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WAYS and MEANS*

To RAISE the

Value of *LAND*, &c.

Price One Shilling.

WAYS and MEANS

To RAISE the

Value of LAND:

OR, THE

Landlord's COMPANION:

WITH

Political Discourses on the LAND-TAX, WAR, and other SUBJECTS,

Occasionally intermixed.

*Homines autem hominum causâ generati sunt,
Ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possunt.*

M. T. Cicero de Officiis, l. 1.

By WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS in Warwick-Lane.

1736.

T O H I S

GRACE the Duke
of *Newcastle,*

One of His MAJESTY'S
Principal Secretaries of
State.

My LORD,

THE Subjects of the
following Sheets
being of the highest Im-
portance to this Nation,
I hope

DEDICATION.

I hope *Your Grace* will take them under Your Patronage: Herein Your candid and generous Spirit will have great Room to display itself.

As there is not any *English* Nobleman, who has contributed more to the present Establishment of the State, than Your Grace, I doubt not but the Landed Interest, (which we have treated of in the best Manner we could,) some of the chief Supports of it, will meet with Your Favour.

I flat-

DEDICATION.

I flatter myself that Your *known Influence and Abilities in the British Senate* will be exerted in serving the *English Landholders*: Such an Exercise of Your Power will be an agreeable Continuance of Your Kindness to the Publick.

From Fobston, in *I am,*
Pembrokeshire
1735.

Your GRACE's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

WHEN any Branch of Trade has been declining, some generous Spirited Man or other, or some *Hireling Writer*, has commonly endeavoured to restore it to its former Prosperity.

When the Interest of our Landed Men is under Distress, it seldom meets with the same good Fortune. What to impute it to may, perhaps, be too tender a Point for (a) some Sort of pru-

(a) Those who are afraid of mentioning a Publick Fault, through a Fear of offending the Publick.

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dent Men to discover; however, I will venture to say, (as Truth cannot give any *just* Offence,) it is to an Ignorance of our Constitution and Landed Interest, or to Gentlemen of Judgment suffering Faction, or Abstruse and Curious, more than (a) Practical Parts of Science to ingross their Time. The first Sort of Knowledge capacitates the Mind to judge of Things with more Depth and Accuracy, than it could otherwise. But what *Seneca* said of the Systems in *The Art of Reasoning*, That they ought to be looked into, but not constantly followed, is properly applicable to such Pursuits. I wish that those, who have a *Capacity* to serve their Country, may pass

(a) All the Hints and Discourses I have seen concerning the Landed Interest, are false Lights.

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just Reflections on such Differences. Our young Gentlemen, who delight in Reading and Meditation, commonly employ themselves in Mathematicks and Philosophy; when they arrive at Manhood, the Pleasure, which Custom has caused, hood-winks them from observing those Methods and Studies, which would enable them to do *social* Acts of Kindness to their *Countrymen*. Searching after, and laying down *Practical Plans* for the Good of their Brethren, would be a happier Way of giving an Account of those Talents and Leisure Providence blesses them with. It would rejoice me more to benefit the Community I am a Member of, than to know all the Propositions and Problems of *Lock* and *Newton*.

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The PREFACE.

In this Book I have endeavoured to advance the Interest of our Landholders, and have shewn the Necessity of administering Relief to them. I have not avoided Labour in weighing and revolving the several Positions therein; the Benefit of *Conversation, Observation and Reading*, according to my Capacity, has not been wanting. It having been my Opinion, that a general Knowledge of Trade is conducive to a right Understanding of their Interest, I have endeavoured to be tolerably well versed in it, at least so far as was proper for the present Occasion.

The Knowledge of National Interests and Trade is not acquired easily, even by Men of good Judgments. It is not sufficient

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ficient to draw sound Consequences from a few Premisses, (which is only necessary in most speculative Things). There must be an extensive Acquaintance *Pro and Con.* with a Multitude of Particulars, *an accurate* Inspection of Conveniences and Inconveniences; otherwise *imprudent Resolutions* will be often formed.

An over great Regard for Men of Learning, and (if we believe some,) a natural Precipitancy of Judgment, (which is owing to the same Sort of Spirits which give *Englishmen* the Advantage of *uncommon* Courage); I say these two Things make us think often too well of what some Men of Learning have wrote on Trade.

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Men of this Complection do not often deceive us, for deceiving sake, but because they are deceived. A certain *Prelate* said, that some Men are thought to write well on any Subject they undertake, because they are able to write well on some other Things. All Persons write and talk best about those Affairs they have the greatest Intimacy with: And, in my Judgment, the compleat Knowledge of Trade, &c. requires as much Labour and Attention as *any* of the Arts and Sciences.

The Profundity of Philosophy may be bewildred in the Cunning and By-Paths of Business. As there is certainly so much Difficulty in Things of this Kind, pardon me, (my Reader) in saying

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ing, you ought to have some of the like Skill before you condemn what is herein advanced; if not, in *some* of your Censures, you will judge no better than a blind Man can of Colours. I frankly own several of my first and second Thoughts have been wrongly grounded, till reiterated Reflection has set them right.

If there are yet Errors in this Performance, I wish they may meet with the same happy Fate. Oh glorious Truth, thou ought'st always to prevail! But here is the Misfortune; a Philosopher says Truth (especially in Political and National Affairs,) lies in a deep Well, and is hard to be come at. The various Degrees of Plausibility, and Shews of Truth on both Sides, in Parliamentary Affairs,

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fairs, encourage a great Diffidence in judging of Things of a National Concern. *Des Cartes* in his Treatise *De Methodo*, (joined to his other Works,) is very Fond of Distrust in Judgment, as an extraordinary Qualification towards true Reasoning. I think it is an excellent Book for such an Art; but I cannot say I approve of that Rule *so eminently* as he does.

The Corn Affair being the Subject of the most Importance to the Generality of Landlords and Tenants, I have studied it with the utmost Assiduity and Exactness I could, and hope it will not be liable to many well grounded Objections: There being no Probability of advancing the Cattle Trade much, for Reasons hereafter assigned. I have thrown to-

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gether only a few cursory Reflections concerning it.

The Reflections herein on War, Treaties, Money, Taxes, &c. are, I hope, consonant to Reason; I trust all impartial Men will think them so.

It is not possible but some of our Positions will give Offence to some, who seek their particular Interest, preferably to the general Good of the Nation. If (a) Objections are raised by such, they will have but little Weight with those who examine Things with Penetration and Accuracy.

All that I have to observe farther is, that if the *Grecians* did

(a) In all Political Debates, it is easy to talk much on any Side.

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not act wrongly in favouring Authors, who (a) endeavoured to contribute to the Prosperity of their Country, I flatter myself, that these Sheets will meet with the Indulgence of my Countrymen.

(a) This was Candour and Greatness of Nature, worthy of the Imitation of all Nations.

WAYS

WAYS and MEANS To RAISE the Value of LAND, &c.

CHAP. I.

Considerations on the Reasonableness and Necessity of Advancing the Farming Interest; particularly the Corn Trade.

THE Interest of our *British* Landholders has been declining several Years last past. It has been a general Observation, that Rents have been sinking, and Tenants unable to make as good Payments as formerly, even in Counties where there is the greatest Circulation of Money, the Maritime ones, and those near the capital Cities of the Kingdom.

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As this is too well known to be their Case, they deserve the Attention and Favour of our Legislature: It is proper they should make a tolerable Interest of their Money, as well as Adventurers in other Busineses; which few of them do, who have not enjoyed their Bargains (a) Twenty Years, or a longer Time.

Though Grain has born a good Price lately, it has not been *high enough* for such Purposes, nor for making them Satisfaction for their Loss in the Years preceding this Year and the last. On the Supposition that Barley, Pease and Oats had sold as dear as Wheat (I mean in Proportion) they would have been now in a tolerable Condition; but the Case has been otherwise; the Price of those Grains this Year and last has been too low: Before they *can pay their Rents, &c.* (which are generally high) Wheat of midling Goodness ought, I think, to sell for about Four Shillings and Three-pence *per Winchester*, not in a few Places, but throughout the Kingdom. Barley for Half a Crown, Pease Two Shillings and Three-pence, and Oats Eighteen-pence *per Winchester*. I know in former Times less Prices were sufficient; but as Circumstances alter, the same Thing is altered. Let it not be thought there is no Necessity to support and add to the present

(a) Lands are much dearer now.

Prices

[3]

Prices of Grain, because Wheat has been so high, and higher in some of the principal Cities of the Kingdom; for the other Grains have generally been sold for much lower Prices than the above, (for much of them has not been exported). And Wheat this Year and last never mounted (a) yet, in some of the (b) extreme Parts of the Kingdom, to above Three Shillings and Eight-pence *per Winchester*; Barley is now sold in the West of *England* for Two Shillings *per Winchester* [Bushel]. It has been *less* there this Year, and very low *in other Places*. Prices are often much higher fifty Miles round *London* than elsewhere; which induces several great Men to think the Countrymen live better than they really do. Country Measures (which are frequently larger than the *Winchester*, or legal Bushels) contribute farther to such Mistakes. Corn Farms (Timber, Iron, Harvest People, and Servants [weighty Articles of Expence] *being much dearer* than in former Times) will not yield sufficient *Profit* to the Occupiers of them, unless they can have such Prices; particularly as Cattle, Pigs, Sheep, Butter and Cheese, are now near one Third Part cheaper than formerly, and what is called a Living Price. If what is said about the Ex-

(a) January 1. 1734-5.

