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The Present
S T A T E
 OF THE
 BRITISH and FRENCH
Sugar Colonies,
 And our own
Northern Colonies,
 CONSIDERED.

Together with some Remarks on the
 DECAY of Our TRADE, and the
 IMPROVEMENTS made of late
 Years by the *French* in Theirs.

By WILLIAM PERRIN, *Esq;*.

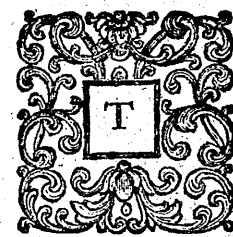
L O N D O N :

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M DCC XL.



*The Present State of the British
and French Colonies, &c.*



THE great Importance of the
British Sugar-Colonies to this
Kingdom, and the miserable
Circumstances they are reduced
to, having lately engaged the at-
tention of the Legislature, who
seem disposed to relieve and encourage them ;
and to that end have required the Thoughts
of some Persons vers'd in the *West-India* Trade:
And as I think it a Duty incumbent on every
Individual to contribute what lies in his power
towards rendering effectual so beneficial and
laudable a Disposition; I shall, with that View,
offer some Sentiments that have occur'd to me
on this Occasion, as well as in regard to Trade

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and Navigation in general, and the extraordinary Progress *France* has of late years made in these Articles; and hope that some Hints may be collected therefrom, which, improved by their Wisdom, and enacted into a Law, may be of peculiar service to both, and go a great way towards preventing the pernicious Practice of introducing *French* Sugars into our Northern Colonies and other Parts of the *British* Dominions; which has been but too long carried on under the Denomination of *English* Produce: A Grievance so destructive in its Consequences, not only to the *British* Sugar-Colonies in particular, but to our Trade and Navigation in general (as I shall make appear in the following Discourse); That if it were once effectually put a stop to, the present good Intentions of the Legislature would in a great measure be answered.

It has been remark'd, and indeed but too truly, that these sort of Enquiries, tho' frequently solicited and called for, have for the most part had the misfortune to be very short-liv'd; and die almost as soon as born, without producing any notable Effect. This unlucky Circumstance ought not however to discourage any from doing their Duty; for as all things have their periodical Times and Seasons, what might not be thought so essential heretofore, may be deemed indispensably necessary, according as Time and Incidents vary the face of Affairs. I shall therefore proceed, as I proposed;

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posed: And in order thereto, I must first premise, That no Endeavours, no Laws whatsoever can be expected to produce the desired Effect, unless they tend to enable the Planter and Merchant to afford our Growths and Manufactures at as low a Rate in foreign Markets as the *French* can do theirs. And this of course leads me to consider, whether several of the Regulations and Restrictions comprized in an Act passed in the eighth Year of our present Sovereign, Intituled, *An Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Growth, Produce or Manufacture of any of his Majesty's Sugar-Colonies in America from the said Colonies directly to foreign Parts, in Ships built in Great-Britain, and navigated according to Law*, will have the Effect I just now mentioned: Which I apprehend was the Design of it, at the Time the Act was made: and I shall be able to prove incontestably, that those Restrictions cannot produce the Effect proposed: That they are detrimental to, and hinder the Increase of our Navigation: That they abridge considerably the Profits to the Nation in general, as well as the publick Revenue; and at the same time discourage the Planter from making those Improvements, and deter the Merchant from adventuring in such manner, as they might otherwise respectively be encouraged to do.

THE Restrictions which I propose to consider, and which I look upon to be so many Cramps on the Sugar Trade, are contained in

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the former part of the Act, and may be comprehended under the four following Heads; viz.

I. THAT a Licence be first taken out in *Great-Britain* by the Master of any Vessel that is intended to be employed in carrying Sugars from our Sugar-Colonies to foreign Markets.

II. THAT such Ship or Vessel shall be built in *Great-Britain*, and navigated as is directed by the Act of Navigation.

III. THAT the major Part of the Owners shall *not only* be Subjects of *but* residing in *Great-Britain*.

IV. THAT the Residue shall be residing either in *Great-Britain* or in some of his Majesty's Colonies, and not elsewhere.

IN objection to the first Article or Condition, it must be granted, That a State of the Markets abroad, and the Prices Sugars bear in our Sugar-Colonies, is what must determine the Merchant or Planter to forbear, or encourage him to take out a Licence for, and Charter a Vessel to load Sugar. I will even suppose (what I am afraid is not very likely to happen in the present Circumstances of our Trade) that the Prices of Sugars at foreign Markets should, at one time or other, give encouragement enough to undertake an Adventure from our Colonies thither: It may, and indeed is most probable it should, if at all, happen at a
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Season of the Year, when the Ships fit to be employed in such a Trade are failed to the *West-Indies*; their Loading perhaps engaged for there, and scarce a Probability remaining that a Vessel could be sent from hence to arrive in time, to secure or purchase a Loading. There is indeed another Discouragement our Merchants and Planters labour under, from the natural Consequences of the present necessary War with *Spain*; which, tho' temporary, must inevitably give the *French* the Advantage over us, with respect to foreign Markets, as long as they remain free from the same Difficulties; I mean the Articles of Insurance and Freight; the former being risen above *Cent. per Cent.* and the latter to about *Eighty per Cent.* more. So that this extraordinary Charge alone, more than what the *French* Sugars are subject to at present, cannot fail of carrying the Trade from us in their favour; and in effect, this added to the Difficulties and Discouragements already mentioned, will be found to amount to neither more nor less than an absolute Prohibition.

To remove therefore part of the Difficulties mention'd under this first Head (and which in time may be removing the whole, when either the Success of his Majesty's Arms shall have procur'd us an honourable Peace, or that the *French* should become Parties in the War) I shall humbly propose an Expedient or two, which I hope will be found to
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answer, so as to render effectual the good Intentions of the Parliament in passing the aforesaid Act.

THE first is, That the Governours or their Deputies in the *British* Sugar-Colonies be empower'd to grant such Licence, as is already specify'd in the Act, to any *British* Subject under their Jurisdiction, as shall apply for the same.

I DON'T apprehend any reasonable Objection that can be offer'd against it; for it affects the Revenue no more than a Licence would do, if taken out in *Great-Britain*. The Export to foreign Markets is undoubtedly what the Legislature design'd to encourage; for whatever that amounts to, is undeniably so much Profit to the Nation. The Duties on the Returns, whatever that be (as those Returns are to be made to *Great-Britain*) is likewise an Addition of so much to the Revenue. There can be no room to doubt but the Markets in *Great-Britain* will always be supplied from our Colonies with the Sugars they may have a Consumption and Demand for; and it would be absurd to say they will, or can take off more; therefore the Duties arising therefrom must consequently be the same, whether we should have or not an Export for our Sugars to foreign Markets.

THIS being allowed, it remains to shew what Advantage a Licence granted at our Sugar-Colonies, would be to the Adventurers.

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And that it would be very considerable, I think will appear to a Demonstration from the following Example.

A SHIP of Three Hundred Tons Burthen fit for that Trade, as Freights now govern, could not be Charter'd in *Great-Britain* for such a Voyage at less than Sixteen Shillings per Ton per Month, which on the whole Burthen is equivalent to 240 *l.* per Month. Ten Weeks is the least that can be reasonably allow'd from the Time of her being Charter'd to her Arrival in *Jamaica*: Which, at the aforesaid Rate, amounts to 580 *l.* The Loading for such a Ship, if built as the *Jamaica* Traders are for Burthen, would be about 500 Hhds, which at 10 *l.* 10 *s.* prime Cost there, would amount to 5250 *l.* Now it necessarily follows, That if the Government there, had Power of granting Licences, a Ship of the same Burthen might be Charter'd on the Spot; which would save to the Adventurers the Sum of 580 *l.* for the Time allow'd a Vessel charter'd in *Great-Britain* to make her Passage in to *Jamaica*: And is upwards of Eleven per Cent. on 5250 *l.* the first Cost of her Cargoe; besides the Advantage of getting, in all likelihood, so much sooner to Market, whereon for the generality depends the good or ill Success of the Voyage.

THIS would be some Relief and Encouragement to the Adventurers, but still falls short of the Assistance necessary; and which might

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might be further given them without any ill Consequence to the Nation or the Revenue, and would enable them, in a great measure, even under the present disadvantageous Circumstances of the War, to share again a considerable Part of the Trade to foreign Markets, which the *French* for some Years past have depriv'd us of. For tho' they have certainly an exceeding great Advantage in their Favour, by the Richness of their Soil, and the extraordinary Produce it gives from the Regularity of their Seasons, which seldom fail in new open'd Lands, we again on our Part have some Advantage in the Freight of our Produce, which is considerably less than what they pay. And as this is the only natural Advantage we have or can expect, it ought to be improv'd to the utmost it is capable, in order if possible to regain that valuable Branch of Trade into our Hands. What I have already mention'd is, I think, one promising Step towards it; and if the Power of granting Licences was further extended to any Ship or Vessel built in and belonging to his Majesty's *British* Subjects in *America*, to load Sugars and likewise Rum for foreign Markets, I am persuaded we should bid fair for Success; it would give us at least a Share in that Trade, and thereby the Intentions of the Legislature be answer'd in that Particular, as well as in regard to the Encouragement and Encrease of our Navigation.

