your much obliged

And obedient humble servant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Castle,
10th April, 1778.

The draught of the act I inclose does not extend so far as you propose, but I thought the plan of the act might possibly be of some use.

No. XVII.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 21st April, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE arrival of the Speaker so opportunely removed all my apprehensions of our affairs suffering for want of authoritative solicitation. You will have received the copies of the five bills that have been brought in and read; they contain every thing we can desire; but I am
not

not without my fears of their undergoing some alterations. Bristol has already set forward an opposition, and Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, will certainly join in it; London, I believe, will be quiet. The West India merchants have been again with me. They very candidly told me they would not oppose any part of the bills, if they could be satisfied that foreign sugars were not meant to be introduced into Ireland, instead of British plantation. I assured them no such thing was intended, and ventured to undertake, that any regulation they could propose, consistent with the general purpose of the application, would be adopted in Ireland. Sir Lucius O'Brian has since told me, I did not go too far in my undertaking, and I am to bring some of the merchants to meet him and the Speaker, to have their confirmation of it. As Sir Lucius proposes staying here to watch the progress of the bills; and the business is now in such a state of forwardness, that I can do little to promote it, except by advice, I shall not have occasion to trouble you any farther upon this subject, until the issue is known; but I would recommend it to you, as the best means of engaging administration to support the measure, to take the bills into consideration,

tion, and write to Lord North, in the name of the Council, expressing great thankfulness for the kindness intended to Ireland, and strong assurances of grateful returns ; and be as liberal as possible, both of your thanks and promises, and in extolling the benefits Ireland, and, through her, Great Britain will derive from such generous and liberal conduct. It would be right also to take some notice of the objections made to opening the trade of Ireland, particularly the danger of clandestine importations and exportations, and offer to recommend to Parliament with confidence of support, any proper measure for giving greater security against illicit commerce, than the present laws or regulations do that shall be thought fit and necessary by administration. It is now you should try your strength, and every gentleman should apply to his connections here, and the traders should also write to their correspondents to give their assistance. I wish the *re-exportation* of English woollens had been forbidden in the exportation bill, for I so well know the jealousy of Englishmen respecting *that manufacture*, that I would never suffer them to think we could have any idea of encouraging it in Ireland, or smuggling our own out in-
stead

stead of theirs. I hope the Scotch proposition respecting the fishery will be adopted on your side ; it is not the very thing you want, but it will certainly lead to it, in the mean time your situation will be mended. I must now beg you will present my respects to my Lord Lieutenant,

And believe me, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

No. XVIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

AS my Letter of the 10th would be in a great measure an answer to what was contained in that I had the honour to receive from you of the 8th, and as you would immediately after see our Speaker and Sir Lucius O'Brian, I have not troubled you with any acknowledgement of it, relying, that if any thing occurred in which my Lord Lieutenant *could promote your business*, you would have wrote to me. *I understand from my friends, you will be able to weather the opposition which will appear after the recess: if you do you will perform wonders.* I last night received a letter from Sir Lucius O'Brian, desiring

firing Mr. John Wetherall, Deputy Examiner of the Customs, and Mr. Robert Stephenson, Inspector of the Linen Board, may be sent over as witnesses. As I do not know how to direct to Sir Lucius, I wish you would acquaint him Mr. Wetherall, and Mr. Stephenson are both in the country, but that I will endeavour that you shall have them by the 2d of May.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

*Dublin Castle,
April 25, 1778.*

R. HERON,

No. XIX.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

THE bearer is Mr. Wetherall, one of the gentlemen Sir Lucius O'Brian desired should attend the committee. He was in the country, which prevented his coming sooner. Mr. Wetherall is Assistant Examiner of the Customs, and of great knowledge in his branch, and we have thought it right that he should bring with him the books of the customs for the last seven years.

Mr.

Mr. Stephenfon, the other person desired to attend, was in the country, and is not yet returned, though I sent an express to him immediately, but as soon as he comes I will dispatch him to you.

My Lord Lieutenant had wrote in the most urgent terms, and has, since I received your letter, repeated his representations of the wishes and dispositions of the gentlemen in this country. I shall hope to receive an account of your success very soon,

And am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

humble servant,

*Dublin Castle,
April 29, 1778.*

R. HERON.

No. XX.

*Right Honourable Mr. HERON.**Soho Square, May 4, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

WHAT I apprehended from the interference of the Irish gentlemen in our application has happened; their eagerness, mixed with threats, and not a little inflamed by ignorance both of this country and their own, and the times, have conspired to raise such a tempest as to give us many fears for the fate of all the bills. When I went to Lord North this morning, I found his Lordship under much embarrassment and anxiety; a gentleman from Bristol was with him, to lay before him the grounds of opposition determined on by that city, to support which, a deputation from the manufacturers of hemp and iron, soap and candles, was come to town. It is not necessary to give you a detail of our conversation, it ended in giving Lord North hopes that an accommodation might be effected, and the Bristol deputies were to come to me at two o'clock. I
immediately

immediately sent for Sir Lucius O'Brian, who fortunately was in the way and came to me. The iron and hemp manufacturers deputies met us, they stated their objections to the general exportation bill, which went to shew, that the Irish could manufacture these articles cheaper than the English, because of the difference of the duties laid upon the importation of the materials. The duty upon iron imported into England is near 3l. 3s. no part of which is drawn back upon the re-exportation except to Ireland. In Ireland the duty is only 1l. 4s. English, Ireland has therefore the advantage of 1l. 19s. per ton, on that material. The hemp was stated in the same way, and the difference in favour of Ireland was equal. They generously waved all consideration of the advantage Ireland had in cheapness of labour and provisions, and candidly declared *they were willing that Ireland should share with England in all her trade*, but they could not consent she should have it in her power to *beat England out of the market*. Their proposition therefore was, *that the same duties should be laid by Ireland on the importation of the materials, as were laid and not drawn back in England*. We applauded their principle as fair and friendly, but Sir Lucius stated other

ways of equalizing the charge of the materials; which were the taking off the duty here, or giving it back upon re-exportation, both which I knew Lord North would disapprove, and therefore I went to a third; I told them, that Ireland being in possession of these materials at present, at a low duty, the manufactures she made of them for her own consumption, and for exportation to all foreign countries, had that advantage over those of England. A duty therefore upon importation equal to the English duty, would be a burthen upon her own consumption and foreign export, which she had no reason for laying, and could not be expected to impose. The thing desired by the bill was aliberty to export to the colonies. *That liberty* therefore was the *only object of regulation*. I desired them to calculate the difference between manufactured and rough iron, so as to ascertain the quantity of the one, upon a medium, employed to make the other, and asked them if Ireland laid a duty upon the exportation of manufactured iron *to the British colonies*, equal to what was paid upon the rough iron in England, would that remove their objection? They answered, that the common computation was, that

two tons of rough iron went to make one ton of manufactured iron ; but as they imagined Ireland must be content for many years with the coarser kinds of iron manufactures, they would compute at the rate of a ton and a half for a ton, and, according to that computation of the Irish Parliament, would lay a duty of 2l. 18s. per ton on all manufactured iron exported to the colonies, they would be satisfied, and wave all opposition to the bill. The hemp people adopted the same principle, and they gave us reason to believe, that it would be also adopted by the traders and manufacturers in other branches.

Lord North was as much pleased with this prospect of accommodation, and will hold it out to Parliament when the bills are committed, on Wednesday. I send you this notice by express, to quiet the apprehensions of your friends that all will be lost ; and give me, in return, your and their opinion of the proposition, which is in general, *that all Irish manufactures exported, in consequence of the liberty to be now granted, shall carry out with them to the colonies a duty equal to that which remains upon those of the same denomination exported from England.* If the House
of

of Commons adopts this proposition on Wednesday, Sir Lucius will set off immediately for Ireland, in order to propose it in the House of Commons there, as a regulation of trade, and give his assistance to carry it through. I know you will communicate this to the Speaker, and therefore I do not write to him ; but I beg you will present him my respects.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXI.

Dear Sir,

I WISH you would acquaint Sir Lucius O'Brian that I sent an express into the country, and brought Mr. Stephenson, one of the persons he desired might be sent to England, to Dublin. He has some office under the Linen Board, and was intended by Sir Lucius to have been examined upon that subject ; but the Trustees of the Linen Board being informed, that it
was

was intended he should come to you, expressed their disapprobation of it; and the Primate and the Duke of Leinster both came to me, and desire, from the Board, he might not be sent.

We are extremely anxious for the proceedings of your Parliament. If your resolutions, or the most material of them, are carried into a law, our sessions will, I think, end very happily; but if they fail, we may look for all the consequences of disappointment. However, I always look for the best. I am,

Dear Sir,

With great truth,

Your most obliged

*Dublin Castle,
6th May, 1778.*

Humble servant,

R. HERON.

No.

No. XXII

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Soho-square, 9th May, 1778—8 o'clock A.M.

Dear Sir,

FROM what passed in the Committee last night, upon the Import Bill, Sir Lucius O'Brien and myself think your House of Commons ought, without delay, to bring in a bill upon the proposition I mentioned to you in my last; and Sir Lucius sends, by this express, clauses to the Speaker for the substance of the bill. If this measure be adopted, not a moment should be lost, and the instant the bill has been read a copy should be sent to Lord North, from my Lord Lieutenant, as a measure of Government, which he is to communicate to Parliament.

The Irish Government have been much blamed by all sides for their treatment of the Roman Catholics; if you could do any thing in their behalf at this time, you would feel the advantage of it in the progress of the bills; it

is

is under consideration here to repeal the act of Queen Anne, respecting the forfeited estates. I have much to say upon the subject, but you will find the substance of my plan, in a note, in my "Defence of the Quebec Act," published when that act passed; it is intitled "the Justice and Policy, &c. vindicated." Watfon, the Bookseller, in Capel-street, has them. I beg my respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXIII.

To WILL. KNOX, Esq.

Dublin Castle, 10th May, 1778.

SIR,

I LAST night received, by express, your letter of the 4th instant, communicating to me, for the information of my Lord Lieutenant, the particulars which passed in a conference between

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you

you and the iron and hemp manufacturers' deputies, and desiring an opinion from hence upon the proposition intended to remove the objection made by the several traders and manufacturers interested in the bills now before the British Parliament, viz. That all Irish manufactures which shall be exported, in consequence of the liberty to be now granted, shall carry out with them a duty equal to that which remains upon those of the same denomination exported from England.

I have by his Excellency's directions informed the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Prime Serjeant and Attorney General, and some other members of the first consequence in the House of Commons, of the import of your letter. And I dispatch this to you, at their desire, by a messenger, to acquaint you, that none of those gentlemen has, nor have I, the smallest apprehension that a proposition so reasonable, and upon which measures of great national importance will depend, can fail of being cheefully adopted by this House of Commons. I therefore wish you would have bills drawn in England, and the draughts sent over, as the best mode of informing us what it is precisely that you expect

expect from our Parliament ; and I am the more desirous of receiving the information of what is expected by Great Britain in this mode, as these being money bills, cannot, if we should mistake your intentions, be altered, when sent to England, without great inconvenience ; and as the session is drawing towards a conclusion, there will be no time for explanations.

I have given directions to the messenger who brings the letter to wait your orders, and I wish to receive the draughts of the bills we are to pass by him as soon as they can be prepared, and you shall see the bills you are passing are safe with you.

I am directed by my Lord Lieutenant to make his acknowledgements for the assistance you have given, and your attention to him in this business ; and am,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

W. HERON.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, May 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

YOUR letter by exprefs arrived very fortunately. The violence of some of our friends excited such a jealousy of the determined purpose of the gentlemen connected with Ireland, to carry matters with a high hand, and allow no compromise of modification, that a spirit was rising which would soon have put an end to all our expectations. Mr. Robinson told me on Wednesday, that he had received more than twenty-one messages from gentlemen who had voted for the commitment of the bills; acquainting him that they had done so with a view of giving *something* to Ireland; but as they understood *all was meant to be contended for*, they would now vote for their rejection, I immediately sent to Mr. Gascoyne, who had taken a strong part against the import bill, and he was so obliging to come to me. He told me he had been with the Manchester and Liverpool people, and that, finding their strength, they were determined that day to put a short question upon the import bill.

I was

I will not trouble you with a detail of our conversation ; but it ended in *my proposing to except, out of the export bill, cottons of all denominations, mixed or unmixed, German linens, printed or stained, ditto gunpowder, glass, hops, beaver wool, hats, coals, woollen manufacture in all its branches.* The fugars, he contended, could not be given up without drawing on the intire ruin of Liverpool and Lancashire ; but if they were excepted, he had a good argument to use for the allowance of the exports, which was, that the bulky goods remaining, freight for their manufactures would be always had at an easy rate, and that would secure them a market. I would have offered an additional duty on the fugars directly imported, and gave him the inclosed paper, as a proposition ; but nothing would be admitted but an absolute exception. He went however from me in so good a temper, that he persuaded the committee for opposing the bills, to avoid coming to a question that day ; and meeting Sir Lucius O'Brian, a proposal for accommodation was taken into consideration, and the gentlemen of Ireland summoned to meet next morning at Lord George Germaine's office ; the result of that meeting was, to endeavour to obtain the export bill, with

with the exceptions I have mentioned; but a point that had been insisted on by the Manchester people, viz. the taking off the duty on the exportation of yarn from Ireland was to be resisted.

This day the committee on the import bill adjourned till Monday se'nnight, in order to give an opportunity for the export bill to make a progress in the mean time. And if it passes, with the exceptions I mentioned, I imagine the import bill will be deferred to the next session. The taking off the duty upon the yarn is still contended for; but I have no doubt the Manchester people will be beat upon the question.

I give this hasty account, that you may be able to judge of the state of things, and form your minds to receive with thankfulness what it is likely will be granted, which, in truth, is more than I expected, after the imprudent interference of the *friends* of Ireland *as they* called *themselves*. I beg my best respects to my Lord Lieutenant; and am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

The

The paper inclosed with the foregoing.

There is, at present, no West-India commodities imported into the western part of Ireland. The inhabitants of that part of Ireland consume no rum, and scarcely any sugar ; whatever therefore of those commodities may be imported into those parts, will be an increase of the present consumption, and no diminution of the trade from London, Bristol and Liverpool, to Ireland.

Sugars, if directly imported into Ireland, would now pay 9d. per cwt. more duty than sugars imported from England. An additional duty of 16d. upon sugars imported directly, added to the present duty, will prevent any part of Ireland that now imports sugars from England from importing them directly, and therefore the trade, with respect to them, will continue on its present footing. But the western parts may find it for their advantage to pay the additional duty, and open a direct trade with the West-Indies.

It

It is therefore proposed, that an additional duty of 16d. per cwt. be laid in Ireland upon all sugars imported directly from the plantations into Ireland, and that no duty be re-paid upon the re-exportation of refined sugars from Ireland to the plantations.

No. XXV.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 16th May, 1778.

Dear Sir,

IN my letter by last night's post, I gave you some account of what had passed in the House of Commons, and at the meetings which had been held with the opposers of the bills for the purpose of accommodation.

The export bill is to be read the second time on Monday, and to be committed on Tuesday; Mr. Wetherall is employed in the mean time to prepare an exact state of the duties the Parliament of Ireland is to impose on goods exported, in order to make the charge equal to that which the English goods carry out with them agreeable to what has been agreed on, but as
that

that will take some time, and you must then pass bills in consequence, we are apprehensive the Parliament here will not sit long enough to admit of those bills arriving here, and we doubt if the House of Commons will pass the export bill upon the credit of our undertaking that such duties shall be laid. To obviate this difficulty, we have thought of proposing a clause to be inserted in the export bill, restraining in effect the operation of that bill until your Parliament shall have imposed such duties ; and I send you a draught of a clause which Lord Nugent, Sir Lucius O'Brian, and myself, think will answer the purpose : but as the ground is very delicate, and if it should excite any jealousy in Ireland, the mischief would be great, we think it best to send it to you by your messenger for your consideration, or alteration, in what manner you may think proper ; but we beg you would return it, or what you think would be more fit in the place of it, as expeditiously as possible, that the passage of the bill may not be delayed, for it must be added in the House of Commons, and the third reading of the bill kept back for it.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

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No.

No. XXVI.

*Right Honourable Mr. HERON.**Whitehall, 19th May, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

I AM at Lord Nugent's with Sir John Blaquiere, and Mr. Burke, celebrating the passage of the export bill through the committee with the exceptions I mentioned. A clause was proposed, requiring a duty upon Irish linen yarn exported to England to be taken off, as the condition of granting the liberty of exporting the manufactures not excepted, but I have the pleasure to inform you it was rejected by a majority of 79 to 33. Lord North distinguished himself as a patron of the bill, and an opposer of the clause, and every gentleman who could have been expected from connection or situation to take a part, shewed a zeal that expressed their attachment to the cause of Ireland, those especially in whose company I write, took a very warm part, that it was also an able one nobody will doubt.

I think the bill is pretty safe, though not out of danger, and I send you this account by express

press to quiet your apprehensions, and keep up your spirits, but not to remove your anxiety entirely ; for as *time* is our adversary, there is no saying what advantage our opponents may make of such an ally.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. The bill for repealing the act of Queen Anne, respecting the Irish Roman Catholics was read a second time this day, without opposition.

No. XXVII.

WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

I YESTERDAY received your letter of the 14th, by the mail, and by the messenger, that of the 16th, inclosing a clause proposed to be inserted in your export bill. In my former letters to you, upon this subject, I had mentioned that there was no doubt but the Parliament of Ireland would cheerfully concur in your proposition for equalizing the duties on goods to be exported from hence, un-

der your act, to those which the English goods carry out with them. But as you think it may be expected the clause you sent me, and which I shall return, should be inserted in the act, I conferred to-day in the Speaker's chamber with many of the principal gentlemen of the House of Commons, as well those who are the particular friends of Government, as those who have not any immediate connection with Administration, and am persuaded from what passed, that our Parliament would immediately lay such duties upon the goods to be exported from hence, by virtue of your export bill, as this clause is calculated to obtain. It was therefore the wish of gentlemen, the bill should pass without a clause, which seems to express a doubt of the Parliament here doing what is right in this respect, and which is the less necessary, as Ireland hopes for further benefits, and cannot be so impolitic as to forfeit her claim to them, by an ill use of what is now to be granted. However, if the clause is insisted upon, the gentlemen seemed of opinion, the inserting it could not occasion dissatisfaction here upon the ground you mention, and in whatever way you pass the bill, it is desired that the most exact account may be sent of the duties and taxes,
the

the goods, &c. imported from Great Britain, stand charged with, including the duties or taxes paid upon the fabric or importation thereof, or the materials thereof, and not drawn back upon exportation, that the Parliament, in laying on the duties here, may be sure they proceed correctly in it.

I must not conceal that the long train of exceptions in this bill, particularly that respecting cotton, and the postponing the import bill to the next session, were, after the high expectations, conceived a very great disappointment here, but in this disappointment they do not forget the strenuous efforts of their friends, and seem extremely sensible of their exertion and zeal through the whole of this most important business.

I am, dear Sir,

With great respect and esteem,

Your most faithful

And obedient servant,

R. HERON.

*Dublin Castle,
22d May, 1778.*

No.

No., XXVIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I AM exceedingly obliged by your letter of the 19th, acquainting me the export bill had gone through the Committee. I hope it will proceed without farther amendments. The Speaker shewed me to-day a printed bill with the exceptions as proposed, and copies of the provisos, of all which he approves; and now people's minds begin to cool, they are sensible of the advantages you have procured to this country;—I mean all reasonable people, who will soon satisfy the rest how thankful they ought to be to England for these concessions, and to the friends of this country for having procured them. But the unanimity with which the resolutions passed had flattered Ireland every thing would be granted, and being afterwards alarmed with the apprehension of losing every thing, the minds of people of all ranks were strangely agitated, and the lower order feeling at the same time
great

great distress from the scarcity of provisions, and the want of work, it is certain the disappointment would have produced a *violent convulsion* in this kingdom. The crisis of this fever is passed; that which will be produced by agitating questions respecting the Popery Laws will, I see, be very violent, but does not seem of so dangerous a tendency as the other. The question is between the individuals of the same country, and the party which is beat will have only to lament its being the weaker. The other would have become a question, and an ugly one as it should seem between nation and nation. Mr. Gardiner will, I believe, move to-morrow for leave to bring in heads of a bill for relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland. He is not yet determined what to propose; there is a general idea of putting the Roman Catholics of Ireland upon the same footing with the Roman Catholics of England. Government will support the motion for leave to bring in heads of a bill. There will be a strong opposition against any alteration whatever, and a violent one against repealing the Gavelling Clause, which the Roman Catholics abhor, and their opposers, even moderate men, consider as the palladium of Ireland. It will therefore be
 very

very difficult to get rid of this clause; but, having done that, you will be supposed to have done every thing, and may, in another session, blot the word Papist out of their statutes. I conclude your Parliament will soon rise; when we shall be able to do the same one cannot even conjecture.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged, and
faithful humble Servant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Castle.
24th May, 1778.