(b) In *Pembrokeshire*, a County which produces vast Quantities of Wheat, (and other Grain) which is very good; for the Farmers commonly sow *English* Seed yearly.

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pence

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pence of Farming, being greater then formerly, is considered, it must be allowed (by those who understand Country Affairs) that a Tenant in a Corn Farm must make near three Rents and an Half of his Tenement (besides a Reservation of Seed-Corn for the following Year, to enable him *to live as he (a) ought*, and that one of those Rents should arise from the Stock and Dairy Profit [there are some small Variations in *England, Wales and Scotland*; but my Calculation is in the general]; *a due Weighing of the Additional Expences, with the Abatement in Profits*, will prevent the Prices, I mentioned, *being thought very unreasonable*. It may not be much amiss to observe here, (because several eminent Persons have another Way of Thinking) that Counties remote from *London*, and other great Cities, should not at any Time be subject to a new Valuation of their Lands, to make them bear more Taxes; for they cannot have the advanced Prices always for their Goods (reconsider the Instances already quoted) as the other Counties have; the Price of Carriage and driving must be deducted. High Prices are not *as soon known in remote Places*; Merchants and Drovers buy commonly near those Cities, if there is a sufficient Plenty. There are several *Exportations of great Value* often

(a) To pay his Landlord's Rent, Tithe, Manurement, necessary out-going Expences of various Kinds, and a reasonable Provision for his Family.

for

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for *two or three Months*, or less, on Wars, and *Alarms of War only*, at other Times; also *much Buying of Meat, &c.* to Victual our own Men of War *on the like Alarms*; and in a War, Counties near *London* sell more by selling first; and afterwards with the rest; and if they do not go on, have in a Manner the whole Advantage thereof. If Things are very plentiful and cheap near those Cities, Merchants will not deal far abroad, without much Abatement on the Part of the Sellers. As the above casual Advantages happen often, it is easy to see it is more Profitable to have Lands near those Cities, than elsewhere. As the remote Parts, except *a few Towns*, have very little Trade or Money; and as there is annually a great Deal of Money brought up to *London*, by Reason that their chief Gentry reside mostly there, by the Return of *the Excise-Money and Land-Tax*, (vast Sums, considering their Poverty,) it would be a ready Way in a short Course of Time *to bring those Countries to a Paper-Coin only*; which would End in their Ruin, and the Abolishing of all Commerce among them. Do those Persons argue reasonably, who say they ought to Pay in Proportion, as well as the other Counties, for their Protection? No, all Persons and Counties ought only to pay in Proportion to their Advantages, and all other Circumstances, according to (a) Geometrical, not A-

(a) A Distinction of Moralists.

rith-

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rithmetical Proportions. Besides, we may suppose the Commissioners in the poor ones were as Virtuous, consequently as Just and Honourable on their Oaths, as the rest, when the Valuations were made: And if so, the present Favour, the poor Counties enjoy in their Taxes, may be owing to Improvements of their Rentals, rather than to Indulgence shewn them. In poor Counties at a Distance from such Cities, there are few Methods of laying out their *small Stocks of Money*, but in Land Improvements; particularly that great one Hedging. What may be seen in *South-Wales* is some Confirmation of this Argument. From *Milford* to *Bristol*, there are more Inclosures than from *Bath* to *Litchfield*, or from *Bath* or *Gloucester* to *London*. It would therefore be very unreasonable (as Land is the chief Support of the *English Crown*) to punish Improvers of Land by imposing additional Taxes, to relieve them *who neglected the Melioration of their Lands*.

Persons near such Cities have likewise more Opportunities, and a greater Variety of Methods to employ their Money to the Advantage of themselves and Families, than the others have. Among them many are the Instances of small Stocks of Money being increased into large ones; but few among the others. As it is generally thought a Duty or Tax on our Funds would be unjust, because they are otherwise settled by Parliamentary Authority, and the Proprietors of them purchased their Shares therein with

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without *any Apprehension* of such Taxes ever being laid on them; so it would in like Manner be unjust to add to our Land-Tax in such distant Counties; for the Purchasers of Estates in such Counties, since the Land-Tax Act of Settlement, (which when made was thought to be as *immutable* as the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*;) gave the full Value for their Purchases; Rates, &c. being considered as they then were, *without expecting new Valuations*. Can any one think that a Purchaser would give the same Sum for Lands which are to be higher valued (perhaps two Thirds more) than when he bought them, as he would in Case they were always to remain the same, and the Sanction of Parliament inviolable? *The Necessity*, which the Government is often under of raising and falling Taxes, is *so manifestly different* from altering the Valuation (mentioned) of Lands, that it would be mispent Time to explain it.

To resume the Corn Affair; if any would suggest, that the late low Prices were owing to Plenty, he would mistake; for, *excepting the two Years last past*, there have been no general good Crops: I do not deny but one where or other, Grain is plentiful every Year.

The flourishing Condition of the landed Interest *supports all Trades*: Most Trades now, except those which supply Luxury; those of Gold and Silver Smiths, Lacemen, Vintners,

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ners, Painters, Dealers in Silks, Velvets, and high-priced Cloths (which *the unaccountable* Luxury and Emulation among our People encourage and support,) are under *an apparent Decay*; which is not only proved by the *general* Declarations of Tradesmen, but by too many Instances of *Bankruptcy* among them. I wish I could say the present Times were not the worst. Our Exports are perhaps as great as formerly; whence then all this Complaint? Our Farmers are *worse Customers than formerly*; Necessity has obliged them to more Carefulness and *Fragility* in laying out their Money, than they were accustomed to in better Times. The Home Consumption of our Manufactures is much greater than our Exportation; judge then how largely the landed Man deals in them. Now, *if his Income lessens*, he becomes *a worse Customer to Tradesmen than he would otherwise be*. I have known Tradesmen of a middling Class *observe* that their *Sale Accounts* were *too well acquainted with those Sorts of Truths*; nay, in the cheap Years, I have heard them say, *they wished the Price of Grain high*.

Those who infer that our Trade in general flourishes, because they see several Branches of it in such a Condition, have been too inadvertent in their Inquiries, to say, as some of them do, that the present Lowness of Interest Money does absolutely prove so much, may be wrong: Now Money, except in those Counties that are within Sixty or Seventy Miles

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Miles of London, is not *in general* to be obtained at low Interest, not under four *per Cent.* and a Mortgage for it; and *then* it must be in a *Maritime County, or near a great Trading Town*. Vast Sums of Money at London, got by *South-Sea, Stock-Jobbing, &c.* being in few Hands, lower the Interest of Money there; perhaps above two Thirds of the Nation's Cash are the Property of those who reside in and about that City. Low Interest may be owing sometimes to great Stocks of Money drawn out of Trade, which would no longer encourage adventuring farther in it. If any Branches of our Trade, or Merchandise should continue making improper Interests for Money laid out, (and thereby Money comes into Hand) that Money would, when it sought a Market, (by a farther Plenty of Coin for such an Use) lower, as all Plenties commonly do, the Interest of Money on Land. If a Million or two of Money, which used to be employed in Trade, could now no longer be used that Way, it would be offer'd landed Men at a lower Rate, than what those of them, who borrow Money now, pay for Interest. What *otherwise could be done* with the *greatest* Part of it? If larger Sums came in like Manner into Hand, it would still lower Interest Money further. These Considerations prove that an Abatement, (a great one) as well as an Advancement in Trade, will lessen Interest.

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I know the Commotions and Ravages of contending Armies in *Poland* will be offer'd as Arguments to prove, that Farmers will of Course have better Times, without Relief of Parliament. Now I allow there is some, but at this Juncture *no great Weight* in such Observations. To say the *Dutch* used to send about 600 Ships, according to (a) *Huet*, every Year to the *Baltick* for Corn; and that they were supplied out of *Poland*, because a great many of them loaded at *Dantzick*, is false as to the latter Part of the Assertion; for a great Deal of Corn comes to *Dantzick*, besides *Polish* Corn.

The late Accounts of Shipping Corn from that City *are too great now*, whatsoever they might have been in *former Ages*. Those two last great Wars may have alter'd the Quantities considerably. A Merchant who resided several Years in that City, has (b) given us lately an Account of the Corn (all Grains) commonly exported from thence; which he says is at a *Medium*, one Year with another, about 40,000 Lasts, every Last containing 60 *Bushels*, which make only 300,000 Quarters; and this he makes rather under, than over *the real Quantity*. He finds

- (a) In his Account of the *Dutch Trade*.
(b) In an Account of *Dantzick*, lately published.

