

MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT 1707-67: GENEALOGY AND INFLUENCE OF AN EARLY ECONOMIST AND 'SPIN-DOCTOR'

Robert J. Bennett

Malachy Postlethwayt is viewed as one of the leading economists before Adam Smith, and has been recognised as influential on Prime Ministers. His writings helped American revolutionaries justify attacks on Britain's 'unfair taxes', and laid foundations for chambers of commerce. His *Universal Dictionary of Commerce* was his major work, published in parts over 1751-5, going through four editions up to 1774.¹ This was an encyclopaedia of economic information with long sections explaining elements of economic theory. Although parts derived from earlier writers, especially Jacques Savary and Richard Cantillon, Malachy expanded and clarified key aspects of how the theory applied to Britain's economic and political priorities of the time. It became a major source for intellectual debate and public policy, especially when supplemented by his numerous other works. His contribution is now seen as most important in modernising how public debt should be financed; demonstrating the importance of widening the tax base; arguing for the expansion of the African and Atlantic trade; removing restrictions on open trade with the colonies and Ireland; and improving the use made of business expertise in treaty negotiations and tax legislation.²

Malachy is included in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) and *Biographical Dictionary of British Economists* (BDBE), as is his brother James who was also prominent. Yet their roots have been unknown; and their correspondence neglected. This brief account starts to fill the gap in genealogy, and shows how Malachy's influence evolved. It indicates some of the sources that can be used to trace the activities of middling merchant families.

The most basic of Postlethwayt's genealogy proves to be very accessible in the IGI, but is mis-keyed as Postlethwart. Fuzzy searches do not reveal this, and so he has been missed for many years. However, an IGI search on 'Malachy' quickly reveals the only possibility; here is a route for anyone searching for an unusual first name where all else fails. He is correctly shown in the recently re-keyed LMA-Ancestry database. The parish register of St. Dunstan Stepney gives the full record as bapt. 25 May 1707, 20 days old; born 5 May, son of John, victualler of Limehouse, and Rebecca. Brother James was bapt. 20 May 1711, age 22 days. Malachy was unmarried and died 'suddenly', 'as he always wished', 13 September 1767, buried on 17th at St. Luke Old St. He made Mrs. Catherine Johnson sole beneficiary and executrix, 'for her remarkable fidelity in the management of my house and all affairs entrusted to her care for about thirteen years', referred to as a spinster in the probate. His brother James died 6 September 1761 and was buried on 11th at St. Andrew Holborn, with his wife Ann his sole beneficiary and executrix; a Bank of England will shows he possessed £2800 of 4% annuities, whilst Malachy's will mentions no specific assets, which may suggest different degrees of financial success during their lives.³

His father John was referred to as a victualler 1707-16 in the parish registers, and on his burial 22 January 1729/30; but in the records of his son James he was called a wine merchant in 1729, and 'late corn factor' in 1734. The Vintners Company records indicate the means by which he became established and his links to Northern England: 'apprenticed 7 April 1685, John Postlethwaite, son of Thomas of Satterthwaite Lancs., shoemaker, to Daniel Rawlinson'; admitted a freeman 5 October

