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Ms. 202/A

Treatise on TRADE;
OR, THE
Antiquity and Honour
OF
COMMERCE.

SHEWING

How TRADE was esteemed by the
Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, and Romans,
and on what Footing of Worship it
stands with us.

Addressed to the
Country-Gentlemen of ENGLAND.

*Whose Merchants are Princes, whose Traffickers are
the Honourable of the Earth, Isa. Chap. 23. Ver. 28.
Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est: si
magna & copiosa, multa undique apportans, multisque
sine vanitate impartiens, non est admodum vituperanda
atque etiam, Si satiata quæstu vel contenta potius, ut
sæpè ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu se in agros pos-
sèssionesque contulerit, videtur jure optimo posse laudari.
Tulli de Officiis, Lib. 1. Cap. 62.*

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TO THE
Country - Gentlemen
 OF
ENGLAND.

I Would not send the following little Piece into the World without paying my Respects to your Worships, it being chiefly calculated for your Use ; and to demonstrate to You the Benefit of being born in a Trading Country. For tho' I know but too well, that your chief Consideration is, as *Sallust* terms it, "*venando servilibus Officiis intentum Ætatem agere,*" (*slavishly to murder Time with your Hounds and Horses*) yet, perhaps You may have Leisure to cast away an Hour on the Speculations of a Brother Justice ; in which, *believe me,* I have been as concise as possible, principally to avoid preaching, which I feel You have an Aversion to ; and moreover, as the Proverb says, "*A Word to the Wise is enough.*"

(v)

T H E
P R E F A C E.

A General Complaint of the Decay of Trade, and a Humour I have observed in the better sort of People, to make a kind of aukward, and ill-grounded Excuses for breeding their Children up to it; together with a Tendency to prefer what we call the Professions, as *Law*, *Divinity*, and *Physic*, to Merchandize, first put me upon examining on what Foundation this Way of judging was erected. And the more I looked into it, the less Cause I really saw for so feeble a Way of thinking: And any one who is at the Pains to inspect the following Sheets, I trust will be induced to think, that there is not only less likelihood for a Man to raise himself to any great Degree of Eminence in the Professions, than by Trade; but also that the Road to Honour and Preferment is as open (where the Merit is equal) in *Trade*, as in *Law*, *Divinity* or *Physic*; and that many more Estates of Consideration ^(a) are acquir'd, and even with less Obloquy from the one than from the others.

Supposing

^(a) Mr. *Lock* observes, that Trade is a surer and shorter Way to Riches than any other. *Lock's Works*, vol. 2. page 8. folio.

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Supposing an eminent Trader arrives only at the Office of Lord-Mayor; in that Capacity alone he is Right Honourable, and invested with the sacred Character of a Judge, both in Capital and Civil Matters, and proceeds even the Chancellor, and all other Judges and Officers of the Crown in his own Jurisdiction (b). And in case of an Interregnum, is the chief Magistrate in the Realm (a). And he that looks over the

following

(a) The high Rank of Mayor is not merely confined to the City, for at a Coronation, which is our prime Ceremony of Distinctions, the Mayor Walks next but one to the Prince of Wales. From whence Ben Johnson in his Poem on King James's Coronation, speaking of the Mayor has these Words,

" In the Behalf of all thy virtuous Sons,
" Whereof my Eldest there thy Pomp fore-runs.
" A Man without my flattering, or his Pride,
" As worthy as he's blest to be thy Guide.

Vide Ben Johnson, vol. 3. page 216.

" In Michaelmas Term 1463, were made divers Serjeants at Law, whose Feast were held at the Bishop of Ely's Place in Holborn, to which Feast the Mayor of London, with the Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commons of divers Crafts, being bidden, repaired, but when the Mayor looked to be set to keep the State in the Hall, as it had been used in all Places of the City and Liberties, out of the King's Presence (unknown to the Serjeants, and against their Wills, as they said) the Lord Grey of Rutben, then Treasurer of England, was there placed. Whereupon the Mayor made all the Aldermen to dine with him: howbeit he and all the Citizens were greatly displeas'd that he was so dealt with, and the new Serjeants and others were right sorry therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so happened, this was then (as my Record reporteth more at large) registered for a Precedent for Time to come. Hollinshead's Life, Ed. 4. page 667; also Abr. Flem. ex. J. S. page 716.

(b) Upon the Death of the King, the Lord-Mayor is said to be the Prime Person of England. For when King James I. was invited to come and take the English Crown, upon the Death

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following Essay, will find that great and wise Traders have arriv'd at the Dignity of Lord Chancellor, have been created Peers of the Realm, Knights of the Garter and Bath, Bannerets and Privy-Councillors. Which is as much as can be affirmed either of Lawyers or Divines, and more than can be proved in any one single Instance of the Followers of Physic.

Trade, by the Constitution of our Country, both with Respect to its public and private, its (a) antient and modern, its general and particular Laws (b) is certainly no

Degra-

Death of Queen Elizabeth; Sir Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor, subscribed in the first Place, before all the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Nobility. Seymour's Survey of London, vol. 2. page 35. And late Instances of this kind happened on the Abdication of King James II. when the Mayor committed by his Warrant, the Lord Jefferes to Prison, then Chancellor of England, and a Peer of the Realm. About which Time also, Sir John Chapman, Mayor of London, committed Sir Robert Wright, Lord Chief Justice of England, to the Goal of Newgate, which fully evidences the great Eminence of this Office. See the History of that Time. English Baronetage, Ed. 1741, vol. 5. p. 196.

(a) Dio Cassius, in his Life of Nero, indeed makes Bonduca, the British Queen, reflect on Trade and Merchandize, as mean and unworthy Occupations. But it is to be noted at the same Time, that the Britons were then in such a State of Barbarism, that when under her Conduct, they had beat the Romans, they killed some Ladies of illustrious Birth; by first cutting off their Breasts, and then sewing them to their Mouths, that they might seem to eat them, and afterwards hanging them up, tortured them to Death by sticking their Bodies full of Splinters. See Xiphil. Abridgment of Dio Cassius, lib. 2. page 703, &c, Edit. Han. 1606.

(b) In the following Discourse I have had a strict Regard to our Laws (and as I trust I ever shall interpret them as an Englishman) for as Mr. Chillingworth observes, " If I pretend that I should submit to the Laws of the King of England, but " should

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Degradation whatever ; and it may with strict Truth be affirmed, that *Commerce* is that alone, by which our Nation keeps up its Head, and what renders us of that Consequence with foreign Powers as we are. And if the following of *Trade* had here ever degraded (which in effect it never did) yet I conceive that the brave Stand, which was lately made by the Citizens of *London*, to support the Credit and Honour of the Nation, and the Protestant Succession, should be a sufficient Cause alone to make *Traders* esteem'd by all Degrees, as Gentlemen of Worth ; and not only so, but as a People and Body of Men, the most respectable and fittest to be encouraged of any in these Realms, and a full Proof to all Intents and Purposes, that Merchandize is a worthy and honourable Employment.

“ should indeed obey them in the Sense the King of *France*
“ should put upon them, whatsoever it were ; I presume every
“ understanding Man would say, that I did indeed obey the
“ King of *France*, and not the King of *England*. Or, if I
“ should pretend to believe the Bible, but that I would understand it according to the Sense which the chief *Musti* should
“ put upon it ; who would not say that I were a Christian in
“ Pretence only, but in deed a *Mahomitan* ? *Pref. to the Author of Charity maintained*, page 14.

A TREA-

(I)



A
T R E A T I S E
O N
T R A D E .



S Trade is the grand Object the *British* Nation has in view; infomuch that the Speeches from the Throne are filled with the royal Care for its Preservation and Support, and the Heads of both Houses of Parliament are frequently employed to uphold and protect the meanest Branches of it; so I think an Attempt to shew how honourable Commerce has been deem'd in all Ages and Times, in respective flourishing States, is neither a Work impertinent nor useles. I shall therefore begin this Review of Commerce with evidencing the Opinion and Sentiments, and Practice, the *Egyptians* and *Jews* held in this Matter.

It is on Record, in ancient Story, that at first (a) Commerce consisted in bartering Corn and Cattle

B for

(a) See *Puffendorf de Leg.* lib. 5. ch. 5.

(2)

for other Commodities. To this Effect speaks *Homer* in the *Iliad*, lib. 6. ver. 45. and which is thus translated by Mr. *Pope* :

*For Diomede's brass Arms of mean Device,
For which nine Oxen paid a vulgar Price,
He gave his own, of Gold divinely wrought,
An hundred Beeves the shining Purchase bought.*

For which Cause also I conceive, that when *Theseus* coined Money, as is noted by *Plutarch*, he stamped it with an Ox ; and, in his Life of *Poplicola*, he observes, that when the Use of Money was not common among the *Romans*, their Wealth consisted in Cattle ; and afterwards says, their Estates were called Πενέλια, *Peculia*, from *Pecus*, i. e. Cattle, and they stamped on their ancient Money an Ox, a Sheep, or a Hog ; and even to this Day, in the inland Parts of *Barbary*, where Coin is not in Plenty, Mr. *Morgan*, in his Remarks on the Life of *Mahomet*, tells us, page 27. that there the Way of counting their Wealth is by Sheep ; a Cow goes for Ten, an Ox for Twenty, a breeding Mare goes for Fifty or Sixty, &c. Thus the Trade of the two Sons of *Adam* consisted in these Kinds ; (a) *Cain* being a Tiller of the Ground, but *Abel* was a Dealer in Sheep ; to which latter Employ God seems to have given the Preference, *Gen.* chap. 4. And (b) *Cicero de Officiis* observes, that *Cato* the elder, being asked what he conceived the fittest Way of improving an Estate ? answered, By feeding Cattle well. And which the next ? reply'd, To feed Cattle indifferently. And which the Third ? returned Answer, To feed Cattle even badly.

Diodorus

(a) *Gen.* chap. 4. (b) *Lib.* 2. chap. 4. Edit. Ver.

(3)

Diodorus Siculus observes, that *Egypt* was the only Country in the World, where a Man being born of Parents of any particular Trade or Calling, was himself obliged to follow the same ; (a) nor was a Man at Liberty to change it for another ; thereby, says he, all domestick Jealousies, or the Ambition of Particulars was prevented ; for a Man could not rise beyond his Father's Profession. *Egypt*, according to *Diodorus*, was divided into three Portions ; the first belonged to the Body of the Priests, the second to the King, and the third to the military Corps ; for this Reason, as all were obliged to follow their Father's Trade (b), many were not taught to read, but no Man was despised for the Class he was born in, which is always the mere Work of Chance ; for each Degree of Men were considered as Conduces to the publick Welfare, therefore no Degree, Profession, or Calling, was contemptible ; for, as my Author observes, all were equally noble ; for at the Funeral Orations, the Race of the deceased Person was not named, as was the Custom of the *Greeks*, because all the *Egyptians* held themselves equally noble, so that the *Egyptians*, allowed by all Men to be the most ancient, as well as the most polished People of the old World, held Trading in no Disrepute ; inso much, that *Diodorus* (c) tells us, that *Psammaticus* of *Sais*, one of the twelve Governors of *Egypt*, traded with the stranger Merchants, but more especially with those of *Phanicia* and *Greece*, by which Means he gained great Riches and Respect from the neighbouring Nations, and was therefore the better able to subdue his Brother

B 2

Governors,

(a) *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 1. art. 2. cap. 25. (b) *Ibid.* lib. 1. art. 2. cap. 29. (c) *Ibid.* lib. 1. art. 2. 20.

Governors, and make himself sole King of the Country, and Master of *Egypt*: And here, although a Digression, it may not be amiss to shew, from this approved Author, what the original Power of Kings heretofore was. In the early Times, says *Diodorus (a)*, Kings conducted not themselves in *Egypt*, as they do amidst other Nations, where they follow their own Bent and Will without taking any Controul. Every thing here was prescribed them by the Law, not only with regard to the Publick, but also to their own particular Conduct of themselves: They could not be waited on by Slaves brought up in their own Palaces, but were obliged to take the Children of the chief Priests to wait on them, young Men under Twenty, and the best brought up in the World, so that the King seeing perpetually about him Day and Night the principal Youths of *Egypt*, might be intimidated from doing any thing below his Rank; and, in Effect, Princes only fall so easily into Vice, but because their Ministers are always ready to flatter their Passions. But, above all Things, they had Hours set when the King could not dispose of himself, and was obliged to do his Duty as the Law appointed. At Break of Day they were ordered to read Letters addressed to them, that they might know the Wants of their Kingdom, as well as Remedies of those Wants. After this they were dressed in their Royal Robes, and attended the Sacrifice, where the Priest prayed for him, because he governed his Subjects with *Justice*; and praised him, because he master'd his Passions; praised his Magnanimity, the Goodliness of his Presence, his Gentleness towards all Men, and the

Aversion

(a) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. art. 2. 22.*

Aversion he had to *Lies*. He set forth, that his Punishments inflicted on Parties, equalled not the Crimes for which they suffered; and that he recompensed Services above Measure. Thus having commended the King for his good Deeds, they after, on the other hand, condemned any bad Action he had through Ignorance committed. It's true, they disculpated the King, but severely reprimanded his Flatterers, and all their Ministers, who had evilly advised the King. By this kind of Submission, *Diodorus* tells us, the King of *Egypt* obtained the Love of his Subjects in so high a Degree, as that of the nearest Alliances did not equal it; for not only the Priests, but all Degrees of Men in *Egypt*, did not so strongly interest themselves for the Welfare of their Wives and Children, as for the King's Life and Safety: And whilst this Kind of Government subsisted, they preserved the State in Peace, and led a happy Life. They subdued foreign Nations, amassed great Riches, and made the Cities to flourish. From this Account it appears, that the ancient Kings and Ministers of *Egypt*, were what our present Kings and Ministers are, or should be; and that the first Kings had no such absolute Power as is falsely allotted them by *Filmer*, *Salmatius*, and others. And I have the rather made this Digression and set the Passage down at full length, because it evidently proves, that the first Monarchs held a limited Power, and were not uncontroul'd, as is untruly affirm'd by some, and more excusably mention this Matter, as it has escaped all our best Writers, for Liberty, I mean *Hoadley*, *Locke*, *Sidney*, &c. But to return to my Subject.

