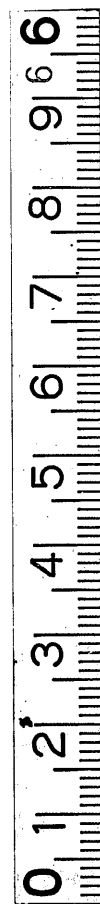


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THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH REGARD TO
AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, TRADE, and
MANUFACTURES.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH REGARD TO
AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, TRADE, and
MANUFACTURES, impartially considered:

Containing a particular Account of

The dearth and scarcity of the necessaries of life in
England; the want of staple commodities in the
Colonies; the decline of their trade; increase of
people; and necessity of manufactures, as well
as of a trade in them hereafter.

IN WHICH

The causes and consequences of these growing evils,
and methods of preventing them, are suggested;
The proper REGULATIONS for the COLONIES, and
the taxes imposed upon them, are considered,
and compared with their condition and circum-
stances.

L O N D O N:

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C O N T E N T S.

P A R T I.

CONSIDERATIONS on the Agriculture of *Great Britain*, with regard to the dearth and scarcity of Corn and Provisions, and other necessaries, particularly the *articles of daily consumption*; shewing the causes of these public calamities; their ruinous consequences in population, trade, and manufactures; with the ways of preventing these growing evils.

Causes of the dearth of Provisions in *England*; does not proceed from any temporary accidents of the seasons; but from three permanent causes; first, the great increase of the Towns; second, the want of Husbandmen and Labourers in the country; third, the great number of Horses; want of Tillage; obstacles to Agriculture and Population; people of *England* only bred in the Country; decrease in Towns; engrossing of Lands; expensive way of Living; number and expence of Horses; they eat the
bread

*Aequè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquus;
Æquè neglectum pueris, senibusque nocebit.*

HOR.

C O N T E N T S.

bread of the Poor; the Island of *Britain* is not large enough to maintain a sufficient number of people for the many concerns of the nation, with so many Horses, and other Beasts; a tax on Dogs and Horses would afford a bounty on Corn consumed by the Poor, and Manufacturers; and would redeem the taxes on the *necessary articles of daily consumption*; and there appears to be no other way to obtain these desired ends, &c.

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C O N T E N T S.

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C O N T E N T S.

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I F we consider the consequences of such a general and lasting dearth of all the necessaries of life, as hath been felt in *England* for many years past, which is daily increasing, and that in a nation which depends so much upon its trade and manufactures, nothing can deserve a more serious regard of the public. It was computed before the last war, that foreigners could carry on most branches of trade 25 *per cent.* cheaper than we can, on account of our high taxes, and especially those on the *articles of daily consumption*; and if the price of labour and manufactures is still farther enhanced, not only by the additional taxes in the war, but by the advanced price of all the *necessaries of life*, the trade of *Great Britain*, on which its very being in a manner depends, must be ruined, without some seasonable relief from such a dangerous and growing evil. Since the first apprehensions of a dearth and scarcity, and the disturbances thereby occasioned, the price of provisions has rose nigh twenty *per cent.*; as the dearness of them

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seems not to be owing to any temporary accidents of the seasons, but to proceed from permanent causes, which are more deeply rooted in the very vitals of the nation.

If this dearth continues, *England* will not only lose great part of her trade in other parts of the world, but our colonies themselves, who consume the most of our manufactures, will rival us in them, and be obliged to establish manufactures of their own. It has indeed been imagined, that they could not make manufactures, on account of the dearness of labour; but it will appear from the following discourse, that their labour and manufactures are much cheaper, than they are in *England*: The advanced price therefore of ours will be a premium on theirs, and must ruin the trade of the nation in all other parts of the world, as hath been abundantly shewn by the best judges of that important subject*.

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* As to manufactures, high excises in time of peace are utterly destructive to that principal part of *England's* wealth; for if Malt, Coals, Salt, Leather, and other things (particularly all the *necessaries of life*) bear a great price, the wages of servants, workmen, and artificers, will consequently rise, for the income must bear some proportion

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The affairs of the nation in *North America*, of which we give some account in the other parts of this discourse, have become a topic of such general inquiry, and concern to the whole nation, after the immense sums which have been expended upon them, and the critical situation they have been in for many years past, that all information concerning them seems to be as earnestly desired, as it is highly interesting to the public. These concerns of the nation in the colonies are indeed so numerous, and so little understood; they have been the subject of so many party feuds and contentions, which are the sure causes of

proportion to the expence; and if such as set the poor to work find wages for labour, or manufactures, advance upon them, they must rise in the price of their commodity, or they cannot live: All which would signify little, if nothing but our own dealings among one another were thereby affected; but it has a consequence far more pernicious in relation to our foreign trade, for it is the exportation of our own product that must make *England* rich.—If the price of the workmanship be enhanced, it will in a short course of time put a necessity upon those we deal with of setting up manufactures of their own, such as they can, or of buying goods of the like kind and use from nations that can afford them cheaper. *Davenant's Essays on Trade*, Vol. iii. p. 30, 31. See Sir *Matthew Decker*; *The Causes of the decline of Foreign Trade*, &c.

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error; that some account of them is highly wanted for the benefit of the nation, if it were only to shew the many mistakes in the accounts we have had; to wipe off the prejudices, or correct the erroneous opinions, of many concerning them; and to give *Great Britain* a true sense of her own interest in the colonies, which has been so grossly misrepresented. All the regulations lately made concerning the colonies have been represented, as if they were intended for the benefit of the nation at home, and as if the colonies were a separate interest; but it is past doubt, and will abundantly appear from the following account of them, that the late proceedings in *North America* are as contrary to the true interest of *Great Britain*, as if they had been calculated to overset it; and to deprive her of the benefit of her colonies, after the vast sums she has expended in securing her property and interest in that part of the world. This is indeed a subject of such a complicated nature, and so little understood, that few people seem to be able to form a just opinion, or right judgement concerning it.

The state of the colonies both before the war, and after the peace; the debts they contracted

P R E F A C E. v

contracted by the war; the vast sum they owe to *Great Britain* amounting to five or six millions of money; their bad circumstances, and inability even to purchase their necessaries from *Britain*; the want of money, and even of a medium of trade; the wearing out of their lands, and failure of their staple commodities; the decline, if not the ruin, of their trade; the daily and great increase of the people, and the establishment of manufactures among them: Their inability to comply with acts of parliament; the late regulations, and the many disturbances they occasioned; the great expence the nation is at upon the new acquisitions; the state of these acquisitions, and the consequences of them in the affairs of the nation; the many improvements in staple commodities, which are so much wanted in all our colonies; the failure and insufficiency of those which have been proposed for them; the singular and peculiar soil and climate of *North America*, and state of their Agriculture, on which the whole interest of the nation in the colonies depends: And above all, the necessity of extending their settlements, and enlarging their plantations, so as to enable them to purchase their necessaries from *Britain*, or to subsist in that state of dependence on their mother country; and the lands

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lands which may be fit for that purpose: These, and many other concerns, numerous as these are, require the attention of the public, and are necessary to be understood and considered, in order to determine any thing concerning the colonies; or to establish them on such a footing, as to keep up that connection and correspondence, which ought to be preserved between them and their mother country, and to render their dependence a mutual and reciprocal benefit to both, which is the design of our discourse.

But instead of this reciprocation of benefits, *Great Britain* and her colonies are now likely to interfere with one another. They are no longer able to purchase their manufactures, and cannot subsist without them; their lands are worn out with staple commodities for *Britain*, and will no longer bear them; the people are grown numerous, and require the produce of their lands for their own use; their products are not wanted in *Britain*, and for that reason they are obliged to vend them in foreign countries. Thus the colonies must interfere with their mother country both in agriculture and manufactures, unless some seasonable remedy is applied, to prevent such a ruinous state

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state of the nation, which it was our chief design to point out.

In the prosecution of such a design, it was necessary to give some account of the *agriculture of Great Britain*, as well as of *North America*, that the colonies, and their mother country, might be kept from interfering with one another in that fundamental and most essential support of all nations. It is likewise of the utmost consequence to consider the number of people in the *English* nation, both at home and abroad, and to pay due regard to their *population*, as well as the culture of their lands. It has generally been computed, that the number of people in *England* is at least seven, if not eight millions, and all our calculations of the state and trade of the nation are founded on that supposition*; but from more particular and certain accounts, it appears, that the number of people in *England* does not amount to above five millions and an half, or six millions at most; either of which would appear to be a very insufficient number to manage and conduct all the affairs of this nation, both at home

* See the *British Merchant*, vol. i. p. 165. Causes of the decline of foreign trade, p. m. 36, &c.

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and abroad; to people and secure all the *British* dominions both in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, and to supply them all with their necessaries, or a fourth part of the materials.

This deficiency and want of people in *Great Britain* can only be supplied, as it might well be, by the great increase of the colonies in *North America*. *Great Britain* wants nothing more than people, which the narrow and limited bounds of her possessions at home will not maintain; it must, therefore, be of the utmost consequence to this nation, to have such a number of people depending upon her in *America*; where they increase and multiply very fast, and help to support the nation at home, if they are rightly employed for that purpose. In twenty or thirty years, which soon come about in a nation, these colonies will double their numbers; when there will be as many people in them, if not more, than are in *England*; and we ought to consider in time, how they are to subsist by a dependence on *Great Britain*, which it was the chief design of our discourse to shew. If this were done, as it might be, the great increase of the colonies would be a constant addition both to the
power

P R E F A C E. ix

power and wealth of this nation; and is the only equivalent it has, or can expect, for that great superiority, in numbers, which our enemies have over us in *Europe*. This would be a *balance of power* more in favour of *Great Britain*, than that which has cost such immense sums to preserve at home. Instead of having our colonies to defend and protect at such an expence, the number of people in them, if they were rightly employed for that purpose, might be the greatest security to all the *British* dominions, in every part of the world, and worth to the nation five or six millions a year.

It is also by the number of people in *North America*, and by them alone, with their daily increase, that *Great Britain* can ever expect to people, cultivate or secure, her acquisitions, and vacant territories in *America*, or to render them of any service to the nation. There are no people in *Britain* to spare for that purpose, and it would be as great a loss and prejudice to the nation, to send her people from home, in order to make new settlements abroad, as it would be a benefit and advantage, to employ those we have in *North America* in that service of their mother country. It is only by that
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means, that the great numbers of people in the colonies can ever subsist by a dependence on *Great Britain*, for their necessary supplies, however they may live under her government; this is a matter of the greatest consequence to this nation, on which her whole interest in *North America* will appear to depend, as we have more fully explained in this account of that important concern of the whole nation.

But instead of making this use of our acquisitions, which alone can ever render them of any service to the nation, we have made them a loss and prejudice to it. The colonies are excluded from all the fruitful parts of the continent, that will produce any thing for the benefit of the nation, and are confined to lands, which produce little or nothing but what *Great Britain* does; and on which they can, therefore, only interfere with her, both in agriculture and manufactures, as well as all the other essential employments of the nation at home. By that means we take the direct way, to force the colonies to become independent, whether they will or not; to deprive the nation of all the advantages, which might otherwise be reaped from them; and
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P R E F A C E. xi

to render them a prejudice, rather than any benefit to their mother country.

All this appears to be done, for the sake of *Canada* and *Florida*; which are by that means rendered not only a very great burden and charge to the nation, without any manner of profit, but the greatest detriment to it on many other accounts. The colonies are thereby not only compelled to interfere with their mother country, by being excluded from all the fruitful parts of the continent, for the sake of these barren deserts; but they must drain the nation of people at home, which is the greatest loss it could well sustain. Whatever any of these acquisitions are, or whatever opinion any here may have of them, the people in the colonies, who know them, and for whom new settlements are only wanted, will never remove to any of them; but except those in the colonies, and their daily increase, this nation has no people to spare, to settle these or any other parts of the world. *Great Britain* cannot people these acquisitions, the colonies will not, and of what use then can they be to the nation? Could we even get any number of foreigners to go to these inhospitable deserts, which we can
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hardly expect after a tryal of them, it would not only be very difficult, if not impracticable, to naturalize them by themselves in the woods of *America*, as we find by those we have mixed with the *English* in the midst of our most populous settlements, but they would still be a prejudice to the nation, in these acquisitions, as is here shewn.

Thus *Great Britain* is at the expence of nigh half a million a year, in supporting these acquisitions, and runs the risque of involving herself in new wars, and farther expences, on their account; and that for no other purpose, but to ruin her own interest in *North America*, after all it has cost her. It was indeed expected, to throw this burden on the colonies, whether they could bear it or not; but it is here shewn, that it is not in the nature of things, and is contrary to the very institution of colonies, which are intended to supply themselves with their necessaries from their mother country, to expect, that they either can or should raise money, to pay taxes, for these or any other purposes; and that money taken from them, is more ruinous to *Great Britain*, than if she were to pay it herself. Since the colonies therefore cannot

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maintain these acquisitions, and that charge falls entirely upon the nation at home, the question is, how is she to be relieved of that heavy burden?

These are the subjects of the present discourse, in treating of which, and in order to form a right judgement concerning them, the first thing necessary to be known, and duely considered, is the singular and peculiar climate of *North America*; which, if it were duely known, would perhaps appear to be the most singular thing in nature. It is for want of a due knowledge of the climate, on which the interest of the nation in colonies depends, that so many mistakes are daily committed, and such erroneous opinions and prejudices are conceived, concerning that whole continent, and all the colonies in it. It was imagined, that the late transactions, and a more intimate concern, would give the nation at home some better knowledge of that continent, and of her colonies; but so far from that, they seem only to have served to confirm the prejudices or mistakes of many, and to lead the nation into the greatest errors concerning her own interest, to the ruin of it; for which reason
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some account of these important concerns is the more necessary.

To form a better judgement concerning the colonies, it would be necessary to give an account of every one of them in particular; to consider the nature of the soil and climate, and what it produces, or is fit to produce for the benefit of the nation; this we have endeavoured to supply by a few notes, in order to explain many things, which appear to be but little understood: But as these can give but an imperfect idea of many subjects treated of in them, a more particular account shall be given in a second part of this discourse, if we find, that design is approved of. We may then also consider more particularly the several staple commodities that may be made in the plantations, for the benefit of the nation, and the ways of making them; and give a more particular account of what they now make, or of the produce of the colonies, as well as of their exports and imports, of which we could here only give the sum total, or a general view of the whole, for the sake of brevity and distinction.

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P R E F A C E. xv

By such a representation of the concerns and interest of the nation, both at home and abroad, it is to be hoped, all future jealousies and dissensions, between the colonies and their mother country, may be happily prevented, to the prosperity and welfare of both. It has been given out, in many accounts, both public and private, that the nation has been involved in such an expensive war solely on *their* account; that they not only refuse to bear any part of this expence, but even to pay a small part of what is, pretended to be, necessary for their own protection and security; when their abilities are represented to be unquestionable; and that they have refused to submit to laws, which they might as easily have complied with, as it was their duty to do; By these means, the colonies and their mother country are set at variance; they are made a separate interest from *Great Britain*; the nation is divided against itself, and involved in a state of civil warfare, after the grievous wars it has sustained; and the colonies are rendered both unable, and less inclinable, to indemnify the nation for the expences that have been incurred. It is therefore necessary, to set these important concerns in a just and true

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true light, and to obviate the mistakes which have been committed, as well as the erroneous opinions which many have conceived, concerning them; that the nation may no longer take such measures to ruin herself by her own proceedings, which will otherwise appear to be the unavoidable consequence of them, sooner or later.

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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

AGRICULTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE general dearth and scarcity of provisions, which have been complained of throughout the whole kingdom, more or less, for several years past, seem not to be owing to any temporary accidents, or unfavourable seasons, which may cease of themselves; but to proceed from causes, which are more deeply rooted in the very vitals of the nation, and may prove of worse consequence, as they are daily increasing, so as to threaten a perpetual dearth in the kingdom, and consequently a failure of its trade and manufactures, if not of the Corn Trade likewise, unless the sources of such a ruinous dearth are duely attended to, and some seasonable remedy is applied to remove the causes of so dangerous and growing an evil.

If the single rainy month of July, which happened only in the southern parts of the kingdom, and is not uncommon in England, may have occasioned a shorter crop of corn than usual, yet as that was succeeded by the most favourable harvest and autumnal season that are commonly to be seen, it seems not to be sufficient to account for the general dearth which prevails all over the land; especially as that has

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been felt, more or less, for several years past, and in seasons which were remarkably favourable, with the most plentiful crops. And however that rainy month may have occasioned a failure in the crops of corn, in some particular parts of the kingdom, yet even that is not general; and if it were, it is far from being sufficient to cause that dearth and scarcity of other provisions, which have been complained of for many years, and seem daily to increase.

This public calamity must therefore be attributed to some other causes, which were perceived from an inquiry into the Agriculture of the kingdom, several years before they produced their effect; inasmuch that, from a due consideration of these causes, and of the state of agriculture in the kingdom, it was foreseen and foretold, that a dearth and scarcity both of corn and other provisions would be the unavoidable consequence, which hath accordingly happened. Therefore, as this appeared to us some years ago, with other better judges, we could not but thus set down our observations and sentiments concerning a matter, which appears to be of such general concern and consequence to the whole nation. Now as this dearth was thus foreseen, it is likely to be as lasting, as the causes of it are fixed and permanent; whatever temporary expedients may be thought of to remove the present effects; to flatter our hopes with vain expectations, while provisions are as dear as ever; or to stop the clamours of
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the people, without affording them any real and effectual relief. And that this is to be apprehended, without some more effectual relief than seems yet to have been proposed, will abundantly appear from the causes of this dearth, as they are hereafter explained; which seem to require the united endeavours of the whole nation to prevent their pernicious and ruinous consequences, if they may not merit the attention of the legislature.

The consequences of such a dearth and scarcity of provisions need not to be told, where they are felt, but in this kingdom they are more to be apprehended, than in any other; as a dearth of provisions, which enhances the price of every thing, threatens the ruin of the manufactures, trade, and navigation of the kingdom, and consequently of its maritime power; on which the very being of this nation, as an independent state, is well known to depend. The many ruinous consequences of such a dearth in this kingdom are so manifest in themselves, and are so fully shewn by *Dr. Davenant*, in his *Essays upon the Trade of the Nation*, that they need not to be insisted upon.

But besides these consequences of such a dearth, which are obvious in themselves, it appears to us to be still more prejudicial to the nation; and to threaten the very existence as well as the subsistence of the people, who are already by far too few, either to cultivate the lands, or to support the trade and manufactures

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of the kingdom; whence the consequences of this dearth, and of the causes which appear to occasion it, may be much more ruinous, than seems to be apprehended.

To see such a dearth, which threatens to be lasting, in such a fruitful land as this, which yearly supplies its neighbours with great quantities of corn, is somewhat surprising; and it may therefore appear to be as curious, perhaps, as it is interesting, to investigate the causes of such an uncommon event, and to prevent the ruinous effects of such a general and public calamity.

In such a plentiful country as England, where plenty appears in the face of every thing, we should have no reason to apprehend such a general dearth and scarcity of the necessaries of life, were it not owing to some uncommon and peculiar causes, which deprive the people of that plenty which the land naturally affords. And although every one may put their own construction upon the causes of such a general complaint, according as they are affected by them, yet, upon due inquiry and consideration of the matter for several years, they appear to us, who have no other concern in them but the public welfare of the nation, to be, chiefly and principally, the four following; which are so manifest in themselves, that they seem not to require a more particular discussion; however the other causes of this dearth, and the methods of preventing it, which are hereafter more fully

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fully explained, may deserve a more particular consideration. And these causes of this dearth it will be necessary to consider in the first place, and to be well apprised of them, lest we should encrease the cause by endeavouring to prevent the effect, which would appear to be the tendency of the expedients that are commonly proposed, as is hereafter more fully shewn.

I. The first and most manifest cause of this dearth appears to be, a great increase of the trading and manufacturing towns throughout the whole kingdom, which raise no corn nor other provisions, and make a greater demand for them than the supply will answer.