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I AM well aware of some Objections that are likely to be made against the Extension I have been speaking of; and therefore before I shew the several Advantages that would thereby accrue to the Nation in general, and to our Merchants, Planters, and others his Majesty's Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *America* in particular; I shall in the first Place answer such as at present occur to me, and which I think are all that can be offer'd under any plausible Pretence or Shew of Reason.

THE first, and which to me seems the most material is, That it will discourage and prejudice our Navigation in *British* built Bottoms.— But our *New England* and Northward built Ships have already, as indeed in reason they ought, the same Liberty of carrying the Produce of our Sugar-Colonies to *Great-Britain* directly, that the *British* built ones have: Therefore it is natural to suppose, that if such Employ had been more profitable and encouraging to the *American* built Vessels, than what they are otherways engag'd in at present, they would doubtless have pursu'd it, and shar'd at least a Part therein. The Liberty propos'd, gives them no more Advantage over the *British* built Vessels in this respect, than they had before in the other; and consequently the same Motives, which have hitherto prevented their interfering in that Branch, will still hold, and hinder their engaging in This: That is to say, as long as they

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they can find an Employ of their own, which is of more or equal Advantage with the Sugar-Trade, it is not likely that they will go out of their old road; so that in this particular it will not lessen or be prejudicial to our Navigation in *British* Bottoms.

THE next Objection which I apprehend will be made against this Extension is, That it will probably disable the *British* built Vessels in process of Time, from sharing any Part of the Navigation with Sugars from our Colonies to foreign Markets.— But the Advantage and Encouragement propos'd being the same, and equally beneficial; that is to say, puts both one and the other on a Par; the *American* built Vessels can have no other Means of gaining this Branch of Navigation to themselves, than by carrying the Produce of our Colonies to foreign Markets at a lower Rate than *British* built Vessels will. I have already observ'd, that we have no reasonable Foundation to expect Success in our Endeavours to regain that Trade, which the *French* have depriv'd us of, unless we are enabled, by some means or other, to afford our Sugars there, as low and reasonable as the *French* now do, or can at any time hereafter: That we have no other natural Advantage over them, than the Cheapness of our Freights; and therefore, if the *American* built Ships and Vessels should be able to sail at an under Rate, which, for Reasons I shall hereafter have occasion

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caution to mention, I am certain they may at least 15 to 20 *per Cent.* this Difference in Favour of the Adventurers will leave it no longer a doubt whether it be or not the Interest of *Great-Britain* to put them upon a footing with *English* built Vessels; the Advantage by the former being so considerable as may gain us that Trade; whereas on the contrary by their being not permitted sharing in this Navigation, we are in the direct road of being cut out of it entirely. Were the Case otherwise, and that there was not an Advantage to the Adventurers, by employing the *American* built Vessels, all Objections against permitting them to take out Licences must cease of course; for no one acquainted with the Goodness and Security of one and the other, would ever employ the *American* built Vessels on the same Terms he would those of *British* built. But I shall beg leave to go a little further, and suppose only for the sake of the Argument, That our Exports to foreign Markets could not be carried on without Loss to the Adventurers unless in foreign Bottoms: It would nevertheless be infinitely the Advantage of the Nation, to encourage it even under this Circumstance, rather than to have no Export at all; for in this Case we should lose thereby no more than the Freight of such Exports; the Net Produce would still be so much Profit to the Nation. For as the Consumption of Sugars at foreign #

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Markets from *France* only, besides what is supply'd from *Portugal*, &c. by a moderate Computation cannot be less than 80,000 Hhds. *communibus annis*, which, at 8 *l.* 10 *s.* per Hhd. clear of Freight and all Charges abroad, amounts to 680,000 *l.* This Sum would be the annual Profit to the Nation, if our Colonies could be enabled wholly to supply that Demand; and the same will hold in proportion for any Part we share therein, with a further Profit to the Nation of the Freight thereon, if the Adventure can be made in our own Bottoms; whereto may be still added the Commissions and other Perquisites, if the Consignments are made to a *British* Subject. But it is undisputably more eligible to encourage our own Navigation in *American* built Vessels; which at the same time that it saves us the Expence of Freight to Foreigners, will prevent an ill Consequence that might arise from the latter's being employed; as it would give them an Opportunity of introducing their Linnens, which now our Sugar Colonies are chiefly supply'd with of the *Irish* and *Scotch* Manufactures, made up and dispos'd of as *Dutch* and *German* Linnens.

I HAVE already touch'd on the Difference there would be to the Adventurer in the Freight of Sugars by a *British* built, and one of our *American* built Vessels: 'Tis what is well known to those who are acquainted with the Trade carried on from the Northern Colonies

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lonies to our Sugar Islands: But for the Satisfaction of such as may be Strangers thereto, I will take this Opportunity to observe, that the Northern Colonies depend in a great measure on the Sugar Islands for the Consumption of their Produce, and Encouragement of their Navigation; and the Sugar Islands again are as dependant on them for several Necessaries, which they require, as well for their Improvement as Subsistence; these they are supply'd with in Northward or *American* built Vessels, and for which they are generally paid in Cash. With this Cash they proceed either directly back to the Northern Colonies, or touch in their Way at some of the *French* Islands, and there lay out a Part, or sometimes the Whole, in Molosses, Rum, and Sugar. This is evidently a most pernicious Trade to *Great-Britain*, as well as to our Sugar Colonies; in the first place by draining us of so much Cash, and in the next, as it is detrimental to our own, and at the same time promotes and encourages the Trade of the *French* Sugar Islands. This therefore would be effectually prevented, and our Northern built Vessels diverted from it by choice, if they could find a more beneficial Employ; which a Licence to carry Sugars on Freight from our Sugar Islands to foreign Markets, would certainly be: For as the Freight of their Cargoes from the Northern Colonies to our Sugar Islands is not above 4 *l.* per Ton, and they return back either empty, or

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or with the Produce of their Freight invested in *French* Commodities ; the Freight of a Cargoe of Sugars put on board them at our Sugar Islands for a foreign Market at 7 *l.* per Ton, which is less by Thirty *per Cent.* than a *British* built Ship could afford to take it in for, would infallibly engage them in such an Employ ; as it is evidently so much more advantageous than That they are engag'd in at present, which is productive of the mischievous Consequences I have just now mention'd, and may by this means be so easily lessen'd, if not entirely prevented. It will likewise be attended with other advantageous Effects ; as, *First*, That our Sailors will thereby be drawn of necessity once a Year to *Great-Britain*, and be made serviceable to the Government, if there should be occasion for them. *Secondly*, The Proceeds of the Cargoes they carry from the Northern Colonies to the Sugar Islands, would in all probability be invested there, in the Produce of those Islands ; which, together with the Freight they make to foreign Markets, would enable them to purchase a Loading there for *Great-Britain*, which they might leave there on account of Returns, if the Owners should have any to make, or if not, it might be again invested in a Cargoe proper to proceed with to the Northern Colonies from whence they came. This would be a new and profitable Acquisition to our Trade, and very greatly encrease our Navigation

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tion, which, I doubt not, are Motives sufficient to recommend it to the serious Consideration of our worthy Legislators.

I SHALL mention another Article, which, if permitted and encourag'd, would be no small assistance and relief to our Sugar Colonies, as well as promote our Navigation, and be highly advantageous to the Nation ; and that is, A Liberty to export Rum to foreign Markets from our Sugar Colonies. The *French* will never interfere with us in this Branch of Trade, as it would lessen the Demand for their own Brandies abroad. *Jamaica* Rum in particular is already deservedly esteem'd amongst Foreigners ; and, I don't question, if it was once thoroughly introduc'd in the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*, it would soon gain a Preference to *French* Brandies, and the Demand for it become very considerable. This would very much relieve some of our Planters, who stand most in need of Assistance, whose Lands may be either worn out, or bad, and not proper for making of Sugar ; but yet, if it will produce a Cane of any Kind, it will answer for making of Rum.