No. XXIX.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Soho Square, May 26th, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE messenger that had the care of your letter of the 22d. instant did not deliver it to me before eight o'clock last night. An accident that had happened to me that morning confined me at home, but I had the pleasure to hear the export bill was read the third time in the House
of

of Commons, and carried up to the Lords time enough to receive a first reading that day. I do not apprehend it will meet with any material opposition in its passage through the House of Lords. Sir Lucius O'Brian sent the Speaker a copy of the bill after the report of the Committee, and it has undergone no alteration, since you will see by it, that a clause to the effect of the one I sent you, and you returned, is inserted, and I am glad to find it will occasion no jealousy on your side; it could not be omitted, for you must consider it was not Parliament that required it, or Parliament that was to be satisfied without it, but the manufacturers and their representatives. The clause respecting the iron was also required by the manufacturers of that commodity, and we had much ado to avoid others for the soap and cordage. And in truth I could not blame the tradespeople for insisting upon better security than Sir Lucius's, or my declaration that we would represent the matter; and even your letter to me, though sufficiently satisfactory to every gentleman in Parliament, was not such security as manufacturers are accustomed to trust to: however, I am very happy that the business has been carried through even in the way it has, and I think such a

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foundation

foundation is laid as we may erect *an engine upon to pull the two islands together some time hence*, and until that happens, Ireland will be increasing in wealth, population, and revenue. From the desire you express in your former letter, of having an exact state of the duties you were to impose sent to you, I thought it right to enter into the subject with the agents for the several manufacturers. Mr. Wetherall's presence was a great advantage, and he, with the assistance of an able officer belonging to the custom-house here, went through the book of rates, examining and comparing the duties in each island upon each article. The soap proved a difficult one. The duty upon barilla imported here is 4s. 6d. per cwt. the same duty is laid in Ireland, but with the exception of *what may be for the use of the linen manufacture*, under which exception the whole imported into Ireland has avoided the duty. Such being the case, I could not set the Irish duty against the British, yet as our object was soap *exported*, which could not be said to be for the Irish linen manufacture, all barilla used in making soap for exportation must either pay the duties, or the importers be perjured. The latter, I much feared, would be the case; and, therefore, instead
of

of making the importer's oath stronger, and to except soap for exportation, I judged it best to accommodate upon the footing of the barilla duty in Ireland being repealed, in order to save the consciences of my countrymen, without prejudice to the revenue. The next difficulty respecting this article was, the duty upon tallow exported from Ireland ; for the Bristol and Lancashire soap-makers declared, that the greatest part of the soap they exported to the West Indies was made of Irish tallow ; it being of a harder nature, and therefore kept better in a hot climate than either English or Russia tallow. This point I would not discuss ; I stood to the terms of the agreement, which could only mean that *native commodities should be set against native commodities, and foreign against foreign*. That if they allowed their tallow to be exported to Ireland without any duty, then they might complain of the duty upon Irish tallow ; but, as the Irish could not have theirs at any rate, they ought to be thankful to the Irish for suffering them to have theirs at so low a duty as 1s. 6d. per cwt. This reasoning prevailed, and they gave up the point,

Another charge they had to make, was the duty on stamps of their bonds and certificates, &c. all which upon a medium they fairly made out amounted to sixpence per hundred ; the duty on salt used in making an hundred of soap was threepence ; and with the barilla duty, which was two shillings and threepence for half a hundred, made the whole amount to three shillings, which we had a duty of sixpence to set against. But by much debating we got off the stamp duty ; and by representing that our soap-boilers made use of kelp instead of barilla, and that our soap was inferior to theirs, they were brought to agree that we should lay an additional duty of one shilling and sixpence Irish on all our soap exported to the colonies ; and that if the Parliament thought fit to take off the duty on barilla imported, it was not to affect the agreement. This I thought a good bargain for Ireland, especially as I am certain barilla must be used by the Irish soap-boilers for what they send to the West Indies ; but it is fair to Lord Nugent and Sir Lucius that I should tell you, *they did not go with me entirely in this bargain.* Lord Hillsborough, whom I have since talked with on the subject, thinks you ought to lay on a much higher duty, as soap is a material for
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the linen manufacture, and a large exportation might injure it. Candles you have a shilling per hundred on, and there is no duty upon candles exported from Great Britain; but from compassion to the Lancashire people, who convinced me they now exported candles, made of Irish tallow, to the amount of ten thousand pounds, and *perhaps out of a little policy to soften the resentment of that country*, I promised I would recommend it to you to lay sixpence *per cwt.* more on Irish candles, but I *undertook* nothing. The cordage would have been a greater difficulty than the soap, if Lord North had not removed the objection. Hemp pays a duty upon importation here, and all cordage, except what is exported to the colonies, has a bounty equal to it. Any duty that you might lay could easily be evaded by declaring the cordage to be for the ship's stores; and it is known that you do now send cordage to the colonies *in that way*. A duty equal to that paid here upon the importation of hemp I would not hear of; and I knew the duty on hemp imported here could not be given up, and therefore the only way of accommodating both sides was to extend the bounty to British cordage exported to the colonies; and upon my stating the matter to

Lord

Lord North, *he at once agreed to it with that cheerfulness with which he has done every thing for Ireland this session it was possible to expect.* The leather, which is almost the only remaining article on which Ireland has not as high or higher duties upon exportation than remain here, has been settled by Mr. Wetherall: no agent appeared for the manufacturers, and therefore we could not make an agreement. In the whole progress of this business, and in the conduct of all future matters of the kind, the want of a Board of Trade or other office in Ireland, to transact with, has been, and must be severely felt. Indeed the Speaker and Sir Lucius O'Brian have most kindly supplied the defect in the present instance; but you must not always expect the two gentlemen who most possess the confidence of the House of Commons on commercial subjects, will take the same trouble upon all future occasions. The advantage you will make of the concessions obtained for you will much depend upon the regulations trade is put under; and a *receptacle* and *deposit* for commercial knowledge is the only means of collecting and bringing into use the information upon which such regulations ought to be founded. You will therefore, I
hope,

hope, pardon me for hinting to you the propriety of following these concessions on the part of England by the appointment of a Chamber of Commerce, or Board of Trade, or some such like office, to superintend your trade, to watch over the laws passed here, and to collect information by corresponding with all parts to which you can carry on a trade. I will now put an end to this long epistle, by requesting you to present my best respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and humble thanks for the obliging notice he has taken of my little endeavours to promote his Excellency's wishes for the advantage of Ireland, and begging you to believe me with great regard,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. The fishery and the ship clause were not objected to. By the Newfoundland fishery returns it appears, there have *been two thousand more Irish employed there in each year since the liberties granted to Ireland than before.*

No.

No. XXX.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 28th May, 1778.

Dear Sir,

NO circumstance has arisen in the House of Commons on the second reading or commitment of the export bill that would have given occasion to me to trouble you with another letter, after the very long one I dispatched by your messenger on Tuesday evening. The share I have been obliged to take in the Irish business has, however, led *some persons* here to imagine, that I ought to continue to correspond with you upon every matter of importance to Ireland that is in agitation here; and therefore I am now to give you some account of the Popery bills.

The one for repealing the first of Queen Anne I apprized you of in a former letter, as intended to remove an obstruction out of the way of the Irish Parliament to their extending *the rights of men* to the Roman Catholics; and at the same time give a strong intimation of the
sense

sense of Parliament here, that such use ought to be made of it. The sentiments of individuals corresponded with the public measure; scarce a member spoke against the export or import bills, but reprobated the Irish policy of oppressing and rendering useless the better half of the inhabitants. How can that government, it was said, complain of narrow and confined conduct in England towards them, when they persist in a plan infinitely more narrow and persecuting with regard to their own people. But another step has been taken by Parliament here that will operate more powerfully than the intimation conveyed by the bill I have mentioned. Another bill has been brought in for relieving the Roman Catholics of Great Britain from many of the restraints and hardships laid upon them by the laws of this country; and I have the satisfaction to tell you, that this bill passed the House of Commons with only one dissenting voice; and has been read twice, and yesterday went through the Committee of the Lords without any material amendment or alteration. Both bills have been supported by the whole Bench of Bishops, and the Dissenters have been zealous promoters of them, as a proof of the liberality of their sentiments, and an induce-

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ment

ment to grant them indulgencies they have heretofore in vain solicited. If this example should fail of influencing the Irish Parliament to take some step in favour of the Irish Roman Catholics, their want of liberality will bring on them the reproach of even the Scotch Presbyterians, who have gone cheerfully with the British measure. But a worse consequence than reproach will follow to Ireland, if their bigotry gets the better of their policy : every Roman Catholic of property will quit the kingdom, and remove into Great Britain. The liberties just granted to you in trade will be of no advantage ; for you will neither have money to carry on an extensive commerce, nor hands to employ. I inclose the copies of the bills, that the gentlemen of Ireland may see what is doing here ; and I flatter myself they will adopt the measure, and not suffer this session to pass over without manifesting to their countrymen an equal regard for their happiness as the British Parliament has testified.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No.

No. XXXI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

SIR Lucius O'Brian, Mr. Wetherall, and Mr. Foster, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, have, with the assistance of the Attorney General and the Commissioners of the Revenue, settled the duties which are to be laid on such articles of the manufacture and produce of the kingdom, as are by the act you have passed this session permitted to be exported from hence to the Plantations in America, the West Indies, and to Africa; so as to raise the duties here on those articles to as high an amount, as articles of the same quality exported from Great Britain are chargeable with; and the Attorney General has prepared heads of a bill, which will be brought into the House to-day, for laying on those duties. This operation has been a difficult one, *notwithstanding all the assistance you have given us*. But I believe, from the abilities and care of the gentlemen who have been employed in it, that it will be found properly executed and conformable to the inten-

tion of the British legislature, and of the manufacturers in Great Britain, so as to entitle Ireland to the full benefit of your export act.

The raising duties here upon articles carrying out a charge in their export from England, to as high an amount as those articles carry out from England, is a measure required by the British act of Parliament. And as that act has given to Ireland the full liberty of exporting to the same plantations, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, certain articles excepted, and all goods the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, certain articles excepted, and all certificate goods, some gentlemen here have thought, that, according to the principles of equality professed by your export act, these several articles should be exported from hence upon the same terms as they are exported from Great Britain, according to the scheme I inclose, and they have brought in heads of a bill for that purpose.

I acquainted these gentlemen that, notwithstanding the seeming equity of this proposition, as my Lord Lieutenant had no instructions upon the subject, and as it was no part of what is
I required

required by the British act, his Excellency could neither suffer it to be implicated in that act with the other proposition ; nor could he give any countenance to such a bill, as it was impossible to foresee what objection might arise to it in England. His Excellency could therefore neither permit the bill for raising the duties (in which no alteration could be made in England, it being a money bill) to be hazarded by the insertion of any thing not required by the British act ; nor could any way concur in their measure, as the doing so might be deemed the holding out a false expectation, if there should appear to the British ministry any reasons for rejecting their bill. They have, however, prepared and brought in heads of such a bill, in as guarded a manner as could be done, and it must take its chance in England. *You will judge of the propriety of the measure by the inclosed papers, and I trouble you with them now, that you may consider the propriety of it, when the bills shall be transmitted from the council.*

You have, I doubt not, heard of the awkward state of the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom. The *opposers* of this bill grew every day more warm,
till,

till, contrary to what there was reason to expect, they joined the Presbyterians, and together inserted a clause for repeal of the sacramental test, enacted here by the 2d of Anne, intituled, “An act to prevent the further growth of popery,” the law which created the disabilities, the present bill intended to remove. They introduced this clause from an opinion, that the repeal of the test would be disagreeable to Government, and therefore obstruct the bill. If the bill returns from England without this clause, there will be difficulty in carrying it through the Commons; if with the clause, in carrying it through the Lords. The history of this test law is, that it was tacked to the second of Anne in England, with a view to occasion that law being thrown out upon its return hither. The repeal of the test is now tacked to the heads of this bill, for relief against those disabilities, with a view to occasion its being thrown out in England, or rejected here by the Lords.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Dublin Castle,
June 24, 1778.

R. HERON.

No.

No. XXXII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

THE messenger who will deliver you this carries over several bills, of which two are our export bills. My Lord Lieutenant has wrote to the Lord President, Lord North, and Lord Weymouth upon the subject, and has furnished their Lordships in addition to his private letter, with an explanation of the principles of the bills, and I shall enclose to you a copy of that paper. In my letter to Mr. Robinson, I have referred him to my last letter to you. By mistake a copy of the bill for equalizing the duties is not made, which I also intended to enclose to you. Our manufactures here are in a most wretched situation, and we have now reason to apprehend very bad consequences from the inability of the masters to continue their journeymen at the loom. They have been supported a long time by subscriptions, which are now exhausted; and the masters alledge they have an uncommon stock on hand and no money, so that there is reason to apprehend some disorder. This country had means of conveying their manufactures
abroad,

abroad, which have been stopped, and if their ports are not now opened, the country must be undone. There has, however, within these few days, been a considerable rise in the linen, which may have some effect. I hope there will not be found any reason for rejecting either of the export bills. I wish you would see his Excellency's private letter respecting the bills, for I have not time to send you a copy of it.

I am,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Dublin Castle,
2d July, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XXXIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

LORD Nugent has wrote to our Speaker, desiring some person might be sent from hence to solicit and explain the export bills, which were sent by the messenger last night. If there was
any

any person here competent to the undertaking, that could be prevailed on to go, my Lord Lieutenant would most readily send him over, but there really is not. And I should hope, the explanation which his Excellency has transmitted with the bills, of which I have sent you a copy, and that I now enclose, would, *with your friendly aid*, be sufficient for the purpose.

I am therefore directed by my Lord Lieutenant to request you will be so kind as to give us your best services upon the occasion. I am sensible I need not mention any inducement to you ; but really the state of our manufactures is such as requires every idea of benefit should be held out to this country, which can with propriety be done, in order to keep up the spirits of people, which are much affected ; and if all prospect of advantage from your export bill should be lost by the rejection of the bills sent from hence, it might have a very ill effect here, the bills being for so short a time ; and as any thing which may want correcting may be done in the next session of this Parliament, his Excellency hopes no difficulty can be made to the passing them.

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As I have corresponded with you upon the former part of this business, I do not trouble Sir Grey Cooper or Mr. Robinson upon the subject, knowing it will be communicated more effectually to them by you than by any thing I could write.

I enclose herewith copies of the heads of the bills, and a state, explaining the duties, which are granted by the bill.

I presume it may be necessary to have a solicitor appointed to attend the progress of this business, as it may meet with obstruction from the manufacturers of Great Britain. And I trust you will be so kind, as to appoint a solicitor for this purpose, to whom I will be answerable for the fees he shall pay to Counsel, and all other expence that shall be incurred.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

*Dublin Castle,
July 4, 1778.*

R. HERON.

No. XXXIV.

*Right Honourable Mr. HERON.**Whitehall, 6th July, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

I HAVE this moment received your favour of the 2d instant by the messenger, and am glad to find the bills are arrived of which you gave me an account in a former letter. That for equalizing the duties by augmenting those payable in Ireland, corresponds entirely with the conditions of the English act, and the traders to whom I communicated the copy you sent, object to nothing but the want of an additional expence upon candles. That omission will not, however, obstruct the return of the bill. The other bill is an extension of the principle on which the first is founded, and in most parts will I think be acquiesced in by the traders; but there is one particular which will require some alteration. The reduction of the present duties on Irish manufactures exported from Ireland, to a level with the duties paid on the export of similar manufactures of English fabrick from England, is consistent with the idea of equality

adopted in the former case. But when the Irish materials pay a duty upon their export to England, and the manufacture from England carries out *that duty*, if the Irish manufacture pays none, the Irish will evidently have an advantage over the English manufacture, both being made of the *same Irish materials*. The instance of tallow and candles will explain my meaning ; and in respect to those articles, I am pretty sure the Privy Council will not consent to your taking off the one shilling per *cwt.** now charged upon candles, if you continue the 1s. 6d. on tallow sent to England : and how extraordinary must it appear to the traders to find, instead of an additional duty of 6d. the old duty of 1s. 6d. we told them of taken off ? If this bill for taking off duties be a money bill, I do not know how to save it ; but there are two ways of amending it, if it be amendable. The one is, to insert in the list of exceptions candles and every other article which pays a duty either upon its material or manufacture upon its export to England. The other to take off the duty upon such, or its material going to England. If you have any means of doing either by an additional bill, I can get this bill kept back until such an one can arrive.

* This was a mistake in the copy sent me.

The Roman Catholics' bill is, I think, in jeopardy. Lord George Germain has acquainted my Lord Lieutenant with what passed upon the subject on Thursday. Instead of repealing the test entirely, I have proposed a partial repeal in respect to military commissions, to shew confidence in the Dissenters by trusting them with the sword ; at the same time, the church and civil government would remain safe from their interference. I proposed to add also a repeal of the Churchwarden's oath and qualification, so far as to enable the Dissenters to execute the office themselves, and save the expence of deputies ; and *indeed all christians ought to join in taking away the oath ; for no man can now take it without exposing himself to ruin by complying with, or perjury by evading it.**

I give you this information from myself upon the instant, for there are no ministers in town, and therefore I do not wish this letter to be considered as containing any opinions but my own.

The several matters I have written to you upon in the course of last sessions will probably

* The Primate has since dispensed with the oath.

come again into discussion : and as I have kept no copies of my letters, I must beg the favour of you to send me copies when your office people are at leisure.

I beg my respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXV.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE consulted with such gentlemen who are in town, that are conversant with the subject of your letter, and we have looked over the two bills respecting the exports from this kingdom, (Sir Lucius O'Brian being one of those gentlemen) from which it seems, that the objection made with respect to candles is not founded, as candles are included in the exceptions

tions in the second bill ; so that if the first, which is for raising the duties, is not exceptionable, it follows, that candles being excepted in the second bill, there is nothing in that bill to affect the principles of the first ; and there do not occur to us any other article to which the principle of your objection can be applied.

It is difficult to say absolutely, whether the second bill would be considered by the House as a Money Bill or not, as I find gentlemen differ upon that question. If it could be passed without any alterations, it would be very happy ; but if it cannot, as the whole is upon a principle of liberality to Ireland, it ought to be received with good humour ; and if the alterations appear evidently necessary to the equality intended by both kingdoms, they may be acquiesced in, if the House can consider the bill as a bill of regulation ; but it is hoped the alterations may be as few as possible.

The bill for relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is certainly embarrassing, and produces such a variety of sentiments here, that it is extremely difficult to give any opinion upon the subject. I can only say, that whatever measure

is

is adopted, it will be supported by my Lord Lieutenant to the amount of his power.

I could not answer your letter sooner, as the gentlemen with whom it was necessary for me to consult, were most of them in the country.

I am, dear Sir,

Your much obliged,

and obedient,

humble servant,

Dublin Castle,
July 21, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XXXVI.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 16th July, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I AM glad to find by looking into the bill itself, that the alarm I had taken because of the new clause in the copy transmitted to me in your last, has not really been inserted in the equalizing duty bill; where the clerk who made that copy for me got the clause I cannot comprehend,

prehend, but I trust he will be more careful in future, not to insert in his copies, things that are not in the original. Another mistake I find was made in the copy sent me of the trade bill, by omitting candles amongst the excepted articles, which I find are excepted in the original; and it is disagreeable enough to reflect that all the uneasiness I felt upon both accounts, proceeded from the carelessness of the copier. I have the pleasure to tell you the equalizing duty bill has with a small amendment in expression only, passed the Council, but the trade bill is postponed as I told you it would be; the Attorney General has however stated an objection which goes to the whole of the bill, and that is, that the duties reduced are laid by the act of Charles the Second, and consequently what revenue would arise from them would be hereditary, and also, that the bounties and drawbacks are made payable out of the revenue at large, and so may be taken out of the hereditary revenue. I showed him the resolution of the House of Commons in answer, but he will not admit a resolution as a sufficient ground to go upon, when an act is to be repealed; and he besides alledged something unfavourable to your good faith, in abiding by resolutions in former cases; on the

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whole, therefore, I think this bill must be new modelled, and that for this session you will see no more of it.

The Roman Catholic Bill will receive its decision this night. The Attorney General's report is favourable, but it has lost a friend by Lord Gower going into the country. Lord George Germain will give a line to Lord Buckingham when the business is over. I hope it will have a favourable issue, though I much fear the contrary.

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXVII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

IT is certain the arguments for giving a free passage for English goods through Ireland to America and the Colonies, might be applied to give a free passage for Irish goods through England to the same places ; but that can only be

effected by an English act taking off the import duty or giving a bounty or drawback. The bill sent over takes off the import duty on English goods sent to America : England may by a law take off her import duty upon Irish goods sent thither ; but as Ireland does not know what part of the goods which go from Ireland to England, pass to America, she could not for the purpose of the American trade only, take off the export duties on the goods intended for America, without taking off the whole.

Sir Lucius O'Brian mentioned to me his apprehension, that the second bill, by not excepting the articles on which duties are imposed in the first, may occasion difficulty with respect to those duties. But this doubt is clearly without foundation, as the second bill only takes off the duties from such goods as might be lawfully exported, whereas iron, the only article not excepted, could not be *lawfully* exported without paying the duty required by the British act ; and it is also clear, that both bills being of the same session, or to render them effectual, considered as one bill. *My Lord Lieutenant desires me to make his acknowledgements for all the trouble,*

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*ble you are so kind as to take in this important
business,*

And I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged,

and obedient servant,

*Dublin Castle,
July 16, 1778.*

R. HERON.

No. XXXVIII.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, July 23, 1778.

3 o'clock, P. M.

Dear Sir,

THE Privy Council have this moment determined upon the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics. The bill is to go back without any amendment, except leaving out the tacked clause for the repeal of the test act. This has been obtained with much difficulty; and I hope you will be able to carry it through upon its arrival in its present state. That you may have the earliest intelligence of this important determination,

tion, and have time to collect your forces before the bill appears, I send you this by express; and I have the pleasure to tell you farther, that the export bill is in a fair way of getting through with some amendments, which I think will will not be objected to on your side. The principal objection stated by the Attorney General to the bill as it came over is—the injury to the hereditary revenue, both in actual loss, and prevention of increase. The resolution of the House of Commons he will not allow a sufficient security, and therefore, to give it force I have proposed to add to the last clause some words, expressive of the intention of Parliament to make compensation to the hereditary revenue, both for the loss and prevention of increase.—

This expedient Lord North approves, after hearing a conversation between the Attorney General and me of four hours last night upon the subject, and the Attorney General is to prepare the addition, and the bill will pass next Thursday. I propose leaving out the clause that directs bond to be given on the export of Irish manufactures, not excepted, as a prejudicial shackle on your trade; for even your linens would be subject to it, and it would prevent you of the consumption in the voyage and the
private

private trade with * * * * I perceive your reasons for inserting it, but as the addition to be made to the last clause will cover all defalcations of the hereditary revenue, arising from this act, there will be no harm done to it, even if all your foreign exports be made under colour of going to the British colonies; and I hope your foreign trade will increase by so saving the duty. I will detain this intelligence no longer from you than to beg you will present my best respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and to believe me,

Yours, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXIX.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

*St. James's, July 31, 1778,
2 o'clock, P. M.*

Dear Sir,

I HAVE now the pleasure to inform you
that the bill for the encouragement of trade is
passed

passed by the Privy Council with the enclosed amendments and some literal corrections made by the Attorney General. The purpose of these amendments is to pledge Parliament by the act itself, to make good any diminution the hereditary revenue may sustain, by taking off the 5 per cent. on the exports, or paying the drawbacks and bounties out of it, and the expressions made use of are taken from the resolution of the House of Commons, to prevent any possible objection on the part of that House to their being inserted. The Attorney General had proposed to leave out the words “ *customs* “ *and excise,*” in the clause that directs the collectors to pay the drawbacks and bounties, that the revenue arising from them might in no wise be charged with such payments; but I thought it unreasonable, (and had the good fortune to find Lord North of the same opinion) that the branch of the revenue which was benefitted by the importation should be exempted from the re-payment on exportation, and, besides such an exception, would go in all future cases to curb Parliament in making arrangements which might be judged necessary for the public good, wherever the hereditary revenue might be affected; but I trust the gentlemen

Members of the House of Commons will be careful to maintain good faith with the Crown on this occasion. They must see how important it is to the welfare of Ireland, that the Crown should have confidence in their promises to make good any loss the hereditary revenue may eventually suffer by any regulations they may make, and they can take no method so efficacious for establishing that confidence as making a liberal provision in the case of this bill.