The great increase of the trading and manufacturing towns is visible to every one, and may be seen in all parts of the kingdom. This is the natural consequence of an extensive trade, and an increase of manufactures, which are the chief pursuits of the nation; but it would appear from what follows, that neither the number of people in the kingdom, nor its agriculture, limited and confined as it is to one or two particular products of the earth, are sufficient to support such an extensive trade and commerce; which takes the people from their employment in agriculture, to plow the seas instead of the land; and to make those many articles of trade and manufacture, which their supply of provisions will hardly enable them to carry on. Thus the nation, which is so bent upon trade and navigation, seems never to have considered

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sidered the necessity of extending its agriculture in proportion to its trade, which may otherwise ruin one another; the first may be ruined for want of hands, if they are employed in trade and manufactures; and the last for want of supplies from the land to support them.

Unless trade and agriculture are made subservient to their mutual support, neither of them can ever thrive or prosper; the dearth of provisions, and consequently of all the articles of trade, and of every thing that the country produces, must ruin the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, and when these fail, the rents of lands must fall with them; which there appears to be no way to prevent, but to enlarge the agriculture in proportion to the trade of the kingdom, by some such method as is hereafter proposed, and for which these sheets were intended. Agriculture is the chief support of all nations, and the first thing to be considered in all countries; without which the trade of this kingdom must decline, and its navigation go to decay.

It was computed before the last war, that the French could carry on most branches of trade and manufactures 25 *per cent.* cheaper than Britain; whose trade must now be ruined, after all the late additional taxes, unless she provides for her labourers and manufacturers at a cheaper rate, by preventing these causes of dearth. A dearth and scarcity of provisions strike at the very root of trade and manufactures,

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tures, and render every thing that is made in the country so dear, that we can never expect to vie with any competitors.

While this is the case in Europe, and the nation is in danger of losing its trade, by a competition here, it may have as many more rivals of its own raising in America, unless their agriculture likewise is established on a better footing. Our very colonies themselves, on whom we think we can rely for the vent of our manufactures, and which are the best markets for them, will rival us in them, and already make them cheaper than we can; which seems to have established manufactures among them in such a manner, that it will be very difficult, if not impracticable, to put them down again, as the dearthness of ours is such a premium on theirs, when they are unable to purchase the very cheapest. Either of these there is no way to prevent, but by extending and improving the agriculture of the nation, both at home and abroad; by rendering provisions cheaper at home, in order to make our manufactures at a reasonable rate, and by getting the materials for them from the colonies. But instead of this, we seem to mind nothing but trade both at home and abroad, and may thereby ruin the nation by it; the mother country endeavours to preserve the profitable trade of the colonies, without either necessities or materials to carry it on to advantage; and the colonies push a trade without any thing

thing to trade upon, and thereby lose not less than 400,000 £. if not half a million a year, as would abundantly appear, if the state of their trade, which has been so much canvassed, were duly inquired into, and compared with their staple commodities, or the produce of their lands †.

Thus

† The necessity of manufactures in the colonies, so long as they continue in their present situation, must appear to all who will consider their condition and circumstances, or their income, which upon the strictest inquiry, does not appear to exceed ten or twelve shillings a head *per annum*, take all the people in North America one with another, and must be very insufficient to purchase a fifth part of their necessaries from Britain, without paying any taxes. Such taxes must therefore have totally ruined the interest of this nation in the colonies, and she must thereby have lost the benefit of them, after the immense sums that have been expended upon them; from which we could see nothing but ruin both at home and abroad.—For when manufactures are once established, the manufacturers will consume the produce of the lands, by which the colonies now make remittances to Britain, and will thereby not only render their manufactures more necessary for their own supply, but it is to be feared, they will have as great an occasion for a trade in them, as they will have nothing else to purchase the many other necessaries they want, &c.—And this is the more to be apprehended, as their chief staple already is, or soon will be, nothing hardly but corn, cattle, wool, and fish, which are not wanted in Britain, and cannot be sent to it; the colonies must therefore rely on other powers, more than upon their mother country, for the vent of these their products, and chief part of their subsistence, as they already do.—And although many expect to prevent this deplorable situation, by getting hemp, timber, and iron from the colonies, yet these must appear to be very insufficient for that purpose, and are only fit to disappoint the

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Thus both the nation at home, and the colonies abroad, seem to push a trade, which they cannot carry on to any advantage, for want of those necessary articles, on which the profits of trade depend; which must all come from the land, and from an encouragement of agriculture; otherwise the nation may be ruined by trade, as many individuals are. The great sums which this nation is obliged to pay for the many foreign productions of the earth imported into

nation *again*, after all the disappointments it has met with in every thing of this kind that has been attempted now for 150 years.—For timber will not bear the charge of transportation from America.—The making of iron is the most improper of all employments for *plantations*—And hemp and flax are the most unsuitable both to their soil and climate, of any thing that could well be proposed; so that we can never expect that they will make much more of these than will be absolutely necessary for their own use, unless they have many other commodities for Britain with them. And were they to make all the hemp and flax consumed in Britain, which is not valued at above 300,000 £. a year, it would not be above two shillings a head *per annum*; for all the people in North America, and would be very insufficient to purchase their necessaries from hence; although even that is much more than we can expect to get from them in these commodities.

This state of the colonies is still rendered worse by our late acquisitions, which at the best, if ever they yield any thing, can only produce what our other colonies do or may make; and must thereby interfere with them, diminish their returns to Britain; and render them all together more and more independent of their mother country.—Before this nation settles any more colonies, she should endeavour to get something from those she has, otherwise she will soon find that she already has too many which produce nothing.

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this kingdom, not only drain it of its treasure every day, but it is to be feared, make a balance of trade against it, and the nation must thereby be rather a loser than a gainer by its trade. Whatever may be the case at home, we are well assured, that the balance of trade is against the colonies, by which they lose considerably; and are thereby not only deprived of remittances to Britain, but run in debt to her for this balance, which they chiefly pay to the French and other foreign colonies.

II. The next cause of this dearth is a decrease of people in the country, at least in proportion to the cities and trading and manufacturing towns; which appears to be occasioned, not only by the numbers which resort to these last, but chiefly by a great neglect of tillage, and the turning of arable lands into grass grounds, in order to maintain the great stock of all kinds, and particularly of horses, in which this nation is so very expensive; by which means the lands lie uncultivated, corn becomes scarce, the country is depopulated, and we have not husbandmen sufficient to supply the populous towns and crowded markets.

Although this is not so visible, as the increase of the towns, yet it seems to be no less certain. It appears from the most diligent inquiry made for several years, and by the most able hand *, both from the number of houses, and the

† Dr. Brakenridge, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlix. p. 268.

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quantity of bread consumed, that the number of people in England, which was formerly computed to be eight millions, is now found to be not six; and as they have very much increased in the towns, they must have decreased more than two millions in the country; which alone is sufficient to occasion a dearth and scarcity of provisions, and to account for the dearth of every thing in the kingdom.

This decrease of people is owing to the monopolizing of the farms, and pulling down the houses, in order to save the repairs, by which so many people are extirpated; and as there is reason to believe, that since this practice has so much prevailed in England, not less than 300,000 houses may have thus gone to decay, that number will sufficiently account for the loss of two millions of people, as we cannot allow less than six or seven for each house. Accordingly the number of houses, which paid the tax on hearths in 1688 *, was 1,175,951; but in 1758, they being counted again for the window tax, the number of inhabited houses

* This account was published in January, 1692-3, soon after it was taken for the hearth-tax, and may be seen in the *collection of letters on trade and husbandry*, by John Houghton, Esq; F. R. S. Numb. xxvi, vol. i. p. 73.

The same account is given from *Rapin*, who had an opportunity of searching the records of the kingdom. They both contain a *list of the number of houses in England and Wales*, and in every particular county; as if it were from an actual numeration, without any uncertain calculations.

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was but 961,578 †; this makes a decrease of 214,373 inhabited houses in the whole, notwithstanding the towns are so much increased; and allowing six people for each house, this shews that we have lost 1,286,238 people in the whole kingdom, and not less perhaps than two millions in the country, since the year 1692.

As this is the most certain account of the number of houses in England that we have ever had, allowing six for each house, the number of people is but 5,769,468; whereas in 1692 they must have been 7,055,706; which agrees very nighly with the account of *Sir William Petty*, who made them 7,369,000 in 1682. As for the account given by *Dr. Brakenridge* in 1755, from a tax said to have been intended in 1710, we can see no certainty in it, especially as it makes the number of houses 264,641 less than in 1692, which he was not aware of.

Even if we suppose the number of people to be the same now as formerly, as many would flatter themselves without any sufficient reasons, yet there must be a very great decrease in the

† Their number was in all 986,482, of which 282,429 were cottages, and 24,904 uninhabited, which makes but 961,578 inhabited houses and cottages. Now if the cottages were not included in the account of 1692, as they did not pay the hearth-tax, and are not mentioned in the account, the decrease of houses since that time is much greater than we here make it; although many seem to be unwilling, rather from good hopes than good reasons, to own even this.

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country, and a scarcity of labourers to supply the great increase of the towns; especially as the opulent farmers who engross the lands are above working, and complain so much of the want of hands, whom they extirpate; and thereby deprive themselves, as well as the whole nation, of the benefit of their labour. Accordingly the want of hands in the country has been much complained of, and was at first attributed to the war; but since that the workmen and manufacturers have wanted employment more than hands; great numbers have been turned out of employ, and many have been obliged to desert the kingdom, however they may want hands in the country.

What certainty there may be in this decrease of people, is not our subject at present to inquire more particularly into. We only take the facts as we find them, in order to apply them to the present occasion; and to see, if the people thus decrease, as there is at least good reason to suspect, how that ruinous state may be prevented in time, and before it is too late; as it is certain, that this nation wants nothing more than people, who appear to be too few for her many concerns, and extensive trade, both at home and abroad. If we may hope for the best, we ought likewise to provide against the worst, and not risque the ruin of the nation on vain hopes and groundless conjectures; when there are such sufficient grounds to believe, that the people decrease, notwithstanding they are so
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much wanted; and especially to extend the agriculture of the kingdom at home, in proportion to its trade and many concerns abroad.

Now as this decrease of people must be in the country, since the towns are so much enlarged, it may easily be accounted for from this practice of monopolizing the farms, and pulling down the houses. As far as we can learn, there are few or no estates, on which some houses have not thus gone to decay, and a great number on others, which must amount to a considerable number in the whole kingdom. There were formerly, by all accounts, many farms under 20 l. a year, on which the greatest number of people is bred; and great numbers under 40 and 50, which last is now reckoned a very low rent, and such as few care to have on their estates. Thus one half of the farms in the kingdom may have been incorporated, and so many people expelled from them, for ought we know; which seems to proceed from the great change of property in the country, from the landlords living in and resorting to the towns, and from their tenants following them.

This concourse of people to the towns, which has become so common in England, is the more to be regarded and reprehended, as it appears, that they decrease in them much faster than they increase in the country; to which the decrease of people seems to be owing. It has been found by a gentleman of distinction,

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tion, who is well acquainted with such important concerns of the nation, and has had the curiosity to examine the registers of the births and burials in several parts of the country, that in the country parishes of England the people increase very fast, generally at the rate of one third or one fourth every year, so that they would double their number every three or four years*, were they not to be expelled from the country, both for want of habitations and employments; and to be taken off by the large towns, in which they decrease very fast, as appears from the bills of mortality. Now as the proprietors of lands, who at present resort to the towns, were formerly obliged to live in the country, as appears from several proclamations in former reigns issued for that purpose; and as the common people then resided entirely upon small farms in the country, from which

* The accounts we have had of the increase of mankind, have been taken from observations made in populous cities, in which they decrease. To perceive their increase, we should take it from the country. In the parishes here mentioned, to the number of about twenty in different parts of the country, the births yearly exceeded the burials by 7 in 20, or 35 in 100, upon an average, which is an increase of more than one third. But as many might be born in these parishes, who did not die in them, that may make some difference, as it does in all the like calculations. Allowing for this, the increase may be 20 in 100, or a fifth part every year. Mr. *Graunt* makes the births to the burials in the country, as 70 to 58, which is an increase of about 18 in 100. *Observations on the bills of mortality*, ch. 12. p. m. 35.

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they are now expelled, this will abundantly account for a loss and decrease of people, and appears to render it unavoidable.

Agriculture, which is the natural employment of all mankind, and perhaps the only one, breeds people both for the plough and loom, for land and sea service; and if a few engross that, as they have done in England, they must themselves both cultivate their lands, and consume the produce of them; or supply their neighbours and enemies by the depopulation of their own country—Nothing will either breed or maintain a number of people in any country, but a general and extensive agriculture, and if we suffer that to be engrossed, the very existence of the people will be cut off, as well as a more moderate subsistence for the few we have.

In towns, to which the people of England so much resort, they cannot maintain and provide for a family, as they do upon farms in the country, which supply every one with the necessaries of life from their own labour and industry. Upon land, people can only want through negligence, but in towns they starve for want of employment, which they often cannot get; especially where every thing is become so dear, that none can afford either to maintain or employ them. Hence in the populous towns in England most people are obliged to live a life of celibacy; which has become so common, that the gentleman abovementioned, who

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who was at such pains to inquire into the number of people in the kingdom, thought there was no way to increase them, but to lay a tax upon batchelors*; who are often maintained in idleness, at the expence of the public, from the property they have in the stocks, which farther increase this national loss of people. Hence we are told by our greatest enemy, 'the sums of money lent by the national creditors have encouraged great numbers of them to lead an idle life, in a state of celibacy, at the expence of the nation †'; from which, among other things, he would prognosticate the downfall of Great Britain; and there may be too much reason to apprehend the truth of his prediction, if the people are drove from the country, as they are in such numbers every day, and cannot subsist in the towns, from the excessive dearness of every thing. When the people are obliged to quit the country, they have no way to subsist, but in the trading and manufacturing towns, where the dearness of provisions renders their labour and manufactures so dear, that they have no vent for them, and they want employment, and bread, there likewise. Great numbers have by those means been turned out of employment, and are obliged to desert the kingdom, or to starve at home; which seems to be

* See the treatise he has wrote on that subject, or a method of raising a supply for the war by a tax on batchelors.

† Silhouette's View of England.

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the cause of the complaints and disturbances among the people.

Thus Britain, by following trade, and neglecting agriculture, or suffering it to be engrossed, is likely to lose both her trade and her people. The great advantage of agriculture is in the breeding, as well as the maintaining of people; and unless that is attended to, we can never expect them to increase, or to see a sufficient number in this kingdom, either to cultivate the lands, to render provisions cheap, or to support the many other concerns of the nation. Great numbers are lost abroad, and many more in the towns to which they resort for the benefit of trade, so that we can never expect to increase or preserve their numbers, without a general and extensive agriculture; and that alone will ever render provisions cheap in this country, where every thing else is so dear.

It is computed by *Corbin Morris, Esq;* in his very ingenious and interesting Observations on the Bills of Mortality, that the annual loss of people in London alone must have taken 506,000 from the country, from the revolution to the year 1750; and consequently 636,000 to this present year 1766, or in 78 years; to which if we add the great increase of the town within these few years, this single city has not required less perhaps to uphold it than 800,000 people within these 80 years, which is 10,000 a year, and as many in ten years, as the nation commonly loses in a very bloody war; besides all

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all the other towns in the kingdom, and the numbers that are yearly lost abroad, in the fleets, army, wars, &c. And it would farther appear from his useful observations, that he has foretold the present dearth and scarcity, the rise of the price of manufactures, and decrease of the people, from this yearly loss of people in the country; which is the greatest argument that can well be given for a general naturalization in this kingdom, and even shews the necessity of such an expedient; unless the people are more confined to the country, and have a more general use of the lands. If it be not by one or the other of these means, the sources of population in this kingdom are cut off; you have a constant drain of people from the country, who are all lost in the towns, and many more abroad, while they are expelled from the land, and have no way to recruit from the use of it; to which last the increase of all mankind seems to be owing. Many indeed are apt to conclude, that the people must increase, since the towns are so much enlarged; but that is rather a sign of a constant loss of people in England; whence the great increase of the towns must ruin them and the whole nation, for want both of people and of necessaries, unless the country is improved and increased with them; which there is little or no hope to expect from the present state of agriculture in the kingdom.

If we attend to the sources of population, it will appear that mankind are propagated on the

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earth like trees, according as they have room to grow, and nourishment to support them; but in populous towns they overtop and destroy one another, and can never thrive, till they are thinned and transplanted; for which reason so many are obliged to remove to the colonies; in order to get the use of lands, and the necessaries of life from them, which they are deprived of at home. Therefore, if this nation would preserve the few people she has, and keep them from migrating to the colonies, she should let them enjoy the benefit of the lands in their own native soil. And this is the more to be regarded, as an increase of people in North America would be as prejudicial to the interest of the nation, as a loss of them at home; since the colonies not only increase very fast, but their plantations are already by far too small to enable them to subsist by a dependance on their mother country, which an increase of people would render more impracticable.

Now this increase of the colonies is owing to a free use and general distribution of the lands, and the want of people in Britain to the engrossing of them; *That* gives every one a share of the fruits of the earth, and thereby preserves and multiplies the race of mankind, while this both starves and extirpates them; which is a matter of no small consequence to this nation, whose colonies are so numerous, and increase so fast. But if the people of Great Britain and Ireland were to be employed in husbandry, as they

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they are in the colonies, these kingdoms would be much more populous than we can ever expect the colonies to be. Were all the people in these healthful and fruitful islands to be employed in agriculture, which the lands would admit of for a much greater number, they might soon people all America from their own stock; and would have people enough left at home, to supply them all; were not the poor to be starved by the rich, and to be deprived of the means of subsistence, from the engrossing of the lands.

An increase of a fourth part, which is a million and a half every year, that this nation might get by employing its people in husbandry, with the multiplied increase again of these, if it were only a twentieth part every year, as in the colonies, would soon overstock this island; and the people would be obliged to migrate, like a swarm of bees, were they to be provided for, as they might be, from the fertility of the land. Were all the landlords in this kingdom to provide for the people on their estates, or only to allow them as much land as would produce the necessaries of life, which is but a very little, they would have no reason to complain of the want of hands, as they lately did, from a few being taken from the plough, to man their fleets: But if they suffer the lands to be engrossed, or to lie uncultivated in grass, for the breeding and maintaining of horses and other beasts, instead of men, it is to be feared, they will never have any to spare for such emergencies.

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It is to their agriculture, poor as it is, that the increase of our colonies is owing; and we need not be surpris'd that they double their numbers every twenty years, as many of them appear to do †, since that is but a fourth or fifth part of the natural encrease of mankind in England, where they follow the occupation of husbandmen, as they all do in the colonies. If they do not encrease so fast as they would in England, by the same manner of living, it is owing to a more barren land, an intemperate climate, and the unhealthful situation of many; which will ever keep those colonies from becoming so populous, as to be a terror to their mother country, unless she thus extirpates her people at home, while they encrease abroad. Notwithstanding their supposed great extent, all our colonies in North America, from New-England to South Carolina inclusive, are no

† The most certain account of the increase of our colonies, that we have met with, is from the number of people in Virginia, which was taken by the government at the beginning of the war in the year 1703, when their number was 60,000; but by a like account, taken in the same manner by the government, at the commencement of the war in 1755, they had increased to 300,000; and by the last accounts received from thence in 1765, their number was then 500,000: by which they appear to have doubled their numbers every twenty years, as nigh as may be; although we cannot expect a like increase now, when the country is grown more populous, and every thing is said to become *scarce* and *dear*, as it is in England; the bad effects of which are felt in the number of people, more perhaps than in any thing else.

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larger than Great Britain and Ireland, and would not maintain a fourth part of the number of people*. Thus we need not be alarmed about

* From their surveys they contain about 102,000 square miles, and Great Britain and Ireland 105,000—Of this, the two Carolinas are as large as all the other six, but are for the most part a barren sand, and produce little or nothing but in the unhealthful swamps and marshes, which destroy more people than they are perhaps worth.—The middle or tobacco colonies are in a great measure worn out with that exhausting weed.—And the four northern colonies have no staple commodity wanted in Britain, and are entirely unfit to produce any, on account of the climate, with the long and hard winters.