I AM not so thoroughly apprized whether Sugars exported from such of our Islands as have a general Duty laid on them towards the Support of their respective Governments, be by the late Act exempted therefrom : If not, 'tis a Clog which I am afraid will be very difficult to get removed by the legislative Body there,

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there, and does therefore call for the Consideration and Favour of their Superiors here. Some of our Islands in particular, which are worn out and reduced for want of seasonable Rains, cannot, I am sensible, be so effectually benefited by the Encouragements already proposed, as others that have still the regular Seasons, and are improveable; but this Defect might be in some measure made up to them, by allowing them a small Bounty on what they export; and may be more particularly necessary on clay'd Sugars, they being what are chiefly demanded for *Turkey*, and other Markets in the *Levant*. The King of *Portugal*, by Advice of the old Duke of *Cadeval*, some Years since, when the Warehouses in the Custom-House were fill'd, and the Kingdom glutted with *Brazil* Sugars; to promote the Consumption of them abroad, and at the same time to restrain the Extravagancy of his Subjects in their expensive Treats with Conserves and Sweetmeats, and other Confectionary-ware, laid a very heavy Duty on all Sugars that should be consumed in his own Dominions, and allowed a Bounty on all that was exported; which soon had the desired Effect: The Custom-House in a few Weeks was empty'd, and not a Chest remained in the Kingdom to be purchased at the first hand. They gained at the same time an advantageous Trade to *Turkey* and the *Levant*, for their fine *Pernambuco* and *Babia* Sugars, and several other Markets for their *Mascava-*
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does, which I believe they still retain by the same Encouragement. Therefore, as the *Berbadians* in particular are remarkable for the Goodness of their Clay'd Sugars, and are as much distressed as any of our Sugar Colonies; if a small Bounty were given on all Clay'd Sugars exported from thence to *Turkey*, and other Parts of the *Levant*; it would, in all probability, gain us that Trade, and at the same time relieve, in some measure, the Necessity of that Island. This would be no Detriment to any, but an Advantage to all our Sugar Colonies. 'Tis the Interest of all in general, to gain and encourage an Export to a foreign Market: From any one in particular; because the less there was remaining to send to *Great-Britain*, the better the Markets would be for such as were obliged to send their Sugars home. Nor could the Nation ever be injur'd, if by this means the Price of Sugars should somewhat advance at home; as the Difference would be only within our selves, from the Consumer to the Vender.

BUT I must here give a very necessary Caution, lest, after all that has been said, and were it to be put in practice, our Endeavours should tend to promote and encourage the Interest of our Neighbours and Rivals in Trade, instead of relieving our Planters, or be of any Benefit to the Nation; and that is, to prevent, under the severest Penalties, *French* or other foreign Sugars from being introduced into any
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of our Islands, and shipped from thence as *English* Produce. And this, I think, cannot be more effectually done than by a Certificate from the Planter at the time of shipping (for all Sugars whether shipped for foreign Exportation or to *Great-Britain*) returnable to the Governour, and by him to the proper Officers in *England*, attesting upon Oath that the whole Quantity contained in each Cask is the Produce of that Island from whence it is then to be exported. And this may be executed in such a manner as can no ways embarrass the fair Trader, nor obstruct the Course of our Trade, which ought always to be rendered as free and easy to the Concerns as possible; and on the other hand, it behoves in a particular manner the Gentlemen Planters to bear with some little Inconveniencies (if what I have been proposing should be so esteem'd by them) since it is to prevent what so essentially effects and prejudices their own Interests as well as the Nation in general. It is pretty well known, and may but too well be made appear, that the *French* and others have found means, by a Trade with some of our Islands, to introduce amongst them at least fifteen thousand Hogheads of Sugar yearly, which have been afterwards shipped to *Great-Britain* as *English* Produce.

ONE Reason why the Trade betwen our Northern Colonies and the *French* Sugar-Islands has not been hitherto impeded, may be owing to

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to our Sailors and others being ignorant of the Laws that are in force against it, and the Reward provided for those that shall give Information of such destructive Practice: And this might possibly be remedy'd, if the Master of every Vessel trading or belonging to the *West-Indies* was obliged, under certain Penalties, to have that particular Clause of the Act which prohibits such illicit Trade, printed and affixed in some publick and convenient Part of the Ship, for the general Information of the Sailors on board. It would then be difficult and dangerous for any Master to engage in such a Trade, for fear of being detected and informed against by some of the Crew on board. And as several of the coasting Sloops belonging to our Islands, may be navigated only by the Master with some few Negroes, who are not by the Laws of the Country admitted as Evidence against a white Person; it would not be amiss, the better to prevent a Trade so pernicious from being carried on by such Means, to provide a Clause whereby to oblige all coasting and trading Vessels whatsoever, belonging either to the Islands or the Continent, to carry such a Proportion of White Men in them, as may be thought adviseable, according to their respective Complements; and this, at the same time that it would be a Check upon the Master, must necessarily encrease the Number of our Sailors, and in both respects be a publick Benefit to the Nation.

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WHAT I have already offer'd will abundantly shew the Advantages that might be gained to the Nation in general, and to the several Colonies in particular, by proper Regulations and Encouragements. I shall now take notice of some late Acquisitions the *French* have made in their Trade and Navigation, by means of their Sugar Colonies, and other Possessions in the *West-Indies*: And as every Step that they have gained therein, is actually so much that we have lost; and as we have daily Proofs of their incessant Endeavours, by all the Stratagems that they are masters of, as well as by an unwearied Application and Encouragement of their Trade, to cut us out of every Branch that has been profitable to us; it is more than time that we should exert our selves: And if we cannot turn the tables upon them (which yet might be done by suitable Assistance and Encouragement from the Government) I hope at least, some good Method may be taken to enable us to preserve what we have left, as well as to regain what we have been artfully deprived of: And if any thing that I have propos'd should be found to contribute to so desirable an End, I shall think my Pains abundantly repaid, in the Pleasure I shall receive from having been serviceable to my Country. But to proceed. The *French*, by having a free Navigation to *Ireland*, purchase Provisions there, upon the same Terms that *English* and *Irish* Subjects do. Formerly they were supply'd

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ply'd with all they wanted for the *West-India* Consumption, by *British* Vessels, who used to load such Provisions in *Ireland*, and carry them to several Ports in *France*, where they generally found a good Market for them. But now, That Branch of our Navigation is lost to us: Besides, since they have sent their Ships directly to *Ireland* for their Supplies, it is attended with this additional Inconvenience; That they have thereby an Opportunity of clandestinely introducing large Quantities of Teas and other *India* Goods amongst us through that Channel; so that instead of gaining a Freight, as we were used to do by carrying those Provisions to them, and being paid for them in Specie, they now save us that Trouble, and pay for their Cargoes in the Profit they make by the contraband Goods they pour in upon us. With these Provisions again they carry on a private Trade with the *Spaniards* to great Advantage: Which Demand of the *Spaniards* was, till lately, supply'd by our selves to a considerable Profit; and which, by the *French* Policy and our Neglect, we are in a fair way to lose entirely: And it must be observed, that *Ireland* does not reap the least Advantage hereby, more than what it would have done if we had supply'd the *French* and *Spaniards* in our own Ships as formerly. The *French* have taken off this Year, a much larger Quantity of Beef and other Provisions than they were ever known to do before, and exceedingly

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ingly more than sufficient to supply their own Demands; which has given room for various Conjectures: But I think it appears most likely, if not very evident, that they have had notice from the *French* Ministry, and Encouragement from the *Spaniards* to supply the Demand, not only for their Garrisons in *Africa*, but for the Galleons and their *West-India* Consumption. 'Tis not improbable that the *Spaniards* have given the *French* the Advantage and Preference, in order to distress and prejudice our Trade with them in the *West-Indies*, as they have long endeavoured to do by That from *Great-Britain* to *Old Spain*. This seemingly unaccountable Policy of the *Spaniards*, so destructive to their own Interests, need be no Riddle when we consider the Springs from whence it arises; and that they are governed by a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, who, 'tis natural to expect, will be influenc'd by a *French* Ministry in favour of his own Country. However, if we take but a prudential Care of our own Settlements, the *Spaniards* will, in all likelihood, be the first who feel the bad Effects of the *French* Power in the *West-Indies*; and perhaps, not only give up their pretended Right of Search and Jurisdiction over the *American* Seas, but be glad to grant Us some extraordinary Privileges and Advantages for our future Assistance and relieving them, when they become more sensible of their Danger. They are not to imagine the *French* will omit any

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any Opportunity of encroaching upon them, wherever they are allowed once to get footing; and in the end, rise up with the whole. Let them consider the Share they now hold in the Island of *Hispaniola*, and by what means they first gain'd entrance there; which was only by an abandon'd and desperate Crew of *Buccaniers* and *Pirates*, who settled themselves on the North-West Part of that Island, and first made application to his late Majesty King *William* for his Protection and Pardon. But whether from a Principle of Honour, or Reluctancy to countenance a Set of Men who had been common Enemies to Mankind; or, for want of being duly inform'd and advis'd of the Importance it might prove to the Nation in Futurity, I can't pretend to determine; but 'tis certain they were neglected; which gave them an Opportunity of addressing themselves to the *French* Government, who not only took them into their Protection, but encouraged and assisted them with every thing necessary to form and establish their Settlement. From this Beginning, they acquired the greatest and best Part of the Island, which they now possess; and were it their Interest to have the whole, they would not be long without it: But at present it is better for them that the other Part should remain still in possession of the *Spaniards*, who no ways interfere with the Culture and Manufacture which the *French* are engag'd in, but are beneficial to it: The *Spanish*

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nish Inhabitants following little or nothing more than Pasturage for raising of Cattle, which they supply the *French* with, for the Service of their Sugar-works and other Occasions; and which are purchased at very low Rates with *French East-India* Goods, some Manufactures of *France*, and *Irish* Provisions. They have likewise an Opportunity, by means of the *Spaniards*, to put off large Quantities of these Commodities to the Vessels that are constantly coming from several Parts of the *Spanish* Continent to *St. Domingo*; where the last Tribunal of Appeals in the *Spanish West-Indies* is politically held, on purpose to draw People to that Part of the Island, whose Expence and Traffick supports the *Spanish* Inhabitants, who otherwise would desert it. These Advantages leave no room for the *French* to covet the whole; especially, as they have already as much of it as they can well manure; and as they have no occasion to open Land for Pasture, the Seasons will for that reason continue the longer, and be favourable for their Crops.