The amendment I told you I intended to propose in that part of the bill which respects the cautions under which the exports are to be made, I found would not be relished at present, as the Parliament of Ireland had judged them proper, and the reasons I had to offer required more attention than can be expected of ministers at this season of the year, the few hours a week they are in town. But besides, as the penalty of not returning the certificate is only the payment of the duty, the uncharged goods, such as linens, although the bond is required for them, will be liable to no penalty, if the certificate is not returned. When the act is renewed next session, it will be proper to alter
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that part of it, and you will see by the enclosed paper how I had intended it should have been, and I think it will meet with no difficulty here, if you keep good faith with the hereditary revenue. I beg my respects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. I date my letter from St. James's, having come up to attend the Council.

No. XL.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

COPIES of the letters I have the honour of receiving from you in the course of the last sessions of our parliaments, were made some time since; but as you had hinted that the several matters they treat of might come again into discussion, I wished them to have been accompanied with a word or two upon those subjects, and have been collecting materials for the purpose. *I am sorry this has occasioned a delay*

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inconvenient to you and injurious to the public, being well assured nothing I could offer would compensate the having deferred your consideration of these subjects. I have not omitted to express how much I thought my Lord Lieutenant and the public indebted to you for your attention to them, and beg you will do me the justice to believe, I should be very happy in any opportunity of shewing how sensible I am of the material assistance I receive from you upon many occasions.

I am, dear Sir,

With great esteem,

Your most faithful,

And obedient,

Dublin Castle,

Humble servant,

15th Oct. 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XLI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dublin, August 6, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE received your very obliging letter of the 31st of last month, and make no doubt that we shall pass the equalizing bill with the alteration, though certainly not agreeable to those

those who are capable of judging of the subject. The keeping up the distinction between the hereditary and temporary revenue can answer no purpose, but to continue jealousies which every good man must wish to extinguish: there are but two principles upon which it can be supported, and no man, I believe, will avow either.—The first is, that a time may come when the Crown may act without a Parliament, and depend upon the hereditary revenue for its support; the second is, that the hereditary revenue is the private property of the Crown, and may be disposed of at pleasure.

Whatever advantage may be derived to this kingdom from the laws which have passed in Great Britain the last session, it has been obtained, I am persuaded, principally by your judgment, industry, and zeal. I am sensible that I had not the least merit in any thing which was done; for though no man had warmer wishes, I perceived very clearly that nothing I said made the least impression. It will certainly appear that Great Britain will not suffer any prejudice from those laws. I wish it were equally certain, Ireland would receive benefit from them, which, I must confess to you, I much doubt

from the want not only of capitals, but of spirit in our merchants. Seven hundred pounds premium to the first ship which goes has already been offered, and, to all appearance, in vain. *I shall be happy in the continuance of a correspondence with one for whom I have so much esteem, and who has proved himself to be so sincere, as well as powerful a friend to my country.* The Roman Catholic bill will pass our House this day, and I make no doubt will pass the Lords likewise. I am, with much affection and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most assured,

And obedient servant,

EDM. PERRY,

No. XLII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Dromoland, Sept. 20th, 1778.

Dear Sir,

OBSERVING in a late paper that the government here have issued a proclamation for taking
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off entirely the embargo on butter, I cannot omit returning my thanks for a measure, to which I was a witness how much your zeal for Ireland contributed. It were exceedingly to be wished, that something could be done also with respect to the beef trade of this kingdom, so far as may be necessary for the fleets of England, it is altogether reasonable they should be first served, and yet, considering the circumstances of the two countries, even that pre-emption might be always insured, by the contractors paying two or three shillings per hundred more than they do at present, without that terrible convulsion which a now three years embargo has made on our trade and constitution. But above half the beef of Ireland is of an inferior sort, which the contractors for the navy will not take ; and while the convoys go only from Cork, Waterford, and Dublin, even that over-loaded trade of small beef is monopolized in those towns by a few merchants, while Limerick, Gallway, Sligo, &c. are under an absolute prohibition. I feel the effects of this very severely at this instant, not being able to get a guinea rent among my tenants. What the sense of the Limerick merchants is you will judge from the enclosed, which contains a pretty fair representation

presentation of the facts, though the letter was not written, I believe, to be shown about.

The Roman Catholics seem every where highly grateful for the benefits they have received, and yet without any imprudent expressions of their joy; the principal ones of them every where come to the assizes to take the oaths to his Majesty; and if it be thought necessary, the whole body of the people might be brought to do the same by the next session. At my assizes, the tutelar bishop, M^r Mahon, and all his clergy, were sworn, and at the same time he published the enclosed exhortation, which I send you as an evidence of those people's opinion.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and

Faithful servant,

LUCIUS O'BRIAN.

No. XLIII.

To Mr. PERRY.

9th Oct. 1778.

Dear Sir,

SOON after I received your very obliging letter, our friend Sir Lucius repeated his visit to this metropolis; and as he seldom travels in vain for his country's advantage, an opportunity offered while he was here of liberating the Irish butter from the embargo, and *we did not suffer it to slip*. The beef is still wholly subject to it; and I find by a letter I have received from him since his return, that its being so is of very mischievous consequences to Ireland. The Attorney General, who is now here, tells me the same thing; and as I never can suppose Government *mean to do mischief, though they often do it*, I wish to be able to shew the evil, and point out a remedy. There are two objects to be attended to in any proposition that we may make them: the securing a sufficient supply for our own forces, and the preventing the French availing themselves of our beef to victual their ships and colonies. The embargo effectually does both; and if we
cannot

cannot shew some other way of doing so, I fear the embargo will not be removed. You are able to give Government the best information upon this subject, and I very willingly offer my best endeavours to have your advice listened to. The present is a season of recess, and any matter of this kind can now be easily brought into consideration; the sooner, therefore, that you make your proposition, the better. I am not afraid but that we should prevail to have the *small beef* sent at large, if we could draw an effectual line between it and the kind our own people are supplied with; for I think the first object I mentioned is of much greater importance than the second; and if that can be obtained, the other might be less regarded. I am going to Bath to drink the water the remainder of this month, and hope to be honoured with your commands upon my return, which will give great pleasure to, and be punctually executed by, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

No. XLIV.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Edmund's Bury, Oct. 23, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I DEFERRED acknowledging the receipt of your very kind letter of the 9th instant, until I had again spoke to Sir Richard Heron upon the subject of it, which, indeed, I had repeatedly done before : *he assured me that my Lord Lieutenant and he had used every argument they could think of to have the embargo upon small beef taken off, or at least relaxed, but in vain*; however he said he would, at my request, make another effort for the purpose, since I seemed to think there was a possibility that might succeed. Yet I confess to you I have little expectations from it ; the same principles upon which it was first laid on, still subsist, and will continue it. How consistent they are either with justice or good policy I will not presume to examine ; but this I am certain of, that hitherto it has answered

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no other purpose but that of reducing to the utmost distress a people who have deserved better. You say there are two objects to be attended to in any proposition to be made on this subject ;—the securing a sufficient supply for our own forces, and preventing the French ships and colonies from being victualled. With respect to the first, I am confident that none of our beef which is fit for the English market ever goes to any other ; the price of it, which no other country will, or perhaps can pay, is the best security against that. With respect to the second, it now appears that the French fleets and colonies have been sufficiently provided with victuals, notwithstanding the embargo in this kingdom continued for years ; and I confess I cannot see what advantage it is to Great Britain that France should be obliged to take her provisions from other countries, rather than from Ireland. It has I know been the policy of very wise nations to supply their enemies, even in time of war, with what they wanted, and I believe they never had reason to repent having done so. With respect to drawing a line between the small beef and that fit for the consumption of Great Britain, in my opinion the price most effectually does so. But it is not judged sufficient, pro-

per persons, in whom Government may confide, may be stationed at the different ports of exportation to examine the provisions intended to be exported.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful

And obedient servant,

EDM. PERRY.

No. XLV.

*Papers which procured the Revocation of the
Embargo on Irish Provisions, Dec. 1778.*

THE intention of laying and continuing the embargo on the exportation of beef and pork from Ireland was to secure a sufficient supply for our fleets and armies, and to prevent the rebels and French from getting them. There is no restraint upon the quantity that may be sent to our own islands, but only that the ships must sail with convoy, and give bond to deliver their cargoes according to their declaration.— This restraint has operated sufficiently for preventing clandestine exportations to the French islands, or the rebellious provinces. The con-

tinuance of it therefore may be expected to have the like operation, and on that account it ought to be continued ; but the restraint of exporting to all Europe except France, does not appear so necessary. The French fleets and trading ships have not been kept in port for want of Irish provisions, and should the French get them through Spain or Holland, their doing so will not serve to augment their navy, and will therefore be no injury to Great Britain. They can now get supplied with Danish and Swedish provisions in the same manner as they will then get the Irish. They cannot then so easily send the Irish provisions to their islands as they now can the Danish or Swedish, for the Danish or Swedish may go in safety in their own ships to St. Eustatia, or St. Croix, and have only the risk of being taken between those islands and the French, but the Irish provisions, if sent from France, will have the risk of being taken in Europe, as well as in the West Indies. The taking off the embargo therefore upon the exportation of Irish beef and pork, to all parts of Europe, except France, cannot be of any public detriment, but it will greatly serve Ireland, for the Spaniards and Portuguese will have it for their ships and settlements, The
French

French will endeavour to get it in preference to what they now make use of, but the demand on the whole will not be so great as to interfere with our own supplies, nor will the same sort of beef that we want be called for by the French, Spaniards, or Portuguese.

No. XLVI.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. EDEN, to Mr.
KNOX.*

Dublin Castle, Nov. 28, 1781.

My dear Sir,

THIS messenger carries the remainder of our money bills, and I sincerely hope they may be returned without delay or alteration. Pray write to me by return of this messenger, and give me your sentiments and advice upon the subject of a national Bank for Ireland. I have many ideas upon it, whenever I can find time to digest them, and I see the importance of the present government taking the lead in the measure, and managing it indeed before they bring it into Parliament. Since that establishment
must

must sooner or later be made, and it is very essential to the interests of the nation to make this also a link of connection.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully and affectionately,

Your's, &c.

W. E D E N.

No. XLVII.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. KNOX to Mr.
EDEN.*

Whitehall, December 6, 1781.

My dear Sir,

ONE batch of your bills is gone back, and the other, I believe, will very soon follow. You desire my thoughts upon a national Bank for Ireland. It is an ill time for one who is just become a bankrupt in one part of the world to think of establishing a system of credit in another; but you shall have what occurs, and as it is a subject I have often deliberated upon, the less consideration will now be necessary.

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(The whole of this letter being upon a subject of too delicate a nature for the public eye, short extracts of the plan is only given.) The plan of the Bank of England is, for commercial purposes, the most perfect that can be imagined, and it has the advantage of long experience and infinite success to recommend it. The interior of it is wonderfully regular, to come at the knowledge of it you must buy one of the clerks at any price, for the œconomy of it is kept a secret. I know a good deal of it, but not sufficient to sketch the plan.

The Bank should be restrained from lending money upon lands or purchasing; but they should be at liberty to lend upon Government securities. To extend the circulation of your notes, from which all the benefit to the nation must arise, as by that means the public stock will be augmented, which is the great thing now wanted, pass an act, making Irish currency the same as English, and then the Bank notes will gain a circulation here, and throughout all England and Scotland; but you must have a corresponding house here, as the Bristol banks have, to give cash for Irish Bank notes. The alteration of the currency would have
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another good effect; it would assist you with loans from this and other countries, as all people would know what they were to receive, deducting a commission, which they cannot now do, embarrassed by the difference of exchanges. It would answer politically also, by removing a distinction between the two kingdoms, which is of no sort of use to either; for you are too well informed of the nature of money to suppose the increasing the nominal value of the specie will serve to restrain it in any country. And still further to promote the circulation of their notes, and give the government a claim to their assistance, all the receivers of the revenue should be ordered to send their money to the Bank; but the same caution should be used by the Irish exchequer, as is used here, to prevent the idea of Bank notes being lawful tender. The exchequer never offers to pay in notes, a clerk of the Bank sits there, and upon your desiring notes, hands over to the Teller the sum wanted. Your Tellers and Receivers General will not greatly like my propositions, especially that one of the Collectors remitting to the Bank; but you can compensate them by increasing their salaries, for the thing must be done, or your Bank will fail of its utility to
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the public, from the want of circulation, for the collectors being remitters to the Bank, will be glad to take Bank notes, and thus every one of them throughout the kingdom, will become a cashier for the Bank. I know the collectors make a profit by remitting merchants and manufacturers bills, but if you oblige them to remit weekly, they will not always be able to get good bills, and must take Bank notes.

I have another plan to propose in addition to that of a national bank, with the same view of increasing the national stock of money, and pointed especially to the improvement of the lands; but while the British government is giving an interest of 6 per cent. it is in vain to think of carrying it into execution.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XLVIII.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX to the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, dated 27th February, 1788.

AS I was so fortunate as to be the first who was able to prevail with an English Administration, to consider the extension of the trade of Ireland, as promotive of the prosperity of Great Britain, and in consequence of that persuasion, obtained for Ireland, a participation in her fisheries and colony trade, and had also the good fortune to frame such regulations for carrying it on, as proved satisfactory to the English manufacturer, and gave content to the people of Ireland; I have always felt it my duty upon every occasion, when my service was required or my opinion asked, to take the interests of Ireland into consideration with those of Great Britain, and endeavour to procure for the Irish commerce the same advantages that were proposed to be given to that of Great Britain; and having been lately applied to for a plan for extending and accelerating the correspondence between this country and North America, and the West India Islands, I did not fail to point out in the one I proposed, the manner in which
Ireland

Ireland might be admitted to partake of its advantages : but as my present private situation gives me no official intercourse with ministers, I can do no more than point out the method, and must leave the enforcing it to abler hands ; and as I know none more so than your Excellency's, I trust you will pardon the liberty I have taken of sending you the enclosed complete copy of my plan, that your Excellency seeing its whole extent, and the several relations it combines, may be the better able to judge of its importance ; and whether the connecting Ireland with it, in the manner I have proposed, be an object worthy your Excellency's attention. I am happy to see your Excellency take the lead in a measure, [*the reduction of the national interest,*] which I have often heard my ever dear and honoured friend, your Excellency's late father, speak of as highly necessary to be adopted ; and I thought it just to his memory, which I shall never cease to revere, to mention his intention of doing so, in my late Pamphlet* upon the Commercial Treaty ; and I hope the reduction of the English legal interest, which I then sug-

* Helps to a Right Understanding the Merits of the Commercial Treaty with France, addressed to the members of both Houses of Parliament. Printed for J. Debrett, Piccadilly.

gested, will take place, as that will obviate all objections to the reduction your Excellency has proposed in Ireland. Your Excellency has a wide field for the display of your great abilities, and the suspension (for it is no more) of emigration to America, which the unsettled state of that country occasions, furnishes a singularly glorious opportunity for their application; and I beg your Excellency to believe, that whatever little assistance it may be in my power to give, for the furtherance of your Excellency's measures for the public welfare, will be at all times most cheerfully afforded, by him who has the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your's &c.

No. XLIX.

Paper sent to Mr. ROSE, Dec. 9, 1787, to be laid before Mr. PITT.

AMONG the circumstances of good which may be extracted from the great evil of the American war, and its unfortunate termination, the stop put to emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to America, is the most important, as it affords Government a fair occasion

of not only retaining but increasing its subjects, and adding to the national wealth, by increasing the products of the lands, and extending manufactures. The event has shewn how very unwise the old policy of unbounded colonization was, but the pursuit of the same system, after the experience we have had of its pernicious tendency, would be still more culpable; and as we have the means of providing for the accommodation of many more inhabitants than the British islands contain, let us use at least equal endeavours to induce those we have to remain with us, as were formerly put in practice, to tempt them to emigrate to America. Instead of holding out gratuitous grants of lands in America, with supplies of provisions and working tools, civil and religious establishments without expence, exemption from taxes, bounties on their products, to excite the starving inhabitants of the Scotch islands to abandon their oppressive landlords, high-rented lands, burthenfome taxes, want of markets for their scanty produce, and of civil authority and religious instruction for their comfort and protection; let us induce them to cultivate those not unfertile districts by similar indulgences, and try if we can colonize the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetland Islands,

and

and the unimproved tracts in Wales, at as small an expence as we have been at to furnish Nova Scotia, St. John's and Cape Breton with inhabitants. Plans for this purpose are what I have to propose, but I will not offer them at the hazard of their being converted into jobs, or being defeated through the ignorance or self-interested views of those to whom the execution of them may be committed. No man has ever had the same opportunities I have had of acquiring commercial and colonial information, and very few have had the like occasions to combine what they may have attained, with the knowledge of the political interests of this country : and the great success which has attended the regulations I have advised, warrant me in saying, I availed myself of them. Nor has want of integrity, or the preferring my private interests to those of the public, ever been imputed to me. I do not therefore conceive I shall expose myself to the charge of arrogance, in proposing myself as the most fit to conduct such an undertaking, and I am ready to do it without any stipulation of emolument, or looking for other gratification than the consciousness of having essentially served my country, and testified my gratitude to my most gracious Sovereign, whose spontaneous bounty relieved me when I was distressed.

THE END.

EXTRA OFFICIAL
STATE PAPERS.

ADDRESSED TO
The RIGHT HON. LORD RAWDON,
AND THE OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE
TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,
ASSOCIATED FOR
THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND
PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY
OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

By A LATE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEBRET T, opposite BURLINGTON-
House, in PICCADILLY.

M.DCC,LXXXIX.

portant matters to which they refer were transacted ; they have the advantage of experience over the more scientific plans and systems of the mere political speculatist, and it is in the hope that they may serve to check that ardour for reform, and thirst for innovation, which seems to be the characteristic of the present speculators upon the constitution, and to indispose Parliament to adopt their Utopian chimeras, that I now lay them before the public. The interposition of your society will, upon such occasions, be of the greatest use ; for there are many propositions which, however idle or extravagant they may be in themselves, or pernicious in their consequences, ministers, even if they are not themselves de-

deceived, cannot resist without hazarding the loss of popularity, and depriving themselves of the support of many very respectable Members of Parliament, who are not accustomed to extend their views far into futurity, or to contemplate such objects in all their relations, some instances of which I have given in the former volume ; but I will here mention one which has a more particular reference to the principal subject of this ; the act for abolishing the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, and depriving the Highlanders of their peculiar dress, which I will undertake to prove has, by its operation, done more mischief to Great Britain and greater injury to the Highlanders themselves than the two Rebellions, which they were made the instruments of supporting

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ing through their attachment to their chiefs ; and when the zealots for universal liberty come with their fine spun theories, for promoting the happiness of the French Canadians, by converting them into English Republicans : I beg your society will take the former and the present state of the North British islands into your consideration, with the papers which are now presented to your Lordship, and them

by your Lordship's

most faithful and

most obedient Servant,

WILL. KNOX.

EXTRA

EXTRA OFFICIAL
STATE PAPERS.

WHOEVER compares the vast importance and extensive consequences of the revolt of the thirteen American provinces, with the insignificance of its immediate cause, will find abundant reason to class it among those wonderful events, which baffle all human prescience to foresee, or ratiocination to account for. That a people the most generally well informed of any nation upon earth, in the full possession of the great blessings of civil and religious liberty, cherished and protected by a state that had lately exerted the greatest power the world ever saw, increasing in numbers, and advancing in prosperity

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perity beyond all former example of the dependencies of great empires, improving in every art and science, and rising into consideration among the greatest and most enlightened nations, should at once renounce all the advantages they derived from such a situation and connection ; expose themselves to the resentment of their parent protector and benefactor ; sacrifice their fisheries and commerce upon which they had subsisted and prospered, and involve themselves in a war with the greatest maritime power that ever existed, without troops, without armed ships, without revenue, without specie money, and without credit, for no greater injury, no greater insult or oppression, than an adherence to a fundamental principle of the relation in which they had been first planted, and always remained, and which they had all acknowledged to be necessary to preserve the connection they had so constantly professed their satisfaction in, and earnest desire to perpetuate : The regulation of their trade by taxes upon their imports, exercised in a manner so far from burdensome or oppressive, that it actually produced a saving to the country : by the commutation of a duty of eighteen pence paid in England upon tea, and undrawn back upon

exportation to the Colonies, for one of twelve pence paid there upon its importation, is an instance of infatuation unparalleled in the history of mankind, and not to be compared with any other marvellous events that ever happened, but such as are to be found in the war it produced, arising out of the more unaccountable mismanagement of the prodigious land and sea force, Great Britain sent against the revolters, and in the termination of that war by the grant of not only every thing they had contended for, but in the cession of much more territory than they had ever made any claim to,

Marvellous, however, and unaccountable as these events appear upon this statement of them, I am nevertheless well convinced, that sufficient second causes may be assigned for their production, without having recourse to the immediate interposition of Providence, which, however right and proper it is to acknowledge to be the supreme director and controulor of all the affairs of men, yet, as we are allowed to be free agents and accountable for our conduct, we ought to employ that reason which is given us for our guidance in

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the investigation of the human means by which effects are produced, and in rendering them as beneficial, or at least as inoffensive to us, as we possibly can, I shall therefore endeavour to trace the causes which predisposed the inhabitants of the thirteen American provinces, to embrace the occasion which the exercise of the power of Parliament to impose port duties, in the instance of the tea duty, afforded them of throwing off their dependence upon Great Britain, as by developing them we shall obtain such just notions of the policy of our ancestors who planted those Colonies, of their utility to this country, and of the necessary or probable consequences of their growth and prosperity, as may be of use in the consideration of the proper management of those which remain to us; for however ridiculous the Irishman's curiosity appears in answering our inquiry of the way to any place by asking us where we came from; I conceive there is more good sense in the question, than those who laugh at him are aware of; for what motive can be more forcible to prevail with us to follow a right direction in future, than the conviction of having gone wrong hitherto.