B 3

It

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It is also evident, from the 9th chap. of the 2d Book of *Chronicles*, that King *Solomon* was a great Trader to *Tarshish*, and that therefore he surpassed all the Kings of the Earth in Riches and in Wisdom: And of this Trade *Josephus* thus speaks (a), "About this Time *Solomon's* Ships returned from *Ophir* (otherwise called the Land of Gold) with Stones for Jewels, and Pine-wood in Abundance. The latter was made use of partly for Pillars and Supporters of the King's Temple and Palace, and partly for musical Instruments, as Harps, Cymbals, Psalteries, and the like, for the *Levites* to glorify God upon, accompanied with singing. It is to be noted, that *Solomon* had never seen so fine Wood before, differing greatly from that Wood which is called Deal in the Way of Trade betwixt Buyer and Seller, in Nature of the Grain of a Fig-tree, only whiter, and more glossy. I thought it not amiss to note this common Mistake, especially being a Question that falls so naturally upon this Occasion into *Solomon's* Story. This Plate Fleet brought the King Six hundred and Sixty-six Talents of Gold, over-and-above the Merchants Adventure, and what the Governors and Kings of *Arabia* sent him for Presents. Of this Gold he caused to be cast Two hundred Targets, weighing Six hundred Shekels of Gold each, and these he hung in his Hall of the Grove of *Lebanon*. His drinking Cups also were of Gold, curiously wrought, and garnished with precious Stones; and his other Utensils were of the same Metal. There was no trading with Money in this Case, for the King had his Ships in the Sea of *Tarsus* that dealt upon

(a) *Jewish Antiq.* lib. 8.

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" the Truck with foreign Nations, and in exchange for Commodities of his own, returned him Gold, Silver, and Ivory. To make this Voyage and return, took up three Years."

But as Dean *Prideaux*, in his *Connexion*, gives a much more ample Account of this Trade, and even brings it down almost to our own Times, I shall for that Reason, though somewhat long, insert it in his own Words, rather than use worse of my own.

" This Trade, saith the *Dean*, they had long carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa* on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East, and reaped prodigious Profit from it. King *David* was the first who began it; for having conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Sea-port Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, which then belonged to that Kingdom; and seeing the Advantage which might be made of the Situation of these two Places, he wisely took the Benefit of it; and there begun this Traffick.

" There are two Places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is *Ophir* and *Tarshish*; from the former of these *David*, in his Time, drew great Profit: For the Three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is said (*1 Chron.* ch. 29. ver. 4.) to have given to the House of God, seems to be of

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" that

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“ that Gold of *Ophir*, which he himself had by
 “ his Fleets, in several Voyages, brought to him
 “ from thence. For what he had reserved for
 “ this Work out of the Spoils of War, the Tribes
 “ of the conquered Nations, and the publick Re-
 “ venues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned
 “ (ch. 24. ver. 14.) and amounting to a prodi-
 “ gious Sum. The Three thousand Talents of
 “ the Gold of *Ophir* which he added, was over-
 “ and-above this, and out of his own proper
 “ Goods, or private Estate, which he had, besides
 “ what belonged to him as King. And how he
 “ could increase that so far, as out of that only to
 “ be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any
 “ other Way be accounted for, than by the great
 “ Returns which were made him of this Traffick;
 “ for the Gold alone amounted to about One-
 “ and-twenty Millions of our Money, besides
 “ Seven thousand Talents of refined Silver,
 “ which were included in the same Gift. After
 “ *David*, *Solomon* carried on the same Traffick to
 “ *Ophir*, and had from thence, in one Voyage,
 “ Four hundred and Fifty Talents of Gold. And
 “ if *Solomon* got so much in one Voyage, well
 “ might *David* have got the Sum above-men-
 “ tioned, in the several Voyages which were
 “ made thither for him, from the Time that he
 “ had subdued the Land of *Edom*, to the Time
 “ of his Death, which was at least Twenty-five
 “ Years. But it must be acknowledged, that
 “ *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only
 “ by his greater Wisdom, but also by his greater
 “ Application to all the Business of it; for not
 “ being perplexed and incumbered with such
 “ Wars as his Father *David* was, he had more
 “ Leisure to attend thereto: And therefore for
 “ the

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“ the better settling of it, he went in Person to
 “ *Elatb* and *Ezion-geber*, and there took care,
 “ by his own Inspection, for the Building of his
 “ Ships, the fortifying of both these Ports, and the
 “ settling of every thing else which might tend
 “ to the successful carrying on of this Traffick,
 “ not only to *Ophir*, but to all other Parts, where
 “ the Sea, on which these Ports lay, opened a
 “ Passage. But his chiefest Care was to plant
 “ those two Towns with such Inhabitants as
 “ might be best able to serve him in this Design;
 “ for which Purpose he brought thither, from the
 “ Coasts of *Palatine*, as many as he could get, of
 “ those who had been there used to the Sea, espe-
 “ cially of the *Tyrians*, whom his Friend and
 “ Ally *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, from thence fur-
 “ nished him with, in great Numbers; and these
 “ were the most useful to him in this Affair;
 “ for they being in those Days, and for many
 “ Ages after, the most skilful of all others in Sea
 “ Affairs, they were the best able to navigate his
 “ Ships, and conduct his Fleets through long
 “ Voyages. But the Use of the Compass not
 “ being then known, the Way of Navigation was
 “ in those Times only by coasting; which often
 “ made a Voyage to be of three Years, which now
 “ may be finished almost in three Months. How-
 “ ever, this Trade succeeded so far, and grew to
 “ so high a Pitch, under the wise Management
 “ of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to these two
 “ Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem*, all the
 “ Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*,
 “ which was the chief Fountain of those immense
 “ Riches which he acquired, and whereby he
 “ exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his
 “ Time, as much as he did by his Wisdom; so
 “ that

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“ that he made Silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the
 “ Stones of the Street, by reason of the great
 “ Plenty with which it there abounded during his
 “ Reign. After the Division of the Kingdom, *Edom*
 “ being of that Part which remained to the House
 “ of *David*, they still continued to carry on the
 “ Trade from those two Ports, especially from
 “ *Ezion-geber*, which they chiefly made use of
 “ till the Time of *Jehosaphat*: But he having
 “ lost his Fleet, which he had prepared to sail
 “ from thence to *Ophir*, in Partnership with *Abaziab*,
 “ King of *Israel*, this spoiled the Credit of
 “ that Harbour; for there being nigh the Mouth
 “ of it a Ridge of Rocks, as this Fleet was
 “ passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden
 “ Gust of Wind, which God sent on purpose for
 “ the Punishment of this Confederacy, driven
 “ upon these Rocks, they were all broken to
 “ Pieces and lost: And therefore, for the avoid-
 “ ing of the like Mischief for the future, the
 “ Station of the King’s Ships was thenceforth
 “ removed to *Elatb*; from whence *Jehosaphat*,
 “ the next Year after, sent out another Fleet for
 “ the same Place: For whereas it is said, he lost
 “ the first Fleet for confederating with the idola-
 “ trous King of *Israel*: And we are told in an-
 “ other Place, of his sending a Fleet to *Ophir*, in
 “ which he would not let *Abaziab* have any Part-
 “ nership with him: This plainly proves the
 “ sending out two Fleets by *Jehosaphat*, the first
 “ in Partnership with *Abaziab*, and the other
 “ without it. And thus this Affair was carried
 “ on from the Time of *David*, till the Death of
 “ *Jehosaphat*; for till then the Land of *Edom*
 “ was all in the Hands of the Kings of *Judab*,
 “ and was wholly governed by a Deputy, or Vice-
 “ roy

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“ roy, there placed by them; but when *Jehoram*
 “ succeeded *Jehosaphat*, and God, for the Pu-
 “ nishment of the exceeding great Wickedness
 “ of that Prince, had withdrawn his Protection
 “ from him, *Esau*, according to the Prophecy
 “ of *Isaac*, did break the Yoke of *Jacob* from off
 “ his Neck, and after having served him (as
 “ foretold by that Prophecy) for several Gene-
 “ rations, that is from the Time of *David* till
 “ then; for on *Jehoram*’s having revolted from
 “ God, the *Edomites* revolted from him, and
 “ having expelled his Vice-roy, chose them a
 “ King of their own, and, under this Conduct,
 “ recovered their ancient Liberty, and were not
 “ after that any more subject to the Kings of
 “ *Judab*: And from this Time the *Jewish* Traf-
 “ fick through the *Red Sea* had an Interruption,
 “ till the Reign of *Uzziab*; but he, in the very
 “ Beginning of his Reign, having recovered
 “ *Elatb* again to *Judab*, fortified it anew, and
 “ having driven out the *Edomites*, planted it
 “ again with his own People, and there renewed
 “ their old Traffick, which was from thence car-
 “ ried on and continued till the Reign of *Abaz*:
 “ But then *Rezin*, King of *Damascus*, having, in
 “ Conjunction with *Pekab*, King of *Israel*, op-
 “ pressed and weakened *Judab*, to that degree
 “ which I have mentioned, he took the Advan-
 “ tage of it to seize *Elatb*; and driving out the
 “ *Jews* from thence, planted it with *Syrians*, pur-
 “ posing thereby to draw to himself the whole
 “ Profit of that Traffick of the Southern Seas,
 “ which the Kings of *Judab* had hitherto
 “ reaped by having that Port. But the next
 “ Year after *Tiglath-pileser*, having conquered
 “ *Rezin*, and subdued the Kingdom of *Damascus*,
 “ he

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“ he seized with it *Elatb*, as then belonging to
 “ his new Conquest, and without having any
 “ Regard to his Friend and Ally King *Abaz*, or
 “ the just Claim which he had thereto, kept it
 “ ever after, and thereby put an end to all that
 “ great Profit, which the *Jews* till then had
 “ reaped from this Traffick, and transferred it to
 “ the *Syrians*, which became a great Diminution
 “ of their Wealth. For although they did not
 “ always carry it on with the same full Gales
 “ of Prosperity as in the Time of King *Solomon* ;
 “ yet it was constantly as long as they had it, of
 “ very great Advantage to them ; for it included
 “ all the Trade of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and
 “ *Arabia*, which was carried on through the *Red*
 “ *Sea*. But after *Rezin* had thus dispossessed
 “ them of it, they never had it any more restored
 “ to them, but were ever after excluded from
 “ it. From thenceforth all the Merchandize that
 “ came that Way, instead of being brought to
 “ *Jerusalem*, was carried elsewhere : But at what
 “ Place the *Syrians* fixed their principal Mart for
 “ it, while it was in their Hands, is no where
 “ said. But at length we find the Whole of this
 “ engrossed by the *Tyrians*, who, managing it
 “ from the same Port, made it by the Way of
 “ *Rhinocorura* (a Sea Port lying between the
 “ Confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*) center all at
 “ *Tyre* ; and from thence they furnished all the
 “ Western Parts of the World with the Wares
 “ of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which
 “ thus by the Way of the *Red Sea* they traded
 “ to : And hereby they exceedingly enriched
 “ themselves during the *Persian* Empire, under
 “ the Favour and Protection of whose Kings,
 “ they had the full Possession of this Trade.
 “ But

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“ But when the *Ptolemy's* prevailed in *Egypt*,
 “ they did, by building *Berenice*, *Myos-Hormos*,
 “ and other Parts on the *Egyptian* or Western
 “ Side of the *Red Sea* (for *Elatb*, and *Ezion-*
 “ *geber*, lay on the Eastern) and by sending
 “ forth Fleets from thence to all those Countries
 “ to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elatb*,
 “ soon drew all this Trade into that King-
 “ dom, and there fixed the chief Mart of it
 “ at *Alexandria*, which was thereby made the
 “ greatest Mart in all the World ; and there
 “ it continued for a great many Ages after.
 “ And all the Marine Traffick which the West-
 “ ern Parts of the World had with *Persia*, *India*,
 “ *Arabia*, and to the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*,
 “ was wholly carried on through the *Red Sea*,
 “ and the Mouth of the *Nile*, till a Way was
 “ found, a little above Two hundred Years since,
 “ of sailing to those Parts by the Way of the
 “ *Cape of Good Hope*. After this, the *Portuguese*
 “ for some Time managed this Trade ; but now
 “ it is in a manner wholly got into the Hands
 “ of the *English* and *Dutch*. And this is a full
 “ Account of the *East India* Trade, from the
 “ Time it was first begun by *David* and *Solomon*,
 “ to our present Age.” (a)

The

(a) *Josephus* speaks of two Brothers, *Jews*, named *Asineus*,
 and *Anileus*; by Trade Weavers ; “ *Which Trade*, says he,
 “ is accounted no Disparagement among those People, who, by
 “ their Valour and Resolution, made themselves Allies of *Ar-*
 “ *tabanas*, King of *Parthia*, with whom he cultivated a League,
 “ and appointed them chief Directors in *Mesopotamia* : These
 “ Men were held in universal Esteem by the *Jews*, till, like
 “ *Solomon*, they were ruined by *Anileus's* giving himself up
 “ to an idolatrous Wife, and other vile Affections.” *Jewish*
Antiq. chap. 12.

The Prophet *Isaiab* (a), speaking of this Trade of *Tarshish* and *Tyre*, calls it the *crowning City*, whose Merchants are Princes, whose Traffickers are the Honourable of the Earth. And our LORD (b) himself likeneth the Kingdom of Heaven, to a Merchant-man seeking goodly Pearls. And St. *John* (c) declares the Merchants to be the great Men of the Earth. And the great Apostle so far encourages Trade and Industry, that he pronounces those that provide not for their Household, deny the Faith, and are worse than Infidels (d). It being thus evident, that *Solomon* lived in greater Pomp than any other King before or since, whose very Utensils were Gold, and all whose amazing Splendor accrued from a flourishing Trade, for of the Extent of the Jewish Dominions St. *Hierom* thus speaks, " *Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo augusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 miliarium, latitudinem vero 40.* And in his " *Etiã Regiones; loca urbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa.*" Because the whole Country of the Jews is scarce in Length 160 Miles, and in Breadth about 40, &c. From the whole therefore of what has been cited, it is very evident, that Commerce was in great Esteem amongst the *Hebrews*, a People who were under the immediate Influence and Governance of God, and therefore Merchandize with them was fitly esteemed a worthy Occupation.

And if Trade was thus reputable among the Jews, it was much more so in Greece; for as the Merchants of the first are stiled Princes and Nobles,

(a) Chap. 23. (b) *Matth.* 17. ver. 45.
 (c) *Rev.* ch. 18. 23. (d) *Tim.* 5. 8.

Nobles, so they became as Gods to the Greeks; of these the *Tyrians* were a People strongly attached to Trade.

Appian of *Alexandria* says, that the *Tyrians*, from Industry and Trade, acquired almost the whole Dominion of the Seas, and made divers Conquests in *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, and subdued all *Lybia*; and this from a little Town, whose Dominions at first only extended so far as an Ox's Hide cut in Thongs would reach. *App. C. 1.*

Sir *Walter Raleigh* (a) speaking of the City of *Tyre*, says, "For Strength and Commodiousness of its Harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all Places, it was by a new Erection founded in an Island 700 Paces from the Continent." And therefore *Ezekiel* places it in the midst of the Sea; and calls it situate at the Entrance of the Sea. And also the same Prophet calleth it, *The Mart of the People of many Isles*. And *Isaiab* calls it, *A Mart of the Nations*. It excelled both in Learning and Manufacture, especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet Cloth; which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules's Dog*, who passing along the Sea Coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis*, or *Purpura*, the Hair of his Lips became of that Colour. And *Loyde*, in his *Lexicon de temporum mythycorum Historia per generationes digesta*, gives the following (b) Account of

(a) *Raleigh's Hist.* pag. 191.
 (b) See *Bib. Univer.* vol. 1. 242. also vol. 2. pag. 500.