Upon the whole, in comparing the lands in North America with those of England, we should allow not less than four for one, both on account of the greater poverty of the soil, the large tracts of barren sands, or uncultivated rocks and mountains, with the quantity of land that must be kept in woods for the necessary uses of plantations, in fire-wood, fencing, lumber, house and ship-building, &c. Now as these colonies are about as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and may contain a fourth part of the people (about two millions and a half, or three millions at most) the last is four times more populous; but as the lands are not by a fourth so fruitful in the colonies, the one is as populous as the other with regard to their produce; and these colonies can no more live merely by their agriculture, or by the making of staple commodities for Britain, as all colonies should and would do, if they were able, than the people could in Britain itself. Accordingly, the lands in Great Britain and Ireland produce much more for exportation, than all North America. The corn exported from England alone, is equal to all that the lands yield for exportation in these colonies; and in plentiful years, as in 1750, exceeded their produce by one third. And as the people increase and multiply, at the rate they do, their lands will yield still less for exportation; especially of such commodities as tobacco, indigo,

about the power of the colonies; the only danger is, from their want of remittances to Britain,

indigo, hemp and flax (which require the very best corn and grass grounds, and all the manure that the earth affords, on which the people should subsist) although these are almost all that they make for Britain.

If it is alledged, that a greater number of people will make more, it should likewise be considered, that they will consume more; and their consumption is already so great, that they require for their own use, almost every thing that their poor lands will yield. Hence corn and provisions are already become more valuable to make, than any thing else for exportation, which is a certain sign, that they must extend their settlements, if we would have them to depend on Britain. Although they may keep up their exports for Britain at present, yet they diminish vastly in proportion to the number of people. Three millions do not make much more than two millions used to do.—All that they make for Britain does not amount to above five or six shillings a head *per annum*.—If they double their numbers in twenty years, and come to be six millions, they will make nothing hardly for Britain, unless they extend their settlements beyond the mountains which confine them to these narrow bounds.—It is not a tenth part of these plantations that produces any thing for Britain, and the chief part of that is worn out.—Thus they have hardly any lands at all to answer the purposes of colonies, in supplying the nation with such commodities as it wants, and to purchase their necessaries from Britain by that means.—They may indeed have lands enough to supply themselves and their manufacturers with their own necessaries, that is, to render them independent of their mother country, after all the sums she has expended upon them; which is the plain tendency, and must be the unavoidable consequence, of all the late proceedings concerning them; which are therefore likely to be the ruin of this nation.—If Britain has expended eighty millions of money for no other purpose but to be involved in an additional charge of 700,000 *l. per annum*, and to

Britain, and the means of subsisting by a dependance upon her; which must make them more dependant on other powers for the vent of their products; that are not wanted in Britain.

The vast advantages of a general and extensive agriculture, especially in population, may be learnt from the example of all nations who pursue it. It is by giving due attention to that; before all other employments; that in *China* they have many more people than are in all *Europe* (by their accounts not less than three or four times as many) and maintain them all in plenty and affluence without any foreign trade, which proceeds from the great encouragement they give to agriculture; the Emperor himself, the greatest Potentate on earth, sets the example with his own hands; and takes care, in person, to see the lands duely distributed among the people, and rightly cultivated, in corn, and not in grass; for the support of men, instead of beasts, which last we seem to prefer in England.

lose the benefit of her colonies to the bargain, which must be the result of their present situation, the consequence may be much worse than is apprehended.—This there is no way to avoid, but by extending their settlements to those rich and fruitful territories on the Mississippi, and Ohio, for which the nation engaged in such an expensive war, if she yet knows, what she was about.—No other part of all the British dominions will ever enable those colonies to purchase their necessaries from Britain, or to live in that state of dependance on their mother country, &c.

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The like effects of a proper care of agriculture may be seen in *Japan*, where the lands are carefully surveyed and distributed every year; and are cultivated almost entirely in corn, with little or no grass at all, even for cattle, and much less for horses, as the people are bound by their religion to eat no flesh meat; by which means, although the country is deemed very barren, rocky, and mountainous, yet it is, by all accounts, the most populous spot of any upon earth, and maintains all its inhabitants, numerous as they are, without any foreign trade at all, on which we seem chiefly to rely in Britain †.

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† From this instance in Japan we may see, how much they are mistaken who imagine, that mankind could not be supported on the fruits of the earth, or a mere vegetable diet, without animal food, of which we consume such vast quantities in England, and thereby very much increase the expence of living, and the dearth of provisions. An acre of land will produce much more than ten bushels of corn, which will maintain a man for a twelvemonth; but three or four acres will hardly supply him both with vegetable and animal food, cloathing, horses, &c.

How the Japanese subsist in such numbers entirely upon vegetable food, and in such a barren land, would be as curious, as it is interesting, to relate, had we room for it here. Their *Gokof*, or necessaries of life, they reckon five, rice, wheat, barley, black and white Japan beans; which last are highly worthy of notice, as they chiefly maintain such a number of people, in such a poor soil. These are both of the kidney-bean (*Phaseolus*) kind, which all grow on the poorest soil of any thing perhaps that the earth produces, of equal substance and nourishment. They are more nourishing than any sort of grain or pulse, and yet

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From these and the like instances, as well as from the nature of things, it abundantly appears, that Agriculture is the chief source of population,

yet will grow and thrive on a mere barren sand. It is by means of these, and Indian corn, that the people live on their poor sandy lands in America, where they have upwards of thirty sorts of these beans, some of which ripen in six weeks from sowing, would thrive very well in England, and be the greatest improvement for the poor sandy and uncultivated lands. Another sort, known by the name of the Bushel-bean, from its producing a bushel of beans on one vine, is perhaps the most substantial food for hogs and horses, of any thing that grows, and the cheapest.

But all these seem to be vastly inferior to the Japan and Lima beans, which are as soft and fat as marrow, and the most nourishing of any thing that grows. It is from these white beans, of this quality, that the Japanese have great part of their food, as well as sauce and seasoning for it. They do not so much as know the use of what we call butter, and yet are better supplied with it, from their poorest sandy lands, than we are from the richest pastures, and most expensive herds. This they make, whenever they want it, only by dissolving these white beans in boiling water with rice; with this they season their food, which must be much more wholesome than our butter sauces.

But as they want some more savory condiment for an insipid vegetable diet, they make that likewise, which is the *Japan Say*, that we are so fond of, from these beans; by soaking them in water, with an equal quantity of wheat and salt, and beating them well for a month or two, till they are dissolved; in the same manner as we make ketchup with mushrooms, which cannot be so wholesome.—And with their black beans, they feed their poor, hogs and horses, both in Japan and China. *Vide Du Ha' de Hist. China, Kempfer Hist. Japan, Amœnitates exoticæ, &c.*

So likewise in America the common people and labourers, white and black, all live on these sort of beans and Indian corn, which last they season with the beans, and thereby render it vastly more savory and relishing, as well

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lation, and perhaps the only one, in all countries; and this is much more the case in England,

as more nourishing, although that is the most nutritious of all grain. With these the poor and negroes are fed upon lands, on which the very poor in England would starve. This their bean is of the same kind with the French *Hari-cot*, with which alone they make a much better soup and food, than the English do with all their profusion of meat. The *Bouillon*, which is daily thrown away in England, with a few of these beans or roots, would maintain the greatest part of the poor in the kingdom, as they do in France. By means of these and buckwheat, the French live on the poorest lands, and enjoy plenty in the midst of poverty, when the poor in England starve in the midst of plenty.

Thus the scarcity in England is more owing to waste than want; and of that we have another instance in manure, the greatest part of which is wasted on gardens and hot-beds, and the earth is thereby robbed of its nourishment. But if you will ask what will make plenty in any country, it is manure, as we may learn from China and Japan. They think very rightly, that every thing which is fed on the earth, should contribute to manure it, and for that reason they take the greatest care to save what we are at so much pains to throw away; and thereby have provisions much cheaper in their many populous towns, than in the cheapest part of England. Even the shavings of their beards are carefully preserved for this purpose, as both hair and soap are the richest manure of any; and the first more particularly for Rice, as it lasts, and is not washed away, in water. Beside these they frequently water their grounds with lime water, and convey it even to the tops of the hills by means of a simple machine, like a chain pump, and thereby preserve the fertility of the earth, and even enrich it, while it bears the most plentiful crops; as lime water has been lately found to be the greatest promoter of vegetation, although it is looked upon by our historians to be only a fancy of the Chinese.

By these means they have the greatest plenty of rice, which is their chief food in China and Japan, as it saves the
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land, where the very necessaries of life, with every thing else, are become so dear, that we can expect no increase of people in towns, in which they, on the contrary, seem to decrease. It is therefore of the utmost consequence to this nation, which wants nothing more than people, both at home and abroad, to attend to its agriculture, which seems to be in a very unprosperous state in both; and the more immediate

expence both of grinding and baking; and of this they have a sort, which is so fat and luscious, that it is said by those who eat it in the Indies, to be perfectly cloying, and the most nourishing of any grain; whereas the two sorts of rice which we have had from thence, are so slender a diet, that labouring people can hardly live upon them.

With their rice they likewise make all their fermented and spirituous liquors, which are so much more delicious than any others, that they have no other beer, wine, brandy, rum, arrack, punch, &c. on which we are at such an immense expence to foreigners, when we neglect the very best of our own. The Japan *Sacki*, or beer, and *China wine*, both made of rice, are commended by all as the best and most delicious of fermented liquors. These they make only by soaking the rice well in water for about a month, till it is so soft, that it will dissolve in boiling, and ferment like malt; with which they likewise make the Goa arrack.

For variety and a thinner liquor they have none but beer made of Indian corn, which is likewise drank by the Spaniards in all their colonies; whereas we are at the expence of 300,000 *l.* a year for molasses, which with rum cost this nation not less than half a million a year, and that chiefly for the very dregs of foreign plantations, when we could be much better supplied by our own products. And this is the more to be regarded, as this nation loses near half a million a year by this pernicious trade in spirituous liquors, which are paid for chiefly in British goods, and thereby occasion the vast debts which the colonies owe to Britain, &c.

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causes of this in England, which we shall next consider, are therefore the more to be regarded and attended to.

III. The heavy taxes, and especially those upon *articles of daily consumption*, affect the price not only of Provisions, but of every thing else in the kingdom; and as this effect increases its own cause, by rendering every thing dearer from the high price of provisions, this seems to be another great source of all the evils which are so much complained of, from the dearth of every thing that the country produces.

Articles of daily consumption are what the frugal Husbandmen themselves cannot dispense with, and as these are taxed, they must lay that tax on the necessaries of life, which are consumed by every one; and these two raise the price of labor, of manufactures, and of every thing in the kingdom.

And as the lands are engrossed by opulent Farmers, who consume most of the superfluities of life, they raise the price of Provisions accordingly, and the poor are obliged to pay the duties on Wine, Tea, and Sugar, &c. in their Bread.

Thus we give a bounty upon the Corn that is exported to supply our rivals in Trade and Manufactures, and lay a tax upon what we consume ourselves, when its price is farther enhanced by the exportation; which must not only give them a superiority over us, but advances the price of every thing in the kingdom, which

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which is already so immoderate from the heavy taxes.

IV. The number of horses is so much increased among people of all ranks, that they appear to consume as much as would maintain the greatest part of the people in the kingdom, and occasion a dearth and scarcity both of Corn and all other Provisions, which appears to be the great cause of this dearth that is so much complained of.

The great increase of horses in *England* is visible to every one, and is taken notice of by all on the present occasion. The increase of coach and saddle horses, and particularly of post horses, since the turnpike roads, is alone almost sufficient to occasion the present dearth of Provisions; which seems to have increased in proportion to these roads, and the number of horses kept upon them; and as if this expence were not sufficient at home, great numbers are bred for sale abroad.

But the most general and extensive evil is the great use that is made of horses, instead of oxen, in all affairs of Husbandry, which not only consumes the produce, but enhances the price of Agriculture; and that in such a manner, that this practice of the Farmers alone in keeping so many fine horses at such an expence, while they are afraid to make them work, lest it should spoil their sale, for which they are bred, is sufficient to cause a dearth of Provisions. There cannot be less than 100,000 horses thus employed,

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employed, instead of oxen, which last would supply the markets with the best meat, after they have furnished the nation with Corn, and both at a moderate price. Hence Plough-horses should not only be taxed, but prohibited, as it is well known that oxen will do the business much better; and such a prohibition seems to be the only way to reduce the number of horses, which are bred and kept by the Farmers for sale, and not for the plough; by which they deprive the nation both of Corn and all other Provisions.

The number of horses in *England* is very uncertain, but we may see from the tax on coaches, how much they are increased. At the time of the *Spanish* Invasion in 1588, they could raise but 1700 horses in *London*, and there were said to be but 20,000 in all the kingdom; but the Coach-horses alone are now above 100,000; and as the Post-horses do not last above a year or two, there must be three or four times as many kept, to supply their daily loss. Many reckon there may be a horse for every house in the kingdom, or a million in all; but if there is only half a million, they will be sufficient to occasion all the dearth of Provisions that is so much complained of. Having both seen and felt not only the consumption, but the great waste and destruction, which horses occasion, we are well satisfied from our own knowledge and experience, that they must occasion a very great dearth and scarcity, and particu-

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particularly of Corn, the chief staple of *England*, wherever they come to be numerous, as we may learn both from the example of *Tartary*, and of our Colonies*.

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* From the great numbers of horses which the *Tartars* keep, they have no *Bread* to eat, and hardly know the use of *Corn*. They call *Corn* the tops of grass, which was made for the beasts of the field, say they, and these for men; this manner of living they are obliged to submit to from the number of horses they keep, which destroy the *Corn* both before it is reaped, and after it is made. Thus a number of horses occasions not only a scarcity but a total want of *Corn*.

It is therefore the greatest impropriety in this nation, which depends so much upon its *Corn*, and more than any part of the world, to keep such a number of horses; which must occasion not only a dearth and scarcity, but consume or obstruct the growth of the only staple of the land. If the best of the lands are kept in grass for the breeding and feeding of horses, as so many are in *England*, the nation may not only lose its chief staple, but the people must either want, or live on horse-flesh, as the *Tartars* are obliged to do, from the numbers they keep.

This extravagance in horses has likewise crept into the colonies, where they consume and destroy much more than all that their lands produce, at least for exportation, notwithstanding the much greater conveniencies they have for keeping them at so much less expence than in *Britain*. From the number of horses they keep, *Corn* has become twice or thrice as dear as it used to be; *Indian Corn* is at three and four shillings currency a bushel, where the common price used to be a shilling, and where we have known it made for sixpence; and wheat has rose to three and four shillings sterling a bushel, where it was never sold for above two, and often under that price. In the island of *Bermudas*, they were in danger of being starved by their horses, till they were obliged to make a law to get rid of them, and to allow none to keep them under a very great

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penalty,

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The expence of horses to their owners is well known, and they are much more expensive and prejudicial to the public. They not only consume so much Corn, but they hinder the growing of as much more, and the raising of all other Provisions, as well as the breeding of people. The very best of the lands are kept in grass for horses, and the people are thereby deprived of their chief employment in tillage; which affects not only their subsistence, but their very existence, as it is only by agriculture, that people are both bred and maintained. Thus by the keeping of so many horses, the nation loses many more people, for which nothing can be a sufficient recompense, especially in this nation which has so few people, and so many and great occasions for them.

Horses consume from two to three bushels of Corn a week, that is from 104 to 156 bushels a year; whereas ten bushels of corn a year maintain the people †. Oats indeed will
not

penalty, unless they were possessed of a greater estate than usual.

In populous countries, such as *China*, they seldom or never breed any horses, and keep but very few; the *Chinese* are supplied with them from the deserts of *Tartary*, where they have such vast tracts of waste and uncultivated lands, which are only fit for the breeding of horses, where we would have men.

† The quantity of Corn consumed by the people is a very interesting subject, which has been very carefully discussed by the ingenious author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade;

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not go so far among men, as two bushels of oats make but one of oatmeal, but they hinder the growing of an equal quantity of other Corn for the use of mankind, and are reckoned to exhaust the land more than any other grain sown in *England*.

Trade; who concludes from many differing accounts, that the people of *England* consume, one with another *per annum*, eight bushels of wheat, or nine of rye, eleven of barley, and oats, which are more uncertain, he reckons may amount to twenty three bushels a year, which make eleven bushels and a half of oatmeal; but oatmeal is more nourishing than barley meal, as is generally observed, and I have been sensible of it by living on both, and having seen others do the same.

This is a subject well known in *America*, where they maintain their negroes entirely on *Indian Corn*, of which they find twelve bushels and a half at a medium will keep them for a twelvemonth without any other food; and as two bushels of *Indian Corn* are found to be equal to three of oats, this quantity is equal to eighteen bushels and three pecks of their oats, which are not nigh so good as the *English*; the white people again do not consume much above half this quantity of *Indian Corn*, or about seven bushels a year, as it is well known to be by far the most nourishing of any grain; whence we may conclude, that eighteen bushels of oats will maintain men, women and children, one with another, for a twelvemonth. And ten bushels of corn, take one sort with another, is a large allowance, where they have plenty of other food, as in *England*; whereas many horses eat 160 bushels a year, and either consume or obstruct the growing of so much for the support of the people. It is for this reason, that in the colonies, where the horses are so numerous, Corn is become so very dear, although they do not eat above a third part of what they do in *England*, and they have so much more land to grow it.

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Suppose

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Suppose, horses consume two bushels of Corn a week, or thirteen quarters a year, 500,000 would consume 6,500,000 quarters *per annum*, whereas all the people in *England* use but 7,500,000 quarters.

Horses again consume more in grass and fodder. We cannot suppose, that they require annually less than four acres of land to maintain them in grass, fodder, and corn, and that of such land as would produce four quarters of Corn to an acre, since they would take more than three to keep them in Corn; at which rate 500,000 horses require two millions of acres of the best lands, which would produce eight millions of quarters of Corn, half a million more than all the people in *England* consume, besides the stock which might be raised on such Corn lands.—If we suppose the number of horses to be a million, and that they take 5 or 6 acres to keep them, which is most probable, they obstruct the growing of twice as much Corn, as would maintain all the people in the kingdom, the value of which is immense.

The vast expence of horses may be seen from the great quantities of oats consumed; the importation of which into the port of *London* has increased 52,000 quarters a year, since the year 1752 †. And notwithstanding the quantities that are grown, yet in the year 1763 we were obliged to import 219,310 quarters †,

† † See the Tracts on the Corn Trade.

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valued at as many pounds sterling, and that importation is reckoned to have been as great ever since; which expence the nation is at, to feed the dogs and horses, when the people are complaining of the want of bread!

By the keeping of so many horses the farmers are obliged to lay their lands down in grass, instead of cultivating them with Corn; and as a grass farm does not require above a tenth part of the hands, as one in Corn, the people are thereby deprived of their employment in agriculture, the greatest loss that any nation can well sustain, as that breeds and maintains more people than all other employments put together; and the opulent farmers are thereby enabled to engross the lands, and monopolize the farms, which not only gives them a monopoly of the necessaries of life, but extirpates so many people, starves the rest, and occasions such a number of poor in such an opulent country.

It is this immoderate expence in horses, that seems to occasion all the dearth of provisions in *England*. The first rise of their price was owing to the distemper and mortality among the cattle; and as the farmers then took to the breeding of horses, instead of cattle, they have never repaired that loss; on the contrary, it has daily been increasing, till that loss in the stock has occasioned a real scarcity both of cattle, milk, butter and cheese, on which the
3 people

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people of *England* chiefly subsist; and that occasions a dearth of every thing.

At the same time every field about all the populous towns in *England*, and many more in the country, are turned into grass for the keeping of horses; the growing of Corn is thereby prevented, and that becomes scarce, as well as all the other necessaries of life. The land that is kept in grass for horses, with the manure that is laid upon it, about all the towns in *England*, and especially about this capital, would maintain a great part of the people, and thereby render provisions cheap throughout the whole kingdom; which is starved, in order to support the luxury of this Metropolis, and especially in horses.