That

That I might faithfully discharge the trust reposed in me, it was my first care, after my arrival in Georgia, to make myself acquainted with the Constitutions of the several American provinces, their laws, internal regulations, state of improvement, and the nature and extent of their trade, and above all their dispositions towards Great Britain; and it was with no small degree of astonishment, I perceived a total want of plan or system in the British Government, as well at the time of their establishment, as in their future management, that the seeds of disunion were sown in the first plantation in every one of them, and that a general disposition to independence of this country prevailed throughout the whole. It was the knowledge I had thus acquired of their circumstances and wishes, which enabled me to tear off the masque from all their professions of loyalty to the King, and attachment to Great Britain; and to expose and confute all their arguments in support of their claim of exemption from the authority of Parliament, whilst they enjoyed the privileges of British subjects, in my *Review of the American Controversy*, which I published in the year 1768, and it must afford no small degree of consol-

tion to the people of this country, under the burdens imposed by the war, and their mortification at its ill success, to find reason to believe, that had America continued a part of the British empire for half a century longer, under the same mode of Government as subsisted in the several provinces before the war, the navigation, manufactures, and a great part of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, would most probably have transported themselves thither, and reduced this country to a state of much greater imbecillity than the vast increase of the public debt, and the weight of taxes imposed in consequence of the American war, has occasioned. To make this appear, I shall proceed to lay before you a state of the Constitutions of their Governments, and of the circumstances of the several provinces before their revolt, in the concise manner I have been accustomed to prepare information for Ministers, who of all things abhor long papers.

The object of making discoveries in North America was at first to procure gold, and that failing, a trade with the natives for their furs, peltry, and tobacco was adopted; for which purpose, Charters of Incorporation, according

cording to the ideas of trade then entertained, were granted by James I. to two companies residing in London, as I have stated in my *Review*, who were empowered to make laws and regulations for trading Houses or Colonies which they might establish in every part of America, from the latitude 34, to the latitude 45, which includes the whole sea coast from the present south boundary of Virginia, to the frontiers of Nova Scotia; under these charters the country called New England was settled, several of the English republicans having purchased a right to do so from the Virginia companies, and transported themselves thither to escape the *abomination of desolation* committed by Bishop Laud, in removing the communion table from the center to the east end of the church, and calling it the altar, and appointing the 7th verse of the 24th Psalm to be chaunted when he entered St. Paul's, and there modelled the Government to their own humour. And when Charles II. afterwards granted separate charters to the Governor and Company of the English Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, he gave them all such indulgences as he hoped would entice the remaining puritans to remove thither, as to the
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kingdom of saints ; and it is a real fact that those two Colonies were not a whit more under the controul of the King's civil authority before the revolt, than they now are as Independent States. This policy of getting rid of bad or turbulent subjects is also to be discovered in the charters or grants to Penn, of Pennsylvania, and of Maryland to Lord Baltimore, and the Navigation Acts of that reign, which made some regulations respecting the export of their products and import of manufactures, leaves the regulation of their internal policy to themselves. In the grant of Carolina, some intention is discoverable of rendering that country an ally in future to this, by the establishment of an aristocratic power, under the denominations of Margraves, Landgraves, and Barons, to whom grants of lands were made in proportion to their dignity for its support. The Lords proprietors seem, however, to have forgot that the aristocracy of England had sometimes proved too strong for the King, and that it was not improbable the Carolina nobles would be too hard for their Governor, and accordingly it so happened ; for they presently *exported* his Excellency as a *remittance* to the proprietors, the only one I believe they ever

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received

received from their principality. The Trustees of Georgia, made wise by all former experience, adopted a different plan from all their predecessors. They kept their aristocracy as well as their legislature at home, for they made laws here and sent them over ready cut and dry to the settlers, with their civil and military Governor General Oglethorpe. * The use
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* Nothing is more easy than for a military commander at a distance from home to acquire a high reputation for skill and valour, if he happens to be connected with an opposition, who never fail to puff off his exploits, while the Ministers for their own sake are silent upon his misconduct. So it fared with General Oglethorpe, when he commanded in Georgia. He took it into his head to attempt reducing St. Phillip's castle at St. Augustine, a regular fort, situated beyond the reach of any ship of force; built of an excellent material called Tappy, a concretion of shells, which hardens in the air, but produces no splinters when struck by a cannon ball. He landed his regiment, one of the best that ever was in the King's service, upon the island of St. Anastasia, and constructed a battery of two guns, I forget of what caliber, within random shot of the castle, between which and him there was a navigable freight of the sea; after firing several shot and breaking some of the windows, he removed one of his two guns from the island to the Main and placed it on
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the Trustees made of their legislative powers, may be seen in pages 162, 163 and 164 of my

the opposite side of the castle by way of *double attack*. The castle still holding out, the General considered that the English mob were accustomed to hear of the taking of the towns in Flanders before the citadels, and determined to furnish his friends with a paragraph for the newspapers suited to their taste; he accordingly ordered the town of St. Augustine to be stormed. The town consisted of a few Palmetta huts, and its fortifications were a Palmetta hedge for keeping in the cattle of the inhabitants. This hedge the soldiers attacked sword in hand, and cut their way through it, and actually got possession of the town without the loss of a man; and so having prepared the populace to applaud his conduct, and to impute his failure in not taking the castle, to the inclemency of the weather, want of camp equipage, or of green forage, or perhaps want of orders from home, he re-embarked his regiment and returned to Georgia. His expedition, however, gave the Spaniards such an alarm, that they determined to dislodge him from Georgia, and accordingly fitted out a very considerable land and sea force from the Havannah to attack him in his newly built town and newly constructed fort at Frederica, which stood upon a branch of the river Alatamaha, about eight miles from its entrance into the sea, at a Sound which he called St. Simons, formed by the islands of St. Simons and Jekyll. When the Spanish fleet arrived in the Sound,

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my *Review*, and the result was, that after continuing in possession of the country near
twenty

the commander of the troops proposed they should sail directly up to the town of Frederica, or as near to it as the depth of the water would allow them, but the admiral would not trust his Majesty's ships in so narrow a river, and the troops, about four thousand, were landed on the island at a place where Oglethorpe had constructed something of a look-out post, but in which there were no men, as his whole regiment was with him at Frederica. The Spaniards finding no opposition at their landing, began their march immediately, but as the whole island was covered with wood, except a few open places that had been formerly cultivated by the Indians, which are called Old Fields or Savannahs, and only a narrow passage cut through by way of road to the town, they could take no cannon or baggage with them, and could only proceed two a-breast, which made their march so tedious, that Oglethorpe had time to be apprized of their rout before they had made any considerable advance towards him, and he dispatched Serjeant Sutherland with twenty men and about forty Chickesaw Indians who were with him, and whom he had brought to obey command, to oppose their progress by taking possession of a little Savannah which lay about four miles from the town. But before Sutherland's party arrived the Spaniards were already got there, and finding a little pond of fresh water in the middle of it, and the day being ex-
C tremely

twenty years, and expending to the amount of fourscore thousand pounds of public and private

tremely hot, the whole body fat down upon the grass to breakfast, in which situation they were when the most advanced of Sutherland's party discovered them. As the party had proceeded with great silence, the Spaniards did not hear them approach, and the skilful serjeant judged from their occupation he should have full time to take his measures for attacking them by surprize. Being no politician and unacquainted with the modern refinements in the military and naval services, of protracting a war for the sake of its emoluments by suffering an enemy to escape when he might be destroyed, or of evading an occasion of rendering an essential service to his King and country, in the hope of throwing blame upon a superior officer and supplanting him in the command, or serving the interests of a faction at home by overturning a minister, the honest Scotsman determined to avail himself of the situation he found the enemy in to give them a total defeat. He accordingly distributed his little corps in a semi-circle under cover of a thick wood, mixing the Indians among the soldiers, and when every man had got to his station, and was near enough to the edge of the Savannah to make sure of doing execution, Sutherland gave the order to fire, when the whole party poured in a volley upon the astonished Spaniards, the Indians at the same time setting up their war whoop, and running from tree to tree, sending in a
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vate monies, there was not a single plantation settled in the province when they resigned

continual running fire among them; the terror and surprize of the Spaniards deprived them of all thoughts of resistance; their frightened imaginations represented to them all the savages of the Continent surrounding them, they therefore left their arms upon the ground, and without returning a single shot, crowded into the narrow road by which they had entered the Savannah, as many as could get into it, and those who could not, run into thickest part of the woods, where they were hunted out by the Indians some days afterwards, and brought in almost famished with hunger. Those who got safe to the place where they had landed, pushed off the boats which were still upon the beach, rowed to their ships, and were happy to find themselves safe on board again. One of their twenty gun ships had, in the mean time, sailed up the river, and was actually in sight of the fort at Frederica when the troops run away; she was instantly called back, and Oglethorpe seeing her put about jumped into a canoe with a paddle in his hand, calling out to the officers and foldiers who were near him to come along and *drive* the enemy, and actually paddled himself down the river a considerable way in pursuit of the twenty gun ship. The Spanish fleet, however, got to sea without his overtaking any of them; and thus ended the expedition of that famous Armada, which Oglethorpe had the credit of defeating. He was not, however, ungrateful to Sutherland, for he made him a lieutenant.

their Charter.* But if so little foresight of the future greatness of the Colonies, and so little provision for continuing their connexion with this country, be discoverable in the charter and proprietary Governments, it might be expected that in those which are denominated Royal Governments, something more than the powers of paper and parchment would have been employed to render them useful, and retain them in subordination to Great Britain. But there is really no material difference between any of *them*, (except Quebec) and the others. A middle estate has, indeed, been

* When I went there with Governor Ellis, in the year 1756, there was not a trader in the country who imported goods from England, except the merchant whose first cargo went in the ship with us, and we were six months there before we saw another topsail. The produce of all the taxes we could devise for the public services, fell short of 300l. and the only disposable money that remained in the power of the Governor of the grant of Parliament was 200l. yet with those scanty means, that province was brought to export the year I left it, to the amount of 38,000l. Such are the effects of a good and of a bad Constitution; of an ignorant and a well-informed Administration; and hence may the different progresses made by Ireland and the American Colonies in the two last centuries be accounted for.

formed,

formed, called his Majesty's Council, by way of apology for an aristocratic power, to act in the double capacity of a branch of the legislature and Privy Council to the Governor. The influence, however, of this body is too inconsiderable to give the Crown or its Governor any effectual support against the Assembly, for the members hold their seats only during pleasure, and are suspendable by the Governor; and as almost all the public appointments, and all the jobs are made by the Assembly, the poor Counsellors have nothing to console themselves with, for the loss of popularity, by being considered as dependants of the Governor, but the barren and temporary title of Honourable. Hence it is that the men of the greatest property and weight in the province prefer being members of the Assemblies to seats in the Council; and that body is now generally composed of the King's officers and planters of no great estates or consequence in the country. Now when in aid of that republican disposition which such constitutions naturally generate, it is considered that there were no ecclesiastical distinctions or authorities in any of the Colonies, but that every man might become his own priest and set up his
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own religion, and be bound to no other. That there are no nobles of illustrious ancestry and great estates; no lucrative places or pensions to be disposed of by the King's representative among the members of the Assembly, but that he himself is generally obliged to depend upon that body for his subsistence; it must appear evident to every one the least versed in political speculations, that in proportion to the increase of the Colonies in numbers and opulence, the power of the Assemblies, as well in the Royal Governments, as in the others, must *augment*, and the authority of the Crown *diminish*; and that however long the forms and appearance of a Royal Government might be kept up in any of them, that a real and pure democracy must soon be the true description of their Constitutions. How long the thirteen revolted Colonies would have continued to submit to be called an appendage of the British Crown, if no attempt had been made by Parliament to draw a revenue from them, I will not pretend to say, but I do not think I shall hazard any contradiction in asserting, that if that authority, or the exercise of it over America, had been relinquished by Parliament without a war, in the manner it
has

has lately been, the republican disposition, which is every day gaining ground in this island and in Ireland, under the masque of free thinking and philosophy, but in truth through the prevalence of infidelity and self-sufficiency, aided by the pressure of high taxes here, and the lure of a free though illicit trade with all the world there, together with all the other incitements which the then orderly harmonious and prosperous state of the American provinces held out to emigrants, but which I do not think it proper to particularize, these islands would not long have retained their people, nor the State its power. To such consequences the leaders in the Colonies had always looked forward ; and the city of Philadelphia was universally considered by them as the future capital of an American empire, in which the British isles and possessions should be absorbed. These ideas of their own future greatness were much heightened by the new mode of application to the Assemblies introduced by Mr. Pitt during the former war ; that of requisitions by the Secretary of State in the King's name, which having opened to them a direct intercourse with the throne, led them to assume all the importance of Parliaments,

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and to disdain the medium of the Governor for their communications with the Sovereign.

When Mr. Grenville proposed the stamp duties in 1764, I was not admitted to that confidential intercourse with him, with which he afterwards honored me, but from the many conversations I have since had with him upon the subject, I am convinced he had no farther purpose in proposing them, than the raising a permanent revenue from America towards defraying the expence of the civil and military establishments maintained there by Great Britain, without any view or intention to alter their Constitutions, or to abridge their liberties by the operations of those duties; for when I, with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jackson, and the other Colony agents, represented to him, that by applying the revenues arising from them to the defraying the civil expences of the different Governments, the meetings of the Assemblies would be rendered dependant upon the will of the Governors, as they could carry on their Government without any grants from them; he readily declared he meant no such thing, but that all he desired was to lay a ground for America to pay her own expence,

as Ireland did hers ; and therefore, if the assemblies themselves would make the necessary provisions for their own civil Governments, he would appropriate the stamp duties to the military only, and when we assured him that the assemblies had always done so, and meant to continue to do so, he made the appropriation accordingly to the military services only ;* but notwithstanding that appropriation, the principle upon which the duties were laid, and the consequences that would have followed from them, had the most direct and certain tendency to impede the Colonies in their progress to independence, and the leaders were clear sighted enough to see that such would be their operation ; they saw that requisitions from the Crown, which had exalted the assemblies into Parliaments, were no more to be expected, and that the assemblies would only have to give and grant for local purposes ; that the collection of duties would occasion a considerable increase in the number of persons

* What passed in these conferences, I related in a pamphlet I published in the year 1765, intitled, *The claim of the Colonies examined*, an extract of which I have given in the Appendix, No. 1, as the pamphlet itself is out of print,

holding offices under the Crown, and deriving their appointments from British interest, and would be a severe cheque upon the propagation of antimonarchical principles within the Colonies, and upon illicit connections with foreign countries; all of which would prove great retardments of their grand views: and upon these grounds, and the assurances of support they received from certain great men in this country, it was that they determined to resist the stamp duties.* But if they had such powerful motives to resist those duties, when their produce was appropriated to the military service only, how much more strongly were they stimulated to oppose the subsequently imposed port duties, when their produce was ex-

* The morning after the Resolution had passed in the House of Commons, to repeal the stamp act and to bring in the declaratory bill, I was sent for to a meeting of the opposition at Mr. Rigby's in Parliament Street; when I came there, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Rigby came out to me and told me, the Duke of Bedford and several others desired to know my opinion of the effects which those Resolutions would produce in America. My answer was in a few words—*addresses of thanks and measures of rebellion*. Mr. Grenville smiled and shook his head, and Mr. Rigby swore by G—d he thought so, and both wished me a good morning.

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preſſly appropriated to defray the expence of *their* civil eſtabliſhment, which was ſo far from proceeding againſt their hopes of greatneſs, independence and univerſal empire by *ſap*, as the ſtamp duties would have done, that it was attacking them by ſtorm in open day ; every man therefore ſaw into the deſign, for every man was able to ſatisfy himſelf, that if the civil expences of the Colony were defrayed by duties impoſed by Parliament, and all the officers paid out of it and appointed by the Crown, their Sun of independence would be much longer a riſing than they wiſhed or hoped for ; it therefore required not the aſſurances of ſupport from great men on this ſide of the water, to excite them to reſiſt the collection of thoſe duties, as in the caſe of the ſtamp act ; for they ſaw their Diana was ſtruck at, and they univerſally reſolved to defend her. The purpoſe for which the 12d. upon the tea was impoſed, and the precedent it was meant to eſtabliſh, ſuperſeded, in the minds of the Americans, all conſiderations of ſaving in the price by the alteration of the duty, and indeed of all the dangerous conſequences of reſiſting the payment of it ; and however we may abhor the principle which incited them to reſiſt it, we

must acknowledge the undertaking to be an unequivocal proof, both of their spirit and sagacity.

Having thus traced the causes of this great event, and shewn them to have been engendered by the Constitutions under which the Colonies were planted, the inferences which must be drawn from the investigation, though they do little credit to either the policy or integrity of our ancestors, will, I trust, sufficiently justify the assertion I set out with, viz. That the late separation of the thirteen American Colonies from the Government of Great Britain, is not so great an evil to this country as would have been their continuance under it for half a century longer. But although I returned from America, fully impressed with the dangerous consequences to this country of the Colonies continuing under their then Constitutions, I did not entertain an idea of their so speedily becoming independent, or that it would have been wise in Great Britain to throw them off entirely ; for on the contrary, I imagined that such amendments might be made in their Constitutions, and such improvements in the system (if it deserved to be called a system)

tem) by which they had been governed, as would produce a desire in them to continue united with us, and render their union beneficial to the whole empire; and with that view, I drew up a paper immediately after the peace of Paris, which Lord Grosvenor put into the Earl of Bute's hands, who observed upon it that it appeared to him to be of much greater importance to bring our old Colonies into order, than to plant new ones; but no steps were taken by his Lordship that I know of, for such purpose, and indeed it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to have carried through Parliament the regulations I proposed; for the haughty spirit of the then Commons of England would not endure any question of their omnipotence over all the members of the British empire, nor would they hear of any limitation or even qualification in the exercise of it, but their own will. To have asserted the existence of *rights* in the assemblies of the Colonies, or even in the Parliament of Ireland, which they could not extinguish or controul, would have excited the general indignation, and therefore the only restraints upon their omnipotence, which I ventured to suggest in the pamphlet I published on the occasion of the
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proposition of the stamp duties, were such as left the authority unquestioned and undiminished. But my first great object in the plan of regulations I had prepared for cementing a permanent union between the two countries, was to increase the magnitude of the head to a nearer proportion with the vast body, by connecting Ireland with Great Britain in the trade with the Colonies, and taking her weight out of the scale of the dependencies, and throwing it into that of Great Britain, by giving her the same interest with Great Britain in continuing the Colonies dependent upon her ; and as so many of the inhabitants of the northern Colonies were of Irish extraction and related to Irishmen, the influence of their connection would be the greater, and their attachment the more lasting. And it was upon these grounds the King's Ministers, with whom I had the honor to serve, admitted Ireland into a participation in the trade with the Colonies, in the manner I have stated in my former publication. My second object was, to amend the Colony Constitutions by creating an aristocratic estate in them ; and my third, to direct the stream of the great men's ambition to this kingdom, and attach them to its prosperity

perity and the jurisdiction of Parliament, by giving a certain number of them seats in the House of Commons as Colony Representatives, and it must fill the Americans with astonishment to be told, that the man whom they considered as their greatest enemy, the late Mr. Grenville, approved of my plan. This assertion will, I doubt not, appear extraordinary, even to that great Minister's nearest relations, for I believe he never opened himself freely upon the subject to any one but myself, and therefore I have given in the Appendix, No. 2, a Letter from him to me, in which he touches upon the point of the Colonies sending representatives. Indeed he often expressed it to me as his opinion, that the Colonies had just ground of complaint in the want of them, but *he did not propose* giving them to them, because, as he expressed it, he found the House of Commons would not endure the proposition; Mr. Richard Jackson, agent for Connecticut, who was his secretary, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had with his concurrence thrown it out in his speech against the stamp act, and it was received with universal disapprobation. To impress the nation with a just respect and gratitude for the memory of that great and excellent

lent man, I have also annexed copies of seven more of his Letters to me upon public affairs, from which it must appear how far he was from that narrow mindedness and severity, which were imputed to him. In one point indeed, I thought him too limited in his ideas, as the great Minister of the British Empire, but the people of England will not much blame him on that account, I mean his great partiality to England, in preference to all the other parts of the King's dominions ; for he not only considered England as the head and heart of the whole, as it certainly is, but he wished to render every other part the mere instrument or conduit of conveying nourishment and vigor to it. He was not well acquainted with the internal State of Ireland, and he knew still less of the circumstances of the American Colonies, and every encouragement that he thought either ought to receive, had no other reference than to the increase of the trade or revenue of this country. We had many conversations on these topics, and as I was able to give him much better information than he ever had an opportunity to obtain before, and he always received it with as much candour and openness to conviction as any man I ever knew. I am
1
well

well persuaded if he had been again placed at the head of Administration, neither of those great Members of the Empire would have had to complain of his conduct towards them.

The single point upon which we differed, was the omnipotence of Parliament in its jurisdiction over the Colonies. I thought it ought to be limited, in the case of taxation at least, but he would consent to no stipulation of restraint ; but while he adhered to his principle of an undivided uncontrollable jurisdiction in the one supreme legislature of the whole empire, he meant that the Colonies should have representatives in it, and if their application for them was refused, he would then have consented to the giving them some security against the wanton exercise of that authority ; and it was from a commixture of the idea I had received from him with my own, that in an early stage of the dispute with the Colonies, I formed the project of a permanent union and settlement with them, on which account I have thought it worth preserving, as it may be of use in some future time, and have therefore given it in the Appendix, No. 11.

As I have gone so far into Mr. Grenville's character, I will go a little farther in order to do justice to his memory, which I cannot now be supposed to have any interest to vindicate, much less to flatter. Under a manner rather austere and forbidding, he covered a heart as feeling and tender as any man ever possessed. He liked office as well for its emoluments as its power ; but in his attention to himself he never failed to pay regard to the situations and circumstances of his friends, though to neither would he warp the public interest or service in the smallest degree ; rigid in his opinions of public justice and integrity, and firm to inflexibility in the construction of his mind, he reprobated every suggestion of the political expediency of overlooking frauds or evasions in the payment or collection of the revenue, or of waste and extravagance in its expenditure. But although he would not bend any measure out of the strict line of rectitude to gain popularity, he was far from being indifferent to the good or ill opinion of the public ; and that tediousness and repetition which his speeches in Parliament, and his transactions with men of business were charged with, were occasioned by the earnestness of his desire to satisfy

satisfy and convince those he addressed of the purity of his motives and the propriety of his conduct; and while there remained a single reason in his own mind, that he thought would serve those purposes, he could not be content to rest upon those he had already adduced, however convinced and satisfied his hearers appeared to be with them.