THE *French* have been no less industrious in improving their Fishery at *Cape Breton*, where they have yearly at least four hundred Sail of Ships, and near one half of this Number make two Voyages in the Year; and not content with the Advantage of that alone, they find means of introducing large Quantities of *French* and *India* Goods into our Northern Colonies, and may thereby in time, with some

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some other new Artifice, carry the Provision Trade of Flower, Bread, &c. to their Sugar Colonies, and be able then to supply all the Demands of the *Spaniards*, render our Northern Colonies, as well as the *Spaniards*, dependent on them, and deprive our own Sugar Colonies from that profitable Trade to the Coast.

THESE are Advantages which the *French* are thoroughly sensible of, and which they certainly will endeavour privately or publickly to promote. To convince any one, of Their Sense of the Matter, he need only peruse the Memorials of the *French* Deputies of Commerce to the Royal Council; in one whereof they set forth, "That the Navigation of *France* owes all its Encrease and Splendour to the Commerce of its Sugar Islands; and that it cannot be kept up and enlarg'd otherwise than by this Commerce; which, beyond all doubt, is more beneficial to the State, than all others that are driven by that Nation." — I think, the extraordinary Encouragement and Assistance, that has been given, and is still continued wherever they find it necessary, for the Settlement or Improvement of their Sugar Colonies, shews evidently what I have quoted to be as well the Sentiments of the King and Ministry, as it is of the Deputies of their Commerce. Can it be thought then that our Sugar Colonies are less beneficial, or of less Consequence

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to *Great-Britain*? Surely they are not! They have been, and may be again, if rightly encourag'd, equally, nay much more, advantageous, by a very profitable Trade which they carried on for many Years to the *Spanish* Coast, with Goods from *Great-Britain*, and Provisions from our Northern Colonies. 'Tis on these latter that our Sugar Colonies must depend for several Necessaries they require, as well for their Improvement and carrying on their Business, as for their Subsistence. The Trade between them is mutually beneficial, and ought equally to be encourag'd, as it tends upon the whole to the Advantage of their Mother Country, and the encreasing its Navigation. The Welfare, nay the Security of *Great-Britain* it self, in a great measure depends thereon. Is it not evident what the *French* have in view, by encouraging in so extraordinary a manner their Settlements in the *West-Indies*? They are sensible how beneficial our Northern Colonies have already been to them, by enabling them to make and enlarge their Settlements at *Hispaniola*, and in what degree they still, and always must, need a continuance of many necessary Supplies from thence for their Support: They are well appriz'd of the Advantages they shall reap by a Trade carried on to the *Spanish* Coast, with Provisions and other Necessaries from our Northern Colonies and from *Ireland*; which they are, doubtless, at this time, encourag'd

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to by the *Spaniards*, as I observ'd before, in order, if possible, to take that Advantage out of our Hands, as they have done already that of our Trade to *Old Spain*. The *French* have always favour'd and encourag'd the Trade and Vessels of our Northern Colonies, in consequence of the Advantages I have already mention'd; whereto may be added another of no small importance to them, and that is, the taking off their Rum and Molasses in return, which otherwise would be useless, and of no value to them; Rum being prohibited amongst themselves, that it may not interfere with, and diminish the Consumption of their own Brandies. From what I have already observ'd we may reasonably conclude, that the *French* Policy will lead them on to much greater Lengths, if they are not timely prevented; and put them on endeavouring, by suitable Inducements, directly or indirectly, to render the Trade from our Northern Colonies with them so beneficial and advantageous to the *British* Subjects, as may at length lead them insensibly into a kind of Dependency on the *French*; and if they should ever succeed thus far, they will then undoubtedly put them upon cultivating and improving every thing that the Country will produce, that may be any ways useful or necessary towards promoting and encreasing their Navigation. This is a Point, which I think requires the serious Consideration and Attention of the Legislature.

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ture. How many noble and beneficial Improvements to *Great-Britain*, propos'd to be made in the Northern Colonies, have been render'd ineffectual, and become abortive from the Misrepresentations of them to the Honourable *House of Commons*, by Gentlemen who had only private Views of Advantage to themselves in so doing? Nothing has been more common, when other Arguments have been likely to discover a sinister Purpose, than to set forth the Danger of encouraging our Northern Colonies, by representing them as having a View of making themselves independent of *Great-Britain*; than which nothing more can be more malicious or absurd: Not but that were such a Scheme practicable, nothing would be more likely to put them upon it, than the Discouragements and Disappointments they may encounter from such ungenerous Treatment from their Mother Country. It is indisputably the Advantage of *Great-Britain* to enable the Planters in all our Colonies, to raise and dispose of with Profit as much of their Produce as they possibly can; not only what is sufficient for our own Consumption, which saves our purchasing so much from our Neighbours, but all they can for foreign Exportation; as the whole Proceeds thereof is so much Profit to the Nation, and at the same time promotes our Navigation: If any Steps or Measures should be injudiciously pursued, that in the least tend to discourage

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courage the Planters, *Great-Britain* must inevitably in the end feel the bad Effects of it. I will, by way of Specimen, mention one Instance with regard to *Virginia* and *Maryland*; which, with some Variations in Circumstances, will hold in all the rest of our Colonies: And that is, That twenty Hogheads of their best Tobacco they used to expect would yield them Net from 120 *l.* to 150 *l. Sterling*, clear of all Charges; but when they were by the high Duties here, and for want of a Consumption and Demand for them abroad, brought sometimes in Debt by them; this Disappointment, as it depriv'd them of the accustomed and necessary Supplies of Wearing-Apparel, &c. so it first put them upon setting up of Manufactures of their own. They began with tanning of Skins, which 'till then were thrown away; and employ'd their own Slaves and Servants to tan them. They then put such as had been brought up to the Trade in *England*, to make Shoes: In this manner, by meer Necessity, and for want of proper Care and Encouragement at Home, they first set up several other Manufactures to the Prejudice of *Great-Britain*, from whence they us'd to be supply'd with them; but as soon as their Tobacco came to be again in demand at Home, and the *French* Contract increas'd the Consumption of them abroad, and that twenty Hogheads would yield them 200 *l.* to 250 *l. Sterling*, the Planters then disregarded their

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their Manufactories in a great measure, and we should still have supply'd them with all Kinds, and in as great Quantities as usual, if this occasional Commencement had not given the Workmen and Servants employ'd therein, a Taste of the Profits arising therefrom; which has encourag'd and put them upon improving several Branches to a great degree of Perfection. This has been the fatal Consequence of our ill-judg'd Policy, in distressing and endeavouring to keep them poor and dependent upon us; and the same Measures continu'd, will serve only to encrease such bad Effects. *France* has already but too apparently discover'd her Design to distress and ruin, if possible, our Commerce and Navigation with all our Neighbours abroad; therefore can it be suppos'd that *Spain* and *Naples* are not influenc'd by *French* Councils, in prohibiting our Manufactures, and making the Regulations they are now upon, to our Prejudice? Is not *France* at this time in Treaty with several, and endeavouring with many other Powers of *Europe*, to settle a Treaty of Trade and Commerce with them? And if they should succeed therein, what then will remain but for them to allure and engage our Northern Colonies to come into their Scheme, and thereby compleat what they have been so long labouring after?— It is our indispensable Interest then, not to defer longer the putting a Stop to a Correspondence between our Colonies

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lonies and the *French* Settlements in *America*; since the Continuance of it may be attended with such fatal Consequences: And I humbly conceive no Method will more effectually conduce thereto, than what I at first propos'd, of diverting their Shipping from their old Channel, by opening to them a new and beneficial Branch of Trade and Navigation; and at the same time to encourage them to raise and improve all manner of Necessaries, which we are at present supply'd with from abroad, such as Pitch and Tar, Hemp, Flax, Iron, Pot-Ash, &c. which, as it will be very much to their Emolument, so it will in a more peculiar manner redound to the Advantage of *Great-Britain*.