Besides all the other expences of horses, the greatest perhaps is the loss of manure. Horses digest what they eat, and turn it into nourishment; whereas in ruminating animals, as cattle and sheep, the greatest part of their food passes off by the belly, and affords manure for all the food they require themselves, and for the Corn which they do not eat. Hence cattle manure the grass grounds on which they live, and even render them fit for mowing; insomuch that it is the common practice to mow them one year, and feed them another with cattle, which renders them fit to mow again from year to year; and sheep are well known to manure the land in like manner for Corn, when fed with the turnips upon it, which would otherwise exhaust
lands

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lands more than the Corn itself: it is this that renders flocks and herds so profitable to farmers, as well as to the whole nation; when horses destroy every thing, and will eat up the very roots of the grass they live upon. If they may afford a little manure, it requires as much straw for litter, as would maintain so many cattle; when all the manure we have from horses, is only to raise a few melons and cucumbers, in place of bread and meat. Thus horses impoverish the earth, and starve every thing upon it; when flocks and herds give us plenty of every thing, both of Corn, Beef, Mutton, Pork, Milk, Butter and Cheese, which are the support of mankind.

Besides cattle and sheep, the keeping of horses occasions as great a scarcity of hogs, which are reckoned to be the least expensive of all animals, and are the cheapest meat that is raised, as they will live upon any thing, except the grass which we keep for horses. Hence in all well cultivated countries, hogs are the chief support of the people, and especially of the farmers themselves, as they require no grass grounds, which are the richest of any, and are wanted for Corn, which gives plenty of every thing. But by keeping the best of the lands in grass for the maintenance of horses, on which the farmers chiefly spend their time and labour, we can never have plenty either of Corn, or any other provisions. The hogs are by that means starved and extirpated, as well
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as the people themselves; bacon is raised to the enormous price of a shilling a pound, and pork is not to be had, without which we can never have provisions cheap. The price of provisions is perhaps always in proportion to the plenty of hogs; where they are kept, the best of the lands, which they do not require, are cultivated in Corn, and we have plenty of that, which, with bacon and pork, lowers the price of all other provisions. Accordingly, the price of provisions in *England* has always been rising, since the great consumption of hogs by the navy in the two last wars; which seems to have occasioned a deficiency in the stock of these, as well as the distemper and mortality among the cattle. Were it not for hogs, the people of *America* could hardly live upon all the land they have. Hogs live upon the offals of the earth, and if they eat much, they repay it as well in their growth. They require neither Corn, grass, nor fodder, which are the great expence of other stock, and take up both the lands and labour of the people, to provide for horses.

Hence if we would lower the price of provisions, the first thing to be done, is, to diminish the number of horses, and to increase the stock of hogs. Now both these may be done, and another much greater advantage obtained at the same time, by giving encouragement to the cultivation of the poor and mean lands, in rye, barley, peas, beans, and buckwheat, on which

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which hogs are fed, and horses are not bred; and on this produce of such lands the people should chiefly live, if they would have provisions cheap. But instead of these, the people of *England* live upon nothing, as we may say, but the fat of the earth; upon the produce of the best and richest lands in wheat and grass, and all the rest are thereby left uncultivated; which renders provisions twice as dear, as they might otherwise be raised.

This method of living is incompatible with the keeping of so many horses; the people of *England* eat nothing hardly but the best wheaten bread, and at the same time export wheat, when they consume great quantities of flesh meats, all which require the richest lands; the best of which must be kept in grass for horses, which thereby cut off the very subsistence of the people who live in this manner. And as sheep are chiefly kept and fed by the farmers, in order to manure their lands for Corn, the keeping of them in grass for horses prevents the breeding of sheep, and must deprive the nation of its only staple both of Corn and Wool; which last is become as dear as every thing else in the kingdom.

If this nation will export Corn, she cannot export horses with it, and at the same time keep such a number at home. Either of these seems to be a loss to the nation, and both together may be the ruin of it. If the lands are kept in grass for horses, the nation may lose both the Corn Trade, and Woollen Manufac-
G tures,

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tures, without which it could not exist, as an independent state.

This practice of turning arable lands into grass, has always been so common in *England*, that the laws provide against it, and disannull any compact made by a landlord with his tenant not to break up and plow grass grounds; but as that law is evaded, by laying a fine upon the tenants for all grass grounds they shall break up, arable lands are as scarce as ever; when it would appear, from this law itself, as well as from the small quantity of land that is tilled in the kingdom, that they have always been wanted; and the late improvements in husbandry, which turn them into grass, by the sowing of grass seeds, or the laying of them down in grass, in order to save the expence of tillage, render arable lands still scarcer.

This method of husbandry proceeds from the great quantities of flesh meats which are consumed by the people, which makes a great demand for grass grounds; and the keeping of so many horses, farther enhances their value, and threatens to ruin the agriculture of the kingdom, or the growing of Corn, as much as the dearth of provisions thereby occasioned endangers its trade and manufactures.

It is well known, that an acre of good grass for mowing is worth three pounds, when it would not lett for above ten or twelve shillings in arable land. The difference is generally reckoned to be as thirty to six, or five for one,

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take all the lands in *Great Britain* one with another. This is therefore a great inducement to make this use of the land, or to turn it into grass, instead of Corn, even if it should starve the people, and ruin the Corn Trade, the great support of the nation. And it is to reap this advantage from their lands, that the farmers keep such a number of horses, and turn their farms into grass for that purpose.

Their lands indeed are their own, and they may think, as *Englishmen* do, that they may do what they will with them; but lands are a public utility, and cannot be misapplied, without hurting the whole community, and ruining the state. The use of lands is intended by nature itself to be very general, if not in common; and they who would engross them, or let them lie uncultivated, in grass for their beasts, instead of corn for men, forbid the first command given to mankind, *increase and multiply, and replenish the earth.*

They tell us indeed, that they have plowed too much, and made too much Corn, since the bounty upon it; but that is impossible, so long as they can have a vent for it, which they have always had. We can never make too much Corn in *England*, till people cease to eat it. The staple of a country, as Corn is in *England*, should not be made dear, otherwise you will never preserve the trade in it, when it may be made in all other parts of the world. This opinion of the farmers, therefore, that they

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have made Corn too cheap, is contrary to their own interest, and is rather the opinion of the Sellers than the Buyers. Could they make Corn at two shillings a bushel, it would be more for their interest, by securing a monopoly in it, and the nation would get more by it, than at four shillings; much greater quantities would be exported, a greater number of people employed by it, and the Farmers themselves would find their account in the cheapness of Corn, by lowering the price of every thing they consume, which rises or falls in proportion to the price of Corn.

This is the more to be regarded, as the *French* have been endeavouring for many years to deprive this nation both of the Corn Trade and Woollen Manufacture, as appears from their writings and edicts, and the many societies they have instituted for that purpose. They formerly supplied both *England* and *Spain* with Corn, they say, and they are in hopes of doing the same again; or if their lands will not produce Corn to advantage, they will at least maintain sheep; and as they see these are the two great resources of *England*, they are endeavouring to deprive her of both, and thereby to conquer her, say they, more effectually than by the force of arms; which, it is to be feared, they may accomplish, if the Agriculture of the kingdom should be ruined, by the keeping of so many horses; when our Manufactures are made so dear, from the excessive price of every thing thereby occasioned, that we cannot vend them.

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Their sentiments and words on this occasion are highly worthy of notice. They would flatter themselves, that *England* rather loses than gains by her Trade; that the balance is against her; and that she has no income but from her Corn. ' Can there be a more noble Manufac-
' ture, therefore, or a richer branch of Trade
' found out, than the Manufacture and Trade
' of Corn? say they. Is it not evidently true,
' that it is this Manufacture, and this branch of
' Trade, that have actually supported *England*,
' and have been the source both of its power
' and its strength, ever since we have been so
' infatuated as to deprive ourselves of it? The
' State, which abounds most in Corn, abounds
' most in strength and power.—We ought not
' then to lose a moment's time in recovering
' this Manufacture and Trade in Corn from the
' *English*, which, as I have said more than once,
' they never could have availed themselves of,
' if we had been wise enough to have availed
' ourselves of it, in the manner we might and
' should have done—This would be infinite-
' ly more fatal to *England* than the loss of ten
' battles *; from which let *England* take
warning. *Fas est & ab hoste doceri.*

From these motives, and by these encouragements, the *French* now export great quantities of Corn; when the frequent prohibitions laid upon it here, of which there have been six

* *Silhouette's View of England*, p. 203.

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in the last nine years, open the markets to them, and may deprive this nation of the trade.

Thus if *England* should lose the Corn Trade, *France* would gain it, which might be a double loss to *Britain*; and this loss would be the greater, as Corn is the only staple commodity of any great consequence that the land produces for exportation, to pay for the many foreign productions of the earth which are imported into this kingdom. Corn, which in all other countries is looked upon only as a necessary of life, and an article of consumption, is in *England* the chief article both of consumption and of commerce, and the grand staple commodity that pays the great balance of Trade, which is against this nation in most parts of the world. Hence Corn is to *England*, what wine and oil are to *France* and *Spain*, or sugar and tobacco to our colonies, their chief staple commodities. Thus nature has distributed her bounties to all, and every one has their share, if they did not covet more.

But notwithstanding the Corn Trade is of such consequence to this nation, it is in danger of being lost from three several causes; first, from the engrossing of the lands and farms, which occasions a want of people to cultivate them; secondly, from the laying of the lands down in grass, or sowing them with grass seeds, instead of corn, in order to maintain such a number of horses; and thirdly, from the heavy taxes on the subject, especially in *articles*
of

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of daily consumption, which must affect the Agriculture of the kingdom, as well as its Trade and Manufactures.

The first of these is not indeed complained of by the Farmers, who reap the profits of this monopoly, however it is by the poor, and by the people in general; but these same Farmers complain much of the want of hands, to cultivate their lands, and to get in their harvests; of which they themselves are the cause, by engrossing the lands, and extirpating the people. Hence they are not able to cultivate the lands, or to make such crops as they would otherwise yield; which both enhances the value of their produce to the public, and depreciates the value of lands to the owners, much more than the repair of houses for poor Farmers, Labourers, and Workmen, would cost them.

It is surprising, that the proprietors of lands should endeavour to raise their value, by pulling down their houses, and expelling the people from them. As the riches of every state proceed from the number of people, so every individual estate is more or less valuable according to the number of people upon it. If a few cannot pay their rents, they should get more to help them; for people live by one another, the farmer by the tradesman, and the last upon the produce of the lands. Where lands have no people upon them, they are worth nothing. And though a few opulent farmers may at first give a high rent for lands, yet they are soon obliged

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obliged to lower it for want of hands, when the labourers are gone; and for want of the consumption which they occasion.

The farmers are then obliged to lay their lands down in grass, instead of cultivating them in Corn; which practice has become so common, especially among those who have large farms, which they can hardly manage, and among others who study improvements, as many have done of late, that they who are acquainted with the agriculture of the kingdom, have foreseen and foretold the present dearth and scarcity of provisions from this cause alone, many years before it happened; and are of opinion, that this must occasion a scarcity of Corn, the chief staple of the land, as well as of all other provisions. These and the like improvements in husbandry, are, indeed, honestly intended to improve the land to the best advantage, and thereby to prevent a scarcity, were not all the fruits of their labor destroyed, by so many horses. And as a much greater quantity both of grass and fodder has been produced by the late improvements in husbandry, notwithstanding which the price of provisions daily rises, this is a plain proof, that the produce of the grass grounds is consumed by horses, which occasions a dearth of butchers meat; while the laying of the lands down in grass for horses at the same time obstructs the growing of Corn, and thereby renders all sorts of provisions dear.

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It is for these reasons, that such vast quantities of land in *England* lye uncultivated for want of hands, which nothing but an extensive cultivation and tillage will either breed or maintain. It is not above one half of the lands in this kingdom, that can be said to be cultivated. All the forests, commons, heaths, downs, &c. are so many waste lands; great part of the rest lyes in a bare swade for pasturage; and the very best of the lands are kept in grass for horses, as we may see about all the towns, and other parts of the kingdom.

The chief of the lands that are cultivated in *England*, are only such as will bear good grass, and wheat, which require the very best and richest lands; these are engrossed by a few, who endeavour to supply the markets with the produce of them at as dear a rate as possible; and all the rest of the lands, which would produce good crops of almost any thing else, lye uncultivated. It is for this reason, that the nation has so few people, that the few we have seem to decrease, and are maintained at so dear a rate. This proceeds from the want of tillage, and that occasions a scarcity of husbandmen and labourers to cultivate the land, and to support the great variety of other employments in the kingdom, which its extensive trade creates.

Having thus considered the causes of this dearth, they may perhaps suggest some remedy for such a rivetted and confirmed evil.

The first thing thought of for this purpose is, to prohibit the exportation of Corn; which is

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undoubtedly necessary, on the present occasion, as the crop is generally thought to be so short, that without such an expedient there might not be Corn enough left in the country to supply the people, especially when there are so many unlimited commissions for it from many parts of *Europe*. But however necessary such a measure may be in the mean time, it will avail but little, to prevent that general dearth of every thing, which has prevailed for so many years; on the contrary, this expedient may rather increase the lasting cause of this evil, of which we only endeavour to prevent the temporary effects. The cause of this dearth appears to be the want of a more general cultivation, which will not be promoted, but farther obstructed, by prohibiting the exportation of Corn; that likewise prevents the growing of it, and renders it dearer: And by these frequent prohibitions, of which there have been so many within these few years, the nation may lose the Corn Trade, and conspire with its enemies to ruin the Agriculture of the kingdom, and only staple of the land.

Thus great care should be taken, that we do not precipitate the nation into those evils which we would prevent. By discouraging the Farmers to grow Corn, we render it scarcer, and enhance the price, which we endeavour to reduce. The exportation makes such a plenty of Corn in the country, more than is consumed, that it has reduced the price one fifth, from

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from five to four shillings a bushel. Therefore, if the exportation were prohibited, as many seem to desire, there is all reason to believe, that Corn would always be at its present high price, as it was for a hundred years together, before the exportation was encouraged. Nay, it is highly probable, that Corn would be much dearer now, than it was in former days, since the price of every thing else in the kingdom, and consequently of Agriculture, is so much advanced. And by prohibiting the exportation, the nation would be deprived of that store of Corn, which supplies it in times of scarcity, such as the present; and might again be reduced to that ruinous state of purchasing Corn in every scarce year; which was formerly so great a burden and drain to the nation, that we are told by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in his letters to King *James*, Corn had in some years cost *England* upwards of *two millions* sterling *: This was the case, till the export-

* A dearth in *England*, and other places, is truly observed to enrich *Holland* seven years; for example, the last dearth, six years past, the *Hamburgers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders*, out of their storehouses, furnished this kingdom; and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Bristol*, in a year and a half, they carried away near 200,000 *l.* from these parts only: then what great quantity of coin was transported round about your kingdom from every port town; and from your city of *London*, and other cities, cannot be estimated so little as *two millions*, to the great decay of your kingdom, and impoverishing your people; discredit to the company of merchants, and dishonour to the land that any nation that have no Corn in their own country

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exportation, which was in a manner prohibited, was effectually allowed by King *Charles II.* in 1663, and was even encouraged by a bounty, by the first of *William and Mary*; since which the nation, so far from purchasing Corn, has exported great quantities, and at the same time enjoyed the benefit of a much cheaper consumption at home.

They who imagine, that the prohibiting of the exportation would reduce the price of Corn, think that the same quantity would be made for the home consumption, as is now made both for that and exportation; that the overplus, which is now exported, would all come to market, and thereby lower the price; in which they are certainly mistaken. Unless the Farmers have a certain vent for their Corn, and can be assured of a reasonable profit by it, we cannot expect, that they will grow it; neither can they afford to be at the expence of tillage, or to employ the Labourers and Poor of the kingdom, unless they see their own private interest in such public benefits. To render Corn cheap, the Farmers should be encouraged

try growing, should serve this famous kingdom, which God hath so enabled within itself. *Sir Walter Raleigh's Works*, Vol. ii. p. 117.

This is the great argument used by *Mr. Silhouette*, in his *View of England*, for allowing an exportation of Corn in *France*, and shewing the benefit of it to this nation; although he misrepresents the argument in point of time and circumstances, which corroborate it.

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to grow great quantities, which alone will ever reduce the price of such a necessary; the Consumer would thereby have it at a reasonable rate, while the Farmer is compensated, by the quantity, for what he loses in the value: But as people eat no more Corn, when it is cheap and plentiful, than in times of scarcity, we cannot expect, that the Farmers will grow such a quantity, as is desired, in order to lie upon their hands, and to reduce the price of all that they make. It is this that renders the exportation of Corn so necessary, in order to encourage the Farmers to grow as much as they can, since they are thereby always sure of a vent, and reasonable price, for it: But if this were prohibited, we should have no more grown than would serve the consumption, a quantity which would not reduce the price; the supplies would be as uncertain and precarious as the seasons; in scarce years the nation would want; in very plentiful crops the Farmers might be ruined by their own industry; and the nation would lose that vast advantage which proceeds from a general and extensive Agriculture, and the employment of so many people by it. Thus the exportation of Corn is not only allowed, but encouraged, in order to increase the quantity above the consumption, which will always keep it at a moderate price.

It may perhaps be expected, that if the Farmers did not grow such quantities of Corn for exportation, they would raise more stock, and thereby

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thereby reduce the price of other Provisions. But this general opinion of those, who are unacquainted with Agriculture, seems to be contrary both to reason and experience. Uncultivated lands do not yield so much, for the support either of man or beast, as they would do by culture. The very offals of fields of Corn, with the plentiful pasturage after harvest, yield more food than a bare swade; and the crops of Turneps, Grass Seeds, &c. which are, and may be, sowed with Corn, both maintain stock, and render them fit for killing, which we cannot expect from uncultivated lands. If Farmers let the lands lie uncultivated in Grass, it is not so much to raise stock, as to save the expence of tillage, which is the greatest loss to the nation, not only in the price of Provisions, but in the want of employment for so many people: Thus we should encourage tillage, as is hereafter proposed, in order to reduce the price of other Provisions as well as of Corn, which renders every thing cheap.

If these things are considered, it will appear, that the proposals which are commonly made to prevent this dearth, will rather increase it, and precipitate the nation into that ruin which it threatens, as will abundantly appear from the following considerations:

I. If we prohibit the exportation of Corn after the present scarcity ceases, as many seem to desire, in order to relieve our Trade and Manufactures, we not only lose the chief staple
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of the land, and most profitable branch of Trade, which brings in as great a balance, perhaps, as all the other branches of foreign Trade put together; but we may thereby render Corn and Provisions much dearer, than they have ever yet been.

II. On the other hand, if the present dearth continues, it must endanger the Manufactures, Trade, and Navigation of the kingdom, which are of much greater consequence. The Trade of *Great Britain* amounts to eleven millions a year, when the value of the Corn exported is but 835,000 *l.*, *communibus annis*; and that export, deducting the bounty and import of Corn, is valued to the nation but at 651,000 *l.* *per annum* *.

III. If we take the bounty off of Corn, it obstructs the growing of it, and renders it dearer; but if we continue the bounty on the exportation, it is a tax upon the home consumption, and will always render Corn dearer, than it might be made, providing the Farmers would grow it; which there appears to be no way to induce them to do, in such quantities as to render it cheap, but to give them a like bounty on the home consumption, so as to render Corn more profitable to them than any other crop. If this is not done, they export it for the sake of the bounty, which they cannot otherwise get, and thereby raise the price at home, if they should sell it for less abroad.

* Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 136.

IV. So

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IV. So if we restrain or prohibit the exportation of Corn, it renders arable lands of less value, and scarcer, when they are already much wanted; this will obstruct tillage, and enhance the value of Grass Grounds, which is the great source of the evil; and must raise the price of Corn, which renders every thing dear.