(16)

of *Hercules*; and the *Phœnician* Traders (a). “ At
 “ the Time, says he, that *Deborah* and *Barak*
 “ judged *Israel*, a Merchant named *Alcides*; by
 “ Origin a *Phœnician*, but born in *Beotia*, made
 “ great Voyages, sometimes alone, and some-
 “ times with other Merchants; some of whom
 “ went in their own Bottoms, and some as com-
 “ missioned by others; he established on all the
 “ Coasts a great Number of Colonies, and as
 “ *Greece*, at that Time of Day, was but thinly
 “ peopled, it fell out in many Places, that those
 “ new Inhabitants had as much Difficulty to de-
 “ fend themselves from wild Beasts, as against
 “ the Inclemency of the Air. At this Time they
 “ lived by Cattle, and therefore the young Men,
 “ who employed themselves in feeding them,
 “ accustomed themselves very early to combat
 “ with Lions and Bears: *Alcides*, at eighteen
 “ Years old, killed a Lion (b) on a Mountain of
 “ *Beotia*, named *Citheron*, and which had made
 “ great Destruction in the Flocks of *Thespia* and
 “ *Thebes*. For this Reason, the King of *Thespia*
 “ gave him, or his Followers, some of his Daugh-
 “ ters in Marriage; and ever after *Alcides* wore
 “ the *Lion*’s Skin he had killed, in the Nature of
 “ a Cloak. He also killed another *Lion* in the
 “ Forest of *Nemia*, which he undertook by Order
 “ of the King of *Mycenæ*; in which Country he
 “ staid a long Time, and there established a
 “ Colony

(a) Mr. Stanyan, in his *Grecian History*, page 71. very justly observes, that the *Curetes*, certain handicraft *Phœnician* Traders, were the Inventors of Musick, and obtained of *Minos* the Dominion of the Seas.

(b) This *Lion-hunting* seems to have been carried very late down. *Sallust* mentions it in his *Jugurthian War*, “ *Ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando, agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire.*” *Sall. de Bell. Jug. 11.*

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“ Colony of Merchants, or *Hæraclides*. These
 “ Men delivered the Country from divers vene-
 “ rous Animals which infested those Parts, as
 “ the Lake of *Lerna*, from an infinite Number
 “ of Serpents, in which it abounded; and ren-
 “ dered themselves still more famous by the
 “ Slaughter of divers Beasts, as the *Bears* of
 “ *Erymanthus*, and of some *wild Bulls*. Not-
 “ withstanding which, it was impossible that a
 “ Colony, thus newly established in those Parts,
 “ who over-run the whole Country, as well for
 “ Pasturage as Hunting, should not raise up
 “ Envy in their Neighbours. Thus in hunting,
 “ or feeding their Cattle, near a Mountain in
 “ *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, they quarrelled with a
 “ People rich in Horses and horned Cattle, who
 “ were called *Centaurs* (a), (which being inter-
 “ preted, signifies a *Driver*, or *Hunter of Bulls*)
 “ who fought on Horseback, whereas the Mer-
 “ chants engaged on Foot; but nevertheless were
 “ above their Match; for these raw *Centaurs*
 “ were not equal in Address to the *Phœnicians*,
 “ as also, because that Part of *Peloponnesus* was
 “ full of Mountains and Forests, and therefore
 “ Cavalry was of little use. They had also other
 “ Broils with certain Shepherds that lived at the
 “ Extremity of *Peloponnesus*, near to the Pro-
 “ montory of *Tenedus*; from these they took the
 “ Dogs (b) they had brought up to guard their
 “ Cattle, and which they set upon all such as
 “ attacked them. He also set at Liberty some
 “ *Attick* Prisoners, which these Shepherds had
 “ taken, as they were endeavouring to kid-nap
 “ some of the Inhabitants.”

C

After

(a) *Centaurs*, of them see *Ludovicus Vives*’s Notes on the 13th Chap. of the 18th Book of St. *Austin*’s *City of God*.

(b) This Story, by a poetical Licence, as *Loyde* supposes, is turned into the Fable of *Cerberus*.

(18)

After this, *Alcides* leaving a Colony in *Peloponnesus*, returned to *Thebes*, and from thence to *Eubea*, upon some Concerns, where he heard that *Euritus* had promised his Daughter *Jole* in Marriage to him who should shoot better than himself and Sons. *Alcides* presented himself, and made it appear, he was much abler at this Exercise than these Princes. But they afterwards refused him *Jole*, under a Pretence, that the *Phœnicians* sacrificed their Children to appease the Anger of the Gods. Nevertheless *Iphitus*, Son of *Euritus*, contracted a great Friendship for *Alcides*, but afterwards they quarrelled as they were going in quest of Cattle they had stolen from *Euritus*. *Alcides* killed *Iphitus*: This Murder made him take Sanctuary with *Deiphobus*, Prince of *Amycles*, a Town in *Laconia*, who purified him from his Crime, according to the Fashion of those Days, by plunging him into a River. He after this fell sick, and believed that Heaven had visited him with this Illness, as a Punishment for the Murder he had committed; for which Cause he formed a Resolution to visit a famous Priest that lived at *Delphi*, to endeavour to learn from him how to clear away this Scruple of Conscience. But meeting no Consolation from the Priest, *Alcides* attempted to make himself Master of *Delphi*; yet afterwards agreeing with the Priest, he learned from him, that to appease his Conscience, he should instantly depart from *Greece*, and make some Atonement to *Euritus*, Father of *Iphitus*: Which Resolution he resolved to follow; but being arrived at the Coast of *Asia*, he was taken Prisoner by the People of *Omphale* (a), Queen of *Lybia*,

(a) This Story seems to be confounded by *Herodotus* into a certain amphibious Monster, half Serpent, and half a Virgin, which *Hercules* met with in *Scythia*, and by whom he had three Sons. Vide *Herod. Melpom. Lib. 4.*

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Lybia, where he remained a Captive three Years, and from thence escaped with some *Phœnician* Vessels, and making a Descent in *Cappadocia*, he was there opposed by both Men and Women, all the People being united to drive them out; but having plundered them, he returned to *Greece* with the Arms he had taken from those Women. (a)

The Nearness of *Phrygia*, and the Riches of the *Phrygians*, produced a Desire in the *Phœnicians* to seize some Port of theirs, advantageously situated for carrying on a Trade with *Troy*, and to establish themselves there. For this Purpose they equip'd a Fleet of Eighteen Vessels of Fifty Oars each, and sailing under the Command of *Alcides*, landed at the most convenient Place they could find, and there maintained a Footing for some Time. But intestine Divisions soon putting an End to this Enterprize, they left this Place therefore with all their Fleet, and arrived at the Isle of *Cos*, where being taken for Pirates, they could not refresh themselves, but by making a Descent Sword in Hand. *Alcides* returning from thence into *Greece*, he was a-new engaged in divers Wars, in order to maintain his Colony in *Peloponnesus*, of which *Apollodorus* gives an exact Account, *lib. 2. chap. 7.* After this he died in a Mountain of *Thessaly*, named *Oeta*, and his Body was burnt after the Fashion of the Country, and he was ranked in the Number of the Gods (b), from his great Actions.

This famous Merchant made not these Voyages by himself; one Man could not accomplish such great

C 2

(a) Being here opposed by the Women, as well as Men, from hence it is conceived arises the supposed History of his subduing the *Amazons*.

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great Enterprizes, but the Honour of them was attributed to him, as being the Chief. Besides the Name of *Alcides*, which he had from his Birth, he was called *Harokel*, from whence the *Greeks* called him *Ἡρακλεις*, *Heracleis*, and the *Latins* *Hercule*, a *Phœnician* Word, signifying *Merchant* (a).

In the above Account, we may find an easy Explanation of the *Labours* of *Hercules*, which are so elegantly disguised by the Poets. But in effect, *Alcides* did nothing more (as has been shewn) than establish *Phœnician* Colonies, and a flourishing Trade. The *Greeks* indeed embellished his History, and made at length a God, and *Destroyer of Monsters*, of a Man who never had any other View than to aggrandize his Country, and to enlarge its Commerce. For this Reason, both the *Greeks* and *Romans* esteemed him the *God of Gain and Trade*; from whence it often happened, that they devoted to him the tenth Part of their Profits (b).

But

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* says, the *Greeks* changed *Alcides*'s Name to *Hercules*, *Heracleus*, signifying the Glory he obtained was by or through *Juno*: Now if by *Juno*, according to *Varro*'s Account, be meant the Earth, it will signify, glorified by the Earth, or from his earthly Exploits: But if on the other hand, with *Tully*, we suppose *Juno* to signify the Air that lies betwixt the Heaven and the Earth, that is the Wind, it is more particularly applicable to a Glory obtain'd from Merchandize. See *Diador. Sic.* lib. 4. art. 5. Also *Tully de Nat. Deo*; *Aer autem, ut σοιçi disputant, interjectus inter mare, & cælum, Junonis nomine consecratur*, lib. 2. 26. in princip. *Ma noi dovendo parlare di quello, che passo per l'Italia, che, o lo vogliamo considerare come conquistatore, o Mercante.* See Descrizione Delle prime scoperte Dell' Antica. Città d'Ercolanc, page. 8.

(b) *Armis Herculis ad postem fixis.* *Horace* Epist. 1. The learned *Dacier* observes on this Line, that the Ancients dedicated

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But he was not the only Merchant of *Beotia* that became so famous in *Greece*, I am yet to speak of the Actions and Voyages of other *Tyrian Hercules's*, or *Merchants*, (a) with which is confounded the Actions of this *Hercules*, from a Similitude of Circumstances. It was another *Tyrian* Merchant that first ventured into the Extreimity of the *Mediterranean*, and landed in *Spain*, in an Island the *Phœnicians* called *Gades*, which was possessed by three *Shepherds* Families, which they drove away, after having plundered them of their Cattle. At length they passed the Streights, which are called from thence the *Streights of Hercules*, or the *Streights of Merchants* (b), and went into *Africa*; but he dared not launch too far into the Ocean. On his Return to *Phœnicia*, he reported that he had sailed as far as *Spain*, which he believed the farthest Part of the Earth. All that he did in *Spain*, was to establish a Colony at the Mouth of the *Betis*, which he called *Thrapfus*,

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from

ated the Implements of their Trade: to this God when they left it off, or had done with it. *Dac. Hor.* vol. 8. page 28. And the Reason of this Dedication to *Hercules*, is fully explained by *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 4. art. 6.— And was as follows: That *Hercules*, when in *Italy*, having encamped on the Spot where *Rome* now stands, received great Civilities from the Family of the *Pinarians*, who resided on Mount *Palatine*, wherefore he declared, that those, who after his Deification, should offer to him the Tenth of their Goods, should ever after lead a happy Life.

(a) *De Hercule. Tyrion.* See *Herod.* lib. 2 ch. 44.

(b) From hence also came the Name of divers other Places, as *Hercula Via*, the Way between the *Avernan* Lake and the Sea. And *Herculium Tyber*, the City *Tivoli*, in *Italy*. *Herculis Insula*, in *Sardinia*. *Herculis Fanum*, in *Etruria*. And as the *Phœnicians* traded here for *Tin* anciently, so we have Remains of this Sort with us, as *Herculeum Promontarium*, or *Hersland's Point*, in *Devonshire*; also *Herey Point*, in *Cornwall*, and perhaps from thence our Name *Herey* or *Henry* is derived, signifying of old *Trading Men*, or *Merchants*, or *Men rich in Goods*.

From a Name well known in *Phœnicia* (a): From thence he returned into *Africa*, where he made some Descents on different Places, in order to furnish himself with Necessaries. At the same Time divers *Phœnician Hercules's*, or *Merchants*, seized on Cattle in *Arabia*, in *Africa*, in *Sicily*, in *Italy*, and at *Rhodes*; and this, with ill Judgment, is attributed to him that founded the Pillars at *Gades*. Some other *Phœnician Hercules's*, or *Merchants*, coasted on *Italy* and *Gaul*; and the Profession they followed, has confounded them with more ancient Merchants of *Phœnicia*: And all these, through Length of Time, some have imagined a *single Person*; but others, better read in ancient History, have judged to be divers considerable Persons, to whom the Name of *Hercules* (b) has been given, without considering the Meaning of the Name; confounding as a proper Name, what signified only a Profession.

From what has been said, it is evident, that Commerce was esteemed honourable in *Greece*; however, I shall add an Instance or two more from ancient Authors, to enforce the Truth of this Matter.

Plutarch,

(a) Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσπανίας. Quod undis mersa quodammodo sepulta videatur.

(b) Quamquam, quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sane velim. Plures enim tradunt nobis ii, qui interiores scrutantur & reconditas litteras: antiquissimum, Jove natum, sed antiquissimo item Jove. Nam Joves quoque plures in priscis Græcorum litteris invenimus; ex eo igitur & Lisyto est is Hercules, quem concertavisse cum Apollinede tripode accepimus. alter traditur Nilo natus Ægyptius: quem aiunt Phrygiæ litteras conscripsisse. Tertius est ex Idæis digitis: cui inferias offerunt quartus Jovis & Alericæ, Latonæ sororis, qui Tyri maxime colitur: cujus Karthaginæ filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Betus dicitur, &c. Cicero Verburg. page. 1114.