THE Inhabitants of our Northern Colonies, 'tis well known, do from their Produce and the Profit of their Trade to the Sugar Colonies, but barely make sufficient Returns to *Great-Britain* for the Necessaries they are supply'd with; and if they had proper Encouragement to improve their Estates, they would doubtless require much larger Supplies from us. They have generally very extensive Runs of Land, and but very little of it in proportion improv'd as it might be to their and our Advantage. 'Tis a Country very plentiful and healthy, but the Inhabitants for the generality poor: Few of the Estates there would enable the Proprietors, if they were to come to *England*, to live and keep company with those of a midling

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ling Rank: Therefore, from what I have observ'd before, there is a much greater probability by distressing them, to put them upon thinking how to change their Condition, than by all the Encouragement that can be given them. Independency is what from the nature of their Situation and the unfeasibleness of such a Scheme, can scarce ever come into their Heads: But Necessity may force them to what would be as fatal, and induce them to endeavour to shake off one Yoke (as they might term it) to put on another, that they might imagine would fit lighter upon them. If by Indulgence from their Mother Country they improve their Estates, the Merchants and Adventurers here, who trade with them, will find the good Effects, by having quicker Returns and larger Demands for necessary Supplies; and if there should remain any thing out of the yearly Produce over and above the necessary Contingencies, it may be reasonably suppos'd, it will either be laid up in Bank here, or expended in Improvements there; both which are beneficial to the Nation.

IN short, It is our Colonies that have render'd our Commerce and Navigation so extensive as it is at present; without them we should not be able in *Great-Britain* to find a Supply of Timber for one half of the Shipping that are necessarily employ'd therein; for notwithstanding the Care and Wisdom of the Legislature to promote and encourage the
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Growth of *English* Oak, the Demand for it is still so considerable, that very little is to be had but what is fallen before it comes to full Growth; which renders it less durable than otherwise it would be; insomuch, that it has been very difficult to obtain a sufficient Quantity of such as is proper for the Use of the Royal Navy. What then must have been the Consequence, if we had been without the extraordinary Supply of Timber and Shipping which our Colonies have furnish'd us with for the Merchants Service? Our Timber would all have been long since consum'd, and we drove to a Dependency on the East Country for Supplies, which we must have purchas'd at their own Rates, and paid for it chiefly in Bullion; Ship-Building, which now in *England* costs about 6 *l.* per Ton, would have been rais'd thereby to at least 13 *l.* or it may be more. This extraordinary Advance on our principal Materials and first Out-set would have given our Neighbours so considerable an Advantage over us, as might quickly have enabled them to gain several Branches of Navigation out of our Hands, which we have hitherto, and still retain only by Means of the cheap Supply of Shipping we are furnish'd with from our Northern Colonies. Besides, the Nation has already experienc'd the good Effect and Benefit of the Encouragement given them by a Bounty on all Pitch and Tar made there. We are now almost wholly supply'd from
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thence with those Commodities, and some equally good with the best from *Stockholm*. If the like Indulgence were to be granted on all Hemp rais'd in our Colonies, it would doubtless in a few Years be attended with the same good Effect; and as nothing can be more beneficial to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, than to render it self absolutely independent on any of its Neighbours, for all the Materials proper and necessary to promote and encrease our Navigation; so this being an Article of the greatest Consequence, ought beyond all dispute to be improv'd to the very utmost it is capable of. Hemp-seed has already been sown in *Virginia* by way of Trial, and was found to produce most surprizingly; and the Quality of it superior to any yet known in *Europe*, except that of *Ancona*, which it resembles the nearest of any, both for Fineness and Staple; and if it does not in some respects exceed it, it is at least equal to it in all, as appears by a Proof that was made, as I have been credibly inform'd, of some of the *Virginia* Hemp at one of His Majesty's Yards, against some of the best *Rigarhine*, *Petersburgh*, and *Ancona* Hems. These were all spun and work'd by the same Hands into Ropes of equal Dimensions, and then brought to the Capstan together and strain'd: The *Riga* and *Petersburgh* parted immediately, whilst the *Virginia* and *Ancona* held to the last, without being able to determine to which to give the Preference.

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Again, Hemp requires a swampy Soil to produce it in Quantity and Perfection: And this Kind of Land they have in *Virginia* for nothing; it being unfit for planting Tobacco, or for any other Use that the Inhabitants are yet appriz'd of; and therefore whenever any Purchases are made, or Lands laid out, whatever Quantity there is of this Sort, is never reckon'd into the Measurement, but thrown into the Bargain. Another Circumstance in its favour is, that the Cultivation and Manufacturing of it happens at a Season of the Year when the Planters have nothing to do; so that it will no ways interfere with or lessen the Tobacco Concern. In fine, they have all the natural Advantages for raising it that can be desir'd; and there seems nothing to be wanting to put them vigorously on this beneficial and important Branch, but a proper Encouragement from hence; and if the Government would take it into their Protection, supply them at first with a Quantity of Seed, and, as is before hinted, indulge them with a small Bounty on their Produce, I am persuaded that within the compass of a very few Years, we should not only have sufficient for our own Consumption, but to supply foreign Markets; which from the Advantage of Situation, and Plenty of navigable Rivers in *Virginia*, would be done, and could be afforded at a much cheaper Rate than from any other Country

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whatever from whence it is brought to us at present.

INDEED it is to be very much lamented, that particular Interest has so frequently prevail'd to the Disadvantage of the publick Good; of which we have a most flagrant Instance in the Opposition to the Proposals that were made for encouraging and promoting the Manufacture of Iron in our Northern Colonies. We annually take off very large Quantities from *Sweden, Russia, Norway, Bilbao*, which the Nation chiefly pays for with Bullion; all which might be sav'd to us by our own Colonies, if proper Encouragement had been given them. What is already made there exceeds any in *Europe* for making of Axes, Sheers to cut Bars or Plates of Iron, Copper, &c. Nor is there any Art yet known amongst us that can bring Iron of the Produce of any other Country to so good a Temper for those Uses; and for any one to say, that it is not fit for all the Uses that either the *Swedish* or the *Spanish* Iron is put to, is really passing a Judgment without foundation, or else being quite ignorant of the Nature of Minerals. It is well known they have Variety of Iron Oars in the Northern Colonies; and these, by being separate or mix'd, affords Iron of different Qualities, and not only so, but a different Treatment in the Furnace and Forge will in a great measure alter their natural Qualities, or drive out such particular concomitant mineral

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neral Matter as the Oar may be overcharg'd with, and render it fit for various and all Uses whatever.— It undoubtedly requires Time and Experience in all Undertakings to attain Perfection; and what is so very much for the publick Good deserves the publick Encouragement. There never was yet, nor ever will be, an Improvement set on foot, or a Law made for the Benefit of Society, that did not in some respect or other, interfere with and effect private and particular Interests; nor indeed in the nature of things is it possible it should be otherwise: But if such private and particular Interests had been always suffer'd to come in competition with, and gain the ascendant of the national Welfare, we must have been to this Hour in a State of Dependency on our Neighbours for every Convenience of Life in regard to Trade, and in a State of Disorder and Confusion in regard to Government. The Interest of a Part, ought always to give way to that of the Whole; and more particularly so, when that Part is but a trifling one in proportion to the Whole. Therefore, if ever this advantageous Proposal should again be brought upon the Carpet, I hope it may find Protection and Encouragement from those worthy Guardians of our Rights, who must determine its Fate; and who, when duly and thoroughly appriz'd of the Importance and Benefit of it, will not suffer Prejudice and Prepossession to get the better

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better of Reason and Demonstration. As for the Oppugners of this and all other useful Schemes (I mean those who oppose them from selfish Motives, not those who are led into such Opposition by Misrepresentations and false Glosses) they cannot fail of entailing the Curses of Posterity on themselves, and will be remembered by the odious Epithet of having been Enemies to the national Good of their Country. I think I need say no more to enforce the Reasons I have already given, than to add, that if *France*, or any other Power should be enabled from the Dearness of our Land, and high Wages of our Manufacturers, or from other adjunct or separate Causes, to undersell us abroad in the Woollen or any other Manufacture of *Great-Britain*; and that our Northern Colonies by the Cheapness of their Lands and Labour, should be able to afford the same Manufactures at a lower Rate than the *French* or any of our Neighbours can; the Northern Colonies ought immediately to be put upon those very Manufactures, if we mean to promote the Interest of this Kingdom, and prevent other Nations from gaining those Branches out of our Hands; for it is demonstrably true, that the Prosperity and flourishing State of our Colonies, is not more Their own particular Advantage than it is Ours, let it be view'd and taken in what Shape or Light soever.