V. But above all, though the people murmur at the exportation of Corn, the laying of any restraint upon it will obstruct the tillage of the country, deprive them of their chief employment, and the nation of so many people, who are already by far too few, and seem to decrease, for want of this employment in Agriculture.

Thus by endeavouring to remove the temporary effects of this dearth, we may increase the cause, and render it more or less perpetual in the kingdom; which is otherwise to be apprehended, from what we have seen for several years past.

And by endeavouring to preserve the Corn Trade at any rate, when Provisions and every thing else are so dear, we may ruin the other branches of Trade and Navigation, on which the very being of this nation depends. To allow a bounty on Corn, in order to supply our rivals in Trade and Manufactures, cheaper than ourselves, seems to be contrary to this fundamental support of the kingdom. Corn is a source both of wealth and power; it breeds and maintains people, and enables them to carry on
works

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works of every kind, which are the riches and strength of every nation, and which we strengthen our enemies with, by supplying them with Corn. Hence Corn ought not to be exported from any country; if it be not from the want of people to consume it at home, which we can never have without plenty of Corn.

Thus the Corn Trade seems to interfere with the other branches of Trade, and the exportation with the home consumption; and all these four should be equally considered, so as to make them subservient to one another, and to the general welfare of the whole.

If all these things are duly considered, there seems to be no way to prevent the inconveniencies which may attend the one or the other, but to give a bounty on the home consumption, as well as upon the exportation of Corn; and that seems likewise to be the only way to prevent the dearth and scarcity of Provisions, which threatens to continue, as it has for many years, unless some such seasonable relief is afforded. If it be not by such an expedient, it will be very difficult, if not impracticable, to render Corn and Provisions cheap in this kingdom, where all other things are so dear; and if these are dear, nothing can be cheap. If we would lower the price of our Manufactures, and all other articles of trade and consumption, it can only be done, by reducing the price of Corn and Provisions in the first place, by a bounty upon our own consumption, as well as upon that of our rivals.

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Now this is with all submission proposed to be done, by laying a tax upon horses, and giving it as a bounty upon the Corn that is consumed by our *own* labourers and manufacturers; and by taking off the taxes upon the *Articles of daily consumption*, which are used by them and every one else, and by substituting this tax upon horses in lieu of them. These two would cut off all the sources of these general complaints, and ruinous dearth of every thing, and that by one and the same feasible and practicable method.

The causes of this dearth, as we have shewn, are 1. a monopoly of the lands by opulent farmers, which occasions a want of husbandmen and labourers; 2. the superior value of grass above Corn, from the number of horses that are kept; and 3. the heavy taxes which fall upon the husbandmen, and consequently upon the necessaries of life; to prevent which, they must be relieved in the first place, either by taking off the taxes upon the necessaries which they consume, or by giving them a bounty upon what they make, and we would humbly propose to do both; which would cut off the very sources of this dearth of every thing, as well as of Corn and provisions, by one and the same expedient. For

I. Such an expedient will take off the taxes on these necessary articles, which are used by every one, and by the meanest tradesman or mechanic, as well as by the farmers, which enhances

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enhances the price of their labor in every thing, and even of the necessaries of life; and this last increases the evil, and renders every thing dear that the country produces.

II. A tax on horses, and a bounty on Corn, will both equally contribute to render Corn more valuable to the farmers, and encourage them to grow it for the support of the people, instead of grass for horses.

III. And as they are enabled to monopolize the farms from the superior value of grass above arable lands, the laying of a tax upon the first in horses, and giving a bounty upon the last in Corn, would prevent the many ruinous effects of that monopoly, which both starves and extirpates the people; and thereby deprives the nation of husbandmen sufficient to supply the markets, as well as of people for all other employments.

Thus the proposed tax on horses would be so far from being a new and additional tax upon the subject, or oppression of the people, that it would relieve them from the most grievous taxes they bear, and would in itself be the greatest benefit they could well receive, as it would tend to lessen the number of horses, which are the great cause of the dearth and scarcity that are so much complained of. And such a tax, thus appropriated, would not only relieve the poor, and lessen their numbers, but would by that means amply repay itself in the poor's rates; whereas the present taxes on the

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necessaries of life increase their numbers, and render them such a burden on the nation.

It is only by a tax on horses, and a bounty on Corn, that we can either render Corn cheap, or encourage the farmers to raise stock, in order to supply the markets with other provisions. So long as they find horses more valuable to them than other stock, they will always raise the one before the other: but while they consume both the grass and fodder, and keep the best corn lands in grass in order to breed and keep such a number of horses, we can never expect to see either Corn or other provisions cheap.

And so long as this dearth continues, which it threatens to do, the nation must either lose the Corn Trade, or suffer by it at home; which there is no way to prevent, but by giving a bounty on the home consumption, as well as upon the exportation of Corn. That will relieve our own trade and manufactures, at the same time that we supply our rivals; and there appears to be no other way to do both. If we give a bounty on Corn to our neighbours, and perhaps to our rivals and enemies, we should at least give the same encouragement to our own people; otherwise they must soon have a superiority over us in trade and manufactures, especially when every thing in this kingdom, and even the necessaries of life, are become so dear. The *Spaniards* may get the woollen manufacture from us, and the *Italians* that of silk,
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by means of *English* Corn. Yet it must be owned, that the Corn Trade is a very great advantage to this nation, and we should endeavour to preserve both, both that and our manufactures.

Among the other advantages of the trade and exportation of Corn, the greatest perhaps is, that it serves the nation for a public granary; it is only the bounty and exportation, that encourages the farmer to grow more Corn than is consumed, and thereby to provide the nation with such a store, which supplies it in time of want. Thus the exportation of Corn is a granary, which supplies the nation in time of scarcity, and for that reason should be carefully husbanded and preserved in times of plenty. And as an article of trade, Corn is perhaps more valuable than any one in the kingdom.

These benefits the nation has reaped from the exportation of Corn, and the bounty upon it has no doubt very much contributed to these national advantages. Since that bounty was granted, the price of Corn, which was for 100 years before at 1*l.* 18*s.* a quarter, or 4*s.* 9*d.* a bushel, has been reduced to 1*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* a quarter, upon an average of the last sixty-eight years; and for twenty years past it has been, *communibus annis*, at 1*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* a quarter, not quite four shillings a bushel. But although we cannot altogether attribute this abatement in the price to the bounty on Corn,
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as many do * ; but to the more general use and greater consumption of Corn in former days

* It is without dispute a matter of fact, that Corn has been cheaper in *England*, since the bounty was granted on the exportation, than it was before ; this seems to be attributed entirely to the bounty, but we cannot be of that opinion, for the following reasons :

I. The people of *England* appear formerly to have eat much more Corn, and less meat, than they do at present ; and as they were much worse Farmers, Corn was dear, and other Provisions cheaper in proportion. An ox was then worth but 30 or 40 shillings (and not above 16 shillings in the reign of *Edward IV.*) when Corn was at six or seven shillings a bushel ; but the first is now five or six times as dear, and the last at four shillings a bushel, which shews a much greater consumption of Corn, than of Meat, in former days. The same manner of living, which seems formerly to have been general throughout the whole Island, is still continued in *Scotland*, where they consume their Corn, and sell their Cattle ; but *England* buys cattle both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, since those kingdoms have been united with her, and sells her Corn ; thereby gaining much less than is imagined by such a change, and more expensive way of living.

II. The greater cheapness of Corn proceeds from the many improvements in Agriculture, since the bounty was granted, particularly in the sowing of Grass Seeds and Turneps, with the great improvements that have been made in ploughing, marling, liming, and otherwise manuring of lands ; by which twice as much land is rendered fit to bear Corn, and particularly Wheat, as was before, or as we should now have, without these methods of cultivating and manuring, which were not known nor practised in former times. These are owing to the improvements made in all other Arts and Sciences, and not to the bounty on Corn ; however that might have encouraged the Farmers to set about these improvements, when they come to be known.

III. The

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days than the present ; to the many improvements which have been made in Agriculture since

III. The advantage of the exportation of Corn arises from new markets for it ; but the great advancement of Trade and Manufactures in *England*, since the bounty was granted, has opened a much better market for Corn, than all we have abroad ; and is a much greater encouragement to Agriculture, as appears from the quantity of Corn consumed and exported.

We should not therefore deceive ourselves with the notion of rendering Corn cheap, by supplying our neighbours cheaper than ourselves.—Was *Britain* to convert her Corn to her own use, and to promote her Trade and Manufactures by the plenty which the land affords, it would be much more for her benefit, than to strengthen her enemies and rivals by these her own resources.—This would be a much greater encouragement to the landed interest, than all the Corn that is exported.—Trade and Manufactures raise the value of lands, much more than the exportation of Corn.—And the power of the nation would be enlarged with its Trade and Navigation, and a much better security obtained for lands and every thing else.—Was this nation to convert her natural plenty to her own use, she need not be in daily fear of being insulted by her enemies, whom she supports.—Agriculture, it is true, is the first thing to be considered and encouraged by all nations ; but it should be to maintain our own people, and not our enemies.—If a bounty is necessary for that purpose, it should be given to our own, and not to foreign, Workmen ; or at least we should put them upon a level, and give a bounty to the one, as well as the other.—The bounty on Corn is only intended to encourage the growing of it, and that is much more promoted by our own people than by foreigners.

For these reasons it would appear, that if we do not give a bounty to our own Labourers and Workmen, we should at least lower that upon the exportation given to foreigners. That bounty was only intended to be given on Corn, by 1 *W.* and *M.* chap. 12, “ when the price thereof is
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since that bounty was granted; and to the advancement of Trade and Manufactures, which have opened a much better market for Corn than any we have abroad; yet it must be owned, that the bounty is a very great encour-

“ at a *low rate* in this kingdom,” which was then deemed to be 48 shillings a quarter for Wheat; but now, when the bounty is less proper or needful, that is a very *high price*, and such as is complained of by the poor, who raised the late tumults as soon as Wheat came to that price, as they did in 1757. In order therefore to prevent the like disturbances for the future, as well as to encourage our Manufactures, no bounty should be granted on Wheat, after the price exceeds 40 shillings a quarter, and none should be exported, after it comes to 48 shillings.—The average price was made the rule for the bounty, when it was granted, and the same should take place now. The price then was 38 shillings a quarter, and the bounty was granted till it came to 48 shillings, which was ten shillings above the average price; and 40 shillings is the same now, when the average price, for forty years past, has been 1*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* a quarter, or 3*s.* 10*d.* a bushel. And as it seems to have been unreasonable, at first, to have given a bounty on Wheat, when it was ten shillings above the average price, it is still more unreasonable to continue it now at the same rate, as that exceeds the average or common price by 18 shillings a quarter, nigh two thirds of the whole value.—If this should be thought a discouragement to Agriculture, which we would rather promote, there seems to be no way to prevent the many inconveniencies attending the bounty on such a high price, but to give a like bounty on other Corn to our Workmen, in order to enjoy this exportation of Wheat; or at least, if Wheat is exported at this price, the exportation of other Grain should be restrained, if not prohibited, for the reasons hereafter given. In times of dearth, the price of every thing rises, and is never again lowered, till the Manufactures and Trade of the kingdom will be ruined.

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agement to the growing of Corn, and supplies the nation with it in that plenty, which it can avail itself of in times of scarcity, if it does not render Corn cheaper at all times.

Now if these advantages have been received from the bounty upon the exportation of Corn, how much greater might we not expect from a like bounty on the home consumption, with which the quantity exported is not to be compared. It is to the improvements of Husbandry, and the advancement of Trade and Manufactures, that the greater cheapness of Corn in the present than in former days is to be attributed; and a promotion of these at home, rather than abroad, would be a much greater encouragement to Agriculture, and the growing of Corn, than all that is exported; which is not a third part, if a fourth part of the seed that is sown. The quantity of Corn taken from us by foreigners is but a mere trifle, in comparison of what is consumed at home; the first, upon an average of the last 68 years, amounts but to 422,352 quarters, the last to 14 millions of quarters, of which seven millions and an half are consumed in food. Thus the export is but one thirty-sixth part of the Corn that is grown*, so that a bounty on that is but a very inconsiderable encouragement to Agriculture, which is loaded with all the heavy taxes of this kingdom.

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 144.

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A bounty therefore on the home consumption would be a much greater encouragement to the growing of Corn, in order to supply the nation with it at a cheaper rate, than ever that upon the exportation was supposed to have been; and that encouragement to the growing of it, with the abatement of the price by the bounty, would be an effectual and certain means of rendering Corn cheap, particularly to the poor, and to Labourers and Workmen, who receive the benefit of the bounty.

Such a bounty would likewise be a relief to the landed interest, and Farmers, on whom all the heavy taxes in the kingdom chiefly fall. As land is the fountain of every thing, so it bears the burden of all, and should be relieved in the first place, if we would have plenty from it, or the produce of it cheap. The great encouragements wanted by the Land-owners and Farmers are,

I. To enable them to keep up and repair the habitations and dwellings of the Poor, which are otherwise such a burden on their estates, that the many evils above-mentioned chiefly proceed from this cause. It is from the expence of repairs, that the poor are expelled from the lands, which are by that means engrossed by the rich; the farms are monopolized, and the people extirpated, for the enrichment of a few opulent Farmers, rather than the maintainance of a numerous race of poorer and better subjects, who are both the strength and riches of every state; and as this is the busi-

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ness of the public, rather than of any private persons, some public encouragement ought to be given to such a general and national concern, without which this nation may want people, either to cultivate the lands, to carry on its Trade and Manufactures, or even to secure and defend the kingdom.

II. The greatest improvement of the landed estates would be the taking in and cultivating of the poorer and meaner lands, which now produce little or nothing, and that would, at the same time, be as great a benefit to the public. It is only by that means, that this nation can extend its Agriculture, in proportion to its extensive Trade and Manufactures, or maintain people at a reasonable rate to support them both. So long as the people live upon nothing but the fat of the earth, and consume only the produce of the best and richest lands, this nation will never have so many people as it wants, nor will they ever have Provisions cheap. It is only upon the produce of the poorer lands, which mostly lie uncultivated, that we can expect to maintain the poor, who are so numerous in the kingdom. But as the upholding of houses for them, and the improvements of poorer lands, are more chargeable than what they may produce is worth, we cannot perhaps expect to see either of these done, without some public encouragement, or a bounty upon the produce of such poor and uncultivated lands.

Thus the proposed bounty on Corn is chiefly wanted for such as is, and may be, consumed

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by the poor, and for the produce of the poorer lands, such as *rye, barley, oats, sprat, peas, beans, or buckwheat*; these are much cheaper than Wheat, on which the bounty is now chiefly given, and which the Farmers for that reason only make in any plenty. It is for this reason, that the very poor in *England*, with the common Labourers and Workmen, eat nothing almost but the best wheaten bread, and such as people of fortune could hardly get in other countries; which renders their living much more expensive than it otherwise need to be. In former days they lived chiefly on rye, barley, or oatmeal; in *Scotland*, the common people and Labourers have no other sort of Corn, and hardly any other food but oatmeal; in *Ireland*, they live on potatoes; in the *Plantations*, on *Indian Corn*; in *Germany*, on rye; in *Spain, Portugal, and Italy*, on barley or sprat; and in *France*, on their *Bled noir*, or buckwheat, by which they work so much cheaper than the *English* *.

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* Some of these sorts of grain seem not to be so well known in *Britain*, as they deserve. Buckwheat is almost the only Corn in cold northern climates, and on poor sandy lands in the south; of which we have a new sort from *Siberia*. It will grow on the poorest land, and is so far from exhausting it, that it rather improves land, by covering and shading it with its procumbent branches, and opening it to the air and dews by its long tap-root, like peas. Thus you might have a good crop of this on all the poor waste lands in *England*, which might bring them into culture, and maintain all the poor in the kingdom, as it does in *France*.

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Now as these sorts of grain are much cheaper than wheat, it would be a vast saving to the nation

It is likewise the cheapest food of any both for hogs and horses, and would very much reduce the price both of Corn, and other provisions, by feeding horses, and increasing the stock of hogs, with this cheapest of all grain.

The Sprat (*Zea*) is likewise but little known in *England*, although it is reckoned to be the best Corn of any, except wheat, which it so much resembles, that it is commonly deemed by farmers to be a species of that grain. It is a grain between wheat and barley, and serves for both in many countries; both for bread, beer, food for horses and all other creatures. In the southern parts of *Europe* it is still as much esteemed, as it was by the *Greeks and Romans*, who called it by way of eminence *Zea*, i. e. *Grain*. This seems likewise to be the *middle grain (Cao leang)* of the *Chinese*, which is one of the five sorts that the Emperor sows every year with his own hands, as being the most necessary, and including all the rest. They give it this name, as they reckon it to be a middle grain between rice and wheat, and to serve both for wheat, barley and oats. It thrives so well in northern climates, that the *Chinese* colonies which have settled the northern parts of *Tartary*, in a very cold and inhospitable climate, have no other Corn, but this their middle grain, and millet, as we are informed by the *Missionaries* who surveyed that country; 'but whatever may be its true name, say they, it is of a very good taste, and would probably grow in some parts of *Europe*, which will produce no other grain.' Hence we should think, that sprat and buckwheat would be a very good improvement in *Scotland*, where they have hardly any other Corn but oats; as well as in the northern parts of *England*, where they sow *Maslin*, or a mixture of wheat and rye. The design of sowing this, which is the *French Meteil*, proceeds from an observation in hot and dry climates, which is, that in dry years you have plenty of rye, although little wheat; and in wet seasons this last abounds, when the other fails—so that you are always sure of Corn; but whether this will hold in the cold and wet climate where
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nation, to maintain the people with them, and much more than the whole exportation of corn amounts

it is sown in *England*, is not so certain; neither is the climate so subject to drought as to make a dearth of wheat. We should think, that *sprat* would be more suitable to this climate, and *maslin* in *North America*, as they both thrive on poorer land and a dryer sandy soil, than wheat.—Of this grain there are three different sorts, one resembling barley, with a single or double chest; and the other more like wheat, called *wheat with ears of barley*. (*Triticum Spica Hordei*, Raj.) The first is known in *England* by the name of *Sprat-Barley*, and we may call the other *Sprat-Wheat* (*Zeo-Pyrum*,) as it is by the Botanists. But both of these are very different from any sort of true wheat or barley. The ear is flat, and not round; although in all other respects the plant resembles wheat, and like that stands the winter.

This Corn would be more particularly useful, in our colonies in *North America*, which lye exactly in the same climate with the part of *Tartary* here mentioned, and have no sort of Corn that agrees with their singular and peculiar climate. No *European* grain, indeed, agrees perfectly well with the climate in any part of *North America*. The harvest is from two to three months later, than it should be for the latitude of the place, on account of the hard winters. Hence the Corn is generally stunted, and the grain shrivelled. Were it not for the *Mays* or *Indian* Corn, those colonies could not subsist, nor be of any service to the nation. Although that Corn is not wanted in *Britain*, it is the source of every thing that this nation receives from all the colonies it has. In the northern colonies, where none but a small early sort of this Corn will grow, which does not yield above half a crop, they can make nothing for *Britain*, and it is in vain to think of it, if it were only on that account. In *New-England* they are obliged to give a bounty on the growing of Corn to eat; and we cannot expect that they can make any thing before that, and much less Hemp and Flax, which destroy the best Corn lands.

Wheat

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amounts to. Take barley, rye, and oats, one with another, they are not above half the price of

Wheat will not grow in *North America*, so as to yield a certain crop every year, any where to the northward of *Boston*, and there it thrives but very ill. What they call wheat in *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, is nothing but the *French Bled marfais*, as they tell us, which they sow in *May*, instead of *March*, and reap in *August*. This is of the same kind with the *Siberia* wheat, and *Lapland* barley, which ripen in six weeks after they are sowed, when they are not above eight or nine inches high. Thus no sort of *Corn* will grow in those climates, if it be not some diminutive species, which are not worth sowing any where else, and consequently we cannot expect to get any thing else from them.