Fault

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Fault with the (a) *English Atlas*, for giving the other Accounts. Authors of *such general Books* cannot always have good *Authority* for what they write. The Merchant's Account seems to be justified by the deplorable State of that Nation, owing to the last War. It has been observed by good Authority, that before the present War Half their Farms were untill'd and unhusbanded. What but such a Condition could be the Consequence of the last long War in that Kingdom? If a Parish, County or Nation has the Misfortune of having their Houses, Goods, Granaries and Corn Fields destroyed, the Generality of the Inhabitants will be incapacitated to renew their Tillage; especially when such Kind of Miseries frequently happen, which must have been the Case in so long a War as that was. The Interest of Money in that Kingdom is *Fourteen per Cent.* which must be another Reason of *the unrestored State of their Husbandry*.

Denmark and *Russia*, being now in Prosperity, raise large Quantities of Grain for Exportation, to our Detriment. *Pomerania*, which is a *very fruitful Country*, and uninjur'd by the *Swedish Wars*, will have its Share in our Corn-Markets abroad. This Country is *large*, as well as fruitful: It is wash'd by the *Baltick Sea*, 200 Miles in length.

- (a) From whence our News Writers seem'd to be furnished with their extraordinary Computations of Corn shipped from thence.

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Flanders

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Flanders being now in (a) Peace, and a Country where a great Deal of Money and good Management abounds, especially as the Inhabitants are accounted *the best Farmers in the World, must rob us of a great many of our Markets.* I have seen it noted in some Accounts of *this* Country, that the Farming, the Measuring of Corn, in the City of *Antwerp*, formerly was set for 100,000 Crowns yearly. As we may well allow vast Quantities of Corn to be sent to foreign Markets, as well as what we have for that Purpose, I think it appears by what has been said, that we should give all proper Encouragement to our exporting Grain; and be always Jealous of others getting foreign Markets from us.

The chief Policy of a Government in its Commerce is, to support that Business which is not only Beneficial in itself, but Consequences. The Corn-Trade being a bulky Commodity profits our Navigation, as well as our Manufactures, as signified before; and Foreigners in the Prices they give for our Corn do, in Effect, pay our Freights. *Ireland* is now, by Act of Parliament, enlarging its Tillage; the Landholders here are compelled to plough certain Quantities of Ground; and if the Success is as great as may be reasonably expected, it will be our Corn-Trade's

(b) In the last War this Country was free from Ravages and Burnings, the Fate of *Poland*.

Funeral;

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Funeral; for the Plantations have already given it a deadly Stab, by sending wonderful Quantities up the Streights, and to *Lisbon*, formerly Benefit Places to us. How few then must our Markets be; and how low our Prices? Consequences must ensue, which will demand the Attention of every Landholder of *Britain*. As Salt is very cheap in *Ireland*, there is no great Expectation of the Farmers getting much by Cattle, &c. therefore the Legislature, with Submission, would do well to think of proper Means to raise and preserve the Price of Corn, as before hinted; particularly as there have been several thousand Acres of Wood-land and Sheep-Walks plowed up very lately: To turn such Land to Sheep-Walks again would be avoiding *Scylla*, to go to *Charybdis*. I have seen a great Part of our Kingdom, and have made many Observations (according to the best of my Capacity) on the (a) Trade and Husbandry of it; I do therefore know there is more than double the Land under Corn now, than formerly, which ought to increase our Concern for it, as the *Primum mobile* of all our Businesses.

I have seen the late Accounts of Bounty Money; and have some Reason to believe they are not greater than the Bounties for Corn were, when *England* had several Milli-

(a) If I had any Share in the Education of Gentlemen of Figure, I should try to make them familiar with such Sort of Observations.

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ons of Acres *less* under Corn than at present. The Inspector's general Accounts since 1688. will, I think, warrant what I say. If it be asked then, how the increased Quantities are consumed, it may be said several Years preceding 1733. produced *small* Crops, through unseasonable Sowing-Times, and Summers; and that the Product of the Year 1733. was, with some large uncommon Exportations, used on Account of our Elections. In some Places there were, between all Parties, Six or Seven thousand Pounds spent; in some twenty thousand. Now considering there are above 500 Members of Parliament, perhaps it would be a low Calculation to say the Malt, Wheat, &c. used then, amounted to 800,000 Pounds Sterling. There cannot be any Certainty in such Things; however, the Sum must have been very great. So much of our old Stock being used, the Corn this Year must sell better than it would, if the (a) Elections had not happen'd. The Prohibitions of Corn in *Naples* and *Scicily*, and bad Crops in *Italy*, last Year benefited our Corn-Trade. Then *Pomerania* and (b) *Ireland*, having

(a) Here it may be proper, once for all, to advertise the Reader, that this Piece was finished A. D. 1734. but has been out of the Author's Hands ever since.

(b) Threescore Ships brought Corn into *Dublin* Harbour, in one Week's Time, this Year. How great then must this casual Advantage have been to us! The Harvest was very bad.

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had bad Crops last Harvest, contribute very much to the Price we now have. We might add that the Grand Seignior's Prohibiting Corn to be exported at present to *any Parts of Europe*, out of any of his (a) Dominions, must have been a great Piece of Service to us. This Prohibition is not, probably, owing to any Enmity towards any *European* Power, because it is general; and the *Turks* commonly export their Goods to *Enemies* as well as *Friends*. When the *Turks* and *Persians* are at War with one another, they do (b) discontinue their Trade in and to one another's Dominions. Such a Conjunction of good Props to a sinking Trade will not probably happen soon again; and therefore let us substitute others in their room; and not depend on *Casualties*. Now is the Time to relieve the poor Farmers, that they may recover their past Losses, and be free from the like Pressures for the future. If Care is not taken now, do not let us wonder hereafter at the Fall of our Rents: Certain Causes will be attended with certain Events now, as heretofore. The Heedlessness of the *English* Legislators before the Year 1664. was said to be the Cause that Rents fell then 1,600,000 Pounds per Ann. in the Kingdom's Rental. If our Fathers suffered Ship-wreck by Carelessness, let us not commit the like Error. It

(a) *Aegypt* used to export yearly 7,140,000 of our *English* Bushels of *Wheat* only.

(b) Doctor *Barclay* gives us this Account in his *Universal Traveller*.

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is perhaps too much a National Error among us not to guard against Contingencies. *Englishmen* are commonly possessed of Intrepidity (which is a Quality happy enough for the Bulk of the People in War, whatever it is in Schemes of *Civil Life*); which subjects them, sometimes, to unexpected Damages. It has been said of them, that they seldom make any good Laws, till some *common Calamity* causes them: That *such Laws* are the Off-spring of Danger; and that is the Reason *Dr. Swift* says *Englishmen can feel but not see*.

If we support our Corn-Trade, Money will be plentiful among all Ranks of Men; and perhaps it is better to *cherish effectually a few of our greatest Trades*, (whereby we may get the better of other Nations) than to starve all by small *ineffectual Helps to All*. If we act in this Manner, there will not only be a new Access of Money, but Foreigners will leave their Money in our Funds, with Contentment to them and us; and the *general Rental* and Strength of the Kingdom will be enlarged, then we shall continue raising large Quantities of Grain, without any Fluctuation of *Businesses*; which People in Distress are apt to submit to, and very often for the worst; and then if our neighbouring Nations happen at any Time to have great Wants of Corn, *it may be said of us, as Sir Walter Raleigh said of the Dutch and some of the Hans-Towns*, That by the Sale of Corn in such Years, they *used to be enriched*

for *Seven afterwards*. If we extend what the Knight says elsewhere, according to Proportion, we shall think he was right in what he said; for he has observed that they drew for Corn out of *England*, in one Year, about 2,000,000 Pounds Sterling. At that Time our Nation was little more than above one Half as Populous as it is now. Now there cannot be any Thing more Beneficial than the Prosperity of this Trade, nor more Dangerous than the Non-encouragement of it.

Innumerable are the Distresses of our Farmers, even among those who may be presumed to have good Bargains. The Inadvertency of great Men, and the Arts of Stewards, in granting Bargains, prove that such great Mens Estates are commonly cheaply rented; and yet many calamitous Complaints are amongst them, as well as others. It would be endless, and impossible to enumerate the Tenth Part of them: All I shall now observe is, a certain Duke would have had a great Deal of his Estate given up to him, if he had insisted on having his Rents: Another Noble Duke (according to my Information) has vast Numbers of his Tenants who owe him Three Years Rent.

C H A P. II.

*Considerations on the Cattle Trade,
and on the Methods of Raising
the British Rents.*

SINCE the Union, such vast Numbers of Cattle and Sheep come into *England*, that the Profits of Pasturage have been much diminished. This, among others, is a considerable Reason; why this Kingdom has gone, so much as we find it is, into Tillage, as the *Dernier Resort* of our Farmers, for Profit. I think there are not more than Thirteen Counties at present, where Feeding and Breeding Cattle is as much encouraged as formerly. In Corn Counties, when Lands rest to recover new Strength and Nourishment for Tillage again, great Stocks of Cattle are undoubtedly bred; so that even in the present Condition of our Farmers Employment, they want, and deserve what Relief the Legislature can grant them.