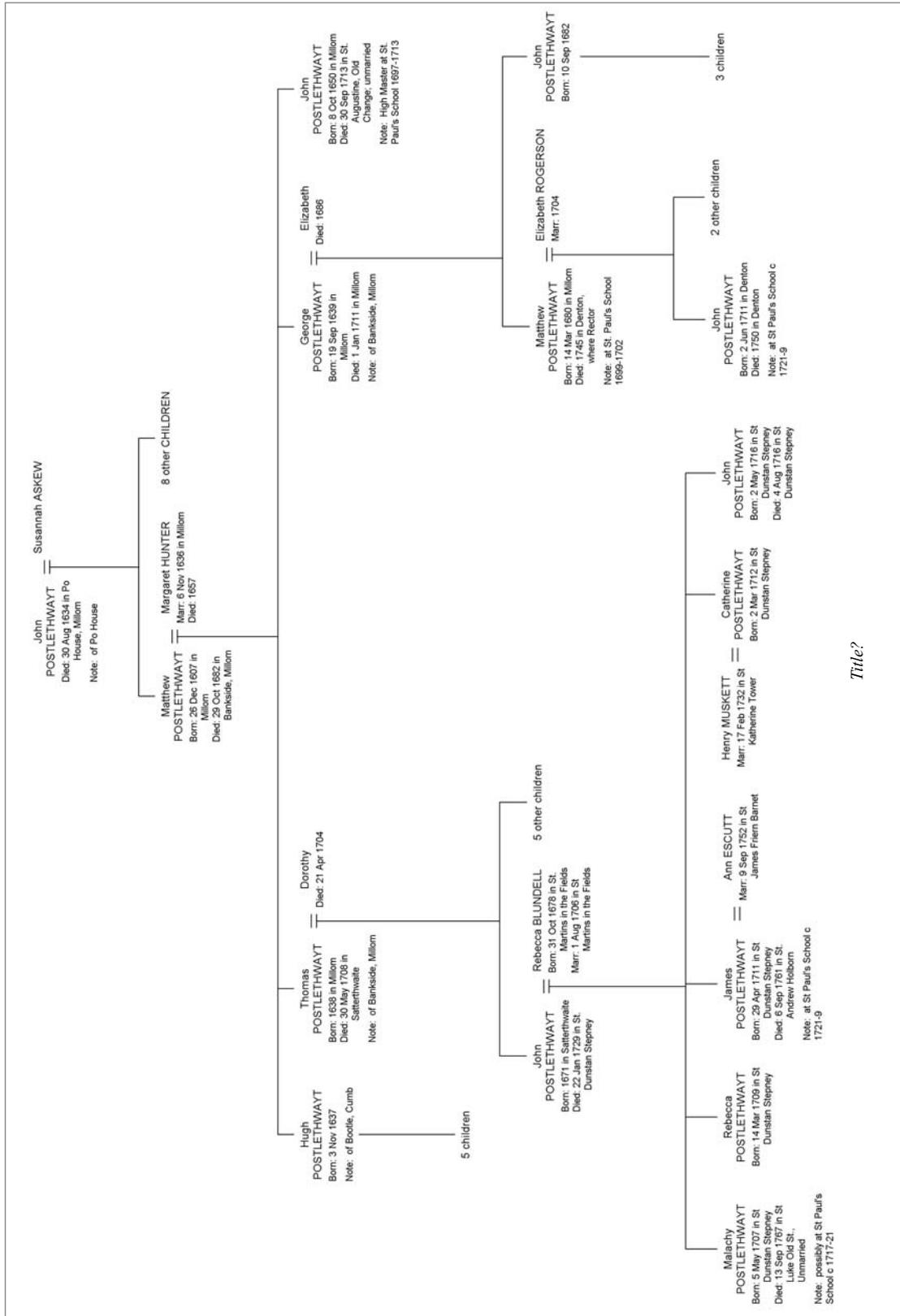
1693.⁴ This Daniel Rawlinson was prominent in the City, the son of Daniel 1614-79 (of Graythwaite Lancs., educated at Hawkshead School, master of the Vintners 1678-9, who kept the elegant Mitre tavern); his brother Thomas Rawlinson became Lord Mayor 1705-6.⁵ Satterthwaite and Graythwaite are small hamlets within Hawkshead parish. The likely lineage to Mathew Postlethwayt, long-established at Bankside and Po House Millom, is shown in the tree.⁶ This is conjectural since the parish records are fragmentary for this period; an alternative line for Thomas through John Postlethwayt m. Mary Sands at Satterthwaite 5 November 1739 would link to Matthew's line one or two generations earlier. The connection to John Postlethwayt, high master of St. Paul's School 1697-1713, and the two sons of his brother George who attended St. Paul's, has been hypothesised before; but the connection to Malachy has been elusive.⁷ The tree includes the St. Paul's connections.

This gives us Malachy's immediate lineage and possible earlier ancestry, but an important question is how he became so influential. His books date from 1744 onwards, and mainly the 1750s. He was already close to senior politicians in the 1730s, well before these books. How did the son of a middling merchant become a close advisor to prime ministers who would normally draw on the offspring of the aristocracy? His neglected correspondence tells us the story.