Inheriting but a small patrimonial fortune, he had early accustomed himself to a strict appropriation of his income, and an exact œconomy in its expenditure, as the only sure ground on which to build a reputation for public and private integrity, and to support a dignified independency; and it was the unvaried practice of his life in all situations, as he has often told me, to live upon his own private fortune, and save the emoluments of whatever office he possessed; on which account he added: “ The being in or out makes no difference in my establishment or manner of life. Every thing goes on at home in the same way. The only difference is, that my childrens fortunes would be increased by my being in, beyond what they would be if I remained out, and that is be-

“ing as little dependant upon office as any
 “man who was not born to a great estate can
 “possibly be ;” and he manifested that independence at a time and in a manner but little known, and as the relation can now do no harm, I shall repeat the account he gave me of it. He had accepted the seals of one of the Secretaries of State in Lord Bute’s Administration, and by so doing drew upon himself the resentment and abuse of the then popular party and of some of his own nearest relations ; his return, therefore, to them, was rendered impracticable upon any occasion, and he had every motive to induce him to remain with his present connection. Notwithstanding which, he very soon hazarded his continuance in office in support of his opinion, of what ought to be done for the advantage of the public, on the following occasion :

While the peace was negotiating, the expedition against the Havannah was carrying on, and as the chance of its success or failure was not very unequal, the negotiators agreed to leave it out in their *uti possidetis*, considering the event as perfectly neutral ; so that if after the preliminaries were signed, it was found to be taken, it was to be restored without compensation.

penfation. Before the preliminaries were fign-
 ed, however, the account of its capture was
 received, and Mr. Grenville immediately pro-
 pofed that it fhould now be included in the *uti
 poffidetis*, and compenfation for it infifted upon,
 for as the event was decided before the preli-
 minaries were figned, either party was at liberty
 to avail themfelves of it. Lord Bute thought
 the treaty was too far advanced to make any
 advantage of the event being in our favour,
 and he feared that our making any frefh de-
 mand, would not only protract but break off the
 negotiation, and prevent the peace taking place
 immediately, which he thought fo neceffary
 for the nation. Mr. Grenville was clear in his
 opinion of our right to make the demand, and
 firm in infifting that it fhould be made, and
 propofed two alternatives for confideration.
 The one, that if we judged it beft to get the
 intire poffeffion of the continent of North
 America, France having already agreed to cede
 all Canada, that we fhould infift upon Florida
 and Louifiana: the other, that if we thought
 it neceffary to increafe our poffeffions in the
 Weft Indies, beyond the three neutral iflands,
 which France had alfo agreed to give us, we
 fhould ask Porto Rico, and the property of
 what

what we held upon the Spanish main; and he left the Earl with declaring that he would resign the seals, if one of those alternatives was not adopted and insisted upon. After consulting with Mr. Fox and Lord Egremont, Lord Bute agreed to make the demand of Florida and Louisiana, and instructions to that purpose were immediately dispatched to the Duke of Bedford, who made so able and strenuous an application in consequence of them, that the Duke de Choiseul not only consented to cede Louisiana, but obliged the Spanish Minister to cede Florida also, without sending to his Court for fresh orders, and the preliminaries were not delayed more than a fortnight by the demand and acquisition of that immense territory*.

* The restoration of Florida and the cession of Louisiana to Spain, were made with the like ignorance and facility in 1783, by our negotiators. We had joined Louisiana and Florida together, and divided the whole country into two provinces, under the names of East and West Florida. That transaction, it seems, was too far back to come within the reach of the Minister's own comprehension, and the heterogeneous group of negociators they employed, were unable to assist their memories, and therefore the whole country was given to Spain as *her own* Florida, without any notice of the addition of Louisiana or the least compensation for it.

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As it was Mr. Grenville's constant and peculiar practice to keep copies of all the letters he ever writ, and a man's character is best known by his correspondence, his noble descendant has it in his power, and no one is more able to oblige and instruct the nation with a complete history of his political life and opinions; I shall therefore wind up the character I have been endeavouring to give of that great and excellent man, by the recital of a fact, which at the same time it marks the leading features in the character of another distinguished person, as well as Mr. Grenville, will shew to mankind how justly great minds are capable of acting and thinking towards each other, whatever may be the difference of their political situations; and it will serve to inculcate this very useful and necessary lesson to all those who undertake or aim at the confidential subordinate offices of the State, viz. that the surest means of obtaining the esteem and confidence of their new principals is to maintain unswerving honor and integrity with former connections. When the Earl of Hillsborough sent to me and offered me the joint under secretaryship with Mr. Pownall, I told his Lordship, that I then was, and had been for a long time, honored with
great

great intimacy and friendship by Mr. Grenville; that I was possessed of many of his public ideas and opinions, collected or rather imbibed in the several confidential conversations I had with him; and that therefore, however happy I should be to undertake an office under his Lordship, which so intirely corresponded with my views and habits, I could not think of making any engagement without first communicating his offer to Mr. Grenville, and receiving his approbation. The noble Earl replied, that he knew of my connection with Mr. Grenville before he sent to me, and that if I had not said what I did, he should have entertained a very different opinion of me, from that which the confidence he intended placing in me might shew me he then had, and that if I had not desired permission to acquaint Mr. Grenville with the offer he had made me, he should have told me I ought to do it. I accordingly went down to Wooton, where I knew Mr. Grenville then was, and was received by him with that kindness and affection which he always shewed me. I did not, however, think it right to acquaint him immediately with the particular occasion of my coming, but waited first to learn from him what were

his own purposes or views respecting public matters, and especially with regard to his expectations of coming into office, for I considered that by informing him of the offer made to me, and asking his opinion whether I should accept or refuse it, I should lay him under the difficulty of either allowing me to quit him, though he might be desirous that I should continue with him, or give me a stronger claim to service from him, by preventing me from taking what had been offered me by Lord Hillsborough, than he might chuse to do. He very soon shewed me that all reserve and caution upon the subject were unnecessary, by telling me that he found his health and spirits very much declined; that he had given up all thoughts of office, and did not wish to take any active part in public business; that he hated being in opposition, but had been dragged into it by Lord Temple, who imputed his indisposition to take a part to his keeping up old resentments, which God knew, he said, he was the farthest man in the world from entertaining upon account of any difference of opinion in public measures; but added he, if I had meant to return to office, I am sure I should have been many pikes length

nearer it, had I continued walking about these grounds, than by a constant attendance in the House of Commons, for I know *the King will not be forced, and he ought not* ; but, he continued with a deep sigh, and putting his hand upon his side, I am no longer capable of serving the public, my health and spirits are gone: the only thing I have any intention of doing, is to endeavour to give some cheque to the abominable prostitution of the House of Commons in Elections, by voting in whoever has the support of the Minister, which must end in the ruin of public liberty if it be not chequed. I then told him the offer that had been made to me, which he said he was very glad of ; for he was pleased to say, it was with regret he had thought it would never be in his power to be of any use to me, in return for all the attention I had shewn to him: that it was his wish that all his friends should accept of situations which they thought honorable and proper for them, without any attention to him, and as he thought me very fit for the office, he would advise me to accept it if I felt no objections in my own mind. I answered, that I certainly had none, as I liked the situation, and had the greatest respect and
esteem

esteem for the principal, and wished much to be connected with his Lordship ; but that one difficulty remained which I could not get over, and that was, the apprehension that the interruption which my situation must necessarily occasion in that intercourse and confidence which he had honored me with, and which I prized above all considerations, might abate the friendship he had shewn me, or lessen me in his esteem ; but he assured me, that it should not do either, for that he should continue to entertain the same good opinion of me which he then had, and indeed, the answer which he sent me to the letter I writ to him after I returned to town and had accepted the appointment of Under Secretary, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 10, will testify that he did so.

The Earl of Hillsborough was so fully persuaded of the dangerous consequences to this country and Ireland, of extending the settlements in the North American Colonies, that I had no occasion to make his Lordship any representations upon that subject. A very judicious measure which he had planned and promoted for confining them on the east side to the heads of

the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, was then carrying into execution, and a boundary line was actually drawn and marked out at the backs of them all, from the Hudson's River to the Mississippi, and treaties were made with the Indians for restraining the settlements within it. In this measure all the great land-owners in the Colonies heartily concurred, as they clearly perceived that by confining the inhabitants to the lands already located, the value of their unsettled lands must necessarily increase, they therefore made a temporary suspension of their pursuit of independence, for the sake of their immediate profit, and passed laws in all the Provinces confirming the treaties with the Indians, and describing the boundary line as the extent of legal jurisdiction. The settlements on the side of Canada were also restrained to the access by navigation, by Royal instructions at the same time. But his Lordship soon after conceiving that all his measures of restraint would be broke through by the countenance shewn to Mr. Wharton's application, for a grant of a tract of lands upon the Ohio, sufficient to form a separate government, resigned the seals. I remember saying to his Lordship upon that occasion, that although I

entirely,

entirely agreed with him in the wisdom and fitness of his measures as a British Minister, yet as they had for their object, the keeping waste a vast portion of the earth, for the advantage of these little islands, his policy militated so directly against the evident purpose of the Creator, that I was sure he would not suffer it to succeed, and that we must look to be counteracted by providential dispensations, and indeed the late revolution in America has shewn that I was not mistaken in that expectation, for I am fully persuaded that the population and settlement of that immense country, between the Allegany Mountains and the Southern Ocean, could not have been so speedily or certainly promoted by any other means as by that revolution, and the events which led to it. For notwithstanding the measure of settling a Colony upon the Ohio had been adopted by the Cabinet, it was never carried into execution, for the then Attorney General, now Lord Thurlow, considering the grant as injurious to the just rights of the Crown and the interests of the people, with that inflexible attention to both, which has so eminently distinguished his conduct in every situation, refused his fiat to the King's sign manual, without
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which it could not pass the Great Seal; and the former policy of confining the settlements within the Allegany mountains, was again pursued; and as that policy was equally adapted to promote the private interests of the Colony Assemblymen, and the views of the British Ministers, and highly agreeable to the Indian Tribes, the emigrants who could have passed into, or seated themselves in that country, would have been only the lawless or roving woods-men, who live like the savages, without tillage, and support themselves by hunting; so that many ages must have elapsed before the lands could have received any considerable improvement. But the war having overturned all legal authority, and the violent and needy having become the chief rulers in every Colony, it is their interest to extend the boundaries, and create estates for themselves in the distant territory; and the weight of the taxes the Assemblies have been obliged to impose, in order to pay the interest of their enormous Provincial debts, and for the maintenance of their civil establishments, operating with the pressure of private debts, and loss of markets for their products, and refusal of credit by the merchants, stimulate the multitude to
abandon

abandon their settlements, and remove out of the reach of their creditors and tax-gatherers ; and they now pass into that country in such numerous bodies, that in a very few years there will be more Americans to be found on the west, than on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains.

The effects of this population will now be very different from those which were to have been apprehended from the establishment of new Colonies, or the regular extension of the settlements of the old beyond those mountains, while they remained a part of the British empire. The emigrants now carry with them no civil compact, regulation, or jurisdiction whatever ; they have no connection or common interest. They are subject to no legal restraints, nor is there any coercive force to confine them within any bounds, but their own wills and necessities. None of the States pretend to exercise authority over them ; and if they did, they are without the means of enforcing their claims. The extent of the country before them is so immense, and the Aborigines so few, that there is abundant room for every man to chuse his own situation, and remove to another as often

as he dislikes or tires of that he has fixed upon. A benign climate and a fruitful country suffers them to have few wants but such as the individuals can themselves supply. They can therefore have but feeble incitements to form themselves into regular governments; for the sacrifice a man so circumstanced must make of his liberty and indulgences by submitting to a government, will not in his mind be compensated by the advantages to be derived from it, and such is the fact, for there never was an instance of a man accustomed to reside among the Indians, that after his return to the settled country with the property he had acquired there, that enjoyed polished society, and did not regret his former liberty. Before the disputes with the Colonies, there were many thousand Americans who had no fixed or legal residence, and never desired to have any. They provided themselves with as many wild horses or neat cattle as they had occasion for, and after taming them sufficiently to make them draw, yoked them to a cart, into which they put their wives and children and stuff, and drove through the woods until they found a situation they liked, and there they sat down. The bark they stripped from the pine trees
made

made a cover for their stuff, and the cart turned bottom up, became a temporary house for themselves. The gun furnished flesh, and roasted chefnuts or other mast served for bread, and the juice of the maple tree mixed with water made their liquor. If they greatly liked the spot, they would plant a little corn, and collect a store of nuts and acorns, and preserve them by parching them in the fire; but they seldom staid long in a place; and I remember numbers of them being offered lands by the Governments of South Carolina and Georgia, free of all charges and exempt from all taxes for a certain number of years, and their refusing the offer, saying, they would not be bound to any country or any Government. In time it may be said they must, from necessity, form States and become a great empire; but whoever thinks so, let him look upon the map of North America, and calculate in what number of ages that vast continent will be overspread in the manner I have been representing, and so thickly peopled as not to allow room for farther removal, and the inhabitants be thence forced to submit to government, for until that happens, I will venture to prophesy no great empire will ever

be formed in America, or any great force exerted by the ruling powers there, except in the manner of the eastern Scythians or Tartars, by pouring down upon the neighbouring countries. The present state of the north of Asia may help us to form a judgement of what will be the state of North and indeed of South America also. The first settlement of the sons of Noah, above 4000 years ago, was in Armenia, and the emigrants which went to the North and East, have never been able to cultivate that immense country, nor have they formed to themselves such constitutions of government as European nations would call *civil*. They carry on no foreign trade, have no shipping, and but little intercourse with the rest of the world, being equally unknowing and unknown. They live happily notwithstanding, and I am confident they would not change their mode of living with the most refined people upon the globe; and such will the Transallegany mountain people be 4000 years hence, if the world lasts so long. The inhabitants of the sea coast, who have much property in houses and other buildings, and cultivated lands, must remain upon the spots they are fixed to, and must submit to some sort of government or other; but
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whatever it may be, it must be feeble and without respect; for the very circumstances which in their former condition of appendages to the British empire would have constituted their greatness and opulence, will now prove the occasion of the weakness and poverty of their governments. These circumstances are the vast extent of their sea coast and numerous ports, and the immensity of the country behind them. I do not think it necessary to give my reasons for this assertion; but let those who think it paradoxical contrive for any of them a mode of raising a considerable revenue which will not have a tendency to transfer their trade into other hands, or drive away their people, or shew how a government can have vigor at home, or respect abroad, without such a revenue, and I will retract what I have said: but I will go farther and venture to assure those States, that if they do not recover their characters for integrity in their dealings, and thereby restore their credit with the British merchants, and form such a connection with this country as shall secure to them its *protection* and *umperage*, they will degenerate into barbarous if not into Barbary States; in the mean time, the good people of Great Britain and

Ireland may quiet their apprehensions of seeing any of the thirteen American States, or all of them united, rising into a great maritime power, disputing the dominion of the Atlantic ocean with the British navy, or stripping the Crown of its West Indian possessions; for if the policy adopted in the year 1783 be adhered to, and the regulations then made or proposed be established and completed, a naval force equal to the protection of the British commerce and possessions from the depredations of the Barbary States will, in all future ages, be sufficient to combat the marine of America. All the causes I have assigned for the dispersion of the inhabitants and imbecillity of the Governments of the United States, and many more, happily operate to prevent the emigration of people from these islands to America; and in that light the separation and independency of the thirteen Provinces *in the manner it was brought about*, may be considered as *negatively* beneficial to this country, and it will be our fault if it be not rendered *positively* beneficial also. But the importance and permanency of this benefit depends upon the wisdom of our future conduct; for I am free to declare my firm persuasion,

suaſion, that if that much abuſed term *Liberality*, which now is made to ſignify atheiſm in religion and anarchy in government, gets poſſeſſion of our councils upon American affairs, we have ſtill connection enough with that country *to work the ruin of this*. The ſacrifice which the adoption of that abuſed term after the peace had well nigh made of our navigation to the eſtabliſhment of an American marine is well known; but in juſtice to myſelf and to the noble Lords who were influenced by my reaſonings, I think it fit to make the public acquainted with the ſteps which were taken for its preſervation.

When Lord North received the ſeals of Secretary of State for the home department, in the year 1783, my aſſiſtance was deſired in framing regulations for our remaining Colonies, and for the intercourſe between the United States and them, and between the United States and Great Britain, which I moſt readily undertook to give, without office, without emolument, and without promiſe or expectation of either. But before I entered upon the buſineſs, I deſired to know if the Adminiſtration concurred with me in the principle

ciple I meant to found the regulations upon, which was, that *it was better to have no colonies at all, than not to have them subservient to the maritime strength and commercial interests of Great Britain.* This principle I make no secret of, for I have ever avowed it, even in America, and as an American planter, when I was deeply interested in the prosperity and security of that country, and its continuing to be a member of the British empire; and I would ask the most interested colonist to shew upon what *other principle* he founds his expectation of security in his possessions and protection in his trade, as a British subject, than the superiority of the British navy to that of any other power? And if he can assign none, he must be obliged to confess, that it is his essential interest to augment that navy, and to increase and extend that commerce which is the support of it. Indeed, if he secretly aims at separation from the British empire, and either to become an independent state, or connect with some other power, he acts consistently with those views when he attempts to reduce the naval strength of Great Britain, and raise up a marine for other nations, by receiving his supplies from foreign states, and
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employing foreign ships in transporting them ; as by so doing he does his utmost to destroy *that naval power* which alone can oppose the completion of his purposes. And therefore there can be no better test devised to discover whether it be the wish of a colony to continue an appendage of Great Britain, or to separate from her, than the *satisfaction* or *impatience* the inhabitants express under *our navigation laws*.

Upon that principle, therefore, and upon that principle alone, did I found all the regulations I proposed, as will appear by the annexed copies, No. 12, 13, 14, and 15, of *such parts of the Papers* I drew up, and presented to Lord North, as respect the measures which have been adopted, and actually carried into execution, and may therefore be properly laid before the public. What I proposed respecting the rice and tobacco, I thought required more immediate dispatch than the other matters, and therefore I extracted so much of the Paper, No. 12, as related to them, and carried it to Mr. Fox's office, and gave it to Mr. Frazer, to be delivered to that gentleman, as I had not the honor to be known to him, who with that quick perception and instant de-

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cision which so eminently marks his character, asked leave that same day to bring in a bill for the purpose.

My general and correct knowledge of the whole course of the American circuitous trade enabled me to judge in what part of the chain the cutting out a link would most effectually interrupt its progress and divert the navigation into our channel.* I therefore determined to oppose the whole American and West Indian interests supported as they were by some of the Members of the then Administration, and frame the regulations for the intercourse between the American States and the British West India islands, *so as utterly to exclude the American shipping*, and I drew up the Paper in the Appendix, No. 13, with that view, and I prepared the draught of a bill accordingly; but it being judged more prudent to make the regulations I proposed by order of Council than by act of Parliament, my draught of a bill, with Mr. Rosier's assistance, was converted into the order of Council passed the 2d. of July, 1783, a copy of which is in the Ap-

* Vide Examination before the Privy Council, No. 18, in the Appendix.

pendix, No. 16, which I wish may be engraved upon my tombstone, as having *saved the navigation of England*.—As I had communicated to Lord Sackville all the regulations I had proposed, I also informed him of my success, and his Lordship's opinion of my plan will be seen in his letter to me, No. 17. The American faction were thunderstruck by the appearance of that order of Council, and as the Administration was soon after changed, the West India Planters uniting with the Americans prevailed, (as Mr. Atkinson, who was their chief manager, 'boasted to me) with the Ministers to promise to revoke, or at least to alter, the order so as to admit American vessels of a certain burden to trade to the British West India islands. I mentioned what I had been told to Lord Sackville, who, as his Lordship afterwards acquainted me and several others, took the first occasion of meeting Mr. Townshend (now Lord Sydney) to warn him of the dangerous consequences of the measure it was said the ministry were about to adopt, not only to the nation but to *themselves*, and used such powerful arguments to dissuade him from it, that the Ministers thought fit to direct the committee of Privy Council to make a solemn inquiry into the necessity or propriety of

complying with what was desired by the Americans and West Indians. I was called before that committee and examined for three several days, and having been favoured with a copy of the evidence I there gave, I have added it in the Appendix, No. 18. It does not become me to say how far my evidence influenced the committee, especially as Lord Sheffield's excellent pamphlet upon the subject had then appeared, but I have the heartfelt satisfaction to reflect, that the order was neither *revoked* nor *altered*, but on the contrary has been thrice renewed, and at last converted into an act of Parliament by that very Administration which it was said had pledged themselves to rescind it; and I have the still greater happiness of knowing, that through its operation that most valuable and essential trade of ship building has revived throughout Great Britain, in so much that the British tonnage has increased full 200,000 tons since it was made, while the American shipwrights are deserting from the United States for want of employment, and all hopes of raising a marine departing with them.*

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* To *desist* from the pursuit of weak or mischievous measures upon receiving just information of their

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In this publication, as well as in the former, I have been careful to withhold every paper which, though not strictly official, I had submitted to the consideration of any of the King's confidential servants while I was in office ; but there is one, which having been the ground of instructions that *were never obeyed*, and which if they had been obeyed, would, in the judgment of all men, have prevented those misfortunes and calamities which happened in the Carolina's and Georgia, subsequent to the capture of Charles-Town, which I think, in justice to those who gave those instructions, ought to be made public, and therefore I have added it in the Appendix, No. 19.

From what I have said upon the subject of Colonisation, and the papers I have annexed

destructive tendency, is the best apology that can be made for having been deceived by artifice and misrepresentation, and to *that merit* the Ministers are justly intitled for their conduct respecting the British navigation and Colonies, though their *preserver* has been treated with disregard. It is however a sufficient consolation to him to have possessed the friendship and esteem of as able and as good Ministers as any this country ever saw, and that the British empire will continue to be benefited by his services until it ceases to be one.

to this and a former publication, a *part* of the plan upon which a new colony was intended to have been settled, which I referred to in my letter to Mr. Pitt, may be collected; and I do not think it proper to go into more particulars, while there is any ground to hope the other parts may become objects of consideration with the King's servants; and for the same reason I have withheld the publication of the Regulations I proposed for Newfoundland, Quebec, and the West-India islands; but from the copies and extracts of two letters from Lord Sackville to me upon the subject of the New Colony, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 20 and 21, the approbation I said my plan had met with will be confirmed.* I have also
given

* It may however be proper to give some account of the cause of its not being carried into execution, especially as all the subjects of the British empire will thereby receive a fresh proof, in addition to the many they are already possessed of, how great their happiness is, and how firm their security for their lives and properties, when a Chief Seat of Public Justice is filled by a Magistrate who is so scrupulously observant of the sacredness of charter rights, that he would not suffer them in the least to be infringed, even in the case of the revolted subjects of the Massachusetts Bay.