Before I point out Ways and Means of Relief, I shall, for the Satisfaction of my Readers who delight in Political Arithmetick, shew them, in Part, the State of our Land Production formerly, which is given us by very eminent Authors, (I wish I could say

say in other Particulars (a) Faultless,) and which I, according to my Skill in such Things, think Right.

The Produce by Cattle, in Butter, Cheese and Milk, may be about _____	} 2,500,000
The Value of Wool, yearly shorn, about _____	} 2,000,000
The Value of the Flesh yearly eaten _____	} 3,350,000
The Value of the Tallow, and Hides of the Cattle _____	} 600,000
The Hay eaten by the Cattle, — _____	} 1,000,000
Total 9,450,000	

(a) The Calculations of Dr. Davenant, and Mr. Gregory King in the Essay on the probable Methods of making People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade, as they are in the Hands of many Political Readers, I cannot pass them by without saying, that I have endeavoured to see whether they are Right, or not; and do, with all Sincerity and Candour, say I have great Reason to declare several of them to be Erroneous. Those Gentlemen were Men of great Ingenuity. Political Arithmetick being then in its Infancy, I do not wonder at their Faults, but am Grateful towards their Memories, for their Endeavours. The good Parts of Authors tempt me more to sound their Praise, than the bad their Disgrace. *Est aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.* If they had travelled through most of the considerable Parts of the Kingdom, they might have been free from several Mistakes.

An Estimate of the Live Stock of the Nation.

	The yearly Increase.	The whole Stock.	Value of each besides the Skin.		Value of the Stock.
			l.	s.	l.
Beeves, Calves, and all Horned Cattle —	800,000	4,500,000	02	00	9,000,000
Sheep and Lambs —	3,600,000	12,000,000	00	07	4,400,000
Goats and Kids —	10,000	50,000	00	10	25,000
	4,410,000	16,550,000	00	00	13,425,000

N. B. I designedly omit their other Particulars.

What-

Whatever Alterations have happened in those Things, by *new Courses* of Husbandry, the Consideration of them are yet of high Importance to us.

It would be well to advance the Sale of our Beef, Butter and Cheese, by *encouraging Foreigners to take them from us, instead of the Irish, by giving proper Bounties.* There is a Necessity for their being larger; for the *Irish Meat* is Salted much cheaper than ours: *Two Third Parts of the Salt they use* for Foreign Consumption, is sold after the Rate of *Four Shillings per Hundred.* If some Additional Duty was put on Tea, and Ale sold in Publick Houses, &c. as a Fund for *such Bounties,* (without injuring the Revenues of the Government) it would be a very proper Help for this Purpose.

Smuggling *Irish Meat, &c.* into *England,* is *very common* (and much to our Detriment); particularly since the Revival of the Salt-Duty; among innumerable Instances of such Practices, I have (a) Reason to think that a Merchant, who employs Thirty or Forty Ships yearly, victuals them chiefly with *Irish Provisions.* I intimate so much to shew the Necessity of enacting severer Laws than we

(a) If my Informations are true.

have

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have at present, *against Smuggling Irish Meat, &c.*

As our Kingdom is an Island abounding with Havens, we suffer very much hereby; particularly in the West, and South-West Parts of it.

It would be a Service to our Landed Interest, if our Ships going to *Newfound-Land*, and other Parts of the *West-Indies*, were hindered from Victualling in *Ireland*.

I think it would be proper, (especially as *Ireland* is but a Day or two Sailing, or a little more, when the Wind is low and calm; and as Westerly Winds are known to be much (a) commoner than any others) to limit the Ships coming from *Ireland*, as to the Quantities they bring away from thence; for I find our Sea-Waiters, or Officers of the Customs, since an expensive Law-Suit at *Liverpool*, and in the West of *England*, are fearful in Seizing such Provisions on Board such Ships, unless they find it landing, or afterwards. They are told when *Irish Meat* is in the Ships, it was bought only for the Ships Use, *through Fear* of a long Voyage; particularly when it is only a Hoghead or two; and when the head

(a) The West Winds are observ'd to blow two Third Parts of the Year on our Coasts.

Officers

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Officers of the Customs do not visit them. The inferiour Officers do not care to subject themselves to a Law-Suit. I do not see any Reason why it should be a Hardship, if English Ships should be entirely provided with English Provisions. As they are employed somewhere or other *all the Year*, it would be but an inconsiderable Damage to be stocked with a Quarter's Provision before-hand, when they went an *Irish Voyage*.

It can scarce be said that Owners of Ships are too Necessitous to lay in two or three Months Provisions, before they undertake such a Voyage. I would not be understood to exclude them from buying fresh Meat for present Use, when there. If this should be thought too Rigorous, the Quantities brought should be specified, as hinted before. Every Ship to be allowed enough, according to her Number of Seamen; and the Surplusage on ending the Voyage, to be sold to the Officers, Parish-Officers, or others at a reasonable Rate by the Arbitrement of the Minister of the Sea-Port Parish, having a due Regard to the prime Cost.

It is too Customary a Thing for Boats to go off to Sea two, three or four Miles, to Smuggle Provisions, when a Ship is seen coming from the *Irish Coast*. Custom-House Boats seldom watch them, which do not return 'till after Night. Duty on one Side does not approve of as much Fatigue, as Interest on the other.

When

When *Irish* Meat, &c. has been seized, the Parochial Officers, not apprehending themselves to be *charged on Oath about such Matters*, have sold such Meat for a very small Matter to the Master of the Ship, and distributed the Money in the room of the Meat, as the Law directs. Thus it is found Cheating is no Mystery to the Meanest of People.

Some Masters of Ships, who trade frequently to *Ireland*, have forborn bringing large Quantities on the old Parish-Officers going out of Office, 'till they have known the Nature of their Successors. I have been *credibly* informed such have been the Proceedings of some wary Smugglers: One Man's Plan of Dealings differs from another's.

All *Agent Victuallers*, and those concern'd in Victualling any of his Majesty's Ships, ought under severe Penalties, and Oaths, to be restrained from purchasing *Irish* Flesh, Butter and Cheese. We have great Reason to believe that a Prohibition of this Kind will be very Serviceable to the Publick; and that in War-time *particularly*, great Stores of those Things have been (a) Smuggled into those Kingdoms for such Purposes.

(a) As I intend writing a Book, called, *Reflections on the Power, Interest, and Trade of Britain*, I shall therein point out such Methods, as will make the Publick Revenues to be better paid than formerly.

With all humble Submission to our Legislature, I should think that when the Balance of Power in *Europe*, the Security of ourselves and Trade, or the Protection of our Allies, requires our entering into a War, that War, *on our Part*, ought to be chiefly carried on by our *floating Castles*, our Men of War. Hereby our Money would be preserved among ourselves, in using our own Provisions, and other Necessaries: It would only change Hands in going from *one English Subject to another*. An *English* (a) Writer, of *Eminence*, says, that in such a War the Nation would not lose *above one Twentieth Part* of the Expence; and that, if fit Care was taken, &c. not above one Fortieth. Sir *William Temple* somewhere justly observes, that Land Wars on the Frontiers of Princes Countries do them little Injury.

As our Exports and Imports, by *Joshua Gee's* Account, are nearly equal, great Land Armies now maintained abroad by us would in a few Years exhaust a considerable Part of our Cash. What must be the Consequence if but few Hundred thousand Pounds are sent into Foreign Kingdoms yearly, more than we receive by Dealings abroad?

(a) Sir *William Petty* in Books of his hereafter mentioned.

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In former Times, in the Reigns of *Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, and Oliver*, we never sent large Bodies of Men beyond Seas in our (a) Wars, particularly in that Queen's Reign. Those who urge the Case is altered in *Europe*, since that Time; and that Power among the Neighbouring Kings is more unequal in our Days, have not so much to say for their Opinions, as they may imagine; for *Philip the Second (of Spain)* was as (b) terrible then, as any European King is at this Time: Not to mention his numerous Armies in *Flanders*; did not he conquer *Portugal*; wage War with *France*, send out his invincible (so called) *Armada* against *England*; and assist the *Irish Rebels* (c) with Men, Money and Ammunition? Universal Monarchy was his End, though his Means were not equal to that End.

(a) The last War cost 24,168,871 Pounds for the bare Subsistence of the Troops, and Subsidies to Foreign Princes, exclusively of our Naval Expences, and the Charge of Transports; which last Article only (of the Transports) amounted to 1,336,719 Pounds.

(b) King *James the First*, (when only King of *Scotland*) so dreaded the great Power of *Philip*, that he wondered *Queen Elizabeth* would venture to displease him, in joining the Allies against him; and said as she did, he should have the Advantage of being *Philip's* last Mouthful.

(c) *The English History*, Two Vol. Octavo.