Malachy seems to have been first drawn on by Robert Walpole as prime minister. In mid 1732 Walpole was considering introducing general excise taxes, starting with tobacco. The opposition got wind of the consultations and promoted an outburst of pamphlets. Walpole formally introduced the tobacco tax proposal on 7 March 1733/4, when a committee of the whole House of Commons was set up to consider 'the better security of revenues'. The House carried the proposal for a committee by a majority of 61. However, the clamour of protests at the readings of the Bill in April, and subsequent votes on postponements and adjournments, reduced Walpole's majority at each stage. He withdrew the scheme on 12 June 1733 when he looked certain to lose.⁸

Walpole responded with a barrage of his own propaganda to rebut opposition claims. He used several writers to help draft these responses. Malachy's role as one of these is clear from a letter to Walpole in late 1733. He noted that his help to Walpole had 'made several of my friends, on whom I had dependence, my enemies, by engaging in the excise controversy. ... Though I concealed as much as possible, [it] has unluckily come to light'. He hoped that Walpole could now help since 'it was from [your] noble spirit of gratitude and good will towards your friends, confessed by all, that I was induced to risk so much time and money in your honour's service: on a presumption that as my writings were not the lowest that have appeared, so I never doubted but I should be equally rewarded with many of my fellow-labourers. ... I continue labouring in your service, though at the greatest expense of time and money. ... This I presume will indicate how unwilling I am to decline being of service to your honour, though hitherto I have been so great a sufferer'.⁹ He received payment, since in June 1734 he was still helping Walpole, reminding him to pay for 'the 3000 pamphlets you were pleased to order me to send to the Post Office'.¹⁰ Walpole was renowned for using the Post Office to send out propaganda, while the opposition's pamphlets were mysteriously mis-delivered or delayed.

Malachy was thus both a writer and organiser for Walpole. He also drafted a standard letter to be used by MPs to send to their local mayors in 1733 'defending the excise' scheme.¹¹ In 1734 he drafted 'an answer to the piece called *Politics on Both Sides etc.*; which I hope will meet with your honour's approbation and be a fresh testimony of my laborious endeavours to recommend myself effectively to your favour and regard'; this was probably *The Ministry and Government of Great Britain Vindicated*, of July 1734.¹² The other main pamphlets directly linked with Malachy emanated from his draft, 'the popular point of bribery and corruption'; this 'I hope to make a popular piece, in vindication of the whole of your honour's administration; intending to address it in the most tender and pathetic manner to the clergy and freeholders etc.'¹³ It was used in Walpole's *The thoughts of an impartial man upon the present temper of the nation; offer'd to the consideration*



Title?

of the freeholders of Great-Britain (1733), and was probably also developed as *A vindication of the conduct of the ministry, in the scheme of the excise on wine and tobacco etc.* (1734).¹⁴ Coxe also attributes to Malachy the pamphlet *Some general considerations concerning the alteration and improvement of public revenues* (14 March 1733/4).¹⁵

Malachy was a young man at the start of the excise affair, but was sufficiently close to Walpole by 1733 to draw attention to his brother's lack of 'preferment'. In 1735 he reminded Walpole that he was 'pleased to say you would recommend my brother as secretary to Mr. Fawkener or his embassy'; he enclosed a letter from James who referred to 'a promise I have received from Sir Robert Walpole of speaking to you [Fawkener] in my favour'.¹⁶ Malachy later claimed to have acted for 12 years as one of Walpole's advisors; i.e. 1732-44. The main subsequent items in Walpole's correspondence are briefings in 1739 on Honduras, 'manifesting my inviolable attachment to your service and interests'. He noted its benefits for the logwood trade, with harbours that were better than Jamaica for interception of the Spanish fleet. He also recommended a Captain Gerald of Carolina, currently in Britain, who had been a privateer in Queen Anne's reign and could mount an expedition against Spain to capture Honduras.¹⁷

It is clear that Malachy became what we would now call one of Walpole's spin-doctors. His father's merchant networks may have helped make the introductions, through the Rawlinsons. Certainly suppliers to the Navy and chartered companies offered routes for trust and connection between relatively humble merchants and senior government administrators, as shown in Pepys' diary; but there is no evidence of this for his father. Also, although Malachy's grandfather, James Blundell and partner James Maddey were minor naval suppliers of tools, knives and harnesses as well as dealing in naval scrap,¹⁸ they were never major contractors.

Hence, it is most likely that introduction to Walpole was through school and apprenticeship. We have no definite evidence of Malachy's

schooling; but brother James was a pupil at St. Paul's c. 1721-29, admitted to Trinity College Cambridge 25 June 1729, scholar 1730, leaving in 1732 without graduating, but admitted to the Middle Temple 7 October 1734.¹⁹ It has been conjectured that Malachy was also a pupil, which seems a fair assessment, but could have only covered c.1717-21.²⁰ High masters, such as probable relative John Postlethwayt, were influential on placing pupils in senior positions.