The country where it was proposed to establish the Colony of New Ireland is known by the name of the
Province

given an extract of another letter of his Lordship's, in proof of what I had stated to Lord Shelburne, that it was his Lordship's intention to establish a post on the Chesapeake, as I understand some doubts are entertained of the truth of that representation. The latter part of that letter does not indeed relate to that subject, but it contains expressions so very honourable and flattering to myself, that I could not prevail upon my vanity to leave them out ; and as a farther testimony of his Lordship's goodness to me, I have

Province of Main. It is included in the ancient charter of the Massachusetts Bay, but the General Courts of that Province were restrained by the charter from making any grants of the lands without the consent of the Crown, which having been generally refused, few settlements had been made to the east of the river Kennebeck, and none to the east of Penobscott. By the latter river therefore, and the St. Croix, the western boundary of Nova Scotia was the new Province to have been bounded, and as there were no inhabitants, nor any lands granted to individuals, the making a settlement there, after we had taken possession of the post at Penobscott, did not appear to the Ministers so great an act of violence as to prevent them from entertaining the purpose, until the Attorney General, now Lord Loughborough, refused his concurrence, because of the lands being included in the Massachusetts Bay Charter.

added a copy of another letter also,* which his Lordship writ to me upon the occasion of a pecuniary misfortune which had happened to me at a time when I was much indisposed, and little able to support it after the other grievous losses I had sustained. For although his Lordship may not be allowed to have been a *true* prophet, the benevolence that dictated the prediction, will always do honour to *his* heart, and be gratefully remembered by *mine*.

That I might not increase the size of this volume beyond the industry of those for whose perusal it is intended, I shall reserve the observations I have to make upon the application for an alteration in the Constitution of Quebec, for the Introduction to the new edition of my pamphlet in defence of the present bill, which is preparing for the press, though I doubt not the judicious reader will apply much of what I have already said to that subject, and discover in it abundant reasons for withstanding any alteration in the Constitution of that Province as established by that bill.

P. S. Since the preceding sheets were written, I have seen Sir John Dalrymple's second volume

volume of Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, in which he has given a plan for the attack of the Spanish dominions on the west side of America, that had been presented to Lord George Germaine; and lest it might be supposed from that publication that it was not properly attended to, I will take upon me to assure Sir John and the public, that whoever can obtain leave to read over his Lordship's secret correspondence with Governor Dalling at Jamaica, and Governor Robertson at New York, will find sufficient information to satisfy him, that the object of that plan was so far from being treated with neglect, that it was comprehended in one of *much greater extent*, and which Governor Dalling conceived so highly of, and was so sanguine in his expectation of its success, that he laid in a claim to be appointed the King of England's first Viceroy of Peru and Mexico. How it happened to fail will, I hope, become one day the object of Parliamentary enquiry.

A P P E N -

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Extract of a Pamphlet published in 1775, intitled, “ The Claim of the Colonies to Exemption from Taxes imposed by Authority of Parliament, examined, page 27.”

HAVING now said what I thought necessary in support of my opinion of the right of Parliament to a complete jurisdiction over the Colonies, and the advantage of it to the people in America, I shall, in justice to my fellow subjects in that country, state the circumstances wherein their case differs from that of the non-electors in Great-Britain, and offer some reasons, why, in my humble apprehension, the Parliament should, in the exercise

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of its power of imposing taxes upon both, be more tender in its proceedings when the Colonies are the objects of them, than when it is the people of Great Britain.

One material difference in favour of the non-electors in Great Britain, is the fixed landed property which every member of Parliament must have within the kingdom of Great Britain, for as all taxes do ultimately affect the land-owner, the non-electors from this circumstance derive a security that the members of Parliament will be careful not to tax them immoderately or unnecessarily, as they would thereby burden themselves also. But no member of Parliament, as such, can be immediately or ultimately affected by any tax he imposes on the people in the Colonies, on the contrary, his own property must be eased thereby. Another circumstance of security which the non-electors in Great Britain have, and which the subjects in the Colonies do not share in, is, that the justice of Parliament would not suffer any tax to be imposed on them which would not also affect those of the people who have the right of electing the members of Parliament, and as the duration of Parliament is
limited,

limited, the members will be always careful not to lay any burdens on their electors, which may be thought either so heavy or so injudicious as to provoke their resentment, and thereby direct their choice to other gentlemen at the next general election.

But if we should even suppose the Parliament could be so unjust, and so partial to their own members and their particular constituents, as to devise a tax which should be paid only by those of the people of Great Britain, who were neither members of Parliament or had a right of voting for a member, yet still the non-electors would have a security against the excessive weight of such a tax which the Colonies have not, which is, that the members of Parliament and their electors must be relatively affected by it. I will suppose an excessive tax to be imposed on the merchants of London, or the manufacturers of Birmingham, what would be the consequence? The merchants would presently remove from the one place, and the manufacturers from the other, and then what would become of the freeholders and owners of land and houses in and near those places? But the industrious North Americans

and the opulent West Indians may have their properties taxed, and no individual in Great Britain participate with them in the burden. On the contrary, the members of Parliament would make their court to their constituents most effectually, by multiplying taxes upon the subjects in those Colonies, and lessening those imposed upon them. These surely are cogent reasons for a peculiar tenderness to be observed in laying taxes upon the Colonies, and that rules and orders which might be proper to be observed with regard to the people of England, should be relaxed of their strictness in behalf of the subjects in America. I confess with all due deference for those who thought otherwise, I could have wished to have seen, upon this first instance of Parliament's imposing an internal tax upon the Colonies for the single purpose of the revenue, a precedent established of which the Colonies might avail themselves on any such future occasion, and it is but justice to the gentleman at the head of the Exchequer to inform you, that it was not owing to him that such a precedent was not made. As I have extracted an account of the whole transaction, from the letters written by one of the agents to his constituents,

and

and can rely upon his veracity, I will relate it for your and my other friends satisfaction.

When the House of Commons had last year come to the resolution, that it might be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties upon the Colonies, the agents for the Colonies on the Continent understanding that the resolution was conceived in such terms, and the farther proceedings thereon suspended till next session, in order to give the Colonies an opportunity of making propositions in compensation for the revenue that such a tax might be expected to produce, and understanding also, that not a single member of Parliament doubted of the right of Parliament to impose a Stamp Duty, or any other tax upon the Colonies, thought it their duty to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to thank him for his candour and tenderness to the Colonies, and to ask his opinion of the sort of proposition which would probably be accepted from them to Parliament. That gentleman with great openness and affability told them, he had proposed the resolution in the terms the Parliament had adopted, from a real regard and tenderness to the people in the Colonies, that it was highly reason-

reasonable they should contribute something towards the charge of protecting themselves, and in aid of the great expence Great Britain put herself to on their account, that no tax appeared to him so easy and equitable as a Stamp Duty ; and what ought particularly to recommend it to the Colonies, was the mode of collecting it, which did not require any number of officers vested with extraordinary powers of entering houses, or in any respect serve to extend a sort of influence which he never wished to increase. He hinted that the Colonies by agreeing to this tax, would have it in their power to establish a precedent for their being consulted before any tax was imposed on them by Parliament, and he recommended it to the agents to represent it properly to their several Colonies, and to advise their respective Councils and Assemblies to take it under their consideration ; and if upon deliberation the Stamp Duty appeared to them an eligible tax, to authorize their agents to declare their approbation of it, which being signified to Parliament next year, when the tax came to be imposed, would afford a forcible argument for the like proceeding in all such cases. He told them farther, that if the Colonies thought

any other mode of taxation more convenient to them, and made any proposition which should carry the appearance of equal efficacy with a Stamp Duty, he would give it all due consideration.

The agents writ immediately to their respective Colonies, and desired instruction for their direction against the next meeting of Parliament. Some of the Colony assemblies thought the advice their agents gave them impertinent, and supposing that obstinacy and strong expressions would have the same effect on the British Parliament, that they found them to have on some American Governors, instead of sending over to their agents discretionary instructions, they framed petitions themselves, positively and directly questioning the authority and jurisdiction of Parliament over the properties of the people in the Colonies, and directed their agents to present them to King, Lords, and Commons. Others, not all, of the assemblies, less violent, gave instructions to their agents to petition Parliament against the tax, and above all things to persist in their petitions on the right and privilege of the Colonies to be exempt from internal taxes imposed by Parliament,

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so that of the whole number, not a single Colony authorized its agent either to consent to a Stamp Duty or to offer any precise compensation. Indeed two of the Colonies desired the agents to signify their readiness to contribute *their proportion* of that duty by methods of their own ; but when the other agents asked those gentlemen, if they could undertake for any particular sum, they confessed they had no authority to do so. Such of the agents as were left by their constituents to act as their discretion should direct them in opposing this tax, thought the best that could be done for the subjects in America, was for the agents to endeavour at obtaining a precedent for their being heard in behalf of their Colonies against the tax, since their instructions would not permit them to endeavour at establishing one for their consent being obtained. A petition for this purpose was accordingly prepared, in which no expressions tending to question the jurisdiction of Parliament were inserted. But the agents, who had petitions transmitted by their assemblies, did not think themselves at liberty to sign or present any other petition than those of their Colonies, and accordingly they had them offered to the House of Commons which would
not

not suffer them to be read, as upon the opening of them by the gentlemen who offered them, they were found to contain expressions questioning the jurisdiction of Parliament. The petition transmitted by one Colony was not indeed offered, for it was conceived in such offensive terms that no member of Parliament would carry it in.

From this candid account, every impartial man must lay it to the charge of the Colonies that a precedent in favour of the subjects in America was not obtained upon this occasion, and should a tax upon the Colonies be proposed hereafter and carried into effect the same Session, the Colonies could scarcely complain of a hardship, as it might with justice be said to them, that when the Parliament did give them an opportunity of transmitting their sentiments, instead of receiving from them any information of their circumstances, they had heard nothing but impeachments of the jurisdiction of Parliament over them.

I have however so good an opinion of the temper and moderation of the Parliament, and such confidence in the candor and paternal re-

gard which some gentlemen bear to the Colonies that I have no apprehensions, advantage will be taken of the forwardness of their legitimate offspring, but that their dealings towards them will be like those of parents to their truant children, not rigorously just, but forbearing and affectionate. I hope to see this, or some future session of Parliament, close with some resolution which shall carry universal satisfaction to the subjects in the Colonies. I hope to see it declared, that no tax ought to be imposed upon the Colonies the same year in which it is proposed in Parliament, that the representations of the Colonies transmitted to their agents, ought to be received before such tax is imposed, and that the revenue arising from such tax should not be applied to any occasional exigence, but should only be appropriated for the general security and protection of America. I flatter myself something to this purpose will be done, not only for the sake of the Colonies, but for a reason which will probably occur to a British Member of Parliament, and with which he must be more deeply affected,

It is one of the many advantages attending the democratic part of the British Constitution, that in times of public danger or difficulty no man can continue in the Administration who has not ability to conduct the affairs of Government in such a manner as will bear the strictest examination. The greatest difficulty incident to a minister in times of public tranquillity is the raising the supplies for the year, and his overcoming that difficulty with reputation is a good test of his abilities to serve the nation. But if taxes upon the Colonies may be proposed and laid the same session, it will require no great talents to qualify any Member of Parliament for Chancellor of the Exchequer. At every pinch or occasional exigence, when the landed gentlemen are to be eased, or the trading people flattered, a new tax upon the Colonies will be the means proposed, and it will have one great advantage over any tax laid in Great Britain, a most material one to an incapable Minister, that the probable produce of it cannot be known to many gentlemen, and therefore however insufficient it may really be for the purposes for which it is laid, yet the Minister escapes reprehension for that year, and the nation may be deeply injured through his

incapacity before the next meeting of Parliament. That every gentleman who wishes well to his country may convince himself these considerations merit his attention, he will have only to reflect, that had a tax upon the Colonies been proposed instead of the late additional duty upon cyder, perhaps Great Britain would not now have the happiness of seeing the most able, upright, and vigilant Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever served her since the days of Sir Robert Walpole.

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. GEO. GRENVILLE, to Mr. KNOX, dated Wotton, Sept. 4, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad to hear that you have almost got through the tedious business of correcting the press, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing your performance upon the state of the nation complete.

The accounts from America continue uniformly the same, notwithstanding which it is
much

much doubted whether any measure has been or will be formed upon that important subject till the meeting of the Parliament, upon whom the whole I suppose will be thrown. Have you read Mr. Pownall's new edition of the Administration of the Colonies which he has addressed to me? though, as he very truly says, we differ widely in our opinions, particularly as to the doctrine which he endeavours to establish of a different mode of obedience between the subjects *within* this kingdom, and those *without* it. A doctrine very dangerous in its consequences, and which has not the least foundation in our Constitution, nor do I think that the Colonies incorporated in the times of King James I. and King Charles I. and II. stand upon the same footing with the counties Palatine of Chester and Durham, or that our Kings have a right to create such independent principalities, or to exempt them from any part of the jurisdiction of the supreme legislature, whatever might be the case of a newly acquired kingdom under William the Conqueror, notwithstanding which it appears from the preamble to the Acts of Parliament granting the right to send Members to Parliament to Chester and Durham, that in fact they had been

been bound by all the laws passed in the English Parliament, and particularly those of taxation, although the contrary is asserted in the petition cited to have been presented to King Henry VI. in Mr. Pownall's treatise. *Whether it would not be just and reasonable to grant to the Colonies Members of Parliament upon their petition to Parliament, for that purpose, in like manner as was done in the cases of Chester and Durham, is another question which, whenever such an application shall be properly made, will I hope be considered with every favourable disposition which their situation requires or will admit of.*

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

G. GRENVILLE.

No. III.

Wotton, Aug. 15, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I AM very sorry that I am prevented from seeing you, and talking with you upon the subject of your letter of the 9th of this month, but I sincerely hope that the cause of it will be productive to you of all the happiness you
can

can wish. All my books and papers from which I could collect any materials relative to the question of taxing America are in town ; the utmost, therefore, which I can do will be to throw out such general answers as occur to me to the questions you ask.

[These answers are incorporated in my Review of the American Controversy, and make the substance of the arguments contained in it, from page 67 to page 86 inclusive, and therefore I omit them here.]

I have long since writ several letters to some of my friends in America, to the same effect as the words which you have marked in the copy of my letter to you, declaring, that I could never give up the sovereignty and right of taxation which the King and Parliament of Great Britain have over the Colonies : but that I could not go so far as Lord Chatham did by his solemn declaration in full Parliament, in his speech for repealing the Stamp Act, “ that if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool, or a horse shoe, he “ would fill their ports with ships, and their “ towns with troops ;” that such a measure,

carried to such an extent, would in my opinion be the highest degree of violence and oppression, which I declared in the House both when that speech was made and oftentimes since; and that I desired, for the sake both of the Mother Country and of its Colonies, to turn their thoughts to Agriculture, and by that means to prevent their interfering with Great Britain in her manufactures, which I thought would be greatly prejudicial to both. That the wisest and most effectual method of accomplishing this would be to give all possible encouragement to the importation of their raw materials from the Colonies into Great Britain, which would enable the Americans to pay in that manner for a considerable part of the manufactures which they would take from hence, and would at the same time prevent that great balance of trade which is against us upon account of those articles with foreign countries, and particularly with those of the north. That with this view I had proposed several bounties upon those commodities brought from our Colonies when I was in the Treasury, which Parliament had adopted, and that I should be glad to see that measure extended farther till the object could be attained. That
 who

whoever brought private passions into public business was unfit to be concerned in it ; that for my own part, if I had any upon this occasion, I should think every tie of duty called upon me to sacrifice them ; but that I really felt none against the English subjects in America, because I was fully sensible that there was no part of Great Britain, nor of any other country, who under the same circumstances, and with the same encouragement, would not have behaved pretty much in the same manner ; that therefore, whenever I should see the tide turn here, if it should run into any extravagance or unnecessary violence, which might probably be the case from resentment against the Colonies, I should be as much an enemy to such a spirit as I had been to the contrary extreme.

You pressed me so strongly to write to you my thoughts upon these subjects that I would not refuse it, and I have done it much more at length than I intended, which is the necessary consequence of doing it hastily and roughly ; but as that is the case, I trust to your discretion, that you will on no account make any public use of it in my name. If any of the

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arguments or facts strike you, they are at your service, provided you use them only as your own, and as such you may change or omit them in the whole or in part, just as you please.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. IV.

Woolton, Aug. 28, 1768.

Dear Sir,

THE account which you gave to me in your letter of the 23d of this month, of the late transactions at Boston, seems so natural a consequence of the measures taken in Great Britain, and the state and temper of the Government here, that whatever degree of concern it may give me, I cannot feel the least surprize at it. If the eyes of those who are most interested in this most unhappy situation, had been sooner opened to the most obvious truths, many mischiefs might have been prevented; if the authentic proofs which they have now received of what has happened, is
not

not sufficient to convince them, I will venture to foretel without a spirit of prophecy, *greater calamities will, when it is too late, rouse them and the whole kingdom from the lethargy, as to all public measures, into which they have been plunged. I have long feared that the conduct holden in Great Britain, would encourage and delude the subjects of America, till they would come to extremities of one kind, which would too probably end in extremities on the other side.* I may appeal to you as a private man, and as a Member of Parliament, to my public declarations, that my opinions upon this subject have ever been uniformly the same. They will still continue to be so, until I see much better reasons for changing them, than any which I have yet heard. What prospect there can now be that they will be attended with success, I cannot pretend to answer; but if there is no plan formed upon the sound principles of this constitution, supported both by firmness and temper, I can answer, that no good success in the present difficult situation, can arise from one desultory measure after another. The respect and affection of its subjects is the basis on which every wise Government must be

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founded;

founded ; but if that foundation has been once overturned, it is not the work of a day to temper the materials, so as to unite and rebuild them, especially if the workmen shall be daily changed, and each work by a different rule and line from that of his predecessor.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. V.

Woolton, September 15, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE considered your letter of the 7th of this month with great attention, and the reasons you therein assign for adopting the plan of a requisition to be made of a certain sum upon each of the Colonies, and upon that sum being raised by them, a declaration, that all the present taxes imposed by the Parliament of Great Britain, shall be repealed and no more imposed by them, except in case of refusal of any Colony to furnish its contingent. I agree with you in thinking, that it will be
extremely

extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the Colonies to apportion a certain sum by a convention of deputies from each Colony. They would, therefore, never do it, and the convention of deputies would quarrel, which would probably be attended with very bad consequences, both to themselves and to us, besides the novelty of such an assembly. The difficulty of assessing the specific sums on each Colony would then fall upon the Parliament, (for God forbid that we should ever give that power to the King without a Parliament) and as the various circumstances of the Colonies would render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish any permanent rate for the several quotas, the consequence would be that none would be established, and no man would think it worth while to make a quarrel with the Colonies for a sum of money ; and when the right of taxation, and consequently that of sovereignty, from which it ever has been and ever must be inseparable, has in effect and in reality been surrendered.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No.

No. VI.

Woolton, September 19, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I DO not see the least appearance of any change in the disposition of the people, or of the assemblies in North America, nor is it, indeed, probable, that there should be any in the present situation. Various reports are every day propagated of the intentions of Government, from whence I should think, that no plan is yet settled in this kingdom, whilst a regular system is steadily pursued in the Colonies. We shall soon see whether this is true, and I heartily wish it may be found otherwise, in the mean time to deceive ourselves, or to endeavour to deceive the public upon this important subject, is the weakest as well as the most fatal measure which can be pursued.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No.

No. VII.

Woolton, Oct. 9, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE read over the Papers * which you sent to me, together with your letter of the 11th of this month, with the greatest pleasure. They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honour, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them. The general opinions laid down in them, correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favourable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express my approbation of them to you, who are *so perfectly acquainted with them both*, must be unnecessary; I will, therefore, only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a mere individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light; I have not been able to examine all the particulars contained in them, with that

* The State of the Nation.

attention which I will give to them, and which they so well deserve. There are some few little inaccuracies, possibly owing to errors in the press, which I will mention to you when we meet in town; in the mean time, I rejoice to hear, that a work of this national importance, and of this great extent and compass, is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves, and I am persuaded as universally approved.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. VIII.

Woolton, Oct. 29, 1769.

Dear Sir,

BY a letter which I received lately from America, I am informed, that the demands of our Colonists rise in proportion to the accounts they receive from hence.—I give the more credit to this information, not only as it comes from a very intelligent man, and of rank in the King's service, but also as it comes from one who was of a contrary opinion, and
thought

thought that the spirit which hath been so carefully nursed up from hence was on the decline—God grant that the difficulties which daily augment and encompass us on every side, may not become too great, not only for the Administration, but for the King and kingdom to surmount.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. IX.

Woolton, January 11, 1769.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad to find by your letter of the 9th of this month which I received last night, that you have almost finished what you are about *. As to the question which you ask me, whether it is safe to blame the proceedings of the late or any former House of Commons, it has been agitated in debate during the present sessions, and it was urged, that in the case of any *virulent* or *outrageous* abuse of the former House of Commons, the subsequent

* The Review of the American Controversy.

House of Commons might censure it. This was strongly denied by many, and there it was left; but I imagine, that those who supported that doctrine, meant to confine that censure to instances of gross and scandalous abuse, for if it be true that the proceedings of former Parliaments are not to be questioned, nor the conduct of former Kings to be blamed, because there might be a libel upon a dead King as well as a living one, (which, if I am not mistaken, was the doctrine laid down by the present *Lord Chancellor* * when Attorney General, in the cause of Dr. Shebbeare) it must follow, that it will be utterly impossible to write any history except a panygeric out of the Gazette, though it will certainly be safer, and I think more effectual, to canvas the conduct and character of a late Parliament or King, in decent and temperate language; at the same time, that the facts and inferences are stated and drawn with the utmost freedom.—This right is essential in the most limited idea of the liberty of the press, and I imagine will scarcely be questioned at present. The other question which you ask is, whether a man may with-

* Lord Camden,

out offence, exprefs the juft expectations of the fubject from the prefent Houfe of Commons, that they will by their conduct reftore the finking authority of Parliament, inquire into paft misconduct, and punifh thofe who difpute their right, and foment refiftance to the laws. This queftion feems to me to admit of no doubt, for I take it for granted, that it cannot be a crime to write that which every fubject has a right in decent and refpectful terms to petition the Parliament to do; and no man, I think, can deny that all thefe are real and ferious grievances both upon the King and his people. Though I have answered both your queftions in general, you will fee that the application of that answer will neceffarily depend upon the particular expreffions, which, without feeing the whole, it is impoffible to give any opinion about. I have heard not a word of what you mention as news in your letter of the fecond of this month, except, that all my letters from London agree in the fame representation of the unfettled and unhappy ftate of things, and of the divifions which prevail. You are fo fully apprized of my general sentiments, that it is unneceffary for me to repeat them, and if I

did, I should not finish this letter soon enough for the post ; I will, therefore, only add, that I shall be in town on the 19th in the morning, being the day fixed for the meeting of the House.