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THE Advantages of Trade are now so generally well known to all Parts of Mankind, that it might be deem'd a kind of Impertinence to enter into the Proofs of it. The grand Question is, How it may be best cultivated and improv'd? And that, I think, can be done but two Ways: The first is by Manufactures of our own Production, which is the most certain as well as the most profitable; as it renders our Lands more valuable, enables the Landholder thereby to pay a more extraordinary Contribution, whenever Necessity requires it, towards the Support of the Government: Add to this the Duties on what is imported from abroad for the Returns of our Exports. The other is by our Navigation, which, if as cheap as our Neighbours, will enable us to make the same, or equal Advantages, as the *Dutch* now do by foreign Produce and Manufactures, which they purchase and supply from one Market to another. But neither of these will ever succeed, if by too heavy Taxes on the first, and too high Duties and Charges on the second, the Manufactures or Commodities are render'd at foreign Markets dearer than they can be afforded for by our Neighbours. The *French* have many considerable Advantages against us in Their Manufactures: In the first place they do not pay one half the Tax and Duties we do, which makes their Labour come out cheaper: And in the next place, ours is made dearer, not only

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only from the extraordinary Taxes and Duties, but from the Imprudence of our Manufacturers, who are often tempted to quit the Country and come up to *London* for the sake of extraordinary Wages; not considering the Difference of Expence between living in the Country, and what they must necessarily be at in Town, besides unnecessary Diversions from their Business, whereto they are not liable, and under no temptation either from Example or Inclination in the Country; which in the end makes them poorer than if they had continu'd where they were. This however renders our Labour dearer, and several of our Manufactures too high to send to any foreign Market with Profit. Our Silk Manufacture is a particular Instance of this kind; 'tis allow'd by Foreigners to be equal, if not better than any other made in *Europe*, and employs many thousand Hands in this City for our own Consumption only. 'Tis pity that a Manufacture so considerable as it might be made, had not proper Encouragement given, to enable us to make Exports of it to foreign Markets. At present we purchase our Organzine, or Thrown-Silk, for Cash chiefly, at *Piedmont*, and for whatever Price they are pleas'd to put upon it; but this might be soon remedy'd if the Government thought proper to permit the Importation of such Silk from *China*; where it may be had at 60 *per Cent.* first Cost less than we now pay for it.

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This would at once oblige the *Piedmontese* to part with what Silk they might have over and above what is necessary for their own Consumption, at a low or at least a moderate Rate; and we should be by this means enabled, by the great Difference in the first Cost, to sell our Silk Manufacture as cheap abroad as any of our Neighbours; and, I think, 'tis scarce a doubt, but that the Goodness of ours would gain us the Preference and Markets. I have mention'd this particular Branch as an Instance only; but there are several others that might be equally improv'd by proper Means and Encouragement; and tho' it be digressing from my first Proposal (which was to consider the State of our Sugar Colonies compar'd with those of the *French*) yet I thought it might not be wholly impertinent on the Occasion; and therefore I have but slightly touch'd on it as it fell in my way.

THE *French* have already gain'd upon us in almost every Branch of our foreign Trade, and particularly in the Woollen Manufactory; and if that be taken out of our hands, what Materials or Commodities of the Produce of *Great-Britain* shall we have remaining, that may enable us any longer to continue and carry on a Trade with our Neighbours? I know of none but our Leather, Corn, and Oars, or Metals; whereto indeed may be added our Wool; which it then would be our Interest to part with all we could of, except what was

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just necessary for our own Consumption; and a further Consequence would be, that we must expect to see our Lands reduced again to as low a Rate as they were in former Ages, before the Advantages of Trade were known amongst us. In reality our Safety, our Liberty, our All depends upon our Trade: It is by That, whilst it is free, open and encourag'd, not cramp'd, confin'd and render'd burthensome, we are enabled to put off our own superfluous Produces, and in return supply our selves with plenty of other Conveniences of Life from our Neighbours, as well for our own Use, as for Exportation again either directly or manufactur'd for theirs; which is an additional Profit to the Nation. By Trade we share Gold and Silver, the Riches of our Neighbours; provided that Trade be manag'd as it ought, so as to leave a Ballance in our favour. On our Trade depends the necessary Supplies requir'd for the support of the Crown and Government; the Value of our Lands is considerably encreas'd thereby, and the Landholders consequently enabled to give their Supplies in proportion; and the same will hold in regard to the Revenue arising from the Customs. This inestimable Jewel we are now in the utmost danger of losing; the *French* bid very fair to carry it from us, and will (if the same Measures, Attention and Encouragement, be continued by them for a few Years longer; and we in the mean time

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continue in the same Temper of Indifference and Remifsness in regard to it) in all likelihood gain their Ends. It may then be too late to succeed by our utmost Contrivance and Application, to turn it again into our own Channel. We are not to expect that the most solemn Treaties, or any other Engagement will prevent *France* from making use of all the Opportunities and Advantages, that may at any time present themselves, to promote and compass the grand Design they have long had in View. Let us only consider what Lengths they run in the late *Queen Anne's* Reign, against so formidable an Alliance as was then on foot; when the Advantages of Trade was scarce known to them, or at least neglected or despis'd by the Court and the superior Gentry among them. What then may We and the rest of *Europe* expect, now that their Revenues are greatly augmented by their Trade, and the Value of their Lands rais'd so as to enable the Subjects to pay more than double the Tax they could formerly? While Ours at the same time, if neglected, may perhaps go diminishing as much in proportion. What surprizing Success has the Trade from the *French* Sugar Colonies been attended with by the Indulgence and Care of their Government? 'Tis not above twelve Years since they first began to have any Share in the Supply of Sugar to foreign Markets; and in a very short time after, they gain'd that valuable

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a Branch of Trade entirely from us. I think by a moderate Computation the foreign Consumption which they supply, cannot be less than eighty thousand Hogsheads of Sugar *per Annum*; to which may be added fifteen thousand more, which they find means to introduce amongst us in *Great-Britain* as *English* Produce, through our own neighbouring Islands; making in the whole ninety five thousand Hogsheads of Sugar, which at a Medium of 8 *l.* 10 *s.* *per* Hogshead, amounts to

l. 807.500

The Produce of their Indigo from thence is now one Year with another, in Value about a Million Sterling; out of which if two hundred and fifty thousand be deducted for their own Consumption, there will remain

750.000

Their Cocoa, Cotton, Ginger, Rum and Molasses, &c. for Exportation, besides what they consume themselves, about

250.000

Making in the whole clear annual

Profit to the Kingdom of *France* l. 1.807.500

Besides the Freight thereon, as well as the Supplies for their own Consumption; which I believe cannot be less than 7 to 800.000 *l.* more; and all this paid for, with the Produce and Manufacture of their own Kingdom; to the great Increase and Encouragement of their Trade and Navigation. To this if we add the Consumption

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Consumption and Profit on *French* Manufactures, and their *East-India* Goods, which they introduce to very great Advantage among the *Spanish* Settlements and our own Colonies; and join thereto the very great Improvement and profitable Encrease, which their Sugar Colonies have enabled them to make in their Trade to *Africa*, we shall have abundant reason to admire the Penetration and Judgment of that Court, who could foresee at such a distance the immense Advantages their Colonies in time would prove to them, if properly encourag'd. It was but in their Infancy, when they were not able even to raise sufficient for their own Consumption, that the Council of Commerce, *Anno* 1701, in their Memorial set forth "That the Navigation of *France* ow'd
" all its Encrease and Splendor to the Commerce of its Sugar Islands; and that it could
" not be kept up and enlarg'd otherwise than
" by this Commerce." This is now become an instructive Lesson to us for our Improvement, founded on Experience; and which ought to put us upon retrieving, before it be too late, the Advantages we have either lost or neglected. We ought to consider, the Advantage is doubly in favour of *France*, while they acquire and we lose in any Branch of our Trade. That from our Sugar Colonies was almost instantaneously snatch'd from us, after the *French* had once got footing and shar'd with us. Our Woollen Manufacture I think

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is in no less danger of being lost to us: It is but too well known what Progress has been lately made in That and other Manufactures in *France*, and what Share they have gain'd for them at foreign Markets, to the Prejudice and Diminution of our own. And I may venture to say, without the Spirit of Prophecy, that a continuance of the same Encouragement and Policy in *France*, and of our Supineness and lethargick Neglect, for half a score Years longer (or perhaps less may do the business) will as effectually enable them to carry the Woollen Trade entirely from us, as they have already the Sugar Trade. What must be the Consequence if ever it should be our Misfortune to be reduc'd to the miserable Circumstance of having lost all our Trade? Our Riches, our Money must go along with it; it will never remain where it can't be employ'd and laid out advantagiously. The Supplies we have been accusom'd to receive of Bullion and other Commodities from foreign Markets, in return for our own Manufactures, will of course be drawn to *France*, if those Manufactures can be had there cheaper. It will be in vain, under such Circumstances, to continue our Exports, and endeavour to force a Trade abroad; for that would only tend the sooner to ruin us, and impoverish us the more; as the Ballance of all Trade must in such case be against us; and that Ballance can be made good no other way, than by draining us of
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our Coin: What then must our Government have recourse to, for the necessary Contingencies and Charges requir'd for its support? Our Lands must be lower'd in Value, and unable to furnish the usual Supplies: The Revenues from the Duties almost entirely sunk, and nothing but the threatenng Face of arbitrary Government and Slavery will appear to us, in the growing Power, Ambition and Policy of *France*. What must become of the Merchants and Manufacturers, who compose the greatest Part of his Majesty's Subjects, and on whom the rest of the Nation in general depend in a great measure for their Subsistence, when they have no Means left 'em to gain their Livelihood? Will *France* neglect so fair an Opportunity to foment Dissentions and Discontent in the meaner Sort, and endeavour to tempt them from their Allegiance, by Promises of extraordinary Encouragement and Advantages in their Trade? Or will not all that can be ask'd of that Court be readily comply'd with, to gain them over to their Interest, in order thereby to further the grand Design of universal Monarchy they have always so apparently in view, as well as the extending their Commerce? Both which they are much more likely to succeed in by their Policy, than ever they were by their Arms. Nor perhaps would they find any great Difficulty, when Matters were gone thus far, to carry their Point in the Northern Climates. We
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have had but too frequent Examples of Men in eminent Stations in several Courts of *Europe*, far above Want, the ordinary Temptation of the Vulgar, who yet have been influenced by *French* Artifice and *French* Gold, to embark in Measures which they knew were prejudicial and destructive to their King and Country. We have abundant reason to thank Providence, that this is not our Case at present: But since such Examples are to be found amongst the Great, we are not to expect that People who have no other Dependance or Way to live by than Trade, should be more Virtuous than their Superiors, and not be tempted to run all Hazards sooner than perish for Want. However, we may be thoroughly assur'd, that *France* will ever fail in the Attempt, if we have equal Encouragement for carrying on and extending our Trade under our own Government; because there then can be no room left to hesitate in the Choice between a Free and an Arbitrary One. The Nation in general never had less Affection to *France* and Fetters than at present; nor ever discover'd so hearty a Resentment against her, nor indeed with greater reason: And 'tis very much our Interest to continue in the same Disposition towards her, if we mean to regain the Advantages she has depriv'd us of, and disappoint her deep concerted Machinations to enslave us. We have had but too much experience of *French* Policy and Practices;