Whatever the role of the school, for Malachy the direct entrée to Walpole was probably through his apprenticeship: 'Malachy, father John, to Charles Snell, citizen and writing master for £20, 9 December 1721'.²¹ Snell was to writing and accountancy what Mrs. Beeton became to cookery. Over 1694-1733 he produced the standard guides to how merchants and clerks should write in a 'clear round hand', and how estate and merchant accounts should be recorded.²² There were many other prominent writing masters of this period, several of whom were strongly connected with St. Paul's School. But Snell was particularly noteworthy for his use of pamphlets and the press; a pamphlet exchange in 1720-1 was particularly prominent, concerning false accounts of Jacob Sawbridge & Co. during the South Sea Bubble.²³ Snell's apprentices were thus a natural source for Walpole, who needed the skills of persuasive writing and technical accounting to rebut attacks on the excise tax: skills that Malachy certainly possessed. Snell may also have introduced Malachy to the Society of Antiquaries, where he was elected a fellow in March 1734/5 (one year after Snell's death) at the remarkable age of only 27. Perhaps the career of writer was chosen because all his life Malachy was of 'very tender and weak constitution';²⁴ even aged 42 in 1749 he was 'greatly indisposed'.²⁵

But Malachy's early successes may have been his undoing. Walpole fell in 1742. He was hated by the tobacco merchants, and many of the Tory hierarchy; who would have ostracised Malachy. However, Malachy managed to secure a position with the Royal African Company in 1743 when the two arbiters in a billing dispute with the Company called on him to act as an umpire. Malachy's accounting skills were used to find a

resolution, made on 4 November.²⁶ The Company seemed pleased with this, since he was elected a member of the Court of Assistants (the governing board) a few weeks later on 17 January 1744/5. This should have been a potentially lucrative position.

However, this was a difficult time for the African Company, which was being pursued by creditors and under strong political challenge. Indeed it lost the battle and was reconstituted by a new Act in 1750. From 1744 its minutes were dominated by making its case to parliament and staving off insolvency. Malachy attended the Court almost continuously January-June 1744, but not again until 1 April 1745. This Court meeting was a major one where a budget for the forts in Africa, and a *Plan* to deal with creditors, were presented; this was to lead to debt pay-downs and expansion of 'subscribers'. Malachy's appearance for this meeting indicates that he was largely responsible for the *Plan*: three months later, in July 1745, 'the Court having been well apprised of the many great services done this company by Mr. Malachy Postlethwayt ... resolved that he be paid for such his said services the sum of £200'.²⁷

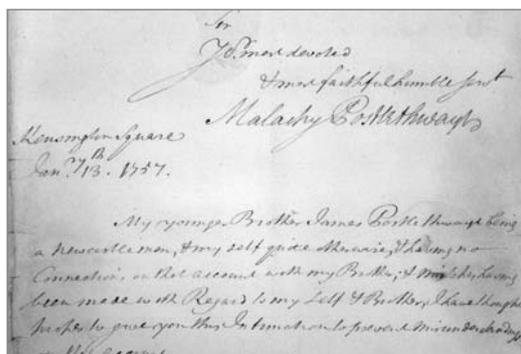
It is probable that Malachy also helped prepare other elements of the Company's case, since in December 1744 his first book appeared, which justified the African trade in traditional terms: based on government grants to maintain 'factories' (warehouses) and forts, and providing slaves to the American plantations.²⁸ This was clearly not specifically sponsored by the Company since it went far beyond a narrow case. Rather his involvement informed his publishing, which was developed independently, like Snell. But by 1746 he was again without office. He sought re-election to the Court in 1746-8, and sent new writings and 'proposals for paying off the Company's debts and the better carrying out of their affairs'. The secretary and members of the Court held private meetings with him, but this led to no engagement or payment.²⁹