Our

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Our furnishing (a) Sea Assistance (in some Conjunctions, I do not deny but it may be proper to assist our Allies with Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men of our Land Forces) in our Wars is as natural to us, as Land Forces to Powers on the Continent. In all Matters of common Defence, &c. between Nation and Nation, in Amity with one another, one Nation, according to the Laws of Natural Equity, is not obliged to advance more Assistance against a common Enemy, than may be (b) wanted, probably,

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bly,

(a) Which, if Cruisers (as the *Dutch* did formerly against the *Spaniards*) are employed, will be of vast Importance.

(b) Here I cannot omit animadverting on Defects in some former Treaties of mutual Defence and Protection made between us and other Nations. It is only (often) Stipulated that our Allies shall assist us if we are attacked (I do not mean offensive Treaties;) which is an unequal, consequently an unreasonable Engagement. As we have few, if any, tenable Forts, in Case our Enemies should Land their Troops, we may be almost over-run and conquered, before our Allies could help us; and therefore they ought to be obliged (their strong Forts make their Case differ from ours) to advance a settled Force, whenever demanded: Otherwise, though it may be necessary to begin Hostilities, to preserve ourselves in Time, (and that we ought; Preparations against us have been often privately carried on within those Twenty Years last past,) without publishing our Grounds of Information; and to do as we did when we destroy'd the *Spanish Fleet*, and block'd up their *Galleons*. Our Allies may say they are not obliged to follow our War-like Motions, and

bly, one Time or other, by that same Nation or Power. Now it is certain, we in *England* shall never Trust (if we wanted Foreign Help) more than Twenty or Thirty Thousand Foreign Soldiers among us. Such a Supply of our Troops is, I think, equal to Half so many more of most other Nations. Many are the antient Instances of such extraordinary Goodness in our Troops. General *Webb's* (a) Victory over a General and Troops doing their Duty, is a wonderful Confirmation of it.

If our usual Sea-Force will not satisfy the Demands of our Allies, we may augment

and that we are the Aggressors. It may be contrary to the Rules of Decorum, for a private Person, not acquainted with the Cabinet Councils of Princes, to say we had, in the Case of the *Galleons*, such an Answer from *France* or *Holland*, the *Hanover* Allies: Let that be as it will, I was told the War-like Stores were suffered (though the *Spanish* Designs were no Secrets) in Sight of our Ships, to be brought to the *Spanish* Army, to prevent our Allies thinking us the Aggressors. Such Treaties they may reap Benefit from always in their Distress, or Want, which we cannot. There ought to be more Regard to the Difference of Circumstances between us.

(a) If our Seamen in Battle are forced down under the Hatches of their Ships, they lose not their Courage; but gloriously strive to come up again; the *French* despair, and are funk under such Circumstances. One of the *French* Monarchs (I think it was *Charles the Wise*) used to tell his Generals not to fight with our Troops, unless they had extraordinary Advantages over them first of all: And *Wise* was he in saying so.

them

them, and bombard the Sea-Coast Towns of our Enemies, shut up their Shipping in their Harbours, and ruin their Trade. If their Trading by Sea was sufficiently obstructed, would not our Enemies lose the Signs of War, (a) Money? (all Troops will soon mutiny or desert, without Payment).

It is well known that Nation, which may be the most terrible Power to us, supports its great Armies chiefly by Revenues depending on the Profit of Commerce. If we were to differ with that Power, and lord it much in the Ocean in the Manner now advised, it would be cutting of one of its Wings. By our Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*, and a vigorous Spirit (b) in Maritime Affairs, we might easily reduce the Grandeur of the Southern Powers of Europe.

The Strength of *France* may be depressed by keeping Cruising Squadrons at *Gibraltar*, *Minorca*, and on the Coast of *Portugal*. That Landlord must soon become poor, whose Tenants are taken away from him. And as our

(a) *De Wit* in his Interest of *Holland* says, that the *Dutch* lost in Thirteen Months 300 Tun of Gold, and 143 Ships in the *Mediterranean*, by the *African* Cruisers; which proves the Benefit of Cruisers in War.

(b) Our Endeavours of this Sort were not many last War: Land Conquests we chiefly attended to.

Ships

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Ships of War may be increased, it will be proper to have a great many Ships of small Force (in a War) to be, in Fair Weather, in a constant Course of Sailing, to suppress Privateers, and seize our Enemy's Ships of Trade. The Commanders of such small Ships should be accountable for their (a) Time. The Accounts of their remaining in Harbours, &c. may be transmitted to the Government by its Civil Officers. As large Squadrons of Men of War have not very many Opportunities of engaging with our Enemy's Ships of Trade, those small Ships will be very Serviceable: One Squadron of those Cruisers (well made for Expedition) carrying about Ten or Twelve Guns, may be stationed about the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey (there is good harbouring there); and I think they would be a very proper Additional Power to our Cruising Squadrons of small Ships at Minorca, on the Coast of Portugal, and at Gibraltar, (others may be placed on some convenient Parts of our own Coasts,) where we may hinder any Ships to pass, but such as we please. A Sea-War thus managed would impoverish our Enemies, and benefit our Allies. By a Sea War, chiefly, Spain lost its exorbitant Grandeur. Besides several Losses of Treasure by private Adventures, she lost Two Millions of Money in Oliver's Time;

(a) Why may not they be always at Sea, as well as other Ships trading one where or other.

and

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and in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, in the same Manner, she lost more than Twenty Millions of Ducats. What Power can support itself after such Losses? By Mr. Addison's (a) Account, the French King in his last Wars could send and maintain ten Regiments in Spain, with the same Expence England could two. The Difference of Wages and Officers makes the Difference in our Expences to be as three to one; five to one is much worse. Our Debts on Account of the last War, and perhaps an Incapacity to borrow so much Money again, will, I hope, when War happens, incline us to that Kind of War, which will make our Expences circulate among ourselves.

(a) In a Discourse of his about the last War, or his Whig Examiner.

CHAP.

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C H A P. III.

*Considerations on other Methods
of Relieving our Landholders.*

THE Northern People raise Corn *cheaper than we do*; Labour is not as dear with them as with us. From them chiefly the *Dutch* are supplied with Quantities for their Markets at home and abroad. Now to enable us to reap more Advantage by our Corn Business, it will be necessary to enlarge our Bounty Money. The Bounty for Wheat ought to be, I think, Eleven-pence *per Bushel* (eight Gallons), for Barley Five-pence Half-penny, and other Grains in an advanced Proportion. *The Sinking Funds, or some hereafter mentioned,* may in part be applied for such Purposes. It is an usual Thing for a Trading Nation, when any great Branch of its Business (does not Corn deserve as much Favour as other Commodities?) is not on an equal Footing, as it is elsewhere, to aid it with sufficient Bounty Money: If we give too little, other Nations will find Markets when we cannot.

Servants Wages are by much too high; and for Want of a Power of Information cannot, by the Laws in Being, be lower'd. If they were unhired after the legal Warn-

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ing of Departure from their Masters, and obliged to agree to go into *any Man's* Service, who was willing to receive them, (for the Wages ordered by Authority) without Loss of Time, in such new Agreement; such *quick* Contracts would possibly *lessen* their Wages; provided they were obliged, on Oath, to declare, whether they were (when looked for) hired or unhired, to prevent false Declarations.

The mentioning Servants puts me in Mind of a Deficiency in our Laws, which affects our Maritime Counties more than our Inland ones; *viz.* Servants and others are allowed to go to our Plantations from our Sea-Coast Counties, as well as from the rest; which is a Disadvantage from which they desire to be freed; and that too, not without Reason; for the best Corn Prices being to be had near the Sea, such Counties have *as much, if not more Corn generally* in them than the rest; and therefore ought to abound with *as many, or more Servants*, which cannot happen, as the Case is at present; for most of our Seamen, computed by some (a) 170,000 (this is the Amount of our Seamen when our Navy and Merchant Ships are full) are raised out of the Maritime Counties. This great Number makes a great Inequality of Ser-

(a) By the Polite and Ingenious Mr. Moyle, in his Works.

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vants and Labourers ; and Prices of Labour must be higher in such Counties. A small Number of Hands constantly adds to the Price of Labour. I hope the Maritime Counties, particularly as they chiefly furnish our *Naval* Force with Men, will be favour'd so far by the Legislature, as to have an Act of Parliament made to prevent their Inhabitants going beyond Sea. Such a Law is much wanted.

The Navigation of *Milford* being much increased now, by what it was formerly, has, I know, added much to the Price of Servants. Twenty and Two and Twenty Years ago, Head-Plowmen (Bailiffs) were hired for Fifty Shillings each ; but now such Men have commonly Five or Six Pounds *per Ann.* Other Servants have in Proportion. Vast Numbers yearly leave the Land for Sea-Service ; and *no Doubt* but the Case is the same in other Places.