I am, &c.

GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. X.

Charleton, July 19, 1770.

Dear Sir,

I DID not receive your letter of the 6th of this month, until this morning, which was occasioned by its being directed to me near Ailesbury, instead of near Tame in Oxfordshire, which is our post town, and by its not finding me at home, in consequence of which, it was sent after me to this place, where I have been this week upon a visit to Lord Suffolk. If I had received it in time, I should not have delayed till now to have acknowledged it, and to have wished you joy of the situation in which you have engaged. I am very sensible of the obliging expressions contained in it with regard to myself, and should
have

have been truly sorry if any consideration, relative to me alone, had prevented you from accepting an offer, which you thought advantageous and honourable to you, and which I am persuaded, no man is more able or more willing to discharge, with industry and fidelity towards the King and his people, in the present distracted state of affairs in America. I shall see with real pleasure, any measure taken, which may contribute to that great object, the importance and consequences of which are, I fear, not yet sufficiently felt, and therefore, I told you, when I saw you, I despaired of any thing being done, in which opinion I am still more confirmed by the accounts which I have lately received from London. I am much obliged to Lord Hillsborough, for the justice which you say he does to me, and which I shall be always desirous and ready to return. I shall leave this place to-morrow, and shall get to Woolton. I very sincerely wish you more comfort and satisfaction than my own mind can promise to any man, who is to sail in the present stormy weather, without a compass to guide him in the troubled sea,

sea, in which you are embarked, and am, very truly, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,
GEO. GRENVILLE.

No. XI.

*Project of a permanent Union and Settlement
with the Colonies.*

THE cement that unites the Colonies against Great Britain, is their common aversion to taxation by Parliament. State chicane or lawyers craft will not do with the Colonies, they have lost all confidence in the integrity of Parliament, and until confidence is restored, treaty is impossible. Parliament must therefore endeavour to beget confidence by putting it out of its own power to deceive. The line by which the exercise of its authority in point of taxation over the Colonies is to be limited, must be clearly drawn and defined in an act of Parliament, and the conditions to which the Colonies are to submit fully expressed. The Colonies have a right to this, for their condition is not similar to that of a foreign state treating with us. Whatever be the terms we may give them,
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they can have no security for our adherence, but our own good faith ; for if they return to their allegiance upon any terms, they will put themselves wholly in our power, and cannot compel the performance of the treaty, whereas a foreign State after a treaty is in the same condition as before, and equally capable of compelling a performance of the terms. We ought to treat with the Colonies in the same manner as a man treats with a woman he intends to marry: it is but fit he should declare what her condition is to be when she becomes his wife before she marries, for when she is married she cannot alter it. The Colonies know their strength consists in their union, and that union is not likely to subsist if they come to treat. They cannot, therefore, be blamed for avoiding a treaty so long as they are in doubt what terms will be offered. They cannot, indeed, compel us to the performance of *any* terms when they have once submitted, but they may justly think, that to whatever terms the public faith shall be solemnly pledged in an act of Parliament as a preliminary to a treaty, the honour and probity of the English nation will compel an adherence on the part of Government. It being our interest

to bring the Colonies to treat, we ought to take the pains to remove their objections to treating, and this I apprehend would be done, if an act were passed to the purport and effect following: viz,

Whereas it is both just and reasonable that all British subjects who partake of the advantages of this free Constitution, should contribute in proportion to their ability to the public charge necessarily incurred for the general safety and happiness,

And whereas the charge of maintaining a fleet and army, and providing ordnance and military stores, together with the expence of such parts of the civil Administration as equally respect the whole empire, has amounted in times of peace to the sum of four millions, exclusive of the establishments maintained by Ireland.

And whereas the number of inhabitants in Great Britain is computed to amount to eight millions, and the number of inhabitants in the British provinces on the coast of the Atlantic in North America, is computed to amount to
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two millions and an half, and therefore the just proportion of the aforesaid sum of four millions to be contributed by the said provinces, appears to be 5-16ths, or 1,250,000, more especially, as besides the sum of 2,750,000 which would still remain to be raised by the inhabitants of Great Britain as their proportion of the aforesaid sum of four millions, the said inhabitants must continue to be charged with the whole public debt, the principal of which amounts to , and the annual charge for the interest thereof, amounts to nearly the sum of , although great part of the said debt was incurred in carrying on the two last wars, the chief objects of which were the defence and protection of the British provinces in America, and the security of their commerce. Nevertheless, as it has ever been the desire of Parliament to promote the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of the said provinces in common with that of their fellow subjects in Great Britain, and because very great advantages are derived to the inhabitants of Great Britain from their exclusive commerce with the said provinces, which commerce it is intended shall always remain confined to Great Britain as

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heretofore, or carried on under such regulations and restraints as Parliament shall impose; therefore, instead of the aforementioned sum of 1,250,000, with which the said provinces might in justice be charged as their fair proportion of the sum of four millions which appears to be the amount of the ordinary expences of Government in times of peace; exclusive of the charge for interest of the public debt, it is proposed that the sum to be contributed by the provinces shall be no more than eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the same in every year. The amount of which contribution, according to the rated value of the exports from all the said provinces in the highest years in times past, cannot be computed to exceed the sum of 300,000 per annum for several years to come, which is not 1-13th part of the aforesaid charge of four millions, and cannot increase but with the prosperity and riches of each province. Wherefore be it enacted, that when the General Court or General Assembly of any of the provinces aforesaid shall pass an act or acts, and the same shall be approved by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for raising a sum of money equal to eight per cent.

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of the rated value of all the commodities exported from the said province in the year 1763, to be disposed of by Parliament; and shall also declare on behalf of themselves and all future General Courts or General Assemblies, that they will continue to grant and raise in every future year, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, to be disposed of by Parliament, such sum or sums of money as shall amount to eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the said province in the year next preceding respectively. That then and from thenceforth, all duties and taxes imposed in the said province by any act or acts of Parliament upon any commodity imported into the said province (except such duties or taxes as are charged upon commodities of foreign growth or manufacture) shall cease and determine. And be it further enacted, that the produce of all duties and taxes imposed by any act or acts of Parliament now of force, upon any commodity of foreign growth or manufacture imported into the said province, or upon any commodity the product of the said province, exported out of the said province, shall be paid over and accounted for to the General Court or General Assembly

of the said province. And be it further enacted, that the produce of all duties or taxes which may hereafter be imposed by any act or acts of Parliament upon any commodity imported into or exported out of the said province, shall be paid over and accounted for to the General Court or General Assembly of the said province.

But in order to secure to the public the constant and regular grant and payment of the contribution before mentioned, and that good and sufficient funds may be provided and charged with the payment thereof, be it farther enacted, that if it shall so happen that any General Court or General Assembly of any province, after passing an act or acts for the purpose aforesaid, shall for the space of one whole year neglect or refuse to continue to make such grant, or to make good any deficiency of the funds assigned for the payment of the sum granted in any former year, that then and from henceforth a duty or tax of eight per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported out of the said province shall commence upon all commodities exported out of the same, which tax or duty shall

shall continue to be charged and levied upon all commodities exported until the General Court or General Assembly shall make such grant and provision, and make good such deficiency as aforesaid, and shall then cease to be levied or charged ; any thing contained in any former act or acts to the contrary notwithstanding. And be it farther enacted, that from and after the passing of such act or acts as aforesaid, by any General Court or General Assembly of any of the aforesaid provinces, and his Majesty's approbation thereof, the act of his present Majesty, intituled, &c. (The Tea Act) shall be, and is hereby declared to be repealed in respect to such province ; any thing contained in the said act to the contrary notwithstanding.

No. XII.

Intercourse between Great Britain and the United States.

The order of council for opening a trade between Great Britain and the United States having only directed, that it shall be carried on upon the same foot as when they were considered

dered as British Colonies, it is proper to inquire how far that measure is adapted to their present condition, and will serve the purpose of securing to us the advantages of their trade.

As Colonies, they were restrained from importing any foreign manufacture except from Great Britain, and from exporting in most cases any of their products except to Great Britain, and Parliament, desirous of drawing some revenue from them, continued part of the duties paid upon the importation of foreign manufactures into Great Britain upon their re-exportation to the Colonies. It also retained a part of the duties paid upon the importation of certain of the American products upon their re-exportation to foreign countries. These duties in both cases are continued by the order of Council, but it ought to have been considered that the United States can *now* import all foreign manufactures directly from the places where they are made without coming through Great Britain, and that they can *now* send all their products to every foreign market without touching here, consequently these duties will operate as an obstruction to their coming here either

either to purchase foreign goods or sell to foreign markets; and it being our interest that this country should continue to be as it was heretofore, their common mart for all commodities, the duties which remain upon re-exportation in both cases ought to be taken off. By the act of the 4th of his present Majesty the old subsidy duty, which is 5 per cent. of the rated value, is retained upon all foreign goods except white calicoes and muslins exported to the Colonies, and by the same act a duty of three shillings per piece is laid upon all French lawns and cambrics. There are besides a variety of duties upon East India goods and also upon certain of our own manufactures exported to the Colonies, all of which being retained upon exportation to the United States, will be an incitement to them to purchase them or similar goods from other countries. But to proceed surely and regularly in doing this, I would recommend that orders be sent to the commissioners of the customs and excise to report what duties and excises are charged or remain undrawn back upon foreign and British goods exported to the Colonies. In the mean time, we should proceed without delay to take off the duties which remain upon the re-exportation

tion of their rice and tobacco. It is of vast importance to Great Britain that this country should continue to be the mart for both these commodities. The rice exported from Carolina and Georgia before the war amounted to 30,000 tons, and the freight was more than half the first cost. Near 20,000 tons of this was brought to Great Britain though, not more than 1500 was consumed here and in Ireland; all the rest was sold to foreign agents and re-exported to Holland and different ports in the German ocean and the Baltic Sea, and the value remitted here. The rice being too heavy to be put between decks, the owners took in indigo and deer skins at a low freight to fill the ship up with, and the same reason will always operate to attach those commodities to the rice, and if we have it we shall have them; The people of Carolina and Georgia will still have inducements to send us their rice as to a general mart for the north of Europe, if we do not by our duties force them from us, as they cannot so well know in America as here, where the best price will be given, and so many might send to the same port, that some markets would be overstocked and others without a supply. The payment too would be more tedious and
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precarious, and they could not avail themselves of the credit of their factors to procure supplies of negroes and necessaries in the mean time. Our merchants send them supplies before their crops are reaped upon the credit of them, and they are well paid for their advance by a double commission, besides interest, on both what they send and what they receive in payment. The duty which remains undrawn back upon rice re-exported is $7\frac{1}{2}$ d per cent. to which is to be added the thrice five per cent. which has lately been laid upon all duties; the whole should therefore be immediately taken off by Act of Parliament.

The same as has been stated respecting rice, may be applied to tobacco with this difference, that the quantity of tobacco is much larger and the value much greater, and consequently that the retaining the trade in it is an object of still greater importance to our commerce and navigation than the rice; it behoves us to lose no time in this business, for as the ships which carry out our goods could not bring back one sixth of either their rice or tobacco, they must order light ships to come for the other five sixths, and if they are not informed that

our duties are taken off, they will send to Holland for ships, and send their products there for a market ; the consequence of which will be, not only the loss of freight to our shipping, but a connection will arise between them and the Dutch, who can supply them with negroes, and, when they feel the advantages of the commission, will give them credit to secure their custom.

No. XIII.

Intercourse between the British Colonies and the United States.

IN the consideration of what intercourse should be permitted between the British Colonies and the United States, it is necessary to include that of the regulations under which the trade between the British Colonies in North America, and the West Indies is carried on.

Our West India islands draw from North America supplies of salted beef, and pork, and fish, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, rice, peas, live cattle, sheep and horses, naval stores, timber of all denominations, generally called lumber, and they send them in return, sugar, rum,
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molasses, coffee, at a duty of seven shillings per cwt. and pimento at one penny per pound, and cotton free of duty. The continental Colonies are permitted to bring from the foreign islands, Muscovada sugar, upon paying a duty at importation of five shillings per cwt. molasses at one penny per gallon, white sugars twenty-seven shillings per cwt. coffee three pound per cwt. indigo sixpence per pound. As the law now stands, our West India islands will have the preference of the consumption of our North American Colonies for their sugars, molasses, indigo, and coffee; and the North American Colonies will have our West India islands exclusively to supply with lumber and provisions of American produce, and if they do not like the price, may carry them to the foreign islands. If our North American Colonies were able to supply all the wants of our islands, as our islands can supply them with what they want of West India products, the line would be easy to draw; for it would only be necessary to confine their trade reciprocally to each other; but our North American Colonies in their present state cannot supply our islands, and therefore the United States must *for the present* be called in to their assistance,

and the islands must be permitted to pay them in their products. But whatever permissions of this kind are given it should be remembered, that the object of this country is to *exclude the communication of foreigners with our Colonies*, and that whenever our North American Colonies shall be in a condition to supply our islands wholly, the interference of foreigners is to be prevented. The intercourse, therefore, which it may be proper to permit between our Colonies and the United States, should not be a stipulation of treaty, but a mere permission or indulgence without condition or equivalent. Our islands can be amply supplied with salted fish from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and Ireland and Scotland will continue to assist them with herrings. Fish should therefore not be permitted to be brought but in British vessels, and by British subjects from British ports. Salted beef can be had from Ireland, and salted pork also, though not so cheap as formerly from North America ; but at present the United States have little to spare, so that excluding them will be no material injury to our islands, and it will encourage the raising cattle and hogs in Nova Scotia and Canada, live cattle, and sheep and hogs and horses must
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for the present be suffered to be brought from the United States. Flour, biscuit, Indian corn, rice, potatoes and peas, must likewise be allowed. Lumber must also be allowed, until Nova Scotia and Canada have provided sufficient quantities, and to encourage them to do so, the restraint upon their exportation to foreign markets should be taken off.

Before the war, Canada exported large quantities of flour and wheat, and if the Vermont people are encouraged to bring them down Lake Champlain, very considerable supplies may speedily be drawn from thence. Pitch, tar, and turpentine are not to be had from Canada or Nova Scotia, they must, therefore, be allowed to be brought from the United States; and Cypress boards and shingles from the Southern States.

As our islands must be permitted to draw various supplies from the United States, if they be not permitted to pay for them in their products, it will be the occasion of draining them of all their specie money, which would be laid out at the foreign islands. Indeed, this will be a good deal the case, even when they
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are permitted to purchase our products, as our Planters demand higher prices than the French or Danes ; and the only remedy is, *to confine the trade to our own subjects and our own Colonies, whenever it can properly be done.* But to do the best we can at present, the duties upon British island coffee imported into our own Colonies in North America, should be taken off, or otherwise, our Colonies there will supply themselves clandestinely with foreign, through the United States, who will have it free of all duty.

To encourage the distilleries in Nova Scotia and Quebec, and the breweries of Spruce beer, there and at Newfoundland, and enable them to sell their spirits as cheap as the Boston distillers, it will be proper to take off the one penny per gallon duty on foreign molasses, our own islands furnishing but an inconsiderable quantity.

The United States having permission to fish in all the bays and rivers of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, great opportunity will be afforded them of supplying our fishermen with their rum ; and indeed, with all foreign
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commodities, which are cheaper than ours; the utmost vigilance in our cruizers will, therefore, be necessary to prevent any dealings between our fishing ships and theirs; but smuggling is far from the greatest of the evils, which that article of the treaty is calculated to bring upon us, as will appear from what I have stated in the paper respecting the Newfoundland fishery.

No. XIV.

New Establishments for the American Loyalists.

THE British dominions on the continent of America, being reduced to Nova Scotia and a strip of Canada; it is matter of the most serious consideration, how the country we possess, may be rendered most advantageous to this nation, and retained as an appendage of it. Sad experience may have taught us, that without the latter consideration is made the chief object of our plans, our success in the former will be but precarious and temporary. The *permanency* of their connection with this country should, therefore, be the ground of every measure respecting our Colonies. The
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advantage to be derived from them should be the second object of our attention, and their prosperity to be encouraged only so far as it may consist with those two; for it would be much better to have no Colonies at all, than not to have them permanently connected with this country, and subservient to the increase of its maritime strength and commercial prosperity. Upon these principles, the constitutions or political regulations of the Colonies ought to be founded, and the greatest care and attention ought to be taken to frame them properly, for the records of the Board of Trade cannot be used as precedents; the leading motives of all our ancient settlements having been the increase of our commerce only, without any attention to their permanent connection with this country. It should, indeed, seem from the New-England Colonies Charters, that the Ministers who framed them, so far from intending to retain those Colonies in a dependence on England, meant them as receptacles of all subjects who were or should be discontented with the constitution of this country, and wished to withdraw themselves from it. If they had no farther views in planting those Colonies, their policy was shallow and selfish,

ish, and if they looked forward at all to futurity, they wanted wisdom to secure the advantages they intended to confer upon it. But we who have seen the consequences of their negligence or weakness, would be infinitely more culpable if we did not profit by our experience, and correct, in the constitutions of those Colonies which remain to us, those vices which were interwoven or sprung up from the constitution of those which have revolted, and occasioned their separation from us. One would think it was no difficult matter to foresee that dissimilarity in religion would naturally produce difference of sentiments respecting political liberty, and that without episcopacy or a clergy, consisting of different orders, and independent of the laity, both in the exercise of their functions, and for their subsistence, monarchy would not thrive. All religions and sects were, however, fully tolerated in New-England, except the Roman Catholic and the national church, the only two which are governed by an Hierarchy. To correct this capital error, let us begin *by establishing the church of England in all its forms*, and granting a full toleration to the Roman Ca-

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tholic.

tholic. This will be the most effectual means of excluding Republicans, and drawing the Episcopalians out of the Revolted Colonies into our own, and establishing an everlasting barrier between them.* The whole country should be divided into parishes, and glebe lands set apart in every parish, and allotments made for schoolmasters also; the presentation to all benefices to be in the Governor, but the visitation, discipline, and suspension to be in the Bishop; the final removal in the Governor and Council. The lands to be granted subject to a quit rent, but the Governor authorized to declare, that as soon as the Legislature shall grant a permanent reve-

* The succeeding administration, instead of pursuing this plan with proper earnestness, suffered the Americans to get the start of them, by forming an Episcopal church upon the model of the Church of England, and even generously assisted them to counteract one great object of the plan, viz. The inciting the Episcopalians who, except the Roman Catholics, are the only friends to monarchy in all America, to remove into the British territories for the sake of living under the establishment of that church, by passing an act for consecrating three Bishops for those States, *many months before they sent out the solitary one to Nova Scotia*; and several of the emigrants, upon hearing what had been done, have actually gone back from Nova Scotia to the United States.

nue for the support of Government, the produce of the quit rents will be given to be disposed of by them; but in the mean time, grants to all Loyalists to be discharged of quit rents for ten years.

Still further, to prevent the admission of Independents, it should be required of every person applying for land in any of the Colonies, that he come before the Governor and Council, and make and subscribe a declaration in the following words: “ I do promise and
“ declare, that I will maintain and defend the
“ authority of the King in his Parliament, as
“ the supreme Legislature of this Province
“ in all cases, taxation excepted.”* And it should be inserted as a condition in the grant, that all inhabitants who may come to the possession of any part of the lands contained in it, whether by purchase or inheritance (except infants) should make and subscribe the same declaration before a justice of the peace, within twelve months after coming into possession, and should register it in the Secretaries office,

* The Parliament has declared by an act, that it will not impose any taxes in the Colonies.

on pain of forfeiture of the lands to the Crown. There is nothing in the *present constitution* of Canada, that would obstruct these regulations, nor would there be any great difficulty in introducing them into Nova Scotia; and a new province may, with much convenience and advantage, be formed out of the latter, as it now stands bounded by Canada and the United States. The Bay of Funday, and the Bay Verté, almost divide it into two parts, and render the communication by land, between that part which lies to the west of those Bays, with Halifax, extremely difficult. I would, therefore, propose to draw a line across the Isthmus, leaving the country to the east of it, and the island of Cape Breton as the Province of Nova Scotia, and erect the country from the river St. Croix, to the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and from the Line across the Isthmus to the Line of Canada, into a new province, placing the seat of Government on the river St. John. No very considerable expence would attend this measure, as I presume the civil offices would be given to such distinguished Loyalists, as have allowances from this country, and as the lands would

would increase in value much sooner, and the settlement proceed much more rapidly, because of the proximity of the seat of Government, than if the country continued a part of Nova Scotia ; great numbers of Loyalists from the Northern States would take grants of lands there, as some compensation for the loss of their estates in the Revolted Provinces, and as the same quit rent should be reserved as is reserved in Nova Scotia, a revenue would arise in a few years equal to the charge of the Government. The establishment of a military post at St. Croix, as a frontier to the United States, which must take place, will naturally draw inhabitants to settle under its protection. They will require a port of entry and clearance, and courts of justice ; and in a little time, a separate Government will be found necessary ; but the constitution must then be framed to the palates of the inhabitants, who from living so long without Government, will have lost their loyalty and become republicans, and rather disposed to connect with the United States, than continue dependent on Great Britain. The country is now without inhabitants, those who will go there immediately, will be loyal and abhorrrers of Republicanism.

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They will gladly receive a Constitution calculated to cherish monarchical principles, and to repress republican ideas, and of a tendency to bind them to Great Britain ; and it will be the fault of Administration if such a Constitution be not established, as will render their union with this country happy and permanent. Where so much good may arise from the adoption of this proposition, and so much evil may follow from neglecting it, a small difference in expence ought not to sway the judgement to decide against it,

No. XV.