Plutarch, in his Life of *Sylla*, mentions one *Archelaus*, a Merchant, being publickly employed to make Peace between the *Romans* and *Mithridates*; and, in his Life of *Solon*, takes Notice, that *Solon's* Father had ruined his Estate in doing Acts of Kindness to other Men; and, for that Cause, though he had Friends both sufficient and able to support him, yet being ashamed to beholden to others, as coming of an illustrious Family, who had been used to do Kindness, rather than receive any, he applied himself to Merchandize in his Youth. In those Days, says he, according to *Hesiod*, it was no Shame for a Man to work, nor did a Trade make any Difference in Quality; for Merchandize was a very honourable Profession, which brought home the good Things that barbarous Nations enjoyed, was the Occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and the Mother of Experience in many Kinds. Some Merchants, says he, have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Massilia*, that Man so much esteemed among the *Gauls* that live about the *Rhone*. Others also report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates*, the Mathematicians, traded; and *Plato* defrayed the Expence of his Travels by selling Oil in *Egypt*. In *Athens*, Trade was in such Repute (a), that no Man was obliged

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(a) Potter observes, that the *Athenians* were divided by *Solon* into four Ranks, according to every Man's Estate. 1. Those who could, with their dry and wet Commodities, fill Five hundred of their Measures, he placed in the first Order or Degree, and called them *Petucosio Medimnoi*. 2. Those who were of Ability to furnish out a Horse, or could fill Three hundred of their Measures, he called *Hippada Telountes*. The 3d Class consisted of those who could fill Two hundred Measures, which were called *Zeugitæ*. And the 4th and last he called *Thetæ*. So it is evident at *Athens*, that Men owed their Nobility merely to their Wealth. Potter's Ant. page 14. Algernon Sidney also notes, That the *Athenians* were inclined to War, but applied themselves to Trade, as subservient to that

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obliged to maintain his Father, unless he had brought him up to *one*, as *Plutarch's* Notes in his *Life of Solon*, and elsewhere (a) he maintains, that Idleness was publicly punished; infomuch, that a *Lacedemonian* being at *Athens*, when one suffered for Sloth, desired the Company to shew him the Man that was condemned for living like a Gentleman. By following this Rule, there was none begged at *Athens*. In those Days, says *Isocrates*, there were none that died of Want, or begged in the Streets, to the Dishonour of the Community. And in *Lucian's Parasite*, *Tyquiadès* asks *Simon*, how it came to pass, that all Mankind, gentle and simple, bond and free, betook themselves to some Trade or Profession whereby to become useful in their Generation, whilst he alone was without any Occupation in the World? *Cleon*, the Contemporary and Rival of *Nicias* (b), the *Athenian* General, is said, by *Ludovicus Vives* (c) in his Notes on *St. Augustine's City of God*, to be by Trade a Leather-feller, although he was a great General (d) and a leading Person at *Athens*. From whence it should appear, that all Degrees of Men in *Greece*, were brought up to some Trade or Calling, as they are even to this Day in *Turky*.

As to the *Romans*, it is very certain, that Trade was held in good Repute with them; for *Livy* observes (e) that *Flaminius*, the Consul, was hated by

that End, by increasing of the People, and for furnishing them with the Means of carrying it on with more Vigour and Power. *Sidney on Government*. page. 142.

(a) *Plutarchus Vit. Lycur.*

(b) Vid. *Plut. Vit. Nicias*, also *Thucydides*, lib. 4. & 5.

(c) *City of God*, chap. 9. Notes Letter D.

(d) *Στρατηγός*, the Magistrate to whose Jurisdiction the levying and mustering of Soldiers was committed. See *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

(e) *Lib. 21. chap 63.*

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by the Nobility, because he obtained a Decree, that no Senator, or Father of a Senator, should keep a Bark of above eight Tuns Burden; for this was esteemed large enough to transport their Grain from their Farms, and was done with a View to hinder their trading (a). However, it is on Record, that the Matter was debated with great Warmth, and was the Cause of much Hatred in the Nobility of *Flaminius*, though it procured him the Peoples Love. From whence it may be gathered, that till that Time, it was usual for the Nobles of *Rome* to trade; and that they even at last parted with this goodly Privilege to the *Commons* with no small Reluctancy. Notwithstanding which, *Cicero* (b), who was a *Roman* Senator, gives his Sentiments very fully on this Subject: "As for Merchandize, says he, "it is sordid and mean when the Trade that is "driven is little and inconsiderable; but when the "Dealings are large, (c) and Goods are brought "Home, to sell them out again without Lying or "Deceiving, we can hardly say but it is creditable "enough; nay, it is certainly very commendable, when those who are concerned in it only "design (after they are sated, or rather contented

(a) In Time, the Senators got the better of this Law: *Tully* particularly mentions *Lentulus*, a Branch of the illustrious Family of the *Cornelii*, to have been Master of a large Ship, in which he had promised *Cicero* to bring to *Rome* certain Statues *Atticus* had purchased for him, *Lentulus naves suas pollicitur*. Perhaps, as the Senators very unwillingly parted with the Privilege of Trading, so in Time the Law was looked upon as obsolete, and therefore not heeded. See *Mongault's* two Notes on *Tully's* fifth Letter to *Atticus*. And *Tacitus* mentions *Gracchus*, Son of *Sempro. Gracchus*, as carrying on a large Traffick betwixt *Africa* and *Sicily*. *Ann. lib. 4. p. 97.*

(b) *Cicero de Off.* lib. 1. cap. 42.

(c) If carrying on a great Trade be commendable, why has not a Man's trading, as much as he is able, also its Degree of Merit?

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“ tented with what they have gained) to return
 “ to the Country, as before they betook them-
 “ selves to the Haven.” There is one thing very
 remarkable in the last Distinction of this great
 Man, which is, that it exactly tallies with what
 the Prophet *Isaiab* (a) lays down as a fit Rule in
 such a Case : *And her Merchandize, and her Hire,*
shall be Holiness to the Lord ; it shall not be trea-
sured, or laid up ; for her Merchandize shall be to
eat sufficiently, and for durable Cloathing. The
 Meaning of which is, that Merchandize should
 be so far profecuted, as to obtain a competent (b)
 Estate to be enjoyed, and not merely pursued for
 Covetousness, and heaping up useless Sums.

It may not be amiss here to note that what *Tully*
 observes of *Lying* in Trade, is undoubtedly a fit
 and worthy Remark, and any Commerce so fol-
 lowed, cannot fail of being dishonourable. The
 ancient *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes in his *Clio*,
lib. 1. held the affirming of a Falshood, as
 a most infamous Thing ; “ for which Reason,
 “ says he, to be in Debt, is, for many Reasons,
 “ the next Degree of Disgrace, because they
 “ think such a State is always exposed to the Ne-
 “ cessity of Lying.” But whether Men *in* Trade,
 or Men *out* of Trade, are now-a-days most liable
 to

(a) *Isaiab*, ch. 23. ver. 18.

(b) L' *Apostre St. Jaques* suppose manifestement, qu'on peut
 aller de coté, & d'autre pour negocier & gagner, ch. 4. ver. 13,
 14. C'est donc une chose indifferente en elle-meme ; de sorte
 que, comme on peut trafiquer ou innocemment, ou d'une
 manière contraire à quelque vertu ; il n'y a non plus rien de
 lovable ; à s'abstenir d'u negoce, à moins que ce ne soit pour
 ne pas donner prise à l'avidité insatiable du Gain, à laquelle on
 se sent quelque disposition, ou pour éviter quelque autre tenta-
 tion dangereuse. See *Barbeyrac's Grotius*, lib. 1. ch. 2.
 Note 12. 19.

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to the last named Necessity, I leave to others to
 determine.

Suetonius Tranquillus, in his *Life of Augustus* (a)
 tells us, that his Great Grandfather was a Tri-
 bune in the Army, and was by Trade a *Rope-*
maker (b) ; which might be, as all the *Roman*
Citizens (c) were obliged to serve in the Army ;
 and that the Son of this *Rope-maker* and Tribune
 was a Banker (d), and Grandfather of *Augustus*.
 And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his 18th Book,
 chap. 5. speaks of one *Atonius*, a rich Merchant,
 who

(a) *Vit. Octavius*, cap. 2.

(b) *Proavum exprobrat restionem avum argentarium.* And
 from this *Pasquil Pater Argentarius, ego Corintharius*, cap. 70.

(c) However the Appellation of Citizen is at present taken
 in *France* and *Italy*, yet it is certain, the old *Romans* preferred
 that Title to all others, and looked on any Man as an *Upstart*,
 who was not born in the City of *Rome*. Thus *Paterculus*, de-
 scribing *C. Marius* to be of low Birth, and vulgar, uses, *Natus*
agresti loco, Vell. Pat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Edit. Lim. 1710. has it,
Equestri loco ; but I think this is most natural, as it is used by
Tully, to signify a clownish, boorish People, *Qui homines tam*
agrestes, 2 *Philip* 33.

And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the *Roman* Pride,
 uses these Words, *Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse*
quidquid extra urbis promarium nascitur. *A Mer. lib. 14. cap. 6.*
 Also *Themistius*, page 129.

And *Tully*, as we find in *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, page 4.
 was reckon'd a newMan, merely from not being born in *Rome*.
 Thus the Term of *Cit* was then a Denomination of great Ho-
 nour, which at present, in those Countries, is a Term of Re-
 proach. This shews, that Distinctions, not built on Reason,
 vary and change ; whereas *Virtue* and *Honour*, both then
 and now, is the fixed Criterion whereby to measure true No-
 bility. *Eam bonam famam magnanque nobilitatem putabant.*
Sall. Bell. Cat. 15.

(d) The Citizens of *London* may also as well be considered, both
 in the Capacity of *Traders* and *Soldiers* ; and although their Prow-
 ews at present is become contemptible through a long disuse,
 yet I would have those consider, who are disposed to make a
 Jest of such Fighters, that when they were used by *Essex*,
 against the King's regular Troops, at *Edge-hill*, that there the
 Militia

(28)

who held divers Posts of Honour in the Army under *Constantius*. We also find, in the 27th Book of *Ammianus's* Hist. chap. 3. that one *Terentius*, a Baker by Trade, was made a Governor of a City, and afterwards of *Armenia*, lib. 27. cap. 3. & 12. and Trade seems to have been so much in vogue in those Days, that we read, in the Life of the Emperor *Theophilus*, that his Wife, the Empress *Theodora*, used to traffick; and the Emperor seeing one of her Ships enter the Port of *Constantinople*, richly laden, ordered it to be burnt; telling his Wife, he would have her know he was an Emperor, and no Merchant (a).

Sallust observes, that *Marius* was appointed General in the *Jugarthan* War, in Disfavour of *Metellus* the Consul, at the Desire of *Gauda*, and the Roman Knights and Merchants that were at *Utica*. *Bell. Jug. cb. 184.* *Scaurus*, born of an illustrious Family in *Rome*, got his Bread by selling of Coals; this Trade of his was, nevertheless, no Impediment whatever to his being more than once chosen Consul, and afterwards Censor (b). It

Militia routed all the King's regular Forces; and that afterwards, these very Men, under *Cromwell*, conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and kept the World in Awe.

The famous *Machiaval*, in his *Art of War*, has a Chapter in Defence of *Trained-band Soldiers*, whose Excellence he in the End sums up in these Words: "Nor can there be a better Way of forming a Militia, than that I have prescribed: If you have read the Orders of the first Roman Kings, especially of *Servius Tullus*, you will find his Orders like ours; and driving at nothing more, than putting the Citizens in such a Posture, that, upon any Emergency, they might be brought suddenly together, and formed into an Army, for the Defence of the City. *Mach. Art of War, ch. 7.*"

(a) Vid. *Echard's* Hist. continued, vol. 5. pag. 40.

(b) *Lett. de Cicero* vol. 1. p. 67. note 99. See also *Aurel. Victoris Libellum, de viris illustribus* Corrad.

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It is also evident, from the Example of *Alfenus*, mentioned by *Horace* in his 3d Satire, that People of the meanest Trades might, by their intrinsic Merit, aspire to the highest Offices in *Rome*; for *Alfenus* being a Shoemaker at *Cremona*, in *Italy*, or, as some say, a Barber; but, as *Bentley* says, *Certe utrum sutor an tonsor fuerit Alfenus*; which *Alfenus* found no Obstacle, from so mean a Trade, to rise as he did to be Consul, is past any doubt, in a Country where Merit was the true Criterion of Nobility: For in *Rome*, as with us, the Senate was open to Worth; and that practising a mean Trade, is no Bar to the Peerage here, is evident in the Example of the late Lord King, who followed the Trade of a Grocer in *Exeter*; which I mention, as I think it to be the greatest Exemplification of his Merit, and, as to my Argument, a Proof expressly in Point, that following a Trade, is no Bar to the first-rate Honours. Another Instance out of *Horace*, may also be given in Proof of the Romans not despising Trade; which is the Account of the Quarrel between *Rupilius*, Satire 7. lib. 1. and one *Persius*, of whom he says, *Hic per magna negotia dives habebat Clazomenis*; if therefore this Man's being a Trader, had been held in any Dishonour on that Account in *Rome*, there is no doubt, but that *Rupilius*, in his *Wrath*, would have upbraided him on that Score; whereas, though *Horace* enumerates *Rupilius's* great Spleen against him, yet he never touches on this Head; which he undoubtedly would have done, if trading had been any Scandal in those Days. And (a) elsewhere he says, that Access to the Senate was open to the Industry and Virtue of every private Citizen of

(a) *Deligerentur autem in consilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriae ac virtuti pateret* Cicero pro. Sect. 65.

of the Republick. Nay, Trading was in so high Reputé with the Romans, that Cicero remembers them, that they often made War with foreign Nations for misusing their Merchants, *Majores vestri saepe mercatoribus, ac navicatoribus injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt, pro Lege Man.* (a). And afterwards, in order to incite them to War, he bids them take care of the Interest of the industrious Traders in Asia, whose Ruin would be attended with that of the Republick, *ibid* 13. And in his Defence of King Dejotarus, he puts it out of all doubt, who those Traders were, by affirming, that King protected all the Roman Magistrates and Ambassadors; which, says he, is well known to the Roman Knights that trade in Asia. *Tum ab equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta & cognita, pro Rege Dejotaro* (b).

Some, particularly Torrentius, from the Words *Nardo vina merebere*, in the 12th Ode of Horace's 4th Book, have concluded Virgil to have been by Trade a Perfumer; if so, it should seem to prove, that the greatest Wits amongst the Romans, did not think mercantile Matters above their Practice; and that they are held in no Contempt by the Nobility on that Account, is evident from the *Srophe* which I shall set down.

“ *Adduxere sitem tempora, Virgili;*
 “ *Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum*
 “ *Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens,*
Nardo vina merebere:

Virgil, 'tis thine, with royal Youths to feast,
 Yet, since the thirsty Season calls for Wine,
 Would you a Cup of generous Bacchus taste,
 Bring you the Odours, and a Cask is thine.

FRANCIS.
 We

(a) Edit Verburg 9, p. 26.

(b) p. 581.

We learn also from *Petronius Arbiter*, who in the Person of the Country-man, speaking to *Eumalpus*, after the Ship-wrack and Burial of the Merchant *Lycas*; that Traders were not than ranked in the Class of Liars or Cheats. “ Alas!” says he, “ If ye be Traders, seek some other Quarters, or change your Calling! But if ye be Persons of greater Quality, and know how to Lye and Cheat, ye may flourish in this City, where neither Learning nor Eloquence, nor Purity of Manners is observed; but where Men are divided into two (a) Classes, the Cheaters, and Cheated. (b).”