The more Ale we export, the better. I find no large Quantities are sent out of *England* at present, which is probably owing to too little Encouragement from our Laws. This Business ought to be particularly forwarded ; for it benefits several, the Farmers, Maltmen and Brewers ; and consequently should meet with the greatest Favour and Regard : Proper Premiums, no Doubt, would promote it. If it be asked, where are Funds to give them ; perhaps additional Impositions on
Mar-

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Marriages, Money from Sales of Estates, (Part of some Foreign Taxes are levied out of such Things, particularly in some Parts of *Italy* and *Sweden*) Posts of Profit on Entry into them, and small Parts of Legacies might be allotted by Law for such Uses. It would be no unreasonable Thing to examine, whether a Fund out of such Things might not be established for this and the like Purposes. Small Abridgments of Property will be no Discontentment to any, who wish the general Good of the Kingdom.

The Cheapness of *French* Wine in *Ireland* prevents a great Quantity of our Ale being sent into that Kingdom. They would be very Fond of our Ale, if *England* would prevent their having any Wine, but what is first landed in *England*.

The Plantations ought not to be suffered to bring home any Wine, when their Ships come to *Europa*. If they had not any Wine but what they had from *England*, the Dearness of having it in that Manner would incline their Inhabitants to use more of our Ale and Beer than they do at present.

Barley would sell much better than it does, if some of our Laws about Brewers and Malsters were abrogated ; I mean those which restrain Traders, who brew and malt for home Consumption, from sending any abroad, unless they lose the Encouragement

the Law allows others of their Business. I think the Frauds, which are the Causes of such Restraints, might be guarded against by such Dealers and their Servants justifying their Actions on Oath, as often as the Laws shall direct; and by having Brew-houses and Malt-rooms for Exportation, at some Distance from the others, liable to the Inspection, &c. of the Excise-Officers, as much as shall be thought proper; and to all other necessary Regulations. Some Frauds would happen, be the Precautions against them ever so wise; but I think they might be so few, that the Nation would be more benefited than injured by repealing them: How can we export any great Quantities of Malt or Beer, as Things are at present? We must have foreign Correspondents in those Branches of Trade, as well as others. New Beginners in those Businesses are poorly provided with them, and seldom send as good to Market as old Dealers. Then again, very few old Malsters or Brewers, who trade considerably (and they are the most likely, if not the only Persons, who find out good Correspondents,) will drop their home Trade for what is Foreign only. Wars may alter the Course of such Trade; and therefore they will not solely depend on it. Now if we consider all this together, does it not seem a plain Case such Sort of Dealings must, to our great Detriment, be very inconsiderable? Our small Exportation of them at present is too good an Attestation of what I advance.

I have

I have heard those Things too justly complained of.

It will be proper to inquire into our Distilling Spirits from Barley, or other Grain, whether that Trade is as much encouraged as it ought, that our Neighbours may not be on a better Footing than we are on. If they can afford it cheaper than we, our Business of that Kind must lessen. It is observed by a (a) Chymical Author, that the *Dutch* Spirits preserve their Flavour on Exportation, better than the *English*, on Account of some Art they use. *Poland* is remarkably famous for excellent Malt Spirits; nay, to such a Degree, that it is said the *Poles* make no great Use of *French* Brandy; they think them to be very little Inferior to it. All Arts are more Perfect in one Country than another. I beg leave to make some Remarks on the last Act of Parliament concerning such Spirits. It is *only said* therein, that *Spirits for Foreign Use*, intitled to a Bounty, must be drawn from Corn. I should think *Spirits for home Consumption* should not be allowed to be drawn from any Thing *but Corn*; in that Case there would be a great Demand for Corn more than at present. I believe I may affirm Spirits shipped to go beyond Sea are, on Ship-board, mix'd by the

(a) *Boerhave* in his Art of Chymistry: He tells how they make their Spirits better.

Master

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Master with *French Brandy*. I have made some particular Inquiries into those Things. Such Practises are not guarded against *in that Act*; neither does that Law say any Thing about Spirits being mix'd with Brandy, or any Thing else, *after they are drawn or made*, but that *in the making of them*, no Foreign or Native Materials (perhaps it might not be usefess to add, *or Liquors*) but *Corn* shall be used. It is not said in the Act who is to swear. I should think the Distiller, or his head Servant, should swear on the Exportation, about their being drawn from Corn. The Merchant is an improper Person *in that Respect*; for as he buys, he cannot tell whether it was or not. As he does not know the contrary, he may be too forward in his Oath. The Distiller, if he is *not obliged to swear*, may mix other Liquors with them *after they are drawn*, or draw them from some *Drugs, &c. jointly with Corn*. If there should be any Alteration in this Law, it may be necessary to swear the Master not to land the Goods, but in the Port where it is said they are intended for. If this Care was taken in other Things, where there are Drawbacks, and Penalties on him, (a) easily had by the Informers, it might prevent several Frauds.

(a) Uncertainties about Times of Information, and the Want of summary Ways of getting Forfeitures, hinder several Seamen to inform against their Masters, &c.

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The Merchant should be obliged to swear that such Spirits, according to his Belief, are not mix'd with any other Liquors; and that he will not directly, or indirectly order or encourage *such* Mixture. It is seldom found there are too many Precautions in *such Sort* of Things. Having observed, that it is intended by Malsters to petition the Parliament to subject the Distillers to Duty for the unmalted Barley they use in distilling, I think it will be a Hardship that useful Body of Men, the Distillers, ought not to be liable to; it will discourage Exportations too much to the Advantage of Foreign Nations; a Consequence at this Time to be mightily attended to. If a Calculation could be made of the great Quantities of Spirits shipped off abroad, *more* than in our own Nation, I fancy they would deserve our further Favour.

The Distillers are the Farmers great Friends; what would become of our Corn *injured by bad Harvests*, were it not for Distilling.

The preventing some male Practises among Ale-keepers and publick Brewers would add to the Consumption of our Malt; to strengthen their Ale and Beer, it is usual to put Molosses, hot Drugs in their Liquors; thereby they *save a great Deal of Malt*, to the Detriment of their Customers Healths,
and

and the (a) Farmers and Malsters Profit. They pretend they use those Things for refining Liquors; they ought, to prevent such Pretences, to be confined to the well known Refiners, Wheat, Flower, Isinglass, &c. They might be sworn not to put any Thing unallowed and unexpressed by the Law, in such Liquors; and that they will not allow or encourage their Servants, or others, to do it, directly or indirectly.

The *English* Tillage, since the dear Years of Corn, (Six Years ago) is so great, that a Scarcity of Corn at home again cannot be well feared; and therefore we should have our *Exportations* highly encouraged.

If our Colonies of *New England*, *New York* and *Pensilvania*, were hindered from exporting Corn to *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, *Virginia*, and some other of our Southern Plantations; especially as we might, as well as they, supply the *Spanish West Indies* with Flower, &c. (by the Way of *Jamaica*) our Corn-Markets would infallibly rise. The Inhabitants of those Colonies following other Business, have great Want of Corn.

(a) I think it has been calculated, that a Shilling's worth of these Things prevents the Use of two Shillings worth of Malt.

It would not be improper to know what Quantities of Spirits, (Rum and Citron Water excepted) are made in those Provinces; and to what Markets they are sent. If their Business interferences with ours, it ought not to be allowed. Why might we not supply their Markets at home, and in the *Spanish West Indies*.

Our Indolence heretofore (I wish it may not continue,) has been a good Benefit Ticket to them. We do not always know the true State of our Plantations; and when our home Trade is undermined by them, in several Particulars, I have observed formerly, that the Informations sent our Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, have not been as particular as they ought to have been. How then can we judge whether or no they are injuring their Mother Kingdom? An annual Account of all their Exports and Imports, and Laws concerning Trade; with what other concomitant Intelligence their Governors can send us an Account of, we ought to be acquainted with. Some of their Governors may have their Reasons not to be very express and plain in returning Answers to our Board of Trade; however, if superior Authority exerts itself, we may find Methods of Discovery.

Distilling should be hindered in *Ireland*.

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It is *undoubtedly* proper to prevent *Ireland*, as well as the Plantations, carrying on any of the principal *Businesses* of our own Nation; particularly the *Woollen* and *Corn* Trades; for besides *Money* and *Markets* being taken away from us, by their being *Sharers* with us, we shall have thereby a great additional Number of *unemployed* Poor, (which, since the *Declension* of *Farming*, I have known to be our *Case*.) During a *prosperous* State of *Tillage*, I compute there are near 5,000,000 subsisted by our *Land* and *Trade* Employments, (including all *Persons*, young and old, in *working* Families,) and out of that Number, it is said, there are 1,200,000 who get their *Bread* by *Manufactures*; I think this last Number ought to be *greater* 2,000,000. These Things cannot have too much of our *Regard*.

We ought to prevent *Exportations* of *Corn*, &c. out of our *Plantations*; (a) some of their *Grounds* being not, probably, plowed, since the *Creation* till this *Age* throws out immense Quantities of *Grain*; and they follow the *Corn* Trade chiefly, except *Virginia*, *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*. I have been lately informed by one who has been in *Pensilvania*, that there are *between two and three hundred* Ships

(a) Particularly to any Parts of *Europe*.

chiefly

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chiefly employed in carrying *Corn* from thence Year after Year to the *Streights*, *Lisbon*, our *Tobacco* and *Sugar* Colonies, and to *Ireland*, very often.