However, from about 1747 an opportunity opened to advise Henry Pelham as prime minister. Pelham had relied heavily of Walpole during the transition years 1742-44 and it was natural for Malachy to

be taken on as an expert advisor when Pelham's ministry became secure. This was another period of intense pamphleteering, and Malachy may have helped Pelham rebut opposition to his 1749 Debt Act, 1751 Tobacco Act (which achieved what Walpole had sought from excise reforms), and unsuccessful efforts to reduce export bounties. There is considerable symmetry between Pelham's Debt Act, which converted national debt into Bank of England annuities, and Malachy's suggestions for refinancing the African Company's debt. It is also for this period that James Postlethwayt's accounts for government finance provide the only reliable source of information (rather than government minutes)³⁰, so it is likely that he assisted his brother and also had access to Pelham's papers. We cannot be sure of Malachy's precise support to Pelham, but he later stated in a letter to the Elder Pitt that he gave 'important services' that ceased when he fell into disagreement with Pelham over access to documents in compiling his *Dictionary* (i.e. in c.1750-1). He then seems to have lost direct influence on prime ministers and focused on his writings. His overtures to Pitt during 1757-9 quote 12 years service for Walpole and help to Pelham; he also sent Pitt a copy of his newly-published *Great Britain's true system* of 1757, as well as a plan for foreign alliances to increase trade. Pitt sent 'an obliging verbal message' through Malachy's servant. Malachy responded with a 'sketch ... [of] heads of agreement' so that he could 'reserve myself in hopes of a ministry for whom my success would be more agreeable'.³¹ But Pitt had not taken up the offer by 1759, since a letter of recommendation from William Beckford, sent by Malachy, states that he could 'be of great service to your administration ... and will do with fidelity';³² and there is no further correspondence. He also made unsuccessful approaches to the Duke of Newcastle in 1762-3 concerning the terms of peace with France.³³

Some influence revived under the Marquis of Rockingham, during his brief prime ministership 1765-6. Malachy was one of a series of 'dissertationers' who provided expert briefings in 1766 supporting Stamp Act repeal. Although the impact is unknown, this was another occasion when a prime minister used Postlethwayt's advice.³⁴

However, it would appear that brother James Postlethwayt became closer to Rockingham than Malachy. James was close enough in 1759 to inform him that Rockingham's mother and sister both needed money, and to recommend a replacement for a functionary in Rockingham's service.³⁵ James was on the rise, elected FRS in 1754, and by early 1755 had become a trusted intermediary for Lord Hardwicke, negotiating on his behalf a loan of £20,000 through a friend of John Waple (Accountant General at Chancery), for which he enlisted the support of Charles Yorke, Hardwicke's son. At this point he seems to have been a personal clerk or secretary for Hardwicke; 'my Lord H. has left the [loan] matter entirely to me, he having set out for Yorkshire this morning, I am to follow him tomorrow'.³⁶ Similarly he appears to have become a trusted advisor to the Duke of Newcastle, since after his death James' wife, Ann, wrote to the Duchess of Newcastle assuring her that all the Duke's personal 'papers, letters, books etc.' in James' possession would be returned, and 'no eye shall inspect any one of them'; 'I received the strictest orders from my dying husband to act with the greatest care and secrecy in everything which concerned my Lord Duke'.³⁷ James received a desirable position as one of four chief clerks at the Treasury in July 1755 (which he held until his death), which must have been the result of Hardwicke's or Newcastle's patronage.³⁸



Postlethwayt signature (TNA PRO 30/8/53, f.35).

Political spin-doctors are vulnerable. Malachy's patron Robert Walpole died 1745, and Pelham in 1754. James became closer to the new men: Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Rockingham. Malachy observed in 1757 that 'my younger

brother James Postlethwayt being a Newcastle man, and myself quite otherwise' resulted in a rift: now 'having no connection on that account with my brother'.³⁹ Newcastle always resented Pelham; they had different followings, and he had initially opposed the Debt Act of 1749 which Malachy may have helped design.

James also became more prosperous, whilst Malachy had continual financial difficulties. Malachy was unlucky to join the African Company at a point when it could offer little benefit. He was involved with an apothecary Robert Taylor of Leadenhall St. in 1737 in a medical business with 'many patients', for which Malachy received £150 as a deposit from another apothecary John Shaw of Bread St. Shaw sued to reclaim his deposit after Taylor's death when the venture collapsed.⁴⁰ In 1748 Malachy was granted an exclusive Act for 14 years (i.e. a patent) for casting iron similar to forged iron, using coal and salts; but this did not bear fruit.⁴¹ He also invested in the 1740s in a lead smelting enterprise in the North of England, but it turned out he had been tricked by advisers who were unscrupulous 'chemical jugglers' and 'pretenders'.⁴² In 1750 and 1751 he advertised an academy to train young gentlemen to become merchants, based at Waterside, Hemel Hempstead, jointly with John Stirling DD (Vicar of Great Gaddesden) and James Royston (City wine merchant). It seems to have failed to take off.⁴³ In 1756 Malachy was in dispute with his printers over his *Dictionary*. He had agreed with the London bookseller brothers John and Paul Knapton that he would receive £1600. He did receive advances, but there was dispute when the printers sought to reclaim expenses.⁴⁴ It went into a second edition in 1759, but in 1765 he was forced to sell the copyright; it was subsequently divided into shares and sold on, the third and fourth editions (of 1766 and 1774) yielding him and his estate no reward.⁴⁵