And even at this Time of Day, the Florentines, a People not the least considerable in Italy; and who are not at all behind-hand with their Neighbours in Pride, in general Trade. “ The Nobility of Florence,” says *Shippen*, (c) “ have every one some Profession, either Merchandizing, selling of Silk, &c. They are only Despisers of Physicians (d) yet every Family hath a Physician and Lawyer, with whom they agree at an annual Rate. The ordinary Fee for a Lawyer, is about

(a) See more fully in *Petron. Sat. p. 114, Edit. Paris, Tom 2.*

(b) I am not ignorant that when the Romans gave Laws to the Senate of the *Halesni*, a People of Sicily, they would not allow them to Trade; but this being a foreign Law, is no Disproof of Men in Trade being admitted at Times into the Roman Senate, as has been shewn in divers Instances. Besides, they might have one Rule for themselves, and another for their Neighbours, as we English are glad to trade in divers Things, and to many Places, where we do not permit the Irish the same Liberty.

(c) See *Collect. of Voyages, Vol. 4, p. 440, 441.*

(d) The Italians say you may go to an Inn or Alehouse, and call for Meat and Drink, and a Pispot, but that you send for a Physician Home, and bid him examine your Closetool; for which Cause they esteem them of an inferiour Class to Footmen: How strangely do they treat this useful Profession.

“ about *Half a Crown*; but some *English* Mer-
 “ chants have brought in a bad Custom of giving
 “ more, as a *Pistole* at a Time. Every Gentle-
 “ man, and Nobleman sells Wine out by the
 “ Flask, which is signified, by hanging over the
 “ Door a Wicker-Bottle or Flask; and in the
 “ Gate or Wall is a little Port-hole where they
 “ take in, and give out Bottles.” This Account
 I know to be true, having seen it in my Travels;
 and yet these Men make more Racket about their
 Nobility, than all the World besides.

The only Trade of *Lucca* (a) is in Silks; and
 they are famous for an extraordinary *Crimson Dye*
 in *Sattins*, and it is so advantageous, that the No-
 bility, who are forbidden Mechanick Trades, are
 not ashamed to traffick this Way, nor (which
 appeareth to me most scandalous) to sell Wines at
 their Palaces. The Count *D'Elci*, a *Siennese*, in
 his Life of Cardinal *John Baptist Spinola*, observes,
 that his Father the Count of *Pezzuola* was a Banker,
 and a Noble of *Genoa*, and that the said *Cardinal*
 used to Merchandize in *Corn*. From whence it
 should seem, that all Degrees of People may
 traffick in *Italy*. And at *Naples*, another large
 City in *Italy*, it is not uncommon for *Dukes* to
 have *Compting-Houses*.

Having thus shewn what the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and
Romans thought on this Matter, I shall proceed
 to examine on what Footing of Honour Trade
 stood with our Ancestors; and how it now is, or
 should be esteemed by us.

To

(a) *Remarks on the Grand Tour of France and Italy, by a
 Person of Quality, p 235.*

To begin then with our *Legislative Power*, There
 is no *Body* of People, who have so large a Share
 allotted in it as *Traders*. Our House of Com-
 mons consists of Knights and Burgeses; but the
 former, who are to consider the Landed Interest,
 are but few, when compared with the latter.
 There are no more than two allowed for any County,
 (a) for many, only one; but most trading Towns
 send one or more *Burghers* to Parliament, to look
 to their Trading Interest; and these the Law
 (which is termed Right and Reason) intends to
 be such in the respective Towns as live there, and
 understand the Interest, and are concerned in the
 Benefit of the Manufacture established in that (b)
Burgh or *Town*, for which they are chosen; and
 not Strangers, who perhaps are too often elected
 for

(a) The Counties send 80 Knights, the Cities 50 Citizens,
 and the Boroughs 334 Burghers. *Vide Debates of the House of
 Commons, from 1733 to 1741, page 13.* See also *Dugdale's antient
 usage of Arms, page 164.*

(b) In the Proclamation for calling a Parliament in 1620;
 Advice is given first to cast their Eyes on *Knights* and *Gentlemen*
 that are a Light and Guide in their Country; then, on *eminent
 Lawyers*, and *substantial Citizens* and *Burgeses*; such as are in-
 terested, and have a Portion in the Estate. And not to disvalue
 or disparage the House with *Bankrupts*, and *necessitous Persons*,
 that want long Parliaments only for Protection; with *Lawyers*
 of mean Account and Estimation; *young Men* that are not ripe
 for grave Consultations; mean Dependants on great Persons that
 may be thought to speak under their Command; and such like
 obscure and inferior Persons. *Lord Bacon's Works, vol. 4,
 page 707.* See also *Statute 1, Henry V. ch. 1.* Moreover
 Towns or Cities who submit to return these Strangers, certainly
 judge very ill for their own Interest, and are indeed like the
 Horse, who obeys, not knowing his own Strength; for were
 they to send up one of their own Corporation, whom they could
 depend on, they might thereby come in for a Share of the
 common Plunder, and live at all Times as well, and be equally
 worshipped

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for their Money. This was the just Scheme of our wise Ancestors, and doth evidently prove how high a Value is set on Trade by us: Nor is this all, for I doubt not, but most fairly to shew, that *Trade* doth neither by the *Laws of the Land*, or *Honour*, in the least detract from Gentility; but on the contrary, that great *Traders* have frequently been admitted by our Princes into the upper House of Parliament, that they have been appointed *Privy-Councillors* for their Wisdom; and have been created not only *Knights*, but *Baronets*, *Knights of the Garter*, and *Bath*, *Bannerets*, *Barons*, and *Earls*; which must fully demonstrate that Trading was not only *formerly*, but is, even *now*; of the greatest Consequence to the *English* Nation; and never did, or can, by our Laws or Customs detract from any Man, or Family; but on the contrary, that a great Part of our Nobility are immediately descended from *great Traders*.

Verstegan the *English* Antiquary, in his *Titles of Honour* (a) mentions, That in old Times, if a Merchant (b) so thrived, that he was able to cross the Seas thrice, he was ever after reputed a right worthy

worshipped each Session of Parliament, as they now are once in seven Years, at a general Election. Besides, as Men of this sort have infinitely less Wants than fine Gentlemen, and generally much better Sense; Mr. *Chan—lor* of the *Exch—er* might have them at an under Price, which would be a great Saving to the Public. And it is easy to see in what Chamber, Preferment and Honours would run, if *Traders* had Wit and Resolution to make use of that Power the Law places in them; and which was for the most Part executed by them during the Civil Wars.

(a) Page 367.

(b) It is a just Observation of *Valerius Maximus*, That as inferior People pay to the Noble the due Tribute of their Birth; so the Nobility should repay it by endeavouring to advance their Inferiours.

(35)

thy *Thein*, and capable of higher Advancement; so that from hence it appears, that Traffick at that time of Day ennobled its Followers, who were not so before. Nor let any one conceit it to be a new or extraordinary Matter, that Wealth alone should entitle a Man to Honour, since it was of old a Law in the most flourishing States. Among the *Romans*, the *Census Senatorius*, or *Estate of a Senator*, was fixed by *Augustus* (a) at 120,000 *Sesterces*, and he who had 100,000 *Sesterces* was ranked as a *Decurio* (b) or kind of Senator in the Provinces, as *Pliny* observes in his Letters (c). And he was a *Roman Knight* whose Estate amounted to 400,000 *Sesterces* compleat; which *Dr. Middleton* in his *Life of Tully*, says, made £3229 of our Money: And with us, till lately, was a Law of this Kind, Every Man who had £40 a Year in Lands was qualified to be a *Knight*, and from

D 2 thence

Inferiours. *Nam ut humilitas amplitudinem venerari debet, ita nobilitati fovenda magis quam spernenda bonæ indolis novitas est.* lib. 3. cap. 8. exem. 7. Particular Men or Families, however great, can only be considered as borrowing for a Time; their Eminence from the Public. Thus when a Family or Particular is undone, we say, they are *reduced*, from the *Latin* Word *Reduco* signifying to restore, or render back their Splendor, as it were to the Public, and returning to their original Obscurity.

(a) *Suetonius Vit. Aug.* cap. 40.

(b) Those *Decuriones*, when they thought proper, might wear the *Purple* or *Broad Stud* of a *Roman* Senator, as is evident from *lib. 34. cap. 7. of Livy*, tho' not without being ridiculed for this Vanity; thus *Horace* says of *Luscus*,

“ *Fundus, Ausidio Lusco prætoris libenter*

“ *Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ,*

“ *Prætextam et latum clavum præneque batillum.*

Lib. 1. sat. 5.

(c) *Plin. epist.* 19. lib. 1.

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thence came the Term of *Knights Fee* (a) with us. But as King *Charles* basely misused this Law in his Wants (b) compelling every Man who had that Qualification in Land, to become a *Knight*, or to compound. It was for that Cause ranked among the chief Grievances of his Reign, and therefore was abolish'd by *Act of Parliament* at the Restoration, as may be found in the Histories and Statutes of those Days.

The learned *Camden* (c) notes, That *Richard II.* advanced *Michael de la Pole*, a Merchant, to the Honour of Earl of *Suffolk*, and made him Chancellor of *England*: He was the Son of *William de la Pole*, the first Mayor of *Kingston upon Hull*; who on Account of his great Wealth, had the Dignity of a *Banneret* conferred upon him; and was also made *second Baron of the Exchequer*, by *Edward*

(a) The Roman Term *Equestris, Census*, used by *Suetonius* in his Life of *J. Cæsar*, ch. 33; cannot, I think, be better rendered into our Language than by *Knights Fee*. And the Service also required of these who had a *Knights Fee* was just the same as at *Rome*, viz. That they should appear in the War with a Horse compleatly armed, as *Cavalry*; *Civaler, i. e. Eques*, saith *Coke* is a *Saxon* Word, and by them written *Cnite, Chivaler* taketh his Name from the *Horse*, because they always served in Wars on Horseback. The *Latins* called them *Equites*; the *Spaniards*, *Cavalleroes*; the *French*, *Chevaliers*; the *Italians*, *Cavallieri*; and the *Germans*, *Ritters*; all from the *Horse*. See *Coke on Knights Service*, ch. 4. sec. 103. p. 74.

(b) *Clarendon* speaking of this Abuse, says, "By this ill Husbandry the King received a vast Sum of Money from all Persons of Quality, or indeed, of any reasonable Condition throughout the Kingdom, upon the Law of *Knighthood*; which though it had its Foundation in right, yet in the Circumstances of proceeding was very grievous; and no less Projects of all Kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous were set on Foot. *Clarendon*, vol. 1. page 67.

(c) *Camden's Brittan.* page 376.

(37)

Edward III. "However," says *Camden*, "his being a Merchant did no how detract from his Honour. For who knows not that even our Noblemen's Sons have been Merchants? Nor will I deny that he was nobly descended, tho' a Merchant." This *Michael* was also *Knight of the Garter*, as *Vincent* (a) in his Review of *Brooke*, observes; and that he could not have been so at that Time of Day, by the Statutes of the Order, had he not been a Gentleman of three Descents, as he was, being the Son and Grandson of a Knight, but that Knight a Merchant. "From whence," says he, "it follows that *Mercatura non derogat Nobilitati*," that is, *Trade is no Abatement of Honour*. And as it here may be asked, what constitutes a Gentleman (b) with us?

D 3

So

(a) *Vincent on Brooke*, page 700.

(b) On the Continent where absolute Power prevails, it is held dishonourable to follow the Professions of *Law* or *Physic*, or any Trade; it being the Policy of absolute Princes to keep their Subjects Poor; whereby they make them dependant. For this Purpose, where the *Civil Law* prevails (the *Low Countries* only excepted) few will bring their Children up to these Professions, or to any Trade: Because in most Places of the Continent, it is necessary, in order to obtain certain Posts in the State, Church and Army, that they make what they call their Proof of *Gentility*; that is, that they prove that their Ancestors, by Father and Mother, for so many Generations, have been of no Profession or Trade. And so with regard to their chief Orders of *Knighthood*; but that does not extend even to us, for the Proof necessary to be made by an *Englishman*, who should require to be admitted a *Knight of Malta*; where this Matter is the most strictly observed, is, that his Ancestors bore Arms, both by Father and Mother, for so many Generations; and this Testimony must be under the Seal of the *College at Arms*, which is the Proof of *Gentility* required; as any Man may know by enquiring of our Heralds. *Vide also Essay on Nobility*, page 114.

So the Reply is easy: *Being a Gentleman (a) is being entitled to bear Arms (b)*. And Mr. Camden observes, That the Distinction of a *Gentleman of Coat-Armour (or an Upstart (c) and a Gentleman of Blood, is the bearing of Arms from the Grandfather (d) and that he who bears Arms from his Grandfather, (e) is to all Intents and Purposes a Gentleman*

(a) *Notitia Anglicana*, page 24. Also Judge *Doddridge's Honour's Pedigree*, page 147. *Smith de Repub. Angl. & Fortescue*, fol. 82.

(b) *Kirknerus* tells us, that the Method of ennobling in the *Empire*, is, by giving a Grant of Arms, together with Privileges appertaining to Gentry: *Per insignium et armorum uti vocant collationem, concessis una privilegij ordinis Ustatis*. Which are generally limited to the Heirs of the Body; wherefoe they call a granting Arms, a *Wappenbriffe*, from whence our Term *Wepon*, which means that kind of Arms used against the Enemies of the State; and to which those amongst us, as *Dugdale* affirms, who have been eminent for their Military Service, have commonly in their *Arms* or *Crest* some Allusion. *Norden* informs us how the Power of such Grants belong to *Princes of the Empire*. And *Di Casa Monel d'escà*, written by *Alonso Caracelli* sets forth the Forms used in Patents, of ennobling by the later Emperors.

(c) *The Meaning of Upstart, as to Nobility, being much too long for a Note, is affix'd at the End, by Way of Appendix.*

(d) Any one who chuses to see a *Treatise on the Rise of Foreign Nobility*, will find *An. Matthæus's* Discourse thereon, to be well written. See also *Bib. Univ.* vol. 1. page 76.