THE best provision in our power having been made for the accommodation of the Loyalists of the northern States, it is equally necessary to shew attention to those of the southern, especially to those unfortunate people who have fixed their residence in East Florida, from whence they must again remove.

The only territory in the British possession that can accommodate them is the Bahama Islands. The climate and culture they are used to, and are such as their
negroes

negroes can be advantageously employed in ; and it is of great importance to the safety of our trading ships from Jamaica, the Bay of Honduras, and even from the Leeward Islands, that those islands should remain to Great Britain, and unless they are inhabited by such a number of loyal subjects as may be able to resist any sudden attack, before succour can arrive from Europe, they must fall into the hands of the United States or the Spaniards, when any dispute happens with either.

The soil of these islands has never been vested in the Crown, but remains the property of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, to whom it was originally granted. An agreement was made with them half a century ago, but the purchase money, 8000*l.* was never paid, nor the deeds executed. The purchase should now be made and confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and the vacant lands, of which there is a large quantity parcelled out amongst the southern Loyalists, subject to a reasonable quit rent. Exuma Sound, which is a safe and capacious harbour, has a sufficient depth of water for ships of the line to ride in, which is a circumstance of infinite importance both for
offence

offence to our enemies and protection to our own commerce ; for it is to be considered that we have not now a single British port between St. Christopher's and Nova Scotia, to give protection to a disabled or separated West India ship, to receive a captured enemy, or to be a station for a cruiser. Exuma ought therefore to be immediately put in a condition suitable to those purposes.

No. XVI.

*At the COURT of ST. JAMES's the 2d of
July, 1783.*

P R E S E N T,

*The King's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
in COUNCIL.*

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed this session, intituled, “ An Act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America, and to give to his Majesty, for a limited time, certain powers, for the better carrying on trade and commerce
between

between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States." It is amongst other things enacted, that during the continuance of the said Act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty in Council, by order or orders to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions and to make such regulations with respect to duties, drawbacks or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the United States, as to his Majesty in Council shall appear most expedient and salutary, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; his Majesty doth therefore, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, hereby order and direct, that pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, and flax, masts, yards and bowsprits, staves heading, timber, boards, shingles, and all other species of lumber; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and all other species of live stock and live provisions; peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, oats, barley, and all other species of grain, being the growth or production of any of the United States of

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America,

America, may (until further orders) be imported by British subjects in British built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any port of the United States of America, to any of his Majesty's West India islands; and that rum, sugar, melasses, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento, may (until further orders) be exported by British subjects in British built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any of his Majesty's West India islands, to any port or place within the said United States, upon payment of the same duties on exportation, and subject to the like rules, regulations, securities, and restrictions, as the same articles by law are, or may be subject and liable to, if exported to any British Colony or Plantation in America; and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

No. XVII.

*Copy of a Letter from Lord SACKVILLE to
Mr. KNOX.*

Stoneland Lodge, July 4, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I AM happy in hearing that your plan is adopted, and that the trade between the Islands and the States is put upon the best footing that the present circumstances would admit. *Was it ignorance or treachery that induced the late Ministers to act as they did in whatever related to the commercial interest of this country?* I did not expect that the Cabinet would have proceeded with so much firmness and vigour in preferring the interest of Great Britain to that of America, supported by the West India planters. I am persuaded that whatever the inclinations of the Ministers might have been, they would not have known how to proceed had you not lent them your assistance; what you propose for Canada strikes me to be right, provided you mean to keep that province. Lord Shelburne plainly intended it should be

given up, or he would not have permitted Mr. Oswald to have settled such a boundary. Go on and do us all the good you can, and may every body be as sensible of your merit as I am, is the sincere wish of,

Your faithful,

humble servant,

SACKVILLE.

No. XVIII.

Extract from the Minutes of the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade. March 18, 1784.

MR. KNOX attending, was called in and desired to give their Lordships any information falling within his knowledge, relating to the subject under consideration, and first as to the time when it might be expected that supplies for the West India islands might be derived from Canada and Nova Scotia, and the mode of conveyance.

Mr. Knox said, *he had been the person who had suggested the regulations contained in the orders in Council respecting American trade, and*
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had been employed in framing the several orders ; that the objections which were urged on behalf of the West India merchants had been all stated to him, and had been fully considered prior to the issuing the order respecting the trade between the West India islands and the United States.

That it had been foreseen that some immediate difficulty might arise from want of the supplies which had been in course of coming down, that the war had interrupted them, but they had found means to get some supplies by prizes, and others from this country ; that the great point of consideration at *that* time (when the order was made) was, *whether the supplies proper to be allowed from the United States, should be brought in American ships, or confined to ships belonging to Great Britain.* The articles intended to be permitted to be brought from the United States were, *such as this country or Ireland could not then supply ;* and the remaining Colonies in North America were not *then* in a condition to supply. It was not judged necessary to allow the import of them into the West India islands *in ships belonging to the United States,* nor was it apprehended there
would

would be any difficulty in obtaining the supplies in *ships belonging to Great Britain*. The southern States were then almost entirely without shipping of their own. Georgia and Carolina had been both in our possession, and upon their evacuation no ships could be supposed to be left to the inhabitants. The shipping belonging to Virginia and Maryland had been almost entirely destroyed by the expedition to the Cheasapeak ; the same had happened to the shipping belonging to Pennsylvania in the Delaware ; and New York and the Jerseys would certainly be left in the same situation, when New York should be evacuated by the King's troops. The New England States, therefore, were the only parts of the United States which were possessed of shipping, it could not therefore be supposed that the southern States would *refuse to sell lumber and provisions to British ships*, because the ships belonging to the New England States were not permitted to carry them. If, however, from any *sudden resentment* of the restraint of their ships, they should form some association to refuse to sell to the British ships, the owners of the British ships in the American seas were much in the habit of having double registers,

and

and would probably qualify themselves as ships belonging to Americans, by having owners resident in those States. There were other methods also of acquiring those supplies, which it was expected would be put in practice, if any difficulty arose of obtaining the supplies the direct way. They could be obtained through the foreign islands, as they had been during the war ; and as by the former order in Council, American ships were permitted to bring the unmanufactured produce of the United States to Great Britain, it would be very easy for any ship that intended to take a cargo to the West India islands, to clear out for Great Britain ; and as there was neither bond nor penalty to oblige her to perform the voyage according to her declaration, no inconvenience could follow from her altering her voyage, and going to the West India islands.

On the other hand, *the injury to the navigation of this country* was apprehended to be so great from permitting *American ships to come to our West India islands*, that it was thought highly improper to allow it, rather than risk some small inconvenience to the islands by the restraint.

straint. The number of the ships which, according to the Custom House returns, annually sailed from North America to the West Indies (Foreign and British taken together) were about 700 sail of topsail vessels, and from 1500 to 1600 sloops, the quantity of tonnage about 112,000 ton, but the number of sloops was not so great as the Custom House accounts state it, by two thirds, as several made three voyages in the year, but the tonnage employed in the trade is precisely the same. Upon the question, whether the same rule held with respect to the topsail vessels? It was answered, that it does not to the same extent. Being asked whether an English ship having an American register, makes the same considered as an American ship; or whether a certain proportion of American sailors is not also required? It was answered, they have never inquired into the hands by which the vessel is navigated. He said, that from the quantity of tonnage, the number of seamen may be computed, the usual allowance being one man to every 12 ton, which would give about 9000 seamen for the navigation of the whole number of these ships, as stated in the Custom House accounts, that the proportion was greater in small vessels

vessels than in large ; but two thirds being deducted from the number of floops, the number of seamen will be considerably less.

That it appears that the number of topfail vessels that have arrived from the West India islands in North America has been nearly the same with the number, which have sailed from thence for the West India islands.

The course of the trade with the West India islands is as follows : The principal British merchants are concerned with houses in the West Indies to whom they send their ships, which carry out goods from hence, and who provide cargoes of the West India produce to load them home. These ships are called *stationed* ships, and seldom or ever vary their course ; but there are many others who go to the West Indies to look for freight, and are called *seekers*, in contradistinction to the stationed ships. When we exported grain to Portugal and the southern parts of Europe, Madeira, and the African islands, many of the ships which carried the same, when they had left their cargoes of grain, went on to the West Indies to look for freight. The ships also which arri-

ved there from the coast of Africa with negroes wanted freight home. It often happened that freight was not to be had when these ships arrived, the merchants to whom the ships were consigned, not being prepared to load them ; therefore to save expence and preserve the ships from being eaten by the worms in the West Indian seas, or to avoid the hurricanes in that season of the year, they took on board as much rum, molasses, and sugar, as would pay for a cargo of lumber and provisions in North America, with which they returned in time to receive a cargo for Europe ; or if they were not certain of that, and they found a freight in North America for Europe, they took it from thence. This trade would be almost entirely prevented by permitting the Americans to bring their lumber and provisions down in their own shipping, and consequently so much *injury would arise to the West India trade* by cutting off this resource from the *seekers*, which might prevent so many of them going out to bring home their produce, which would occasion great loss and distress to the small planters.

Mr.

Mr. Knox being asked his opinion, whether the 700 topsail vessels, stated by him as carrying on the trade between the West India islands and the United States, are in general ships, which belong to the subjects of Great Britain, resident in Great Britain? replied, that at the time he spoke of no distinction was made between ships belonging to subjects of Great Britain generally, or subjects resident in Great Britain; but *he believes many of them to be ships employed by subjects resident in Great Britain.*

Being asked, whether the trade for freight was carried on to profit, between the West Indies and North America, as he stated it? said, it was *relatively* profitable by giving employment to ships, which would have been otherwise unemployed, but it would not have been so abstractedly.

Being asked, whether the ships to which he alludes, were employed in the general trade of the country, or confined to that carried on between America and the West Indies? believes many of them were employed in the general trade of this country.

Bieng asked, whether he imagines, that if liberty was given to the United States to import their lumber into the West Indies in *their own ships*, it would diminish the navigation of Great Britain? *Supposes it would very much, especially as the United States would probably make navigation laws in their own favour.*

Being asked, whether the ships which he had stated to arrive sometimes in the islands before the crops of sugar were ready, and the merchants prepared to load them, if they had not made the intermediate voyage to America, would not, while waiting for their loading, have laid upon *demurrage*? replied, they *certainly would if chartered*; but if *seekers*, they *would have lain at the owners expence.*

Being asked, if he does not apprehend that the North Americans would make use of the same artifice to get their vessels registered in our islands, in order to cover the property of them, that he supposes we may do with respect to our vessels in the ports of the United States? said, he apprehended so, if Government did not take measures to prevent them. Is of opinion that if the *restriction had not, been laid upon*

upon American shipping, the southern States having no shipping of their own, would probably have lent their flag to French, Dutch, and Danish ships ; by which the trade would have been carried on, and it would have been an inducement to the traders of those nations to have formed connections with the subjects of the United States, highly prejudicial to the trade of this country.

Being asked, whether he does not think that if British vessels were prevented from trading between the West India islands, and the ports of the United States, and we should be forced to take our supplies from the foreign islands, we should not suffer nearly as much in our navigation, as if we opened our West India ports to the ships of the United States ? replied, he apprehends we should *for the present*, but that the consequences would not be *ultimately* so prejudicial. Is of opinion, that there remains to Great Britain in North America, *a sufficient country to supply the West Indies with almost every article which is now permitted to be brought from the United States, and when that country is brought to a state of maturity, those articles may*
be

be had cheaper from thence, than they could have been through the intervention of the foreign islands.

The question being asked, in case the United States should shut their ports to British vessels, does he apprehend it to be possible, by opening some free port nearer to the United States than the foreign islands, to secure the trade of provisions and lumber to the subjects of Great Britain? replied, *he has not the least doubt of it*; for whatever may be their intention, either as separate States, or as united under the congress, the *coercive power* of their Governments is *so feeble*, and the *general interests of the inhabitants so directly against such a restraint*, that he does not apprehend it would be possible to prevent vessels coming to such free port, if the same lay convenient. We have seen, that during the bitterness of the war, when they had much more coercive force, and the whole country was in arms against Great Britain, even then they could not restrain vessels from coming with supplies to our islands. They will have a strong impulse from the circumstance of our settlements in Nova Scotia to supply us, and prevent our

confining our resort for supplies entirely to Nova Scotia and Canada. The northern States are exceedingly jealous of our settlements upon the river St. John, from whence we may draw supplies of lumber sufficient for our West India islands for many years; and in regard to Canada, it has already recovered so much from the devastations of the war, that in the last year that province sent down supplies of beef and mutton to Newfoundland at the rate of two pence per pound, and also bread baked at Quebec, the quantity as much as they wanted, and promised that this year they would supply them in much larger quantity, and at cheaper rate. There came two North American ships with goods and provisions to Newfoundland, and Colonel Pringle, commandant at that time, refused to let them deliver their cargoes, and he received the thanks of the trading part of the inhabitants for so doing.

The question being asked, supposing the United States should, in resentment for this restriction prohibit, or lay high duties upon British manufactures imported into the countries

tries belonging to the said States, does he apprehend they could enforce such prohibition, to the material detriment of this country? *Does not apprehend they could by any means enforce such prohibition, if inclined to do it ;* for notwithstanding the refusal of their vessels to trade to our West India islands has been universally known through all the United States, the orders from thence for our manufactures are at this time greater than at any period of the former peace. And if they were inclined to enforce it, does not imagine *they could find means. They were not able to do it in the height of the war.* The United States have now but little trade with any other nation of Europe, who have all refused to send them out more goods ; the underwriters say, there are no more ships going from Holland or France, and those which have gone lately, had supercargoes with orders to dispose of their cargoes, only for value to be paid immediately, which not being able to find, some returned without breaking bulk. Being asked his opinion as to the effect of opening a free port, said, that a free port in the neighbourhood would certainly facilitate the introduction of supplies. And upon the question, what port or ports it might be most

most advisable to open ? replied, an island that is without produce of its own, and well circumstanced in respect to local situation and harbour, conceives no *utility whatever in opening a free port in Nova Scotia*. In the first place, it lies very much out of the way of the trade between the West India islands and those American States from whence we could wish to bring the produce. The articles that might be brought from the United States near to such free port, would certainly *interfere very much with the produce and cultivation of that country which we wish to promote*. A free port upon a continent could not be guarded in the same manner as upon an island, and it would be the means of introducing through the ports of the United States *such foreign produce and manufactures as would come cheaper than those of the British dominions*. Is of opinion, that it would not be advantageous to encourage settlement, and the cutting lumber in the province of Maine, by the subjects of the United States, by opening a free port for the reception of it in Nova Scotia. Being asked his opinion as to the distress the islands are said to labour under, for want of supply of lumber ? apprehends, that the *distress will be very temporary*,

L. rary,

rary, several saw mills being already erected in Nova Scotia, and preparations made for supplying lumber from thence. Does not know, whether the islands have received their supplies for this year. Being asked by what means the French islands were supplied? said, they were supplied in great part from the wine casks sent out, which are easily converted into casks for sugar; that the French islands grow much better timber for building, than can be had from America. The consumption of lumber in the foreign islands is very small in proportion to the demand for it in ours.

The question being asked, whether, should the prohibition continue which prevents the North Americans carrying on commerce with our sugar islands in their own bottoms, the islands might not without hazard, and upon moderate terms, be supplied with lumber and provisions? *apprehends they might, especially if the Bermudas is erected into a free port.*

23^d March 1784.

William Knox, Esq. being called in, and desired to give their Lordships his opinion upon the two following questions, viz. *

Whether if the whole, or any part of the United States, should prohibit the shipping of this country from loading in their ports with the produce of the said States, or should lay so high a tonnage duty upon British shipping as to amount to a prohibition, such a measure would not materially affect the navigation of this country to America, and prevent this country from being the entrepôt of the produce of the said States? and,

Whether in such case the commerce of this country would not materially suffer by being no longer the place where the subjects of the said States would make up their assortments of goods for the American markets? said, he *does not apprehend that a measure of that kind would be generally adopted by the States, as it*

* These two questions appear to have been framed by Mr. Atkinson.

would be so extremely prejudicial to their own interest, not by the southern States especially, who have very bulky commodities to export, and have but little shipping of their own, and this country is the best market or place of sale for a considerable part of their products, and the commodities which they want most, they can only have from this country. But if from resentment for not permitting their shipping to be received in our West India islands, or if by way of threat to this country, to induce us to receive their shipping, they should pass acts or resolves to prohibit intercourse with this country; he apprehends they would find it very difficult to enforce the execution of them; as even during the war, the commodities and manufactures of this country found means to get thither. Should they, however, find means of preventing it entirely, it certainly would be prejudicial to the commerce of this country.

At the end of the first day's examination, I gave an account of the regulations I had suggested, and Lord North had adopted and directed to be carried into execution, while he was Secretary of State, respecting our remaining territories in North America; when Lord
 Effingham

Effingham asked me, if it was not to be apprehended, that the restrictions I had proposed upon the grants of lands in Canada and Nova Scotia, would prevent the coming in of inhabitants to those Colonies? to which I answered, that my object was *to keep out the Republicans* of the United States, many of whom, I was sure, would soon be out of humour with their new Governments, and disposed to come under ours, but that I wished to have no *increase of such subjects* in our Colonies; and some of the Lords saying, there was no likelihood of that happening; I added, that if the plans I had formed, and the measures I had suggested, were fully executed and adhered to, I would risk my credit with their Lordships upon seeing, in the space of a dozen years, several of the United States anxiously desirous of being restored to the privileges of British subjects. A loud conversation immediately took place, which Lord Hawkesbury (then Mr. Jenkinson) put an end to by saying, they were got out of order, for those matters had nothing to do with the subject referred to them; and I was told I might withdraw.

No.

No. XIX.

Reasons for restoring the entire Province of South Carolina to the King's Peace, with Answers to the Objections made to it.

IT is objected, that by restoring the whole province to peace, the prohibitory law will lose its force over those parts which are in rebellion, as well as those which are in the possession of the King's troops, consequently their trading vessels will not be liable to capture by the King's ships, at least they will not be intitled to them after condemnation, which will take away the incitement of interest for watching them; and that the removal of the laws of the province will also be a hindrance to military operations, by subjecting the troops to the civil authority.

In answer to the first part of the objection it is to be observed, that the port of George Town is the only one in South Carolina not in possession of the King's troops, and its bar is so shallow that a single armed vessel stationed within it can obstruct all its trade. The next port to it in North Carolina (Cape Fair) is in our hands, and every one to the southward,
so

so that its utility to the rebels could not be great, even if it was left open; besides the laws of trade would be sufficient to prevent any foreign shipping coming into it by subjecting them to confiscation, and to prevent any going out without proper Custom-House clearances. Georgia is a case in point, for although Savannah only is occupied by the King's troops, and the whole province has been restored to peace, and a rebel force actually within it, no trade has been attempted from any of its other ports.

Whatever force there is in the other part of the objection, militates against itself. The object of the war is the recovery of the country by *reconciling the inhabitants*. The troops being under no controul of civil authority, plunder and oppress all indiscriminately, and no redress is to be had by the most loyal, more than the most rebellious; none, therefore, have encouragement to become loyal, and those who are so have resentment to urge them into rebellion: all accounts from Carolina agree in representing this to be the case at present. But the laws when in force will make a proper distinction; they will protect
the

the loyal subject from the rapacity of the soldier, because he can appeal to them for justice; while the disloyal must suffer without redress, because he dare not subject himself to their authority by claiming it. Hence will arise a strong motive for submission, as protection will certainly follow it,

But on the other hand, the advantages of restoring the whole province to peace are positive and great. The first is the removing all jealousy of our intentions to govern them by a military force. The second is the arming Government with the powers given by the laws for punishing rebellion or treason, by confiscating the estates of the perpetrators, and inflicting capital punishment on themselves, instead of the ridiculous ceremony of taking paroles, or treating as prisoners of war and exchanging them as such. All revolvers will be liable to lose their estates if they escape, and if taken, to lose them also and suffer an ignominious death. The revival of the militia laws will increase the military force for the defence of the province. The inhabitants cannot now be called out in arms, but subject to military command and discipline, which they

2

abhor,

abhor. Their own militia officers, and the authority given them by the laws of the province, are what they have been accustomed to obey, and they will readily serve under them again. Georgia could not have resisted the attacks made upon it since it was first recovered, if the militia laws had not been made of force by restoring the province to peace. But the greatest of all advantages remain to be mentioned; the calling an assembly. The part of the province within the posts, if members were only called from them, would be deemed a partial representation. The parts beyond them contain as loyal inhabitants as those within; for it was not the disposition of the people, but the convenience of communication with Charles Town, that determined Lord Rawdon in placing his posts. If there be not a rebel force to prevent the loyal inhabitants from assembling, they will generally elect representatives, and none will be elected or would come if they were elected, except Loyalists; for none else will obey the King's writ, or expose themselves to the operation of the laws by coming to Charles Town. If none come, the charge of a partial representative will be obviated, and if any come they will

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be

be loyal ; for both the electors and elected, by obeying the King's writ, renounce independence.

The other advantages respecting trade and police are so obvious, that they need not be pointed out.

No. XX.

Stoneland, Aug. 7th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I HOPE *New Ireland* continues to employ your thoughts : the more I think of * Oliver, for governor, the more I like him. The more difficult task will be to look forward to the proper system of government, for the whole of that immense continent. I wish you could pass two or three days here, that we might endeavour to prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet. I dread nothing so much as the hurrying out of this war, before we are prepared for peace.

GEO. GERMAINE.

* Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay.

No. XXI.

Aug. 11th, 1780.

*THE King approves of the plan:** you will be so good to prepare what is proper for the Board of Trade. He likes Oliver for governor, so it may be offered him. He approves of Leonard for Chief Justice.

GEO. GERMAINE.

No. XXII.

Drayton, Jan. 1st, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I RETURN you the letters, extracts, &c. What you say to *** is so well connected with what he will have already received, that it must convince those who may read the correspondence, *that we have ever had in view a settlement in the Chesapeake, and have never altered our opinion about it.* * * * * *

* * * * *

I return you many thanks for the dispatch you

* For the New Province to be called New Ireland,
have

have given to so much business in so short a time, and for the clear and able manner in which you have executed it.

GEO. GERMAINE.

No. XXIII.

Pall-Mall, Nov. 19th, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I AM obliged to you for the Canada *precis*. I have now all the information I want. I am greatly concerned at the loss you have had; I hope you will not stay at home and give way to melancholy ideas; if your family should have the misfortune to lose you, *I am sure your services entitle them to the favor of Government.*

I am,

Very sincerely, your's,

GEO. GERMAINE.

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