Malachy had to press for payments from Walpole, and in 1757 claimed that he had not been paid by Pelham: 'being so ill treated for important services I have attempted to do the nation through the last ministry, that I have not been paid my expenses and am out of pocket to this day'. He was also then 'in indifferent state of health'.⁴⁶ He

felt aggrieved that his writings had not provided him with a 'patron, government post or other reward'; in France the government had rewarded similar authors.⁴⁷ He died relatively poor and felt unrewarded, but gained fame beyond a mere political advisor through his works. His *Dictionary* was widely used and helped develop and popularise the state of economic knowledge of the time. His ideas helped modernise the finance of public debt. He had profound influences on government policy, American revolutionaries, and forms of business representation. His experiences tell us a lot about the struggles of those on the fringe of prominent men of this period.

Notes

1. Postlethwayt (1751-5) *Universal Dictionary of trade and commerce; translated from the French of ... Monsieur Savary ... with large additions and improvements.*
2. See Johnson, E. A. J. (1937) *Predecessors of Adam Smith: The growth of British economic thought* (London: P. S. King); Bennett, R. J. (2011) *The history of chambers of commerce 1760-2011* (Oxford University Press).
3. Malachy will PROB 11/932, 4 March 1767/8, proved 14 Sept. 1767, witnessed Thomas West, Sarah Jones; *Lond. Mag.* Sept. 1767. James, will PROB 11/869 1 June 1760, proved 7 Sept. 1761; Bank of England will, F 3081 no. 59. James m. Ann Escutt, of St. Antolin Watling St., at St James Friern Barnet 9 Sept 1752; resident with her father, Budge Row; *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1752.
4. Guildhall Ms 15220/2 and 15212.
5. *Pepys Diary*, X p. 349; British History Online, *Rulers of London*.
6. I am grateful for cross checking these searches by Reg Postlethwaite of the Cumbria FHS. The tree expands on Hartshorne, A. (1888) The Postlethways of Millom, *Trans. Cumb. & West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, 10, 244-252.
7. See e.g. Noble, M. R. (1818) *The lines of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Ms., Getty Centre, Santa Monica; copy at SAL; who 'makes no doubt Malachy was another nephew of John Postlethwayt' of St. Paul's but gives no evidence.
8. Turner, R. (1927) The Excise Scheme of 1733, *Eng. Hist. J.*, 42, pp. 34-57; Langford, P. (1975), *The Excise Tax crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); Price, J. M. (1983) The excise affair: the administrative and colonial dimensions of a parliamentary crisis, pp. 257-321 in S.B. Baxter (ed.), *England's rise to greatness, 1660-1763* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
9. Postlethwayt (Lothbury) to Walpole 1 Nov 1733, Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2069, Cambridge University Library.
10. Postlethwayt to Walpole 10 June 1734, Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2202.
11. Postlethwayt to Walpole 1733, 'Draft of 'A letter to the mayor of ____ by a MP' defending excise'; Cholmondeley Ch(H) 80/181/20/22.
12. Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2202; Plumb, J. H. (1960) *Sir Robert Walpole* (Allen Lane), p. 314.
13. Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2069.
14. Both attributed to Walpole, but appear to have been reworked from Postlethwayt's drafts. Listing of pamphlets for and against Walpole in 1733-4: Turner, (1927), pp. 55-7, and Price (1983), p. 304.
15. Coxe, W. (1798) *Memoirs of Robert Walpole*, vol. 1, p. 378.
16. Postlethwayt to Walpole, 1 Nov 1733, 4 Aug 1735, Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2459; enclosing letter from James, Ch(H) 1, 3316; Everard Fawkener was appointed ambassador to Constantinople in Aug 1735.
17. Postlethwayt to Walpole 31 July and 10 Aug 1739, Cholmondeley Ch(H) 1, 2909; Walpole indeed subsequently encouraged British interlopers in Honduras.
18. Navy Victualling Board ledgers; e.g. TNA ADM 20/109, April 14 1712; and minutes ADM 111, 7 June 1701, 28 April 1710.
19. *Registers of St. Paul's School 1509-1748*, which are incomplete and do not give full records; *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* (father John, wine merchant); *Middle Temple Admissions Register* (father John, late of College Hill, corn factor)
20. Noted under James: *Registers of St. Paul's School 1509-1748*.
21. IR/1/10/71.
22. BL catalogue; Snell 1667-1733, the Golden Pen, Foster Lane; obit. *London Mag.* Jan. 1733, pp. 26, 45.
23. See Heal, A. (1931) *The English writing-masters 1570-1800: A biographical dictionary* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 102-4; also DNB.
24. As he states in *Great Britain's True System* (1757), preface p. xl.