(e) Those who read the *Holy Scripture* must needs observe, that the Blessings of *just Men*, are often promised to extend to their *third or fourth Generation*; and this is sometimes called *for ever*, in *Holy Writ*. As God's Promise to continue the Throne of *Israel* in the *House of David* for ever, in Effect extended only to the *third Generation*. From whence we may perceive, that where there is so little Certitude (as in this Life) the Folly of stretching those useles Matters to an unnecessary Length, and perhaps fixing of *complete Gentry*, to only *three Generations* by the *Heralds*, is not only founded on Reason (if there can be any in such Questions) but is also grounded in some Measure, on Passages in *Holy Writ*. See *Dugdale's antient Usage of bearing Arms*, page 33.

man of Blood (a) for which Cause it is requisite by the Statutes of the Bath (b) that every Knight before his Admission proves that he is so qualified. And when a Knight of the Bath has thus evidenced his Qualification, for that most Honourable Order, it carries with it, if his Merit (c) be equal to the Thing, a Passport also to the Order of the Garter. " The King having declared and ordained, that " for the great Love, Favour and Confidence he " bears towards the Knights of the Bath (d) that a special

(a) It is evident that the antient Romans judged of *Gentility*, from having a *Sur-name*: For those Families who had acquired a *Sur-name* from their *Ancestors*, were esteemed of the Race of *Gentlemen*. This appears from *Valerius Maximus's Chapter on Sur-names*, the Words are *Quod per Proprietatem dicitur hoc distat, quia es gens cognoscitur, ideo quæ dicitur gentilitium, Val. Max. lib. 10. page 500.* And with us the *bearing of Arms*, which is tacked to Names of Families, the only Standard of *Gentility*, always implies some real or supposed *Merit*. Of this see *Hooker's History of England*, page 162 in *Holinshed*.

(b) See *Statutes of the Bath*, page 5. Altho' I do not pretend to say, that this Rule has been broke through, with Respect to any of the present *Knights of this Order*; yet undoubtedly the King, who is the Fountain of Honour, may dispense with this Want of Ability in the *Knights*, in favour of *Merit*; and though this Maxim may not be relished by some, yet most true it is, as *Ben Johnson* says,

" ————— *That those who swell
" In Dust of Ancestry, in Graves but dwell.*

(c) I think the Term *Merit* may as well be applied to *Traders*, who deserve well of their Country, as others. The original Signification of *Merit*, is Wages paid in Consideration of Services; and from thence Soldiers were said *merere* (as *Budæus* tells us, from whence came the Word *merces*) and *mercenary Troops*, or Men who deserve their Pay by their Labour and Danger. But by Degrees it came to signify no more than merely to attain a Thing; and in this Opinion I am justified, as I shall shew that *Traders* have at Times been admitted to both the Orders. See *Bud. Annot. Relig. in Panæctas*, page 362.

(d) *Statutes of the Bath*, page 45.

“ a special Regard shall be had in preferring, advancing, and presenting them to be Companions of the *most noble Order of the Garter*.”

Guillim, in his *Chapter of Gentlemen*, says, They have their Beginning either of *Blood*, as that they are born of Worshipful Parents; or, that they have done something, either (a) in Peace or War, whereby they deserve to bear Arms, and be accounted Gentlemen. He farther says, chap. 24, If a Gentleman be bound an Apprentice to a Merchant (b) or other Trade (c) he hath not thereby lost his *Gentility*, and he desires it may be remembered

(a) See *Description of England*, Hollinshed, vol. 1. page 161.

(b) See Judge *Doddridge's Honours Pedigree*, page 150. Also 28 H. 6. 2. *Eslopell* 47.

(c) For such as do not chuse to inspect long Books, I shall transcribe as follows, “ In the white Book it is said, that none were made Apprentices, or at least admitted into the Freedom of the City, but what were *Libere Conditionis* (Gentlemen born) or if after they were free, it was known they were of *servile Condition*, they lost their Freedom; as *Thomas de Bedle* and others did, that held Lands of the Bishop of London in *Villenagio*, or by *Fief Roturier*, as is more fully explained, page 112. note (a).” By Act 8th of *Henry VI*, cap. xi. the City of London had full Liberty to take Apprentices after their old Custom, that is, to use the Words of the Act; “ That every Person that was not of Villain Estate or Condition, but of Free Estate or Condition (that is, Gentlemen, as holding their Lands of the King only) and no others might put their Sons or Daughters Apprentices to learn any Craft or Miltary in the City of London.” See *Statute at large*, fol. page 387. — Edit. *G. More*, Esq; 1652. In 1336 and 1337, *Nicholas Exeter*, Mayor, had this Order confirmed, that no Apprentice should be taken, but such who were born Gentlemen: Which very evidently shews that our Citizens, in no Sense fall under the opprobrious Term of *Roturier*, which comprises all Traders in *France*, &c. It appears further in *Seymor's Survey of London*, page 276, vol. 2. that whereas the Apprentices of London were often Children of Gentlemen, and Persons

bered for the Honour of Trade, that *Henry VIII*. thought it no Dishonour to him, when he quitted his Queen, to take to Wife *Ann* the Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* (a) sometime Mayor of London. To which may be added, the Thought that the first *William*, who founded our Royal Race, was only the Grandson of a Tanner.

Lambard

Persons of Quality; they did affect to wear Swords, and costly Apparel; wherefore by Act of Common-Council, in May 1582, these Things were forbidden. *Strype* gives the following Account. “ A young Gentleman whose Father had been an Apprentice in London, but of a good Family, was insulted in Company, for this very Thing, as if he were no Gentleman born, implying that his Father's Apprenticeship had corrupted his Blood: The Father was stirred at this not a little, and was determined to have this Matter fully sifted; for which Purpose, *Philipot the Herald*, set himself to study this Point, deeming it very fit to be resolved. And in his Book called *the City's Advocate*, he determines that an Apprenticeship in London is no Dishonour nor Degradation, but rather an Honour and Degree; and that it is very foolish to embase honest Industry with disgraceful Censure; and unjust not to encourage it with Praise and Worship, as the antient Policy of England did, and doth in constituting Corporations, and adorning the Companies with Banners of Arms, and especial Members thereof with Notes of Nobility.”

Polydore Virgil indeed, who was a Stranger, derives *Apprentice Quasi pro Emptio*, as the same as *bought with Money*; which is directly opposite to the Truth, for as *Sir Thomas Smyth* most rightly shews, it is a French Word, and betokens a Learner, from *Apprendre*, to learn. For as our Serjeants, as Archbishop *Williams* observes, are stiled *Servientes ad legem*; so our Baristers are termed *Apprentitii*, Apprentices or Learners of Law. But the Fact of our Citizens being real Gentlemen, at the same Time they are Traders also, is much better proved by the above cited Act, and many others it refers to; which Acts being the Statute Law of the Land is not therefore by any single Person, or Body of Men whatever to be contradicted, for those Acts not only shews the Citizens to be Gentlemen, but also, that they must be so born, before they can be intitled to that Rank. See this also confirmed by Statute 4. of *Elizabeth*, 5.

(a) *Tho Guillim* calls her the Daughter, I think she was the Grand-daughter, of *Sir Jeffry Bullin* the Mayor.

Lambard in his *Perambulation of Kent* (a) tells us, "That our Saxon Ancestors, and their Laws, were in high Reputation for Wisdom, and each was worthy in his Degree, the *Earl*, the *Churle*, the *Theyne*, and *under Theyne*. And if a *Churle* so throve, says he, That he had *five Hides of Land of his own*, a *Church*, a *Kitchen*, and a *Bell House*, and a *Seat in the King's Hall*; that then he was esteemed a *right worthy Theyne*: And if he afterwards so increased, that he served the King in his Journies, and thrice with his Errand had gone to the King, that then he became an *Earl*; and (as is before observed) if a Merchant so prospered, that he passed over the Seas thrice, (b) on his own Craft, he was thence forward a *right worthy Theyne*."

I shall next set down the Names of divers great Traders, who have been advanced to high Honours, or Posts of great Trust, by our respective Princes; which may be found in the following List, mentioned by *Seymor* in his Survey, vol. 2. page 74.

Sir

(a) Page 364.

(b) That ingenious Antiquary *John Weever*, seems to consider the Term *Merchant*, in two Lights. First, him, *quia mare trajecit, who passes the Seas*, Secondly, *Merchants of the Staple*, who are the in-land Merchants of *England*, as carry their *Wools*, *Wool-fels*, *Cloaths*, *Lead*, *Tin*, &c. to the great Towns or Cities of this Land, to sell by the *Great*, Wholesale. Besides which, says he, there is a notable Company of *Scanderavans*, which greatly desire to be filled *Merchants*; and these are such as run from House to House, and from Fair to Fair, with Packs of Staudils on their Backs, with which they cheat and confound the Country People; those are called *Pedlars*, *Quod Pedes iter consuevit, because they go on Foot*. *Weever's Fun. Mon.* page 341, 342.

Sir *John Blunt*, Mayor of *London*, made *Knight of the Bath*, with *Edward Prince of Wales*, 34th of *Edward I.* (a)

Sir *Godfrey Fielding*, Mercer, and Mayor of *London*, 1452, was made of the *Privy-Council*, to *Henry VI.* and *Edward IV.*

Sir *Thomas Coke*, Draper, and Mayor, 1462, the 5th of *Edward*, was made *Knight of the Bath*, and afterwards a *Banneret* by that King.

Sir *Matthew Philip*, Goldsmith, and Mayor, 1463, was made a *Knight of the Bath*, and a *Banneret*, the 10th of that Reign.

In 1464, Sir *John Gilliot*, Merchant, Lord Mayor of *York*, was made a *Knight of the Bath* (b).

Sir *Ralph Fosline*, Draper, and Mayor, 1465, made *Knight of the Bath*, and afterwards a *Banneret* (c).

Henry Weaver, Sheriff of *London*, 1461, made a *Knight of the Bath* (d).

Sir *John Young*, Grocer, made a *Banneret in the Field*.

Sir *William Horne*, Salter, and Mayor, 1487, made a *Banneret* by *Henry VII.*

Sir

See a Catalogue of the Mayors of York, printed by *Step. Buckley*, 1664, page 28.
(c) *Stow*, page 419.
(d) *Weever's Fun. Mon.* page 269; also *Stow's Ann.* p. 419.

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Sir *John Percival*, Merchant-Taylor, and Mayor, 1490, made a *Banneret* by Henry VII.

Sir *John Shaw*, Goldsmith, and Mayor, made a *Banneret* by Henry VII.

Sir *John Allen*, Mayor, 1588, made a *Privy-Councillor* by Henry VIII (a).

Sir *Thomas More*, who was Sheriff of *London*, about the Year 1513, was afterwards *Chancellor* of *England*, and of the *Privy-Council* to Henry VIII (b).

Sir *William Aiton*, made a *Knight* and *Baronet*, when Sheriff of *London*, 1628.

Sir *Thomas Adams*, Mayor, 1646, made a *Knight* and *Baronet*, and since that Time many great *Traders* in every Reign, have been advanced to that Dignity (c) which may serve to shew, that Trade with us is oftentimes the high Road to Honour.

(a) *Baker's Chronicle*, page 296.

(b) See *Hollinshead's History*, vol. 2. p. 711, 341, 938, &c.

(c) I am sensible that divers of our Hiltorians have insinuated that King *James I.* being in want of Money, devised the Order of *Baronets* to supply his Extravagancies. But surely we should rather consider what *Quintilian* (*Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. cap. 1. page 463. — Typis Ja. Stoer. 1637.*) observes, that *Men should not be too free of their Censure, lest it be in the end found, that they condemn what they do not see.* Nor has any one a right to offer a private Opinion without the Record. That of the Order of *Baronets* is derived from a Military Service in *Ireland*. It reflects in what a rebellious State that Nation continued during the Reign of King *James*, and his Son, will certainly see a real Necessity for this Order; which was created by King *James I.*

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Honour. And now I shall demonstrate from *Dugdale* and others; that many great *Traders* have even been created *Peers of the Kingdom*, and that divers *antient Peers* are descended from great *Traders*.

It

James I. 1611. The Reason of the Erection was, that the King taking regard to the Quietness of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* in 1609, the present Possession and Right of peopling the Province of *Ulster*; whereupon in the Year 1612, they sent thither about 300 People, of all sorts of Handicraftsmen, chiefly to People the City of *Londonderry* and *Coleraine*; and Alderman *Cockayne* was the first Governor. To back this wise Appointment, the King created a new Order of *Knights*, which they called *Baronets*; because they take Place next to *Barons younger Sons*, as (See *Essay on Nobility, Political and Civil*, page 643.) *Le Neve*, *Norroy Hera'd*, and *Maurice Shelton* tells us. And his Majesty appointed certain Laws of Admission, as that they should maintain each of them, the Number of thirty Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, to defend the Province of *Ulster*; with Leave (as *Shelton* observes in *Titles of Honour*) to use the Arms of *Ulster* in their Escutcheons. So by this Historical Account, it plainly appears, that this honourable Order, in lieu of taking its Rise from a Court Trick, is an Honourable Irish * *military Order*; as the Records of our Kingdom, and the *Irish Badge* they use, doth evidently shew. For this Cause, I presume this Order has been frequently bestowed on divers eminent *Citizens*, as the Province of *Ulster* was granted to the City of *London*, who peopled the same, and appointed out of their venerable Body, Alderman *Cockayne*, the first Governor of *Ulster*. And surely, if so many ample Honours are maintained to the Captains of this *Irish Province*, whose Rights they were erected to defend; the bestowing the Honour itself, on the chief Directors of the City of *London* (which perhaps itself is of more Account than the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*) will be judged by all reasonable Men, a due and fit Reward of their Industry and Merit.

The Order, I conceive, owes its Rise to a Hint of my Lord *Bacon*, in regard that I find in his Proposals for the Plantation in *Ireland*, delivered to King *James* in 1606, the following

* *N. B.* There is an Order of *Baronets of Ireland*, as well as that of *England*, of which we are here treating, but its Institution is of a later Date than that in *England*.

It is affirmed by some Historians, that *Robert Harding*, who was created Baron *Barkley*, by King *Henry*, was a Citizen of *Bristol* (a).

Thomas Legge, Citizen and Skinner of *London*, was twice Mayor thereof; he married *Elizabeth*, one of the Daughters of *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*: Which shews, that even in those dainty Times, the first Nobility thought it no Degradation to match themselves with eminent Traders. This *Thomas Legge* was direct Ancestor to the Earl of *Dartmouth* (b).

Sir *Michael de la Pole*, Merchant, was created Earl of *Suffolk*, Chancellor of England, and Knight of the Garter (c).

lowing Passage. "Also considering the large Territories which are to be planted, it is not unlike, your Majesty will think of raising some Nobility there; which if it be done merely upon some new Titles of Dignity, having no Manner of Reference to the Old; and it be done also without putting too many Portions into one Hand; and lastly, if it be done without any great Franchises or Commands; I do not see any great Peril can ensue thereof: As on the other Side, it is like it may draw some Persons of great Estate and Means into the Action, to the great Furtherance and Supply of the Charges thereof. And lastly, for *Knighthood* to such Persons as have not attained it; or otherwise, *Knighthood*, with some Difference in Precedence, it may, no doubt, work with many." Bacon's Works, vol. 4. page 445.