If ever those countries produce any thing, it must be some commodity of their own, for no others will grow in the climate. The only sort of Corn proper for the northern parts of *America*, is one that grows naturally in the soil and climate, well known to many by the name of *wild Oats*. It is so called, because it grows like an oat, but the grain is to all intents and purposes a species of rice. It excels that, however, and all other sorts of grain that are known, in many remarkable properties; it neither requires reaping, threshing, cleaning, grinding, bolting, nor baking; the grain is easily gathered with the hand, and is fit to eat, boiled like rice, as soon as it is gathered; it neither adheres to the husk, like rice, barley and oats, nor has it any bran like wheat, which create a great expence in these sorts of grain. It likewise affords food both for man and beast, or ripe Corn, and green fodder, at one and the same time. The blade, which grows four or five feet long, and sometimes seven, has a sweetness in it like *Indian* Corn, and is as much coveted, whether green or dry, by beasts of every kind. Having mowed it for several years, I am well assured, it is the best fodder that grows, except the blades of *Indian* Corn. The grain is likewise as agreeable. *F. Hennepin* lived upon it, and found it “better and more whole-
“some than rice,” to use his words. The grain indeed is but slender, as it grows wild, although very long, and smooth

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of wheat; so that if the people of *England*, who consume 7,500,000 quarters of Corn a year,

smooth like cleaned rice; but there is no such Corn growing wild in any other part of the world, that we have seen or heard of; the best sorts of Corn were but grass, and not to be compared to this, before they were improved by culture. Were this duely cultivated like rice, as it grows in like manner in water, it would be as useful; and we might have rice from our northern, as well as southern colonies. It grows all over *North America*, as far north as *Hudson's Bay*, in the coldest climates of any grain. The natives of *Hudson's Bay*, and *Lake Superior*, have no other Corn.— Besides this, there is a species of *Barley* peculiar to the southern parts of *North America*, where the common *Barley* will not thrive.—Were that continent explored, it would be found, that we might have both *Corn*, *Wine*, *Oil*, *Wool*, *Silk*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, and many other valuable commodities, all of the native growth of *North America*; and these are the more to be regarded, as no others will thrive in the climate; they are likewise totally different from any thing that *Britain* produces, and might by that means keep the colonies from interfering with their mother country, &c.

This Corn might be as proper for all the low, wet and boggy grounds in *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, which are so extensive, and produce nothing. And such a Corn might prove as serviceable as potatoes have been, which were in like manner brought from *America*. These common potatoes are the *Papas* of *Peru*, where they grow naturally, and were the only bread Corn that the natives had upon their cold mountains, or have to this day. They likewise grind them to meal, and make a bread of it, called *Chunno*, which is famous in history; with this the *Indians* supplied the mines of *Potosi*, and grew richer by the trade than the *Miners*. The *Spaniards* likewise make a great variety of dishes with them, unknown to us, and live upon them like the common people in *Ireland*.—They were first brought to *Europe* by *Sir Francis Drake*, in his return from the expedition to the *Spanish West Indies* in 1586. He then brought the colony
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year, worth at least eight millions sterling, were to live on these, and the like mentioned below, they would save three or four millions a year, which would soon reduce the price of provisions. The price of Wheat is 4 s.
of

of *Virginia* home with him, and among the rest the famous mathematician *Mr. Thomas Heriot*, who was sent thither by *Sir Walter Raleigh* to explore the productions of the country, and brought these roots with him; he gave them to *Gerard* the botanist, who first planted them in *London*, and sent them to *Clusius* in *Holland*, who planted them in *Burgundy*, and sent them to *Italy*; as appears from the works of these and several other authors. It was from this their introduction into *Europe*, that they are said by most of our writers to have been natives of *Virginia*, where they will hardly grow, and do not thrive, unless they are planted in the following manner. They should be planted in trenches like *Celeri*, and earthed up to the top of the stalk in like manner, till they come to be in blossom; by that means they spread and grow to a great size under ground, as I learnt from my late worthy friend *Don Pedro Maldonado*, F. R. S. governor of the province of *Emeraldos*, and a native of *Quito*, who reckoned our potatoes but very indifferent, in comparison of what they daily eat, and live upon, by this method of culture in *Peru*.

They are cultivated in this manner, in order to prevent the plant from running into stalk and seed, which robs the root of its nourishment. But in *Britain*, the seed never ripens, as in *America*, which abundantly shews that they are exotics. Upon this account it is not altogether so necessary here to earth them up as they grow, although it may be as proper.

This method of cultivating potatoes is necessary on another account, in order to divest them of the rank and poisonous quality of the *Solanum*, of which they are a species. This is so strong in them, where they grow on the surface of the ground exposed to the sun in hot climates, that the very hogs will not taste them; and I have known
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of other Grain but 2 s. 2 d. a bushel, one with another; and of Oatmeal but 1 s. 8 d.

This is likewise the only way to encourage a large exportation of wheat, and at the same time to enjoy a cheaper consumption of Corn at home. If the people of *England* will eat their wheat, they cannot export it. If they would make the most of their Corn, they should export their wheat and malt, and keep their barley (exported) rye and oats, for their own consumption; but instead of that, they eat their wheat, drink their barley, and buy oats to feed the dogs and horses; of which they keep great

people who could not set at table where they were, for this their poisonous scent, of which the hogs are more sensible than we are. Even when kept on hard meat on board of ship, I have seen hogs refuse these potatoes grown in a hot climate. They there grow hard and knotty when exposed to the sun, instead of soft and mealy, and have this rank flavor to such a degree, that many people cannot taste them. It was for this reason, that when they were first planted in *Burgundy*, the use of them was condemned by law, for occasioning a severe distemper, they imagined. But in these cold climates, which are more natural to them, or by thus covering them up from the sun, they are so divested of this rank and noxious flavor, that we are not sensible of it; no more than the hogs whose scent is so acute— But from these their qualities, the use of potatoes has been chiefly confined to the *British* isles, to which they were first brought; and here the general use that is made of them seems to have been owing to an accident in *Ireland*, in the time of the civil wars, when the armies destroyed the fields of Corn; but some fields of potatoes, we are told, throve very well after they were trampled by them, and supplied the want of Corn, as they have done ever since.— But these are not to be compared to the *Spanish* potatoes, as they are called, which are a very different root and plant, and much more delicious and wholesome.

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numbers, and at the same time consume great quantities of flesh meats, eat Wheaten bread, and export Wheat; which are the only causes of a dearth and scarcity, that need to be apprehended in such a fruitful land as this, or of a dearth of labor from the want of provisions.

Thus if there is any real scarcity in *England*, it is owing to extravagance, and not to want. The people eat nothing but the best wheaten bread, consume great quantities of flesh meats, and at the same time keep great numbers of horses, all which require the very best Corn lands, and render Corn as dear again, as it otherwise would be. Were it not for this extravagance, the necessaries of life and labor might be as cheap again as they are, and much more Corn might at the same time be exported.

The quantity and value of the Corn exported, upon an average of 19 years preceding 1765, is as follows, according to the accounts laid before the Parliament, and preserved in the inestimable Tracts on the Corn Trade.

Exported.	Qrs.	Price Qr.
Wheat	357,895	£. 1 11 8
Malt	251,437	1 1 10
Barley	66,741	0 18 3
Rye	49,451	1 1 1
Oatmeal	3,536	0 13 8

Total 729,060 Aver. 1 1 3½

From this it appears, that the exportation of barley, rye and oatmeal is but of little consequence,

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quence, and is not to be put in any sort of competition with our trade and manufactures; these sorts of grain are but insignificant articles of commerce, although they serve as well for consumption as wheat. The export of wheat and malt amount to 600,000 quarters a year, when we export only 52,000 quarters of rye and oatmeal, which are likewise much cheaper. For this reason the exportation of these last might be prohibited altogether, if not of barley likewise, and the growing of them encouraged by a bounty on the home consumption, which is only given for that purpose on the exportation. Such a bounty to our *own* people, would be a much greater encouragement to the growing of Corn, and to the agriculture of the kingdom, as well as to its trade and manufactures at the same time. It is upon these cheaper sorts of grain, that labourers and workmen live in all parts of the world, except *England*; and for these reasons we would encourage the use of them here, not only to reduce the present high price of provisions, but at all times to render the maintenance of labourers and workmen so much cheaper.

The chief cause of this difference in the price of these several sorts of grain is, that wheat requires a strong loamy soil, and such as has more or less of a natural moisture in it, which is the proper land for grass; and as grass grounds are so much more valuable in *England* than any others, wheat is by that means much dearer than any other grain, besides its superior intrinsic

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intrinsic worth. It not only requires the best land, but occupies the ground for a twelve-month; when barley, oats, and buckwheat, are not above six months on the ground, and allow time for some other crop in the course of the year. At the same time most lands will yield a third more of these sorts of grain, particularly of barley, than of wheat. These, and rye or sprat, will grow on poorer lands, and such as are light, dry and sandy, of which many large tracts in the kingdom lie uncultivated, because the people do not consume what they would produce, which it is proposed to encourage by a bounty.

By such a regulation the agriculture of the kingdom might be vastly enlarged, and arable lands, which are so much wanted, rendered much more plentiful; the poorer lands, which produce little or nothing, might be taken in and cultivated; the sowing of rye, barley, or buckwheat, would save the grass lands, which these sorts of grain do not require, as wheat does; this would afford a greater plenty of cattle, as well as of corn; and by having a variety of different sorts of Corn, if one fails, we might have plenty of the other, as often happens; and thereby likewise prevent the uproars and tumults which so frequently happen, from the least failure in the single crop of wheat.

To sum up all the advantages of such a bounty on Corn consumed, of a reduction of the taxes on the necessaries of life, and of a tax on horses, they are the following:

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I. Such a regulation would reduce the price of Provisions, as well as of those articles of daily consumption, which render every thing dear, and even the most absolute necessaries of life themselves.

II. It would relieve our Trade and Manufactures, which are otherwise likely to be ruined.

III. It would provide for the poor, and lessen their numbers; and the tax would be saved both in the Poores rates and the price of labour.

IV. The consuming of Rye, Oats, Barley, and Buckwheat among the poor, and among the Labourers and Workmen, would increase the export of Wheat, which may otherwise be lost, from this dearth, and the frequent prohibitions of it.

V. These sorts of Grain would be proper crops for the poor and uncultivated lands, and bring them into culture, which the bounty would encourage.

VI. And an enlargement of Agriculture, by these means, would increase the number of people, who appear to be only bred in the country, and to decrease in the towns, to which they resort, for want of such employments in Husbandry.

If by these means the poor of the kingdom could be maintained, and the number of people increased, the advantage would be much greater than any that has been mentioned. Whether that could be done or not, it appears to be past doubt, that there is no way to keep the poor from being a public charge, but to give

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give them lands to cultivate. They are poor for want of the necessaries of life, and they can only get these from the produce and culture of lands. It is chiefly from the monopoly of the farms by those of better circumstances, who endeavour to save the expence of tillage, and thereby deprive the poor of their labour, that they come to be so numerous. Therefore, if they were to be provided with farms proportioned to their circumstances, or to cultivate the commons and waste lands, it would undoubtedly very much reduce their numbers. The commons in *England* seem to be set apart for that purpose, and as they are now inclosed, if the poor were to be set about the cultivation of them, they might no doubt get a living by it, and free the public from a great part of that heavy charge. Upon these they might raise Peas, Beans, Buckwheat, Potatoes, feed swine*, &c. and thereby both maintain themselves, and help to supply the markets; which would very much reduce the price of Provisions. The poor of *England* are reckoned to be an eighth part of the people, or 700,000, who do nothing but eat at the public expence, consume the

* The proper food for hogs, and what they are fondest of, are *Jerusalem Artichokes*; which may be planted by the poorest, as *Potatoes* are, and upon the meanest lands, which might be much improved and brought into culture by them. Plant a piece of ground with these, as you do *Potatoes*, either in Spring or Autumn, and the next Autumn or Winter turn hogs upon it, they will till it much better than a plough, or a fallowing, by which it will bear any sort of Corn. I never knew the experiment tried but once, but it was with very great success. A piece of poor sandy land, that

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the Provisions which they have no hand in making, and thereby very much increase their price. But if they were to be set about the cultivation of lands, instead of Manufactures in Workhouses, they might soon lower the price of Provisions, and bring the poor and waste lands into culture and tillage; to which the proposed bounty on their produce would be a very great encouragement: And if the numbers of poor, with their increase, were to be employed in this manner, they might soon cultivate all the waste lands in the kingdom.

Such an enlargement of the Agriculture of the nation, whether it is done by the poor; or by the encouragement of a bounty, would, moreover, make lasting improvements, and shew our enemies, how much they are mistaken concerning our resources. They imagine, the improvements of the lands, the chief support of all nations, are carried to the greatest height they are capable of in this kingdom; whereas ours, say they, are but begin-

ning, and will soon give us a superiority over them *. But the improvements of this kingdom are so far from being exhausted, that they are hardly yet begun; they are as few as wheat and grass are to the other products of the earth, or as the produce of uncultivated lands is, to what they would yield by culture. Were all the lands in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* duely cultivated, they would maintain as many people as the greatest part of *France*; which we may conclude from the Corn and grass they produce †. And if this nation were to exert itself in agriculture, both at home and abroad, as well as in trade and navigation, and to give but a very small moiety of that encouragement

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that would hardly bear any thing, was planted with these roots, and the hogs being put upon it, they turned it up to the very bottom, and made it like a *hog-sye*; by that means it bore good tobacco, which requires the richest land of any thing that grows, and better than any sort of Corn. If such a practice could be brought into use, like the sowing of Turneps for Sheep, it might be as great an improvement, as that is well known to have been, if not a greater, as hogs both manure and till the ground. By that means you might increase your stock both of Hogs and Corn, which would render all other Provisions cheap; and these roots would maintain the poor as well as Potatoes, which might answer the same purpose.

* *Vid. le Progres de Commerce. View of England, &c.*

† Trees are known by their fruit, and land by the Corn and Grass it produces, which are the fruits of the earth; and in which no part of the world that we have seen exceeds *England* and *Ireland*. Both the strong and loamy soil, and moist climate, equally contribute to produce the greatest plenty of these necessaries of life, which are the support both of man and beast, and on which all others depend. This is likewise the soil that is more peculiarly adapted to Wheat, the Trade in which the *French* for that reason will find themselves very much mistaken in their expectations of getting from *England*. There is but one *Pays de Beauce* in all *France*, but there are many such in *England*. Even the poorer and sandy lands in *England* frequently have a loamy sand at bottom, and as good as what we have seen called a clayie foundation in other countries. To let such lands, therefore, lie uncultivated, and to complain of a dearth and scarcity in such a fruitful land as this, must be owing to some mismanagement or other, which we have endeavoured to point out, and is a shame to the people.

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to the one, which she lays out upon the other, she might make the arts of peace as great a terror to her enemies as the late war; and defend herself from daily insults by these, as well as by her fleets, which the income from her lands would support. You may see by their *View of England*, that they dread the Corn Trade alone, more than all the other resources of this nation; and that is certainly not carried to half the extent it is capable of, or that might be expected from an additional bounty. It is well known, how much the bounty on the exportation of Corn has improved the agriculture of this kingdom, but the proposed bounty on the home consumption would exceed that as sixteen to one, as we shall hereafter shew.

Now if all these advantages may be obtained from a tax on dogs and horses, which would, moreover, be a signal benefit in itself, it certainly ought not to be delayed. Such a tax indeed appears to be absolutely necessary, not only to answer all these purposes, to reduce the price of provisions, and thereby to save the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, but likewise to preserve the Corn Trade and agriculture of the nation; which they are most interested in, who will be most affected by this tax; and it will therefore be for their benefit, who will have the only reason to complain of it, meaning the farmers and country gentlemen who keep such numbers of horses, and who are perhaps only entitled to such a ruinous privilege. We are told,

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told, that there have not been less than six prohibitions laid on the exportation of Corn within these nine years, since horses have become so numerous; whereas before that, when there was not half the number in the kingdom, we had but three such prohibitions in sixty-eight years*, since the bounty was first granted. If this is duly considered, there cannot be a better argument given, nor a greater necessity shewed, for a tax on horses. From this it appears, that *horses are a prohibition of the exportation of Corn*, the chief staple of the land, on which the prosperity and welfare of the nation so much depends; in which the landed interest is so much concerned; and without which the farmers think they could not live, nor pay their rents. They all complain loudly of these prohibitions, which they themselves occasion, by keeping such a number of horses; for however they may find their interest in such a mal-practice, and think they may convert their lands to any use they please, the people will and must have bread before their beasts.— If they may think themselves aggrieved, by

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade.—These three prohibitions were in 1698, when the Corn Trade was hardly established, and in 1709 and 1740, after the two hard winters.—As for the prohibitions since the year 1756, it is well known there have been several, when there were no such causes for them; although we have not had time to examine the exact number, and must take that upon trust; but one of the four mentioned by our more accurate author, here quoted, was in 1757, within the nine years here mentioned.

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being obliged to plow their grass grounds, which they have raised to such an extravagant price by means of horses, and thereby pervert the use for which the earth was made; or if they are obliged to parcel out their large farms, and to let the people have the use of the lands which nature itself intitles them to in their *own land*, on which they were bred and born; if these may be a loss to any, we say, it is proposed to give them a bounty for it; and such a one as may redound as much to their interest, as to the benefit of the whole nation.

Whatever tax may be laid upon horses for these uses, it should be sufficient to reduce their numbers, to lower the price of Corn and provisions by a bounty upon them, and to defray that charge which they create. For these purposes many would have a tax of five pounds a head laid upon horses; but suppose it were only twenty shillings upon horses kept for pleasure, and ten shillings upon draught horses, with five shillings a head on dogs, these would be sufficient to answer the chief purposes proposed; if it be not to reduce the number of horses, which those who keep them would hardly part with for such a fine; for that reason, it will be necessary to make this tax higher: And in order to lower the price of provisions, which such a number of horses render so immoderate, it will be as necessary to give a bounty on these, as to lay a tax upon the others; and to relieve this dearth of provisions by the causes of it, by making the tax on horses pay this bounty on the necessaries of life.

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What such a tax might bring in, can only be determined from the number of horses, which is very uncertain. Suppose their number is 500,000, or one for every twelve persons in the kingdom, and that one half of these are kept for pleasure; twenty shillings on these, and ten upon the rest, would clear 375,000 *l.* The number of dogs again cannot be less than one for every house, or a million in all, which consume a great part of the bread of the poor; a tax of five shillings a head on these would fetch 250,000 *l.* and the two amount to 625,000 *l. per annum*, which is nigh five times the bounty on the Corn exported*, and might very well be increased to 800,000 *l.*, if not more, according to the following accounts.

With this it is proposed to lay a bounty of 3*s.* a quarter on *rye* or *sprat*; 2*s.* 6*d.* on *barley*; 2*s.* on *oats*; and 1*s.* 8*d.* on *buckwheat*; or any other like bounty that may be thought proper. The particular manner of collecting such a bounty, as well as the payment of it, are submitted to better judges. But as it is proposed to be given only on what is consumed in food, or ground to meal, it is presumed, the quantity might be easily ascertained at the mills; and as these sorts of meal are only used by the poor, or by the Labourers and Workmen, for whose use the bounty is intended, it would be subject to fewer frauds from the claim of others.

* The bounty on the Corn exported, on an average of the last 19 years, is 138,342 *l. per annum*, and but 89,102 *l.* since it first commenced.

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The remainder of this tax is proposed as a substitute for the taxes on these or other *articles of daily consumption*, as the late additional tax on *beer, candles, soap, salt, leather, and coals*, which are used by all, and by the very poor. It is these taxes on the necessaries of life, that render them so dear; and if we would afford any real relief in the present general complaint of a dearth of every thing, we should at least take off these taxes on labour and articles of general consumption, which render every thing dear that the country produces; and have always been justly complained of, and much more in these times of dearth. And there can be no more reasonable nor proper time to obtain these great and desired ends, by a tax on horses, than when every one feels the bad effects of what they destroy and consume.