25. Letter to 12 December, re. assault on sister Catherine by husband Henry Musket: LMA MJ/SP/1749/12/36.
26. Dispute with John Wyatt; Royal African Company, Court minutes 15 Dec 1743, TNA T70/95.
27. Royal African Company, attendance lists, and Court minute 23 July 1746, T70/96.
28. Postlethwayt (1744) *The importance of effectually supporting the Royal African Company ...*; republished as *The African trade: The great pillar and support of the British plantation trade in America* (1745).
29. Royal African Company, Court minute, 11 Dec 1746, T70/96; and letterbook, 27 Nov, 11 Dec 1746, 8 March 1748/9, T70/49.
30. Coxe, W. (1829) *Memoirs of the administration of Henry Pelham* (Longman, London), vol. 2, pp. 71-3 see also DNB and BDBE for James, and his *History of Revenue*.
31. Postlethwayt to Pitt, 10 and 13 Jan 1757/8; TNA PRO 30/8/53 f. 28-35; f. 34-5 summarises his earlier career.
32. Postlethwayt to Pitt, 16 March 1759/60; PRO 30/8/53 f. 26-7. Beckford was a powerful WI merchant and City figure linked to pamphlet campaigns in 1755 supporting Pitt: Sutherland, L., *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 46 (1960) pp. 151-4.
33. Postlethwayt to Newcastle: 'The Sequel: The considerations upon measures necessary to be taken by the court of Great Britain to obtain a very good and durable peace', c. 1762; BL Add. Ms. 33053 f. 323-30.
34. Sheffield Archives WWM/R/6/ f.55; miscellaneous writings: 'Mr Postlethwayt's schemes'.
35. James Postlethwayt to Rockingham, 30 Oct 1759; WWM/R/1/153.
36. James Postlethwayt to Charles Yorke, 14 May 1755; BL Add. Ms. 35634 f. 157.
37. Ann Postlethwayt to the Duchess of Newcastle 9 September 1761; BL Add. Ms. 33067 f. 309, then with her father at Budge Row; she states that James 'might have ...made better provision for me and my child'; it has not been possible to trace this birth, though the burial of Ann at St. Bartholomew the Great, in the school churchyard, 23 Jan 1761/2 may be this offspring or Ann herself.
38. Treasury minutes, 31 Jul 1759: TNA T29/33.
39. Malachy Postlethwayt to Pitt, 13 Jan 1757/8; TNA PRO 30/8/53 f. 35.
40. Depositions 3 July and 30 Oct 1739; TNA C11/2462/45.
41. Lord Justices in Council 25 Aug 1748; TNA SP 54/39 item 94, f. 209-10; see also BL 103.i.39.
42. *Universal Dictionary*, 1751, I, p. 487.
43. Advertised in Postlethwayt, *The Merchant's Public Counting House*, 1st and 2nd editions of 1750 and 1751.
44. Depositions of 25 April 1756; TNA C12/2353/64.
45. Assignment of copyright, 22 Oct 1765; BL Add. Ms. 38730 p. 93, f. 134; Thomas Lowndes, prominent in the Treasury, became a major holder.
46. Malachy Postlethwayt to Pitt, 10 Jan 1757/8; TNA PRO 30/8/53 f. 32.
47. Postlethwayt (1757) *Great Britain's True System* (1759 ed.), entry on 'Sea British'; Johnson (1937), pp. 186-7.

Robert Bennett MA PhD FBA

Department of Geography, University of Cambridge,
CB2 3EN. Email: rjb7@cam.ac.uk