This seems a very exact Description of *Baronets*, which is a middle Order betwixt *Knights* and *Nobles*, having no Franchise annexed to it; and was also conceived by my Lord *Bacon*, some little Time before the Erection of this *Irish Military Order*. And at the Head of which his Family was put; which I think makes it very probable it was his Invention.*

(a) *Baker's Chronicle*, page 58, and *Dugdale's*, vol. 1. page 351.

(b) *Collin's Peerage*, vol. 3, page 100.

(c) *Vincent on Brooke*, page 700, and *Rapin's*, page 406.

*And, it is to be noted, That according to the Institution of this Order, none were capable of being admitted, unless they made good Proof that they were Gentlemen of Blood, descended from a Grandfather, at the least, and by the Father's Side, that bore Arms.

Sir *Stephen Brown*, Grocer, twice Mayor of *London*, in 1438 and 1448, and Ancestor to the Lord Viscount *Montague* (a).

Thomas Bullen, Grandson of *Jeffery Bullen*, Mercer, and Mayor of *London*, created Viscount *Rockford*, and Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. On the Tomb of which *Jeffery*, in *St. Laurence Jewry* is this Inscription, "Hic incineratus Corpus quondam *Gaulfride Bullyne cives, merceri et Majoris London, qui ab Luce migravit, Anno Dom. 1463, Cujus animæ pax sit perpetua* (b).

Sir *William Holles*, Mayor in 1539 (c) whose great Grandson, Sir *John Holles*, was created Earl of *Clare*, and afterwards Duke of *Newcastle* (d).

Sir *Edward Osborne*, Cloth-worker, and Mayor of *London*, 1583, and Ancestor of the present Duke of *Leeds*. This Sir *Edward Osborne* jumped out of a Window on the Bridge, into the *Thames*, to save his Master's Daughter's Life, who was afterwards his Wife (e).

Sir (a) *Seymor's Survey*, vol. 2. page 72, and 74; and also *Wotton's Baronets*, vol. 3, page 5.

(b) *Weever's Fun. Mon.* page 398.

(c) *Stow* in his Survey of *London*, says, that *William Holles*, who built *Coventry Cross*, was a Baker; but Mr. *Gervase Holles*, his Grandson, denies it. For my Part, I have looked into *Seymor's* List of the Mayors of *London*, and tho' the Traders of most of the other Mayors be specified, his is omitted. However, it is agreed on all Hands, that he built *Coventry Cross*, and was the great Grandfather of the Earl of *Clare*. Concerning this Difference, I think it of very little Importance, for the lower his Beginning was, the greater his Merit thereby appears. See *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, vol. 1. page 143.

(d) *Dugdale's Bar.* page 432.

(e) See this Story at large, attested by the Duke of *Leeds*, in *Seymor's Survey of London*, vol. 2. page 78.

Sir *Baptist Hicks*, Mercer of *London*, created Lord *Hicks*, and Viscount *Camden*, the 4th of *Charles I.* was Ancestor to the present Earl of *Gainsborough* (a). *Wotton* in his *Baronetage* (b) observes, that this Sir *Baptist Hicks*, was one of the first Citizens that kept a Shop after his *Knighthood*; upon which, in 1607, he had some Dispute with an Alderman about it; and also a Contest for Precedency, standing on his *Knighthood*. Which Matter came at last to be decided by the Earl *Marshall*.

Sir *Ralph Dormer*, Mercer, was Mayor of *London* 1529; of which Family was *Dormer*, Earl of *Carnarvan*; as is also the present Lord *Dormer* (c). *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, and Knight of the Garter, Son of *Thomas Cromwell*, a Brewer of *Putney*.

Sir *William Capell*, Draper, and Mayor of *London*, in 1503, was Ancestor to the present Earl of *Essex* (d).

Sir *Richard Rich*, Mercer, and Mayor of *London*, 1441, and Ancestor of the *Riches*, Earls of *Warwick*, and *Holland*, and the *Baronets* (e).

Sir *John Coventry*, Mercer, and Mayor of *London*, 1425, and Ancestor of the present Earl of *Coventry* (f).

Lionel

(a) *Dugdale's Baronage*, page 462.

(b) *Ibid* page 342.

(c) *Ibid* page 428; see also *Collins's Peerage*, vol. 4, page 97.

(d) *Seymour's Survey*, vol. 2, page 76, and *Dug. Bar.* vol. 2, page 466.

(e) *Dugdale's Bar.* vol. 2, page 387.

(f) *Ibid.* page 460.

Lionel Cranfield, Merchant of *London*, was by *James I.* for his great Abilities made Master of the Requests; afterwards Master of the King's Wardrobe, then Master of the Wards, a Privy-Councillor, Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Middlesex* (a).

Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, a Merchant-Taylor, and Servant sometime to Cardinal *Woolsey*, was chosen Alderman of *Breadstreet Ward* in *London*, Anno 1506; and going afterwards to dwell at *Milton* in *Northamptonshire*, he entertained there the Cardinal his former Master, then in his Misfortunes, for which being questioned by the King, he answered, That he had not done it contemptuously, but because he had been his Master, and partly the Means of raising his Fortune; with which Answer, the King was so well pleased, that he knighted him, and made him a Privy-Councillor (b). In his last Will, he gave to King *Henry VIII.* his large Ship, with all her Tackle; to Sir *Thomas Writbesley* his Collar of the Garter, together with his best George set with Diamonds; and to his Brethren the Merchant-Tailors, his best standing Cup: He died Anno 1542, and his Will was proved the 16th of February that Year. This eminent Citizen at his Death, was Knight of the Garter, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and was the immediate Ancestor to Earl *Fitzwilliams*. See *Seymour*, vol. 1. page 240. also *Stow's Survey of London*, page 89.

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To

(a) *Dugdale's Bar.* vol. 2. page 466.

(b) Altho' I do not deny that Sir *William Fitzwilliams* the Alderman, was a Privy-Councillor, &c. yet, I think in some Cases, that the Historians confound him with Sir *William Fitzwilliams* the Admiral.

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To this List might be added many more Instances (a) but these may suffice, as *England* has few better Houses amongst the Nobility, than some of those Families: And many of which Titles still live in their Descendants.

As therefore it cannot be doubted, but Commerce is of the greatest Advantage to a Nation; so, in my Opinion, the more *Country Gentlemen* breed their younger Children (b) to it; the likelier such Families are to be continued, and become useful to the Publick. The Importance of an idle, useles younger Brother is very finely set forth by Mr. *Addison*, in his Character of *William Whimble*, who greatly laments the Folly of some great Families (c) that had rather see their Children starve like Gentlemen, than thrive in a Profession or Trade, that they think is beneath their Quality. "This Humour" says he "fills several Parts of *Europe* with Pride and Beggary (d) " but

(a) The Editor of *Hudibras* in 1726, pretends, I know not on what Grounds, that the Lord Protector *Cromwell*, as well as *Pride* were Brewers. But this I think improbable, as *Cromwell* was bred up at *Sidney College*. And yet Sir *William Calvert*, the Lord Mayor of this Year, is a Brewer, Doctor of *Law*, and Master of Arts; and was educated at *Emanuel College* (I think I remember him a Fellow of *Emanuel*).—See *Hudibras*, page 33. *Gregoire Leti* in his Life of *Cromwell*, explains this Brewing Business, page 157 and 8.

(b) Mr. *Locke* after recommending it to People to bring up their Children to some Trade, adds, "But if the mistaken Parent, frightened with the Name of Trade, shall have an Aversion to any Thing of this kind in their Children; yet he recommends the teaching them *Merchants Accounts*, as a Science well becoming every Gentleman. *Lock's Works*, vol. 2. page 95. folio.

(c) Lord *Bacon* assigneth the true Cause of this, in saying, "That Nobility of Birth, commonly abateth Industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is." *Bacon's Works*, vol. 3. page 319. folio.

(d) Lord *Bacon* saith, that Trade enableth the Subject to live plentifully and happily; and that the Realm is much enriched

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"but it is the Happiness of a trading Nation, like ours, that the younger Sons, tho' incapable of any liberal Art or Profession, may be placed in such a Way of Life, as may perhaps enable them to vie with the best of their Family." And here it may not be amiss to set down his further Opinion in this Affair. "When I have been," says he, "upon the *Exchange*, I have often fancied one of our old Kings standing in Person, where he is represented in Effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy Concourse of People, with which that Place is every Day filled. In this case, how would he be surprized to hear all the Languages of *Europe*, spoke in this little Spot of his former Dominions; and to see so many private Men, who in his Time would have been the Vassals of some powerful Baron, negotiating like Princes, for greater Sums of Money, than were formerly to be met with in his royal Treasury!

"Trade, without enlarging the *British* Dominions, has given us a kind of an additional Empire; it has multiplied the Number of our Riches; made our landed Estates infinitely more valuable than they were formerly; and added to them an Accession of other Estates, as valuable as the Lands themselves." And in another Place he says, "It is the great Advantage of a trading Nation, as there are very few in it so dull and heavy, who may not be placed in Stations of Life, which may give them an Opportunity

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riched of late Years, by the Trade of *Merchandize*. *Bacon's Works*, vol. 3. pages 329, 573 and 580. And elsewhere he flites the Merchants *Vena Porta*, and says, "If they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and flourish little."

“ tunity of making their Fortunes. A well regulated *Commerce* is not like *Law*, *Physic* or *Divinity*, to be over-stocked with Hands; but on the contrary, flourishes by Multitudes, and gives Employment to all its Professors. Fleets of Merchantmen are so many Squadrons of floating Shops, that vend our Wares and Manufactures in all the Markets of the World, and find out Chapmen under both the Tropicks.”

The learned Bishop of *Cambray*, gives us also his Sentiments on this Subject, in the Character of *Narbal*, in his Account of the *Phenicians* (a) by whom it is supposed this learned Archbishop meant the *English*. “ You see,” says he, “ the Power of the *Phenicians*, who have rendered themselves puissant to all their neighbouring Nations, by the Grandeur of their Fleets. Trade, which they carry to the furthest Quarters of the Earth, has so enriched them, that they surpass the most flourishing People in Glory.” And again, instructing *Telemachus*, how to establish a flourishing Trade in *Ithaca*. “ Do,” says he, “ as those People do; receive with Kindness and with Ease all Strangers; let them find in your Harbours Safety and Convenience, free from Restraint, and never suffer yourself to be overcome at any Time, either with Pride or Avarice; the true Way to get much is never to be too covetous, and even sometimes to forego Gain. Make yourself beloved of all Strangers, and even bear with slight Inconveniences from them; fear to excite Jealousy by your Pride; be stedfast to follow the Laws of Commerce, which are simple
“ and

(a) Vide *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, lib. 3. page 36.

“ and easy; and suffer not your Subjects, on any Account, to infringe them. Keep a strict Hand over the Fraud, Negligence or vain Glory of the Merchants, which ruins Commerce, in ruining the Traders themselves, and above all Things, never attempt to confine Commerce to your own proper Interest.”

This may be sufficient to shew how clearly this great Prelate saw the Advantage accruing from a free Trade; and his Countrymen the *French*, have very greatly increased theirs, by following many of these wise Maxims, to our infinite Disadvantage.

But even Foreigners themselves, make a very great Distinction and Difference in our Favour, betwixt an *English* Trader, and those of other Nations. To this Effect writes the *Baron de Polinitz* (a) a Person well known in most of the Courts of *Europe*. “ In *England*,” says he, “ the Nobility intermarry with Traders Daughters, as they do in *France*; however, a great Distinction should be made betwixt the one and the other. In *England*, Merchants are sometimes sprung of the greatest Houses in the Kingdom; and it has often happened that younger Branches of noble Families, who have been brought up to Trade, by the Right of Succession have become *Peers*. And frequently it falls out, that when a Lord espouses a Merchant's Daughter, she may be his Cousin, or at least a Lady of a good Family. Whereas in
E 3 *France*,

(a) *Memoirs De Baron de Polinitz*, vol. 4. page 237.

“ France, it is always the Daughter of a *Roturier* (a). ”

As to which may be the best Trade to follow, to acquire a Fortune, I leave that to be considered by such, who from the Usage of these Matters, may be better able to speak thereon: And all I shall say on that Subject, is, that I think the List that *Tully* gives us of base Trades (b) may be now also very justly so esteemed, as unfit for the Practice of any *Gentleman*. Truly pitiful and low, are such as purvey and cater for Luxury (c) as *Fishmongers, Butchers, Cooks, &c.* as *Terence* reckons them up, to these he also adds *Perfumers, Dancing-Masters,* and those who supply us with Dice and Cards (d).

Thus

(a) *Roturier* means born of the Dregs of the People, and was anciently used here in Tenure of Land, as *Fief Roturier*, or rather *Inheritance Roturier*, in Opposition to *Knights Fee*, and means *base holding*, or *Socage*, and which then made the Difference between a *Gentleman* and a *Scrub*, as it does in all Parts of *Europe* to this Day, where the Distinction of *Roturier* is to be found. See *Sommer on Savelkind*, page 49.

(b) *Tully's Offices*, lib. 1. page 62.

(c) *Viſtuallers, Tavern-Men, Bakers, & Bracium, i. e. Brewers*, are excepted in the old City Laws, from being *Aldermen* or *Mayors*. But this must mean *Retail Brewers* or *Ale-men*. See *Seymor's Survey of London*, vol. 2. page 35. It says such who formerly kept *Drinking* or *Alehouses*.

(d) The common Statute Law of *England* is not silent on this Head, for it is fully explained by Act the 5th of *Elizabeth*, chap 4. which says, that no Merchant trading beyond the Sea, nor *Mercer, Draper, Goldsmith, Ironmonger, Embroiderer, or Clothier*, shall take Apprentices, save only such as are born of Parents who have Freehold Lands of Inheritance, to be certified under the Hands and Seals of three Justices of the Peace of the Shire where the said Lands are. And the said Act also particularly specifies such Trades as comprize the *Roturier*, who may take Apprentices without any Qualification; as *Smiths, Wheelwrights,*

Thus have I accomplish'd my Purpose of laying together in one general View, the Sentiments of divers great Men, both antient and modern, on this Subject. And as on the one Hand, I expect no Applause therefrom; so I am also sure on the other, that I cannot acquire the least Degree of Blame; being herein, rather a Searcher into other Mens Opinions, and the Laws of my Country, than a fond Deliverer of my own Fancies. For as an Author observes, “ It would be Madness for a Man to go out of the right Way, only because it has been frequented by others, or is perhaps, the high Road.” And I shall comfort myself in that Maxim of *Pliny* the Elder, “ That no Book was ever so bad, but something of use might be gathered from it.”

wrights, Ploughwrights, Millwrights, Carpenters, RoughMasons, Plasterers, Sawyers, Lime-burners, Bricklayers, Brick-makers, Tylers, Slaters, Heliers, Tile-makers, Linen-Weavers, Turners, Coopers, Millers, Earthen Potters, Woollen-Weavers, Fullers, otherwise called Tuclers or Walkers, Burners of Ore, or Wood-Ashes, Thatchers or Shinglers, these are all low Trades, and ascertain'd by the Law to be below the Practice or Pursuit of a *Gentleman*. See *Statutes at large*, page 1035.