If any may think these taxes too high, the only alternative seems to be, to oblige them to part with their horses altogether, and to send them out of the country, as they were lately obliged to do in *Bermudas*, rather than to starve the people, and to ruin the Trade and Manufactures of the kingdom. These must be the unavoidable consequences of the present dearth, if it continues, which there appears to be no effectual way to prevent, so as ever to bring Provisions to a moderate price in this kingdom, where every thing is so dear, unless you reduce the number of horses, for which the tax upon them

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them is intended; and which would by that means rid great numbers of a needless expence, and perhaps prevent their ruin, as well as that of the nation. It is only to vye with one another in shew and expence, that every one must keep coaches and horses, whether they can afford it, or not; and as sumptuary laws are highly wanted in this kingdom on many accounts, let them be begun with horses, which are the most expensive of all, and affect the subsistence, we may say, the very existence of the people.

It is true, a solid and substantial expence of the produce of a country, by those who can afford it, is rather an advantage than a detriment to a nation; but that advantage arises from the maintaining of so many people, and not of horses; from the feeding of the poor by their labour, and not from the starving and expulsion of the people by beasts. This is an expence, which is so far from employing the people, that it totally obstructs it, and deprives them of their livelihood. Horses not only render the necessaries of life so dear, that the poor cannot purchase them, nor can others afford to employ them, but they obstruct the Agriculture or Tillage of the kingdom, and thereby hinder the breeding and employing of more people, than all other occupations put together will maintain, while no others can thrive without this; hence this expence in horses is the greatest loss that this nation, which wants nothing so much as people, can well sustain. To save

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save the expence of horses to their owners, they are kept on Grass, but that renders them much more expensive, and perfectly ruinous, to the nation; the Grass grounds of *England* are more than half the country, small as it is, and half the people are thereby deprived of a subsistence by Agriculture, without which no nation will ever thrive or prosper. The maintaining of horses in that manner is a certain expulsion of the people, as it deprives them of their labour, and affords them no subsistence. It appears from what we shall shew in the Appendix, that this nation has not land enough to maintain as many people as it wants, and much less such a number of horses with them; they therefore ought to be extirpated, that we may have people in place of them, especially when their uses may be so easily dispensed with.

The use of horses is in the first place for races, which might certainly be dispensed with, to save the Trade and Manufactures of the kingdom, and to keep the poor from starving. Now, as these are the most useless, but the most expensive of any, we can see no harm in saving the bread of the poor, which they consume, by abolishing this custom of racing, with the Bear-gardens, which are both so peculiar to the *English* nation *. Coach and Saddle-horses
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* The public encouragement given to races seems to render the number of horses much greater than is needful, and to make every one fond of keeping them, rather for sport and diversion, than for any utility, public or private.
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are indeed more useful upon occasions; but as these are kept more for pleasure than for profit, they who can afford to keep them, may afford to pay the proposed tax upon them; and we

This custom, and the public encouragement given to it, seem to have been introduced, or at least to have so much prevailed, from the want of horses in the kingdom, at the time of the *Spanish* Invasion; but if any such encouragement or inducement to the breeding of horses was then wanted, it has had its full effect, and seems to be as improper now, as it might then have been wanted. This is one of the great expences of the *English* nation, both at home and abroad, and if they would abridge their expences, which the circumstances of the nation so much require, this is the first that might well be dispensed with.

If it is alledged, that this may hurt the breed, cannot an encouragement be given to the breeding of horses for use and profit, rather than for a mere expence and certain loss? The use that is made of this breed is, to export great numbers of them, and thereby to ruin ourselves at home, in order to supply our enemies with *English* horses; which are in great request among them, since our cavalry gained such reputation in the late wars, and for that reason such numbers have ever since been bred for this *national* use. But formerly, in the greatest prosperity of this nation, horses were imported from *Flanders*; and an ox, which will now sell from twelve to twenty pounds, was not then worth above four or five, notwithstanding there was then more money in the kingdom than there is at present. It is shewn by *Dr. Davenant*, that at the time of the Revolution, there were eighteen millions and an half of coin in *England*; but now it is reckoned to be reduced to one half. It is therefore a mere vulgar error, to attribute the dearth of every thing in the kingdom to the plenty of money. The dearth of every thing else proceeds from the high price of Provisions, which is chiefly occasioned by the number of horses.

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doubt not, but they would be very willing to be of such a signal service to their country; to shew their regard for the Trade and Manufactures of the nation, on which its very being depends; and to extend their humanity and charity to the poor, by maintaining the greatest part of them, as well as the Tradesmen and Workmen who supply them with necessaries, only for forty shillings a year. They would soon save five times that sum in the price of labour, and the Poores rates.

The most necessary horses are such as are used in Carts and Waggon, and if these could be freed from the tax, without including twice or thrice as many more, it might be very proper.

As for Plough-horses, which many seem to think so necessary, they should rather be prohibited. The dearth of Provisions seems to be owing to the use of these among the Farmers, more than to any other cause. They are at such an expence in breeding and keeping such fine horses as you may see in their teams, that it is impossible they should raise a stock of cattle with them; and as they are only bred for sale, they are afraid to spoil them with plowing. Were they to be at such an expence in horses, merely for the plough, they would soon leave them off for oxen*; and thereby supply the markets with

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* It has been found by the experience of all who have ever tried, that oxen are much cheaper, and more serviceable, either in a plough or cart, than horses. But by the pre-

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Provisions, which the others consume. It is from this custom of breeding horses by Ploughmen, that the best part of the lands in *England* lies in grass, and the greatest part of the rest is uncultivated. If any of the Farmers may be

preposterous method of yoking them used in *England*, with a chain between two, they only draw with one side, and cannot exert above half their strength, while they constantly baulk one another; although even in this manner their draught is much more steady than that of horses — But the right way is to put them in harness like a horse, either with a collar and hems about the neck and shoulders, on which the whole weight of their body falls, as well as their muscular strength; or the traces should be fastened to a board hung over their horns, and upon their forehead, on which they exert the force of their neck, in which the strength of an ox lies, as that of a horse does in his heels. The one seems to be made for running, and the other for drawing by the neck and horns. But we should think, that both these ways of harnessing oxen should be joined together; or a pair of traces should be set on about their neck and shoulders, and another from these to their horns or forehead, on which they might exert both the weight of their body, and strength of their neck at the same time, and relieve the one by exerting the other. The last way of yoking them by the horns, as it is called, is practised with good success in most parts of *Europe*; and the first method of harnessing them, like a horse, has been long practised by a Gentleman of great knowledge and experience, who has made very great improvements by it. — By that means you may trench the ground three feet deep, as they do in gardens, and thereby have a new mould in every ploughing; which, if you would do in the deep loamy soil of *England*, it would yield Corn in the greatest plenty. — If the roots of Corn or Grass, or even of an Onion, or little *Ranunculus*, have a good depth of mould, they will penetrate two and three feet deep; it is for this reason, that we are at such pains to trench the ground for Flowers, but neglect it for Corn.

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aggrieved by a tax on horses, they would be abundantly repaid by the additional bounty on Corn, and by saving the present bounty on Wheat.

From the proposed bounty on Corn consumed at home, paid by this tax on horses, there will be less occasion for reducing the bounty on the exportation of Wheat, which will otherwise soon become necessary, if it is not already; or at least will soon be deemed proper, and clamoured for by the people, for the reasons given above *. If a bounty on Corn is not given to our own Workmen and Manufacturers, as well as to Foreigners, it seems to be necessary, in such a general dearth of every thing, to reduce the bounty on exportation; which, if it may be an encouragement to the growing of Corn, is certainly a tax upon the home consumption. If this may be a discouragement to Agriculture, there seems to be no alternative, but to allow a like bounty to our *own* Workmen and Poor. If the Corn and Provisions of this kingdom are exported, when they are either so scarce, or so dear, that the people cannot afford to carry on their Trades and Manufactures with them, they will be unable to purchase them at any rate; the Landowners and Farmers will lose the vent of their commodities, by endeavouring to secure a good price for them; and the nation will run a

* Note, p. 64.

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risque of losing nine or ten millions a year, in Trade and Manufactures, by endeavouring to gain 650,000*l.* by Corn, as we have shewn above. It is therefore absolutely necessary, either to reduce the bounty on the exportation of Corn, or to allow a like bounty on the home consumption, as we have so often shewn. Unless some such expedient is thought of, this ruinous dearth will be so far from ceasing, that it is daily increasing, as we may see from what has happened for many years past; all the causes of it daily grow more prevalent, and increase one another; the decline of Trade obstructs Agriculture, and the decay of this ruins Trade, till the nation will be unable to support either.

It ought to be seriously considered, and attended to, what we have so often inculcated, that so long as this dearth of every thing continues, as it is likely to do, the very resources of this nation may be cut off, both in its Trade and Manufactures; we may purchase foreign commodities by Trade, in order to support the reigning luxury, but cannot expect, that they will take ours at such prices, to pay for them. The balance of Trade, which is already suspected to be against *Britain*, will then be such a drain, that the nation may soon have no money left. This there appears to be no way to prevent, but to reduce the immoderate price of all the necessaries of life by some means or other. If that cannot be done by some other expedient,

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it will soon occasion a general outcry for a repeal of the bounty on Corn exported, if not of the exportation with it, as it seems already to have done; and these may indeed become necessary, unless the nation is secured against the ruinous state, with which it seems to be threatened. Notwithstanding any advantages that have been, or may be, received from the exportation of Corn, the only use of it is, to maintain the people of the land, and not their rivals or enemies; the exportation is only allowed for that purpose, in order to supply ourselves better and cheaper by means of it; but if it once comes to be so dear, that it interferes with the home consumption, and with Trade and Manufactures, it should be prohibited. The exportation is only allowed to encourage the Farmers to grow Corn, and to render it cheap; which if it does not do, some other regulation should be made for that purpose. In doing this, equal care should be taken not to discourage the Farmers to grow Corn, nor to hurt the people by the price. Now to obtain both these ends, if the bounty on the exportation of wheat is reduced from five to four shillings a quarter, and the exportation price from forty-eight to forty shillings, for the reasons above-mentioned; * that shilling deducted from the bounty on the exportation, should be given as a bounty on the home consumption, either of that or any other grain, which may be more profitable for the

* *Ibidem.*

farmers

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farmers to grow, and for the nation to consume. —It should always be considered, that it is only the exportation of wheat and malt that are of any great service to this nation; the exportation therefore of other sorts of grain should be prohibited, in order to supply the home consumption with them, and to increase the exportation of wheat and malt, which is so much more considerable and more valuable. Such a prohibition of barley, rye and oatmeal may at least be proper, till the nation is supplied with a sufficient quantity of them for a general consumption at home, which it is not at present.

Now if this is done, if the bounty on wheat is reduced from five to four shillings, and the exportation of rye, barley and oatmeal, is prohibited, it will make a saving of 35,774*l.* a year, in the bounty now paid on exportation; which may be added to the tax on dogs and horses, and given for a bounty on the home consumption of Corn; either to the grower, or to the consumer, whichever may be thought most expedient. Whether the one or the other receives it, they will both reap the benefit of it.

From this state of the whole, the proposed tax and bounty may be stated and accounted for in some such manner as the following, according to the rate that may be deemed most proper; and that from the known quantities of Corn consumed for food in *England*, which have been carefully computed by our praised author on the Corn Trade, as they are here stated, leaving out the odd numbers.

To

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To state this tax and bounty at the lowest rate, it seems to be the following.

Dr. Bounty on Corn consumed.

	Qrs.	£.
Rye	1,000,000 at 2 s. 6 d.	125,000
Barley	1,000,000 2 s.	100,000
Oats	1,700,000 1 s. 8 d.	141,666
Total	3,700,000	366,666

Per Contra Cr.

Tax on 250,000 coach and saddle horses at 1 l.	250,000
250,000 draught horses at 10 s.	125,000
1,000,000 dogs at 5 s.	250,000
	<u>625,000</u>
Bounty on Corn deduct	366,666
Remains for taxes on necessary articles	258,334

But as this tax on horses would not be sufficient to reduce their numbers, for which it is most wanted and intended, it should be raised at least to forty shillings a head on horses kept for pleasure; unless some higher tax may be deemed necessary for that purpose, as it seems to be: and that would afford a greater bounty on Corn, if requisite; which we cannot think it will be, as the bounty here proposed is equal to that on exportation, and is 15 per cent. on the value*.

At

* The bounty on rye exported is three shillings and sixpence a quarter; barley two shillings and sixpence; oatmeal

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At this rate the tax and bounty will stand as follows.

Dr. Bounty on Corn consumed.

	Qrs.	£.
Rye	1,000,000 at 3 s.	150,000
Barley	1,000,000 2 s. 6 d.	125,000
Oats	1,700,000 2 s.	170,000
Total	3,700,000	445,000

Per Contra Cr.

Tax on 250,000 coach and saddle horses at 2 l.	500,000
250,000 draught horses at 10 s.	125,000
1,000,000 dogs at 5 s.	250,000
	<u>875,000</u>
Bounty on Corn deduct	445,000
Saving of Bounty on Corn exported	430,000
	<u>35,000</u>
Total for taxes on necessary articles	465,000
But	

meal two shillings and sixpence: and as two quarters of oats make but one of oatmeal, the bounty of two shillings on the Corn would be four shillings a quarter on the meal, which is a very high bounty, and nigh equal to that on wheat, which is but five shillings a quarter. To make oatmeal equal to barley, the bounty on it should be but two shillings and sixpence a quarter, and one shilling and three pence on oats; but this bounty is allowed on oatmeal, as it seems to be the food most generally used and coveted by workmen, where they cannot afford to pay for wheat; although barley is rather cheaper, and might be more encouraged by giving a less bounty on oatmeal. A bounty

But as plough horses appear to be highly prejudicial, they should be taxed as high as those kept for pleasure, if not higher, after the farmers have had time allowed to provide oxen, which might be in three or four years; now if we suppose there are 100,000 of these, at 40s. a head, they would raise the tax 150,000 l.; which would serve for other purposes, besides those proposed, as it would allow a saving of 615,000 l. *per annum*, after paying a bounty on half the Corn consumed in the kingdom.

How far this would answer the other end proposed in taking off the taxes on the *necessary articles of daily consumption*, as well as in allowing a bounty on Corn, will appear from the following accounts of them. The sums here mentioned, as far as we can distinguish them in the accounts of the revenue, from the other articles with which they are blended, seem to exceed the duties on the necessary and daily consumption; and are more than twice or thrice

bounty on sprat should be equal to that on rye, as they are both winter grains, and occupy the ground for the year; but barley and oats only for half a year. But although that will probably be sown, when it comes to be known, we have made no allowance for it, as it is not consumed, no more than buckwheat; which if they come to be used, would only lower the consumption of the others, on which a bounty is here accounted for; that is, for the whole consumption of the nation for all sorts of Corn, except wheat; which is sufficiently encouraged by the bounty on exportation, and should be kept for that purpose.

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as much as the taxes on what is consumed by the labourers, tradesmen, and poor, who are chiefly to be regarded.

	£.
Duty on Salt	160,000
Candles	140,000
Soap	40,000
Leather	90,000
Coals	60,000
Beer, suppose	50,000
	540,000
Saving of tax on dogs and horses	615,000
Remains for the interest of the unfunded Debts, } or other uses	75,000

This is upon a supposition, that the plough horses would be 100,000; but as their number, it is hoped, would be reduced by the tax, so the number of horses may be many more than we have computed them, and are daily increasing, as they are likely to do, notwithstanding such a tax; many reckon there are not less than a million in the kingdom, a tax on which would raise a million and a half a year, exempting those which are necessary. Now if that or any such thing could be done, of what service might it not be to this nation, both in paying the interest on the unfunded and other public debts, and in lowering the duties and impositions on trade, as well as the necessities of life.

In a trading nation like this, nothing whatever should be taxed but *lands, houses, articles*

of luxury, or personal and actual property, when that becomes necessary. To lay duties on trade, or taxes on the necessaries of life, which so much affect it, particularly the most profitable branches of trade, the manufactures of the kingdom, is to tax your property before you get it, which is the way never to have it. To see taxes laid on such necessary articles of life as those here mentioned, when such prejudicial articles of pleasure as horses go free, is a reproach to any trading nation, and may be the ruin of this. By these means it is to be suspected, that this nation, whose very being depends upon trade, may be a loser by it; and that the vast balance which is against Britain in most parts of the world, with 1,300,000 l. a year constantly going out of it for nothing, may drain the nation of all the treasure it has.

To obtain so many and signal advantages, if it were only to take off these taxes on the necessary articles of daily consumption, which are used by every one, and are necessary even for the poorest; which raise the price of labor, enhance the value of all its produce, render our manufactures so dear that we cannot vend them, and occasion a dearth even of the most absolute necessaries of life, as well as of every thing in the kingdom; to be relieved from such a heavy and daily burden, we say, to preserve the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, to save the nation from ruin by that means, and to

to keep thousands from starving, who would scruple to pay a tax on their dogs and horses?

The other and principal end proposed by this tax and bounty was, to relieve the distresses of the poor, and to supply the labourers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, at a cheaper rate; and how far they may answer this end also, will appear from this account of the quantity of Corn, which

The people of England annually consume in food, viz.

				Qrs.
Wheat	—	—	—	3,750,000
Rye	—	—	—	1,000,000
Barley	—	—	—	1,000,000
Oats	—	—	—	1,700,000
				<hr/>
Total (which is 10 bushels a head per annum)				7,450,000
One half	—	—	—	3,725,000
Paid a bounty on	—	—	—	3,700,000

Thus the tax proposed would pay a bounty on half the Corn consumed in the kingdom; and as that bounty is 2 s. 6 d. on a quarter of Corn, take one sort with another, which is worth 17s. 8d., it is a seventh part of the value, or 15 per cent.; consequently, this bounty would maintain half the people in the kingdom for nigh two months in the year on free cost; and would supply all the Labourers, Workmen, and Manufacturers, with bread, for three or four months in the year for nothing; which would very much reduce the price of their labor, and
of

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of every thing they make, while they themselves might get a better living by them.

Moreover, one half of the Corn consumed in the kingdom is sixteen times as much as is exported, the export being but a thirty-secondth part of the consumption*; therefore, this bounty on the home consumption would exceed that on exportation, as sixteen to one; it would be a much greater advantage to the landed interest, and to the Farmers, as well as to the trading and manufacturing interest of the kingdom, which the other bounty on exportation discourages; it would encourage and promote Agriculture, by which such a number of people are both bred and maintained; by which the rest are supplied with the necessaries of life, and the nation is chiefly supported. Now to obtain these advantages, besides all the others above-mentioned, and to be of this signal service to their country, who would scruple to pay forty or fifty shillings a year for their dogs and horses? Every one who wish well to their country, or even consult their own interest, would desire and petition for such a tax, in order to be relieved from those grievous and ruinous taxes, which they are obliged to pay on every morsel of bread they put in their mouths, and every thing else they use; which cost them twice or thrice as much as the taxes amount to, heavy as they are; this they may see, among many other

* See the Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 144.
instances,

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instances, by the late additional tax on beer; which has been highly complained of, not only on that account, but as that is the only drink of our Labourers and Workmen, and seems to be so necessary for them in this climate, that they cannot perform their labour without it.

They who can afford to keep dogs and horses, may well afford to pay forty or fifty shillings a year for such purposes as these; when great numbers are unable to live by paying such heavy taxes, and high prices, for every thing which they, or their children, put in their mouths, and are daily obliged to use.—As dogs and horses raise the price of Provisions to such an height, the frugal and industrious Tradesman is by that means obliged to pay for the extravagancies of the Fox-hunters, Racers, and others; and the very poor, and even the beggars, pay for the coaches of the richest, in every morsel of bread they eat; which they might much better afford to do, were it in any thing else. To make dogs and horses, therefore, relieve these burdens on the poor, is only to put the saddle on the right horse. They who keep them should consider, that it is the poor who maintain the rich, and make their fortunes.—A few idle Gentlemen, who do nothing but live on the rest, and keep dogs and horses, are hardly to be considered in a state, otherwise both they and their country will soon come to be of very little consideration.—For want of employment and bread, and from the excessive
deariness

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dearths of every thing, the poor are obliged to desert the country; after which the Gentlemen must provide for their dogs and horses themselves.—This nation loses so many people in its many large towns at home, which increase so fast; in its foreign Trade, and many Plantations abroad, which have been lately extended in climates that seem to be calculated to destroy its people; that it will soon, in the way it goes on, have no people left, unless the poor are provided for, and can find a subsistence, at a cheaper rate.—This seems already to have happened in *Ireland*, and will soon be the case in *England*.—The enormous expences of this nation, in foreign articles, extirpate the poor, and are very ill suited to its circumstances.—It might be easy to mention only a few, among many, besides dogs and horses, which cost at least four or five millions a year, as much as all the public debts amount to.