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not to be able, at this time of Day, to see pretty far into them; and to discover that from thence, those wild and frantick Notions have their Rise, which have been so industriously infus'd into the Minds of the People: That our M——y have Views of establishing an Arbitrary Government among us; and insinuating That, as a Reason why our Trade and Navigation has been so long neglected and impair'd. Their pernicious Schemes may indeed have diverted in some measure the Attention of our M——y from those important Considerations, by employing their Time and Thoughts how to circumvent them: But, as it can never be the Interest of any Prince that shall sit on the *British* Throne, to make an attempt on the Liberties of his People, by endeavouring at absolute Monarchy; nor yet to neglect the Encouragement of his trading Subjects, whereon his own Support and Security depend (supposing that we should ever be so unfortunate as to have a Prince weak enough to aim at the one, or despise the other); so neither can it be consistent with the Safety of his Ministers, to aid and assist him therein; however abandon'd they may be to the Good of their Country: For such deprav'd and rapacious Ministers can never be secure, even when they have effected their vile Bargains, and barter'd the Peoples Liberties for their own private Wealth and Grandeur; for tho' their unjustifiable and ill got Power may screen 'em for a time from the

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publick Resentment, and the Laws of their Country; it cannot defend 'em from the horrid and desperate Attempts of a *Poltro* or a *Felton*: Nor yet will it be less the Concern of the Nobility and landed Gentry, to be watchful against any Innovations that may have the least Tendency that way; for it would be equally fatal to Them, whether they became Slaves to *France* or to any other Power; since the Consequence of their Neglect would be, to be kept low and distress'd, to prevent their ever having Means or Opportunity to regain their pristine Freedom. But in this particular we may think our selves beyond most Nations, full as happy as we are secure, that no such Attacks will be made on our Liberties, as long as it shall please God to continue us the Blessing of our present Sovereign's most auspicious Reign, and the glorious Prospect we have from his numerous Royal Progeny. The Interest and Security of our Prince and People are mutual; the moment they are divided under any pretence of advantaging either, *France* will never fail to improve such Division to the ruin of both. 'Tis by our Trade that the Revenue arises, and to that likewise is owing the extraordinary Value of our Lands; from both which are obtain'd the necessary Supplies, that must enable the Crown to protect the Subject, and the Subject thereby encourag'd to defend the Crown. I think these Motives ought strongly to unite us at this time, and put us on our guard

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guard against all the Endeavours and secret Stratagems of our common Enemy to divide us, and thereby embarrass the prudent Measures of our Ministry; and in return, we need not doubt but the same Reasons will engage the Ministry to consider more deliberately on Ways and Means to improve our Trade and Navigation; whereon the Prosperity and Safety of the Crown, the Government and these Kingdoms entirely depend. This *France* knows full well; and therefore no wonder that she will exert her utmost Endeavours to destroy both; or that she is loth to put to the issue of a Trial by her Arms, what she is in hopes of atchieving so much easier by her Policy: But even in the former of these we are not to trust entirely to our wonted Success: If we consider the Grandeur and Power whereto their Trade and Navigation have rais'd 'em, and compare it with the Circumstances they were in, at the most flourishing Period of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. The Subjects of *France* were then poor, and their Trade little or nothing towards enabling the Merchants or landed Interest among them, to raise any very considerable Contributions for the support of the War they were then engag'd in; and yet they found means to maintain themselves for a long time against a very formidable Alliance, as well as to corrupt, with what little Money they had, wherever they found it necessary. What then may we not expect, now their Wealth is so considerably

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augmented; their Shipping and Sailors encreas'd by the enlargement of their Trade and Navigation to their Colonies, *Africa, Turkey, East-Indies*, their Fishery, and to all Parts of *Europe*? which has given them a very fair prospect of drawing in a few Years all the Riches of *Europe* and *America* to themselves. Its certain this is a Concern of so much importance in the sequel to all the other *European* Powers in general, as makes it almost a common Cause, and requires their joint Endeavours and Councils to prevent. We have but too many flagrant Instances of the Use they are on all occasions ready to make of their Interest and Power. The late Treaty which they influenced so much to the prejudice of the Czarina and the Emperor, together with the hopeful Assistance they have given the *Genoese* against the *Corficans*, are Specimens of this kind among infinite others; and may serve to shew us the *quantum valeat* of such Mediators. We see *Spain* already taken in the Snare by the Measures and unnatural Alliance (in regard to the true Interest of the Nation, tho' natural enough with respect to their *French* extracted Monarch) she is engag'd in with them; and the Advantages given them in encouraging their Trade. They already share at least one Third of the whole carried on to *New-Spain* in the Flota and Galleons. They have artfully led *Spain* into a War with us, and by that means made Her dependent on them for the private

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private necessary Supplies to carry it on; and which they will doubtless encourage, 'till she is so miserably distressed and low, that they may insist upon their own terms, tho' never so inconsistent with Reason and Justice, or the Interest of *Spain* to comply with. It is not probable, that *France* will then be satisfied barely with a few extraordinary Indulgencies and Priviledges in the Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, more than what her Subjects enjoy already. No! she will more probably put the *Spaniards* again upon demanding Restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*; (which, whatever Light it may have commonly been taken in, has been always a *French*, and not a *Spanish* Demand) with a view of having them as a Reward for their Services and Supplies. They would then be able at all times to unite their Fleets in the *Mediterranean* and *West-France*, which it's now in our power to prevent, whenever we please; and happy it is for *Spain* that they are in our Hands; they would soon feel the fatal Consequence if it were otherwise. On the whole, there seems to be nothing left to hinder the growing Power of *France*, and the ill Consequences that must thereby accrue to every State in *Europe*, unless by a formidable and natural Alliance we should engage in a successful War against them; or that we turn our Thoughts wholly and immediately, before it be too late, on the Improvement of our Trade and Navigation, by all the Methods we have remaining in our power: We must afford

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afford our Manufactures cheaper abroad than *France* can, or we do nothing. To effect this, they must be raised and improv'd, and others set on foot (without regard to particular Interests) in such Parts of His Majesty's Dominions where the Labour and Materials are to be had at the most easy rates. If the Duty on any foreign Commodity is so high, as not to admit of an Export, after it is manufactur'd here (as is the case of our Silk Manufactory at present, as well as some others that might be named) that ought to be made easy, to enable the Merchant to find a Vend for it abroad; and the lowering of the Duty would soon be made good again by the encrease on the Importation. This brings to my mind another Article of no small disadvantage to us, as it encourages the *French* Trade in particular, at the same time that it prejudices our own; and That is the high Duty on our Teas, which has occasioned such immense Quantities of this Commodity to be run in upon us to almost every Part of His Majesty's Dominions in *Europe*. This would be effectually remedied, if the Duty upon it was *ad Valorem*; and That, without in the least Degree lessening the Revenue. I am so confident of the Truth of this Assertion, that I dare answer to find private Gentlemen, who would give undoubted Security to make good the Duties it generally has produc'd *communibus annis*, provided they may be entitled to what it shall amount to more: But this is what more immediately