By the Statute of *Magna Charta*, cap. 6, and *Merton*, cap. 7. It was a Disparagement for a Ward in Chivalry, which, in old Time, was as much as to say, a *Gentleman* to be married to the Daughter of a *Burgess*; I think, says Judge *Dodderidge*, it ought to be restrained to such only, as professed Handy-crafts, or those baser Arts of buying and selling to get their Living by. See *Dodderidge's Law of Nob. &c.* page 153.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X,

Referring to Note 1, Page 38.

Nobility amongst the antient *Romans*, derived itself from the right of having Images (*a*) or Statues; which were decreed by the Senate to such only who had borne great Offices, or worthily deserved some great Honour from their public Services. Thus *Tully* speaking of *Piso*, expresses his only Merit to be *Commendatione fumorum imaginum* (*b*). And he tells *Lentulus* in his 3 *Cat.* 10, that he sealed his Letter with the Image (*c*) of his Ancestor, that deserved so well of his Country. *Est vero inquam signum, quodam notum, Imago avita clarissimi Viri, qui amavit unice patriam, et cives suos.* And speaking of *Brutus* in his 2d *Phi.* 26. he says, *Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie Videret.* And *Pliny* tells us, that they had the Images of their Ancestors in their Courts, which were used at their Burials, and shewed the public Services of their Ancestors. *Apud majores imagines in Atrijs, erant, quæ spectarentur expressi Vultus singulis disponebantur Armarijs, ut essent Imagines quæ comitarentur*

(*a*) *Qui stupet in titulis, et imaginibus.* *Hor. Sat.* 6. lib. 1.

(*b*) *L. Cat. Pis.* 1.

(*c*) *Dio Cassius* takes Notice that *Augustus* at first used the Figure of a *Sphinx* in his Seal; but afterwards his own Image. Which was also used by the other Emperors, except *Galba*.

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rarentur gentilia Funera (a). Semperque, defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familiæ ejus qui unquam fuerat populus. Stemmata vero lineis discurrebantur ad imagines pictas; Tablina Vero Codicibus implebantur, et Monumentis rerum, et Magistratum gestorum. From whence it is plain that they used their Images, as we do our Arms. For Arms with Images (or Supporters) is the Badge of Nobility with us, and are erected generally in the Courts of all great Houses, and are used also at the Burials of the Dead; and those who obtained the right of these Images, brought Nobility into their Houses. For as Sallust, says, *Ex Virtute Nobilitas cepit.* Thus Marius defending himself against the Pride of the Nobility, fortifies himself by renumerating his Services, says, *Hæ sunt meæ Imagines, hæc Nobilitas, non hereditate relicta.* And adds, that the Nobility despise him, *Quia Imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est (b).* And then he tells the People, that the Nobility had *Majorès eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, Imagines memoriam sui præclaram,* That Man therefore, who first entered the Senate, and was not born of a noble Family, that had before borne any public Office, or was intitled to use Images; however rich or antient his Family might be, was nevertheless deemed an *Upstart*, or *new Lord*. Thus Tully, who came by the Father of a Roman Knight, descended as some affirm, from Tullus Attius (c) an illustrious King of the *Volscii*; but as Dr. (b) Middleton (perhaps with more Truth writes) that tho' his Family

(a) Thus Tully complains that his Enemy Clodius was buried without his Images, *tu spoliatum imaginibus.* And that Gallus had the same hard Fate, *ut sine imaginibus sine Cantu, &c.* Cicero pro Mil. 34. 88.

(b) Sall. Bell. Jug. cap. 85.

(c) See Plut. Vit. Cicero.

(d) Middleton's Life of Cicero, page 3.

(59)

Family had never borne any great Office of the Republick, yet, it is very antient, and of principal Nobility, and Distinction in that Part of Italy, in which it had resided; and of Equestrian Rank, from its first Admission to the Freedom of Rome: Yet being newly ennobled from his Admission into the Senate (a) he is therefore, by all the Roman Writers, and by himself also, considered as an *Upstart* or *new Lord*. *Per hæc tempora (says Paternus) M. Cicero qui omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit: Vir novitatis nobilissimæ, et vita Clarus ita ingenio Maximus (b) Nay, they even thought that he polluted the Consulship by his base Birth; and before they had need of him in Cataline's Conspiracy, would by no Means admit him to that Honour: Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, & quasi pollui Consulatum credebat si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret (c) And in like Case, speaking of Marius, whom some record to have been born in the Order of Knights, he says, *Etiam tum alios majestatus plebs consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregius factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus haberetur (d)* " At that Time, altho' the People might aspire " to the other Offices, yet the Consulship was " kept by the Nobility in their own Hands; and " however famous an *Upstart* might make himself, yet a Man of that sort, they judged unworthy of this supreme Honour, and even " thought he would have polluted the Office." And*

(a) *Simul novi homines è municipiis & Colonis, atque etiam provinciis, in senatum crebro absunt.* Tacit Ann. lib. 3. page 83.

(b) Lib. 2. cap. 34.

(c) Sallust Bell. Cat. 43.

(d) Ibid. Jug. 179.

And *Tully* himself, notwithstanding the antient Knightly Race he was Heir to, never considered himself otherwise than an *Upstart*; and says (a) That without any Recommendation from his Birth, he had been raised to all the supreme Offices of the Republick, *nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit.* And in his *Piso* 1st and 9th, he styles himself, in plain Terms, an *Upstart*, *homini Novi*; and says, "I owe my rise *Non majoribus meis: Virtuti perspectæ non auditæ nobilitate deferbat.*" And in his seventh Letter to *Lentulus*, he declares, that he begins to alter his Mind, in that hitherto he had conceived he was envied, because he was an *Upstart*; for that he saw *Lentulus* sprung from the first Nobility, envied like himself, *simul quod video, non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meæ: in te enim homine omnium nobilissimo similia invidorum vitia perspexi.* *Epist. ad Lent. 7. Lib. Prim.* Nor in this case did the Romans make any Distinction betwixt new Men, raised from the Dregs of the People, and antient Knightly Families; as *Cicero* himself uses *sed innumerabilia quædam nova ex omni face urbis, ac servitio Constituta.* And afterwards in his Speech against *Piso*, sec. 1. speaking of *Syrus*, a Man raised from the Dunghill to the Consulship, he still uses the Term *De grege noviorum, factum esse Consulem.* And *Paterculus* speaking of *Titus Coruncanius*, an *Upstart Consul*, adds to his Example, *Sp. Corvilius, a Roman Knight; M. Cato, Mummius*, and others (b). Of this *Mummius*, he treats more fully (c) and says he was the first *Upstart* that received the Sur-name of a Country, *nec quisquam ex novis hominibus prior Mummia Cognomen*

(a) 1st *Cat.* 28. (b) *Chap.* 128. (c) *Lib.* 1. ch. 14;

Cognomen Virtute partum Vindicavit: He represents this Man so very low and barbarous, that when he took *Corinth*, he agreed with the People who were to transport the antient Statues and Pictures to *Rome*, that were done by the best *Græcian Masters*, that in case they lost any of those rare Matters, they should return new ones in their Place, *si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros.* It is certain, the Romans held all as *Upstart Families*, who had not evidenced their Worth by some particular Service done the State, whereby they might deserve public Regard. Nor has the *Roman* (a) Language any other Term for *Upstart*, than *Novus* (b) *homo vel novitius*, and which is used in all the above Cases, without a Jot of Distinction betwixt an antient or altogether new Family; for they only considered such as Noble, or of noble Race, as had passed through the public Offices of the Senate; which is fully explained by *Grævius*, *Nam nec quæstura, nec tribunatus plebis nobilitabat. Novus homo Vero nullus appellabatur, nisi qui princeps nobilitatem in suam domum intulisset.* For it neither ennobled a Man to be *Quæstor* or *Tribune*; no Man was justly called an *Upstart*, but he that first introduced into his Family, the supreme Offices of Nobility (c).

And

(a) I desire this may be here understood as meant with Regard to the Nobility only; for I very well know that the Antients called People that became suddenly rich, Sons of the Earth; as we find in *Petronius*, *Nescio cui terræ de filio patrimonium legavit.* And after *Planus Fortunæ filius*: They also called such Men *Echioni*, a Greek Name, taken from one of the five that sprung from the Teeth of the Dragon, sowed by *Cadmus*, who was afterwards his Son in Law, and helped him to build *Thebes*. See the Feast of *Trimalchio*, in *Petronius*. pages 134, 136, 150. Edit. *De M. Lavour.*

(b) See *Mon. Leabbe Mongault's* 25th Note on *Cicero's* 10th Letter to *Atticus*; also Letter 13, Note 28.

(c) *Cic. Verb.* page 612, note 7.

And our Law also before *Nobilitation*, considers every one on a common Footing; as the best Gentleman in the Land, is only try'd by his *Peers* (a) which, even in cases of Life, are oftentimes of all Trades (except *Butchers*). The necessary Qualification of a *Jury-man* only requiring that he should be a *Freeholder* (b) or in other Words, that he should have 40*s. per Annum*. To this Effect speaks *Coke*, "The true Distinction of Persons is, that every Man is either of *Nobility* (that is a *Lord of Parliament* of the upper *House*) or under the Degree of Nobility amongst the *Commons*; the Commons are Knights, Esquires, Citizens, and Burgeffes; and he that is not of *Nobility*, is, by Entendement of Law amongst the *Commons* (c)." So by our Law, every Man is on a Level that is no Peer: I mean that

(a) Even the Trial of *Bishops* is by *Juries*. Perhaps because they are considered as Noble in Office only, and not so in *Blood*. See *Wood's Institutes*, Book 1. chap. 4. Also *Baronies by Writ*, page 124. Lord *Coke* in the 3d Part of his *Institutes* puts this out of all Controversy, for, says he, in the 2d Chapter, treating of petty Treason, none shall be tried by his Peers, but only such as sit in Parliament, *ratione nobilitatis*, as Dukes, Lords, Viscounts and Barons, and such Lords of Parliament, *ratione Baroniarum quas tenent in juræ ecclesiæ*, as Archbishops and Bishops, and formerly Abbots and Priors: They, saith he, shall be tried by the Country, that is, by the Freeholders, for that they are not of the Degree of Nobility.

(b) *Skene de Verbor: significat. Verb. Milites*, saith, that by the antient Laws of *Scotland*, Freeholders were called *Milites*, *Knights Stat. of Alex.* 2. chap. 2. 7. which seems also to have been a Custom with us, as the chief Gentlemen or Freeholders in every County (in regard that they held by *Knights Service*) are stiled *Chevaliers Milites*; in the *Stat. of West.* chap. 1. 10th, touching the Choice of Coroners. And *Bracton*, lib. 3. *Treat.* 2. chap. 1. No. 2. saith, That *Knights* must be in *Juries*, which turn *Freeholders* do now serve. See also *Glanvil*, lib. 15. chap. 149. Also *Coke on Rents*, lib. 2. chap. 12. note e.

(c) *Coke of Fee-simple*, lib. 1. note e.

that he is on no better Footing, as to the Law, than a *Cobler*. Therefore, he, who is first ennobled may fitly be called a *new Man*; a *Man newly set above his Fellows*. This is by Sir *Philip Sidney* (a) after the *Roman* Fashion, filed bringing the first noble Image into the House. In *Edward* the IVth's Time, the Court was divided into the *old* and *new* Nobility; and any one who inspects the Writers of those Days, (b) will find that the antient Nobility accounted the *New Upstarts*. Which, indeed, I believe has been the Case in all Ages and Countries (c). And one may plainly see that the *Grey's*, *Woodvill's*, and some other Families, (d) that were newly made Noble, although of antient

(a) Answer to the Memoirs of *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*.

(b) In *Shakespear*, *Glocester* speaking of the *Queen* and *Shore's* Wife,

"The jealous o'erworn Widow and herself,
"Since that our Brother dubb'd them *Gentlewomen*.

Richard III. page 293. *Pope's*.

"Since that the *Queen's* Kindred are made *Gentlefolks*.

Page 294.

Glocester to the *Queen* herself;

"Since every *Jack* became a Gentleman,
"There's many a gentle Person made a *Jack*.
"Myself disgrac'd, and the Nobility
"Held in Contempt, while many fair Promotions
"Are daily given to ennoble those,
"That scarce some two Days since were worth a Noble.

page 306.

(c) Lord *Bacon* well observes, "That Men of noble Birth are noted to be envious towards *new Men*, when they rise; for the Distance is altered, and it is like a Deceit of the Eye, that when others come on, think themselves to go back." *Bacon's Works*, vol. 3. page 311. folio.

(d) *Thomas* Bishop of *Hereford*, in his *Annals of England*, speaking of the *Seymors*, notes them to be descended of a Race more antient than noble; and who having never before the Reign of *Henry VIII.* transcended the Order of Knighthood, were at that Time therefore subject to Contempt. In *Hen. 8th. Anno Dom.* 1547.

tient and knightly Descent, were nevertheless at
 that Time of Day esteemed *new Men*. *Clarendon*
 speaking of *Villars Duke of Buckingham*, says,
 " That the *King's Favour* to that *Duke* equally
 " disoblige the *old Nobility*, and People of all
 " Conditions ; in that the *Royal Favour* was be-
 " stowed on a Family, however old, and even of
 " a Line who deduced themselves from the Con-
 " quest ; yet was it a Race which was never
 " heard of before in the Nation". From whence
 it is plain, that noble Author classes the *Villars's*
 in the Rank of *Novi homines*. Nor indeed am I
 ashamed (especially in such Company) to declare
 myself to be of that Opinion : For what is the
 Antiquity (a) of any Man's Race to the Public,
 or a third Person ? And I have sometimes thought
 that the Difference of an *Old* and a *Great Family*,
 would not be improperly considered in the follow-
 ing, Light. That the first should be weighed
 against some antient and unprofitable *Idol* ; wor-
 shipped for Age, and very Antiquity by its Par-
 tizans, Neighbours, and Dependants ; yea, even,
 and curiously observed by all Men for its Rust :
 But the Praise on the other Part, is like to that
 given a true *Deity*, who from Age to Age doth
 make appear his great, lasting, and steady Glory ;
 and from Time to Time, as Need shall require,
 delivers, helps, and supports those that cry unto
 him.

(a) " Go if your antient, but ignoble Blood
 " Has crept thro' Scoundrels ever since the Flood ;
 " Go, and pretend your Family is young,
 " Nor own your Fathers have been Fools before
 " Pope's 4th Essay on Man, l. 201, &c.

F I N I S.