To prevent their *Exportation* (a) they may be obliged not to *Till* more *Ground* than the *Legislature* shall think proper for home use: Then in *Times* of *Scarcity*, they themselves would be our *Customers*.

As we could have *Freights* home from our *Colonies*, we could send *Corn* there cheaper, and consequently oftner than other *European* *Corn* Dealers: However, I think others ought not to be allowed to share such a *Trade* with us.

Such *Regulations* and *Dependance* on us (particularly in the *Southern* Provinces,) would prevent rebellious *Confederacies* among them to free themselves from the *Sovereignty* of *Britain* over them.

As the foregoing *Restraints* are highly necessary, they ought not to be objected against.

I do not know by what *Power* the *Dutch* import *Corn* into *Ireland*. It is certain, as they have always *Stocks* of *Corn* ready by

(a) The *Northern* Colonies.

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them,

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them, they often go to *Ireland* before we can, and thereby have the best Prices: They hurt us much. I know there is an (a) old Act of Parliament, which does favour them and others in so doing.

Such a Law when it was made, the Tillage of this Nation being then different from what it is now, did our Landholders no Injury. I fancy their Title is *incompatible* with a *reasonable* Construction of the Act of Navigation, (one of the best Laws ever made for us,) which says, "And it is further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That
 " no Goods or Commodities that are of *Foreign Growth*, Production or Manufacture,
 " and which are brought into *England, Ireland, Wales*, the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, or *Town of Berwick upon Tweed*,
 " in *English-built* shipping, or other Shipping belonging to the aforesaid Places, and
 " navigated by *English* Mariners, as aforesaid, shall be shipped or brought from any
 " other Place or Places, Country or Countries, but only from those of the said
 " Growth, Production or Manufacture, or
 " from those Ports, where *the said Goods* and

(a) In *Edward* the Third's Reign, which allows all Foreigners to import Goods, &c. of all Kinds into *Ireland*.

If Foreign Corn was prohibited to be transported from one *Irish* Port to another, it would lessen the Importation of it.

" Commo-

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" *Commodities can only, or are, or usually have*
 " *been first shipped for Transportation, and*
 " *from none other Places or Countries, under*
 " *the Penalty of the Forfeiture of all such*
 " *Goods as shall be imported from any other*
 " *Place or Country, contrary to the true Intent*
 " *and Meaning hereof; as also of the Ship in*
 " *which they were imported, with all her*
 " *Guns, Furniture, &c.*

Now it is well known, *Holland* does not afford Corn of *its own Growth* and *Production*, to maintain a *Quarter Part* of its own Inhabitants (a).

Does not the Reason of this Act prevent *their having a Power of Importation*? Surely they, who have *so little* Corn of their own, must be supposed to *ship* what is not *their own Growth* and *Production*, *contrary to the Meaning of this Act*; for the Future therefore they ought to be denied a privilege which is *contrary to this Act*. As we cannot actually disprove such Corn, when imported, to be their own Growth, we may be help'd herein by a Law, obliging some of the Ship's Crew and Master, to swear they believe it to be the Growth of *Holland*, if an absolute Prohibition cannot be obtain'd. This may

(a) The History of *Holland*, in Two Vol. *Octavo*, gives us an Account, that the Hundredth Part of the Corn the *Dutch* export, is not their *own Growth*.

prevent

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prevent or lessen such unreasonable Importations, which have, 'ere now, glutted our Markets. Through a Want of such Regulations, the *English* Merchants and Farmers have, in Times of Dearness in *Ireland*, &c. been deprived of their just Rights, advanced Prices. It will not in Effect be making a new Law, as much as intitling us to the Benefit of an old one; which we and our Forefathers ought to have enjoyed long ago.

The (a) *Spirit*, and not the Letter of Laws relating to National Interests, ought to be regarded. All Laws of Nature and Nations allow such a Construction,

I will join with any in wishing the Prosperity of *Holland*, but not when it is founded on the Ruin of *England*.

To return to the Plantations, their Ships coming to *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain* and *Portugal* with Corn, hurts all our Manufactures, as well as our Farmers; thereby they carry home the Manufactures of those Nations, to supply their Wants. Moreover it is well known that the *Dutch*, for Cheapness of Freight, frequently hire our Plantation Ships from the *Mediterranean* to *Holland*. Then as the *Dutch* work several of their Manufactures cheaper than we do, and only Half

(a) *Qui haret in litera, haret in cortice.*

Freight

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Freight being to be paid homewards, the *Dutch* Manufactures and *India* Goods are bought cheaper by the People of our Northern Colonies, than ours when we export them thither.

The wise *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* do voluntarily hinder their Plantations in *America* to interfere with the Manufactures, which are made in *France* and *England*, as well as with those which are made in *Spain* and *Portugal*: Surely then there is much more Reason for us to prevent our Colonies going on with their Corn Trade.

There are other Commodities sufficiently profitable, which may employ them fully, without injuring us.

The honest judicious Quaker, *Joshua Gee*, who deserves a Monument to be erected to his Memory, for his (a) Book on the Trade

(a) *Lewis XIV.* was very remarkable for rewarding valuable Authors: Such Men are profitable Members of the Commonwealth. *Peter the Great* of *Muscovy* had the same way of acting: He honoured and favoured such Sort of Men liberally, and of his own accord: He esteemed them as Benefactors to himself and People.

I here take the Liberty of mentioning a few small Books of great Value to Gentlemen who would be instructed in our Trade, and *National Affairs*, without having their Understandings imposed on by designing and

Trade and Navigation of *Britain*, has told us what they are, viz. Hemp, Flax, Raw-Silk, Iron, Pot-Ash, Ships, Cochineal, raising Indico, planting Cocoa-Nuts, &c. For the Satisfaction of those who have not seen this excellent (a) Book; I will quote some Particulars out of him, relating to the Subject I am treating of; viz.

Encouraging the Sowing Hemp and Flax, instead of having all from *Russia* to supply us. } 300,000

Raw-Silk to be made in *Carolina* and *Pensylvania*, instead of our having it from *Piedmont*. } 200,000

and fallacious Writers. To the above add *Huet* on the *Dutch Trade*, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Remains*, The Interest of *Scotland* consider'd, *Sir William Temple's Observations on the Netherlands*, &c. *Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland*, with his *Verbum Sapienti* annexed to it. His Numbers of our People, and his Account of our Cash, seem to be his only Errors. *Philipps's State of the Nation's Debts, and Money*, &c. may be read to p. 38. N. B. *Sir William Petty's* in p. 9. is falsly charged by him about our Exports.

(a) Wherein he shews how our Trade may be better'd 3,000,000 of Pounds per Ann. if we did what we ought.

Though this Sum may be too large, the Advancement nevertheless may be wonderfully great.

Encou-

Encouraging the making of Pig-Iron, and making it into Bar-Iron, instead of having the whole from *Sweden* } 100,000

Making of Pot-Ash, instead of having it from *Russia* } 30,000

Building Ships, and importing Timber } 100,000

Making Cochineal, raising Indico, planting Cocoa Nuts, &c. } 100,000

The Article of Timber I do not press at present; because as *Norway* lies much nearer to us, we may be supplied much cheaper, by saving Freight. Perhaps the Iron Article, that Part of it which comes from *Sweden* being under the same favourable Circumstances, will not admit of much Encouragement from our Legislature; but the other Particulars, coming chiefly from the *Botnick Gulph* and *Petersburgh*, we may be supplied with from our Colonies, which are as near us as those Places: Our Lands are cheaper set than theirs, which is an encouraging Advantage.

If we want more Encouragement, we should take off the Duties on those Goods for some Time. *Russia* is obliged to send their

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their Goods (a great Part of them) *five or six hundred Miles* before they ship them, which would *not be* our Case. That Empire has a great Ballance of Trade against us, and does not take *much*, comparatively speaking, from us, but Bills of Exchange and ready Money, and have almost their own Prices for Hemp (there being no great Quantities raised elsewhere). Our Woollen Exports to that Country are not what might be expected. It is unnecessary to observe, that their great Use of Fur Cloathing, is our Detriment. The *Russians*, do what we can, will receive enough of our Cash for their Linen Cloth, Linen Yarn, *Russia* Leather, &c. we shall afterwards remain great Customers for their Goods.

If the *two Articles of Iron and Timber* (the hewing, drawing and working up Timber into Pipe Staves, &c. would likely require more Hands than we could spare, the other Particulars being well attended to) were *excluded in our Improvements* (I mean more than they are at present) *in America*, our Gain would be sufficiently great; no less than 6,30,000 Pounds *per Annum*; they have People enough to manage and go on with such Improvements; so *many Persons that are now employed in Tillage, &c.* would be sufficient (in old *England* it has been computed, that there are no less than near 3,000,000 of People, *now* subsisted by Agriculture). If the Woollen Business was discouraged, there would

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would be more than enough. It might not be improper to swear their Governors to give *all*, and the *truest* Intelligence they can, of the State of *our Colonies*. How great must their Dealings be in those Things? In 1732. they shipped off from London only 12,660 *Woollen Cards*.