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immediately concerns our *East-India* Company, who would thereby, have a Consumption for more than double what they now import, and therefore deserves their Consideration; as likewise, whether it would not be more their Advantage to sell their Cargoes in the manner they do in *Holland* and *France*, and save thereby the Expence of Warehouse-room, &c. as it might be attended with one good Consequence, That of driving the *French* quite out of the Trade; who, as I have been inform'd, begin already to be tired of it. There are a great many other valuable Branches of Trade that might be improv'd by the same Method; but to enumerate them all, would be too tedious; especially as I have already run to a much greater length than I at first propos'd: I shall therefore resume my Observations on the Trade of our *American* Colonies; from whence alone we may expect in time to be enabled to reduce and curb, if not ruin the *French* Navigation. They acknowledge it's Rise and Support to proceed from their Sugar Islands; those again are dependent in a great measure, on our *Northern* Colonies; and They, if Iron, Hemp and Flax were once cultivated, encouraged and improv'd amongst 'em, would then afford us all the Necessaries for fitting out his Majesty's Navy; besides a constant Supply of Ships and Vessels for the Enlargement of our Navigation in the Merchant Service; as they might be finished and put to Sea at a much cheaper rate than they could

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could in any Part of *Europe*. We should then be absolutely independent of any Power for Supplies; and by Time and proper Encouragement, might expect to see most of the trading Powers in *Europe* apply to us for them, as we can and may afford 'em cheaper than any other; and as a Demand encreases, we shall, by practice, improve both in our Culture and Manufacture of them: As our Neighbours who now furnish them, must decline those Manufactures, in proportion as they come to be less demanded from them. Under these improv'd Circumstances, we may always have it in our Power to enable the *British* Subjects to navigate cheaper than our Neighbours, by laying a small Duty on all such Commodities as are necessary for that purpose, on Exportation for foreign Markets only; yet such as may not drive those who would otherwise deal with us, to seek Supplies elsewhere. We should then have nothing more to do, than to guard against the *French*, and effectually prevent them from taking advantage of such Improvements, by any Efforts they may make to carry on a Commerce and Correspondence from their Sugar Islands to our *Northern* Colonies; the ill Consequence whereof I have already shewn, and propos'd a Method of Cure for, which would very much abate, if not entirely remove this Nuisance; and I have a further secret Satisfaction, when I reflect that there still remains a sure means in our own Power, effectually to reduce, and by degrees absolutely

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absolutely ruin the Trade of the *French* Sugar Colonies: But as this is a Scheme that it may not be proper at this juncture to make publick; I shall reserve it for the perusal of those, whose Approbation of it may add weight enough to procure its being put in Execution.

I THINK the Observations I have made on the first Condition, mention'd towards the beginning of this Discourse, will be sufficient to shew the Disadvantages that must arise to our Trade and Navigation, from the second and third; and therefore, to avoid Repetitions, I shall only observe, in objection to the last, That it is a very hard Case on any *British* trading Subject, who has only a temporary Residence in foreign Parts, and has never violated his Allegiance, nor forfeited his natural Priviledges, by adhering or valuing himself on those of the Country where he resides, To be debarr'd and cut off from reaping any Advantage as an Owner, in Ships that are licens'd to carry Sugars from our Colonies directly to foreign Markets, for no other Reason than that of his living abroad; which I must beg leave to say, is a Discouragement to Trade, and may, in some occasional Respects, be a Cramp on our Navigation, as well as that it seems to carry a kind of a tacit Implication of a Crime. It is undoubtedly the Interest of the Nation, as well on a political Account as on a natural One, to have several of its trad-

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ing Members dispers'd in all Parts whereto our Trade is extended; by which means the Commissions, and other incidental Perquisites on all Consignments (which otherwise would be the particular Advantage of those of the Country to whom such Consignments must necessarily be made) would centre among our selves, as well as the Proceeds of the Cargoe. It were really to be wish'd, That there was somewhat more of a publick Spirit amongst the generality of our trading Gentlemen, than there seems to be; that would engage them to give the Preference in their Orders and Consignments, to those of their own Country, where any such are residing, rather than to Foreigners; which would not only be an Act of National Justice, but be one Means of preventing a Practice that I am afraid is but too frequent; That of screening the Effects of Aliens from the Extra Duties which such are oblig'd by the Law to pay. I would not be thought to insinuate that this unjustifiable Procedure is general; for I am satisfy'd it is not; and that we have a great many Men of Worth and Probity among us, who would never permit their Private Interest to get the Ascendant of their Consciences, and the Good of their Country; but whoever has been conversant in Trade, must be convinc'd that there is but too much room for Complaint in this particular.

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I must here acknowledge, that instead of strictly pursuing the Thread of my Discourse, as at first propos'd, I have in several Parts of it been insensibly led into Digressions, that may seem at first view foreign to my Purpose; but as I have advanced nothing but what I sincerely take to be for the Good of my native Country, abstracted from any sinister Principles, and at the same time own my self to be very sensibly touch'd with the Danger we are in, of being stripp'd by our growing Rivals in Trade; I hope the candid Reader will not think such Digressions wholly impertinent, but join his ardent Wishes to mine, that *Great-Britain* may retrieve her wonted Glory, and ride triumphant Mistress of the Sea, and enable her natural born Subjects to extend their Commerce to Limits uncircumscrib'd, and yet unknown; and that she may still prove, as she has been in Times past, a tender indulgent Protectress of her own Offspring, and a Scourge to such who make it their Study to aggrandize themselves, by troubling the Repose of all the rest of the World.

I should now lay down my Pen, but that I think it a Duty incumbent upon me, to say a Word or two in vindication of the Planters in our Sugar Colonies, who have been barbarously abused by some scandalous Misrepresentations of them to People in Power here at home: And

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what is a further Aggravation of their Wrongs is, that these false Lights have been hung out by such who owe their Livelihood and Fortunes to these very People, that they thus endeavour to stigmatize. When the Sugar Bill was first mov'd for by some of our Planters and Merchants, here were not wanting several who opposed it publickly; and others, from some small Sense of Shame, to appear openly in sacrificing the Interest of their Country in general, as well as their Constituents in particular, proceeded with more Caution, tho' not with more Truth, and gave their private Attendance and Opinions against it. These worthy Gentlemen, on being questioned how the Planters came to be reduc'd to such low Circumstances, and what might occasion their not being able to afford their Sugars as cheap as the *French*: Being destitute of an Answer, and unwilling to betray their own Ignorance, have declar'd it was wholly owing to their Extravagance and profuse Way of Life. A Calumny which, tho' it has very much prevail'd amongst a great many here, is as false, as it is scandalous. No doubt, if this Accusation had been true, it would have been a very justifiable Reason in the Government to have the less regard to the Planters Representations and Complaints; as it might then have been in their own Breasts, by proper Retrenchments and Oeconomy, to have contested the Advan-

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tage themselves with the *French* Planters, without the Intervention of the Government. But, alas! the Case is quite the reverse. Few of our Planters, even those of them who are Masters of very considerable Fortunes, live at one half the Expence on themselves and Families that some of these pretendedly knowing Gentlemen do, who are employed and get their Bread by them, and yet thus uncharitably censure them: And if this is the Case with the best, it's to be reasonably infer'd, as in fact it is so, that the middling and meaner Sort of them do but barely get their Living, and are often put to their shifts to do That. As here has been too many of these abject Defamers, so I must acknowledge with Justice and particular Pleasure, that here likewise are some Gentlemen of Honour, who have promoted the Interest of their Constituents to the utmost of their Power, and been at all times ready to justify them from such gross Falshoods. These ought, and doubtless will be remember'd with Honour and Gratitude by their Employers, while the former deserve no further Countenance or Favour from them. The true and only Reason then of the Planters Complaints is their want of the regular Seasons for their Crops. It is a thing notorious, that in several of our Islands, *Berbados* in particular, all the Encouragement that can be given them, joined to their own utmost Industry, will

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will hardly afford the Planter a bare Subsistence: 'Tis the same in several parts of *Jamaica*, where the Rains fail. It is not that their Lands are worn out, as is vulgarly imagin'd; for the oldest Lands, with regular Seasons, afford the finest Sugars; and they require much less time and expence in boiling and curing, than Sugars produc'd from new Grounds. A Continuation of six Years kindly and seasonable Rains in *Berbados* and the dry parts of *Jamaica*, would be sufficient to make the Planter pretty easy in his Circumstances and Fortune. The *French*, in Contraposition to this, have these Advantages over us, That their Lands are exceeding good, Their Seasons are kind and regular; and besides these, are supported by their Government. They reap another small Advantage indeed from their Inhumanity, which I do not mention as worthy of imitation, but to shew, they will stick at nothing to gain their Ends: And That is, their Custom of turning out their Slaves to work by Moon-light, after having kept them hard at it all Day; it being a common Maxim with them, That if a Slave lasts 'em but four or five Years, it is as much as they expect or desire. This is a Treatment of human Race that is abhorrent to an *Englishman*; and indeed, is very widely different from what they meet with amongst us: And I can affirm, that such of them as do not forfeit their Proprietors

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Kindness by transgressing against the Laws of the Country by Rebellion, or by open and incorrigible Acts of Injustice or Dishonesty, live as easy, and happier far than the greatest part of the better Poor, or People of low Rank in *Great-Britain*. And having now shewn what is, as well as what is not the real Grievance of the Sugar Planters, I shall humbly take my leave of Them and my Readers, 'till a further Occasion offers, wherein I think I may be serviceable to either.

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friends, I shall humbly
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