To return, their Lands are very fit for Hemp, [See *Gee*] and well cleared, at least, *enough for all the Purposes* we can desire.

To say there have been Bounties formerly given for Hemp, does not lessen the Force of what is advanced; for we may well know, as Tillage was so profitable to them, as is before noted, they did not forsake the Employment of their Fathers, for new Improvements (their Lands or People could not do two Things at once). If Compulsory Laws were made, and Bounties continued, they must and would alter their Business, and lessen the *Russia* Importations, without Prohibitions. It cannot be suggested that the *French* Settlements would, on the ceasing of the Corn Trade in our Colonies, go into the Corn Trade, they have not Lands enough cleared for such a Purpose; they now carry on Businesses more suitable to their Circumstances (not to mention the *common* Prejudice of *all Nations* to alter the Employment they have been most used to). If they were well disposed for such an Alteration, they

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could not effect it, to any great Purpose, several Years yet to come.

The encouraging Hemp, Flax and Raw-Silk there, would be a double Benefit; it would afford Labour for our People at home.

If there should still be wanting farther encouragements, Bounties might be enlarged by casual (a) Funds, such as were in King William's Time, on Births, Burials, Marriages, Bachelors, &c. according to the several Ranks of People.

Our Northern Colonies injure England in so high a Degree in our Manufactures, as well as Corn Trade, that I hope all will unite in reforming such Abuses. To make this Point a little clearer, I shall mention some Facts. (b) The Northern Colonies, at present, says a late Writer, produce much the same Commodities as Great Britain; especially New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; and they have set up several of our Manufactures (the 12,660 Cards exported in Twelve Months is no small Specimen) such as Woollen, Camlet, Linen, Hats, Leather, Wrought Iron, Bridles, Saddles, Harness, Beaver-Hats, Wheat, Cyder, Flower, Malt, Liquor, Butter, Cheese, Soap, Candles, Chairs,

(a) See 6 & 7 W. & M.

(b) See an Account offered the Publick, when the Sugar Bill was depending.

Cabinet

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Cabinet and Turners Ware (a). They can have no Want of People, particularly as their Exports of all Kinds are now so great, as to employ near 1000 Ships and Sloops to our Southern Plantations, and the European Markets (see a Book called *The Plan of Commerce*).

As the greatest Value of those Exports consists in Corn and Grain, some short-sighted Reasoners will say, we shall advance the Dutch Corn Interest as well as our own; and then we should not be so Fond of such an Expedient. It will be better our Neighbours should receive (b) some Benefit, than that all the British Farming Interest fall into Ruin.

Let us no longer imitate the foolish Fashions of the French, and neglect imitating them in Affairs of Commerce. They wisely restrain their Plantations sucking out the Heart's Blood of their Kingdom, by carry-

(a) How little they take of our Manufactures, may appear by comparing those three Colonies with our others. It has appeared by Accounts laid before the Parliament, that our Sugar Colonies, which do not contain above one Twentieth Part of the White People, the others do, took of our Manufactures in Twelve Years 2,466,038 Pounds more than the rest.

(b) We can and ought to exclude them from supplying our Colonies of Nevis, Antegoa, St. Christophers, Montserrat, Carolina, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Virginia and Jamaica.

ing

ing on the (a) same Business as is carried on in France.

If we are not too Wise to change old Opinions, and to imitate the Good of bad Men, let us follow the Example of Cromwell, in putting the *highest Value possible* on the Corn Trade. That Ufurper, who was subtle, deep and circumspect, (b) who gave every Thing of Value *due Attention*; who took not Appearances for Realities, and who did not neglect great political good Points for a *few Inconveniencies* attending them, knew there was not any Thing that could have benefited *England* more than enlarging its Corn Trade, though *then* in (c) Embrio. His *strong Attempts* in treating with *Holland*, to expel them from dealing in Corn, and his insisting on its being to be reckoned a contraband Commodity, if met on the Seas, as *we are told* by a most famous (d) *Dutch Author*, shew us *his Sentiments in this Matter*.

(a) Supplying those Places only would be a wonderful Profit to us.

(b) He improved himself herein by *seeking out* every where *such* Sort of Men. They, who were in any Respect excellent, had his *Ear* and *Favour*.

(c) If he could have gained that Point, *England* would soon have rilled more largely.

(d) *De Wit* in his Interest of *Holland*.

Since

Since he would have exercised *such* a Power, if he could, over a Foreign State, let us, animated with the *same Zeal* for *England*, exercise the like Power over *our Plantations*, which are *now* much cleared, (though *not then*) of Wood. If they had been then under Tillage as much as now, we may easily imagine what would *have become* of them.

I hope Gentlemen in Power, as they know their Duty to their Country, will not act like *Medea*, to know Good, and not do it.

The CONCLUSION.

IF the Landed Interest should be in the like Distress *as it was lately*, it would, in all Probability, in three or four Years *afterwards*, end in the Ruin of Trade and Navigation, as well as Husbandry. The Tradesmen having lost *their best* (a) *Customers*,

(a) Every Fifty Farmers of 200*l.* Stock in Business, do necessarily support and maintain 1,100 Tradesmen and Artificers, *viz.* Butchers, Bakers, Carpenters, Smiths, Brasiers, Ironmongers, Rope-makers, Shoemakers, Grocers, Chandlers, Shop-keepers, Makers of Hats, Clothiers, Taylors, Pewterers, Coopers, Flax-Dressers, Linen and Woollen Weavers, &c. several other Sorts which it would be tedious to enumerate.

The frozen benumbing Temperature of the Winter does not damp the Growth of Vegetables more, than the Poverty of Farmers doth the Interest and Spirits of Tradesmen.

would

would be unable to carry on their Business, Freights would be few, Landholders would descend from bad to worse, Rents would be generally ill paid, and *at last unpaid*; Lands would be unmanur'd, and other Advantages neglected (the common Cause of Poverty) and thereby the Rents of the Kingdom, which may be kept up if the Methods laid down are pursued) within five Years Time, reduced near *Three Millions per Ann. less than at present.* Every rational Practical Farmer can tell you *the Odds between manur'd and unmanur'd Lands*; and the *different Consequences*, and thereby shew that such a Reduction is *not imaginary* only. The Reverse of those Methods, which chiefly raised the Value of Lands from King James the First's Time, when *we began to imitate the Netherland Husbandry*, to the present, *must*, when they happen, *abate* the Value of them. What I mean is, that sowing Grass-Seeds, Inclosures, and *manuring Lands*, being neglected and disused *in such a State of Misfortune*, must have *such a Consequence.* Those great Improvements in Husbandry were not common (particularly Liming, Sanding, and using Coal Ashes) not I think till (a) Charles the

(a) Hard was the Fate of the Landed Interest, not to flourish much till then. Several Particulars prove to us that the Money'd Interest had better luck; which may be proved by large Stocks of Money, before that Time, in our Nation. Henry the Seventh,

the Second's Reign, when the Effect was seen by giving a great many Years Purchase for the Freehold of Lands: Trade flourishing *helped in a certain Proportion.* Perhaps the Tradesmen use and consume of the Product of *the Land* (as Trade is at present) between 3 and 4,000,000 Pounds *per Ann.* And the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and others not Tradesmen, use of our *own Manufactures* 13,000,000 Pounds *per Ann.* I have tried these Estimates by some Rules in *Political Arithmetick*, which seem to justify the Truth of them: Whoever dislikes them may reject them.

I hope the *Guardians* of our Liberties and Properties (not imitating too many of our

our History tells us, left at his Death, in his private Coffers at *Richmond* 1,800,000 Pounds Sterling, notwithstanding his Plundering by *Epsom* and *Dudley.* How great must have been the Stock of the Laity and rich Clergy in that Age? There was a great Quantity of Money in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who followed the Steps of *Henry the Seventh*, in *incouraging Trade.* A great deal of Money was coined in King James the First's Reign: For from the 4th of *Elizabeth*, which was *Anno* 1599. to the Year 1638. there were coined 11,679,355 Pounds Sterling, a wonderful Sum of Money at that Time; especially considering the small Sums annually laid out *then* for Foreign Goods. These Things prove that the Value of Land was but inconsiderable, when the Monied Interest and Trade prospered considerably; though the Flourishing or Declining of Trade and Land Profits must affect each other's Condition for the better or worse, it does not do so in *so high a Manner*, as several have been taught to think.

Countrymen, who judge of Matters they do not see or feel, not more than as Matters of Speculation and uselefs Refinement,) will, out of Affection to themselves and Country, do all in their Power to support the Landed Interest. There have been sometimes mighty Enquiries about some National Interests; but they have frequently passed away too soon; however, the present Subject is of so much Importance to all Ranks of Men among us, that I hope it will meet with *all the Attention due to it.*

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PAGE 15. l. 12. for do discontinue read do not discontinue, Page 53. l. 19. sucking read from sucking.