Upon the whole, as this tax would afford a bounty on one half of the Corn consumed in the kingdom, and consequently for all the Labourers, Tradesmen, Manufacturers, and Poor, who would at the same time be relieved from those ruinous taxes on the articles of daily consumption, which, with the high price of Provisions that is daily rising, threaten the total ruin of this nation; such a general and public benefit, which has been so long wanted, and so much desired, must be looked upon as an advantage infinitely greater, than any inconvenience

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venience that may arise from a tax on dogs and horses; especially as that tax would be the greatest benefit in itself, were it not appropriated to these signal services; and is only a tax on the unnecessary articles of luxury, intended to defray a public and necessary charge, which they create. This would still be of much greater service, not only to the public in general, but to every individual in the kingdom, as it appears to be the only probable, if not possible, method of reducing the present, and preventing the future much higher price of Provisions; which is so loudly complained of by all, and severely felt by many. Such a tax and bounty would, in a word, relieve the distresses of thousands, give bread to the poor, and plenty to the rich; would increase the numbers of people in the nation, enlarge the Agriculture of the kingdom, and save its Trade from declining, its Manufactures from decaying, and the nation from ruin.

And there can be no more proper nor seasonable time, if ever such another opportunity may offer, to do these signal services for the nation, than when all feel the bad effects of the want of them, and may be satisfied of their condition by such a sensible conviction. It has been suspected, that this nation never sees any thing, but when she feels it; so that, if this opportunity is suffered to slip, we may forget and neglect the situation we are in, till it is past retrieving;

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triving; and may cry out *again*, when we are unable to help ourselves. If any branch of Trade, the Corn Trade, or any other, is once lost, it is not so easily recovered again. Trade once lost is like a rapid river, which takes another course, and is not to be brought back to its former channel. But by these frequent prohibitions of the Corn Trade, the nation loses its customers; and by such a high price for Manufactures, it will have none.

By what other methods these great and desired ends are to be obtained, we know not. If any may be more fortunate in finding out a remedy for such dangerous and growing evils, let them declare their sentiments, with freedom and candour, as we have done, for the benefit of their country, and welfare of mankind. To neglect a matter of such importance, is to abandon the nation in its greatest exigencies; and to flatter our hopes with nothing but temporary expedient, is to disappoint it.

P A R T

P A R T II.

FROM the foregoing discourse it appears, that Agriculture is of the greatest consequence to this nation, in supplying it with people, of which it stands in so great need, as well as in maintaining them; that the people of *England* are only bred in the country, and not in the cities or large towns; that by resorting to the towns, and deserting the country, as they have done of late, they appear to decrease in numbers; and that by these means we have not Husbandmen sufficient to supply the kingdom with Provisions, at a moderate and reasonable rate, which is a great cause of their dearth: And it has been said, that this nation has not a sufficient number of people, for its many other extensive concerns both at home and abroad; that the island of *Great Britain* hardly contains land enough to maintain a sufficient number of people for these purposes; and that there is no way either to prevent this loss or decrease of people, or to recruit the want of numbers, but by an enlargement and improvement of Agriculture. These are matters of the utmost consequence, on which the very being of this nation may depend; and which therefore would require a more particular consideration, and discussion, had we time or room for them

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here : But as such very important and interesting concerns ought not to be neglected, we cannot but add some farther thoughts on that subject, which was foreign to our chief design, however it appears to concern the nation, and to merit attention, as much as any other part of it ; and to be the great argument, although generally unknown, which shews a much greater necessity for extending the Agriculture of the nation, and relieving the general dearth of every thing, than seems to be apprehended.

To determine these points, the first thing necessary is, to know the number of people in the kingdom ; for which we have no certain rule but from the number of houses, and of these we have lately had so particular and exact an account, from an actual numeration of them for the tax on windows, that it seems to be entirely satisfactory, and to determine the present number of people in *England* with some certainty, which was never before done. The only doubt remaining is about their number in former times, and whether they decrease or not. Now this doubt chiefly arises from a computation of the number of houses given to Dr. *Brakenridge*, as is above mentioned, from an unknown office, which had got an account of them, in order to lay an intended tax in 1710 ; that makes the number of houses and of people to have been much the same at that time, as they are at present ; and as that agrees with the more certain account taken from the window tax,

tax, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that they both confirm one another, and that the number of people is as great at present as formerly.

But this account in 1710 seems to be contradicted by another in 1692, taken from a numeration of the houses for the tax on hearths ; the first makes the number of houses *then intended* to be taxed, but 729,048, to which one fourth is added for cottages, and that makes the whole number 911,310 ; whereas the account in 1692 makes the whole number of houses 1,175,951 : These accounts therefore make the number of houses 264,641 less in 1710 than in 1692, as we have said ; whereas there is all reason to believe, that the great numbers of foreigners who came into *England*, after the Revolution, from *Holland*, *Germany*, and *France*, between these two periods here mentioned, might have increased the number of people ; or at least that they did not decrease upwards of a million and an half in so short a time, as they must have done, if we allow both these accounts to be genuine. Thus there must be a mistake either in the one or the other of these accounts, and the question is, which is most to be relied upon ?

As for the account in 1710, it is given to us from an office, we know not from what, nor how they came by it ; whether it was from a computation, as is most likely, for a tax that was only intended, but never laid, or from an actual nume-

numeration of the houses; neither does it appear, how many houses, or of what denomination, may be included in that list of those which were only intended to be taxed; so that we cannot tell for certain, what the tax might have cleared, if it had been laid, and consequently we must be very uncertain of the number of houses at that time. And that this was actually the case, appears from the numeration of the houses in 1758 for the window tax, which makes the number of cottages 282,429, whereas by this computation of them in 1710, they were but 182,262, which is a difference of upwards of 100,000 only in the cottages; when there is no reason to suppose, that there could be such a difference between them; on the contrary, they seem formerly to have had smaller houses, or more cottages, than at present. Thus it appears, that this account in 1710 must have been only an uncertain computation, and is not to be relied upon for the number of people at that time, and much less before. The only thing that has given credit to it, is the known ability of the gentleman who has made so good a use of it, and computed the number of people from it at that time, as they appear to be in the present; but that was only from chance and accident, and not from the certainty of the account, which may be very erroneous, for the time in which it was taken, however it agrees with the present; so that from this account we cannot be certain,

certain, whether the people increase or decrease, however we may learn their present number.

The account in 1692, as far as we can learn, is liable to none of those objections and uncertainties, which appear in this of 1710. The houses were then actually numbered for the tax on hearths, as they were in 1758 for the window tax, so that these two are by far the most likely to determine the number of people at that time and the present, and to decide this question concerning their decrease; of which that able hand who computed their numbers in 1710 was not apprised. It is indeed suspected by the ingenious author of the *Traacts on the Corn Trade*, whose accuracy and judgment are so conspicuous in the whole performance, that this account of the number of houses in 1692 might have been from a computation of *Dr. Halley*, and is not therefore to be relied upon; whence he concludes, that the number of houses in *England* seems to have been the same for this century past; which opinion we should likewise be of, could we see any room for suspecting any such uncertain computation of their number in 1692, which account seems rather to have been taken from an actual numeration for the tax on hearths, as that was then known. *Mr. Houghton*, indeed, who gives this account, tells us in the preceding letter, that he had the account of the number of acres in *England* from such a computation of
Dr.

Dr. *Halley*, but mentions none such for the houses; of which he gives a list, and that of the number in each county, as if it were from such an actual numeration, rather than any uncertain computation. If he had the account from any such calculation, it is probable he would have mentioned it, as he does the other for the number of acres; or at least it was a great omission in him not to have done it. The doubt is only to be solved by an account of the number of houses which paid the hearth-tax, of which we can find none but this, as it is above-mentioned*. Unless some other account is to be had, we must look upon this in 1692, to be much more certain than that in 1710, and to give a more certain account of the difference between the number of people in the present and former times.

In the mean time we may be pretty certain of the number of people in *England* at present, from the number of houses taken in 1758, which is confirmed by a like account in 1756, when the inhabited houses were but 961,578, as we have said above. As for the number of people to a house, it is generally found to be six, and that from an observation that every marriage produces four children; thus a house or family consists of two adults, two youths, and two children, which is found to be the proportion of people according to their ages. Some indeed have made a doubt about inmates,

* Page 11.

or servants and lodgers; but as these must belong to some family in which they were born, they do not make the number of people more than six to a house, or family, wherever they may reside. From these accounts therefore, the number of people in *England* cannot be more than five millions, seven hundred and odd thousands, as we have made them above; and as it is very probable, they were nigh 1,300,000 more in 1692, they must have decreased very considerably since that time. Such a decrease of people indeed seems to be unavoidable from their great concourse to the towns, in which they decrease very fast; and as the country is thereby deserted, we cannot have lost less in that, than a million and a half within a century, and perhaps two millions; especially if we consider, how many go abroad, and are taken off by the army and navy, at the same time that they flock to the towns.

If we could at the same time determine the number of people in *Scotland*, we might know the whole number in *Great Britain*; but of these we find no certain account, if it be not, that in *Scotland* they are not computed to be above a million and a half; and as these computations generally exceed the truth, they may probably be fewer*; but of this a more certain

* This computation is made by *Templeman*, who at the same time makes the number of people in *England* eight millions, and in *Ireland* but one million.

account might be had from the window-tax, which we have not been able to procure. Thus if we allow 5,700,000 for *England*, and 1,300,000 for *Scotland*, there are but seven millions of people in *Great Britain*; or seven millions and a half at most. In *Ireland* again they are reckoned to have not above a million; which makes the whole *British* nation at home but eight millions, or eight millions and a half at most; which is but half as many as there are in *France*. This must appear to be but a small number to manage and conduct the many important concerns of this nation both at home and abroad, both in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*; and to defend and secure the many extensive territories which the nation possesses in them all; or to people a tenth part of them; so that it would abundantly appear, what we have so often inculcated, that this nation wants nothing more than people. Some will perhaps say, that it stands in greater need of money; but people will always make money, and bring both wealth and power to a nation; especially where they have so many, and such fruitful funds to cultivate.

This seems to suggest three questions of no small importance, which are, if the people of *Britain* are so few, from what does it proceed? how may they be increased? and how many people might this island maintain? This last may easily be determined from the contents of the whole, and the quantity of land that is requisite to maintain every person.

Now

Now *England* contains 49,450 square miles, according to *Templeman's* survey; and as a square mile makes 640 acres, the contents of the whole are 31,648,000 acres; but *Dr. Halley*, in the computation above-mentioned, makes it to contain but 29 millions of acres; and as the maps used by him were probably more correct than those of *Moll*, from which *Templeman* computed his survey of the globe, the last may be nearest the truth. The quantity of land that every person in a country may require to provide them in food and raiment, with all other necessaries and superfluities, is more uncertain; and must differ according to the soil and climate, and manner of living. Of this, we have met with only one account from observation in *England*, which is given by *Mr. Houghton* in his husbandry, who makes it four acres; and observes, that this quantity is allowed for cottagers by the laws of the land, and is commonly assigned them †. By this com-

† Every person requires so much land for Corn and other vegetable food; for beer, or other drink; for animal food; for cloathing; and they cannot do without tools, which must come from the land; besides superfluities in dogs and horses, gardens, parks, forests, &c. To which if we add Timber, Iron, Hemp, Flax, &c; firewood, fencing, hedge-rows, &c; the quantity of four acres for every person, including all the waste grounds, will not appear to be very great in *England*, where the expence of living is so immoderate.

There is no part of the world, in which this is so well known, or may be so well determined by ample experience,

computation of four acres for every person, including the waste lands, *England* would not

as in *China*; where many circumstances, necessary to determine the quantity of land that every person in a country requires, are to be met with, but not in any other country we know. For, 1. that country has been actually surveyed; 2. the people were actually numbered after the *Tartar* conquest; 3. they have no foreign trade, but must subsist upon the produce of their lands, which they have cultivated to as great a height as the art of man suggests, and far beyond any thing that is to be seen in *Europe*, by all accounts; 4. the country has for many centuries contained as many people as it will well maintain, inasmuch that many are straitened for a subsistence, and whole nations are obliged to live on the waters, and have not so much as a habitation on the land. Now, upon the numeration of the people there were found to be 60 millions of fencible men between twenty and sixty years of age, which cannot be above a fifth part of the people, especially as great numbers of Literati, Mandarins, Bonzes, soldiers, the nations who live on the water, were all exempted out of this *Lustrum*, and are vastly numerous; the number of people must therefore be at least 300 millions, as they are commonly reckoned: and from the surveys of the country it appears to contain about 800 millions of acres; which make two acres and two thirds for each person. Now if we consider the greater fertility of the soil and climate; the many natural productions unknown in *Europe*, which serve for food; the much greater improvement of agriculture; the more frugal way of living; and that they keep few or no horses, gardens, parks, forests, or even a hedge-row, and eat their dogs, &c. this quantity of two acres and two thirds must appear to be equal to four acres in *England*, if not more. Yet *China*, how vastly extended and fruitful it may be, is yet insufficient to maintain its inhabitants. In order for the *Chinese* to be happy, it were necessary that they possessed a country four times as large as their own.—A third part of them would esteem themselves happy, if they had only rice enough to subsist upon. *Travels of the Jesuits*, Vol. i. p. 81.

maintain

maintain above 8 millions of people, as there are but 32 millions of acres in the kingdom at most. This agrees with the computation of Dr. *Brakenridge*, who allows three acres for every person, and supposes, that a fifth part of the country is waste land, so that there are but 25,300,000 acres fit to cultivate, which would maintain 8,430,000 people*. Now as the number of people in *England* is nigh six millions, the whole country would not maintain above two millions, or two millions and an half, at most, more than it now contains. And as a great part of it is uncultivated, seemingly as much as would maintain that additional number of people, the lands in culture are not much more than sufficient to maintain the present inhabitants, and not nigh so many as the nation requires for its many concerns and extensive territories both at home and abroad. Therefore, the keeping of such a number of horses, which starve and extirpate the people, must be much more prejudicial to this nation, than any seem to imagine, or than we have represented it. By that means, it will be impossible for this nation ever to have as many people as it requires; more especially if they would at the same time export Corn, which the people must require for their own use. Accordingly, though the lands in *England* are cultivated with nothing but Corn, yet they do not produce above one

* *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. xlix. p. 278.

thirty-

thirty-sixth part more than the people make and consume; that being the proportion between the export and the growth, including the seed. From all these considerations, it abundantly appears, how necessary it is for this nation to extend its Agriculture, and to reduce the number of horses; and that horses must *prohibit the exportation of Corn*, as we have said above.

As for the other *British* isles; the greatest part of *Scotland* is so barren, and the climate so rainy in the *West Highlands*, that Corn very often will not ripen in it, so that it would maintain but few people; it is reckoned, not much above two millions, or 2,200,000 †. Thus the island of *Great Britain* would not maintain above ten millions of people, or twelve at most; about half as many more as are in it. But as *Ireland* is more fruitful, and contains about 17,500,000 acres, allowing four for each person, as in *England*, since the country is as fruitful, if not more so, it would at that rate maintain 4,400,000 people; and the whole *British* isles about fifteen millions, or sixteen at most, nigh twice as many as they now contain. From this, as well as many other considerations, it appears, how necessary it is for this nation to improve *Ireland*, if she would have people to defend her many and extensive dominions; that is like the taking in of waste and uncultivated lands, of which you are in the greatest want;

† *Id. ibid.*

that

that kingdom is not reckoned to contain above a million of people, whereas by improving that, and extending your Agriculture in *England*, you might maintain at least five or six millions of people more than you have in these two kingdoms alone. And this may be the more necessary, as *France* contains 88 millions of acres, and by their more frugal way of living on vegetable food, although the country is not so fruitful as *England*, it would maintain not less than 22 millions of people, nigh half as many more as they have; although that is not above six millions more than the *British* isles might maintain, if they were duely cultivated, and that for the reasons given above*.

Now as *England* would not maintain above eight or nine millions of people, and a great part of it never was cultivated, it would plainly appear, that there never were eight millions in it, according to the common computation: and from this likewise it appears, that the number of people cannot be greater than we have made them. This likewise increases the doubt, whether there were seven millions of people in *England* at the Revolution. From this some will be apt to infer, that we cannot have lost a million and an half or two millions of people in the country, as we have said; but it would rather appear, that we cannot have lost less, since that number at least is maintained by Trade and the Plantations, and not by the produce of the land;

* Note, p. 81.

which

which for that reason does not maintain above four millions of people, and but half as many as it is capable of doing.

This leads us to consider the next question, if the people of *Britain* are so few, how may they be increased? For this there are two ample fields, both by improvements at home, and in the many plantations of which the nation is possessed abroad. As for the first, you will find, that, notwithstanding all the advantages of trade, many more people are to be maintained by agriculture. To live by trade, is to live upon others, and to take a part of their subsistence which they want themselves, or to supply them with Manufactures which they may make. Hence to gain wealth by trade, you should have wealthy people to deal with, otherwise you can get no riches from them. The great fund for improvement, and for maintaining of people, is therefore upon your own native land, which you seem to neglect for others. It may be observed, that all countries are more or less opulent, according to the fertility of the soil, which is the great fund for maintaining the people both in necessaries and superfluities, or riches. Our writers on trade, indeed, who seem to be unacquainted with agriculture, tell us the direct contrary, and that all countries are more or less opulent, in proportion to their trade, as may be seen by *Holland* and *Venice*, say they: but we do not take these to be countries, they are only ports to others, and that to all

all the most fruitful countries in *Europe*, from which the riches and subsistence of these trading states proceed; and for that reason they are as precarious, as the policy of the states on which they rely. Were it not for the great territorial possessions of the *Dutch* in the *West-Indies*, their income would be as inconsiderable as their country. Thus the only way to maintain a number of people is by the produce of the land, and agriculture is the great source, both of population, wealth and power. The greatest potentates on earth are under an eternal subjection to the plough, and they are most powerful, who make the most and best use of it.

—*Digna manet divini gloria ruris.*

It is justly said by a very great judge, "Such as our employment is for people, so many will our people be *;" but agriculture maintains more people than all other employments put together, and none can be maintained without it. It likewise breeds people at the same time that it affords them a subsistence; and as these want a maintenance from the land, agriculture improves itself, by the people whom it breeds, *crescitque eundo*. And this is the more to be regarded in *England*, as it appears from the observation above-mentioned †, which is there-

* *Child* on Trade.

† Page 15.

fore of the utmost consequence to this nation, and ought to be carefully attended to, that there are no people bred in the kingdom but by agriculture; by which, however, they increase so fast, that in a short time the land would neither hold nor maintain them, were they to be rightly employed in husbandry. Thus there would be no want of people either in *Britain*, or *Ireland*, were they to follow the occupation of husbandmen, and to cultivate their lands in Corn for men, instead of grass for beasts. Without that use of the lands, which is so perverted to support the luxury of a very few, this nation will never be able to breed or maintain half the people it wants. The *Romans* themselves never stood in such need of a *lex agraria*, as the *English*. If you would have people in *Britain*, you should follow the example of *Japan*, which is exactly in the same situation, confined to narrow bounds by the sea, and in want of land to maintain a number of people; where, 'among many excellent laws, which relate to agriculture, they have one, by virtue of which, whoever doth not cultivate his ground for the term of one year, forfeits his title and possession †; and they are at as great care to cultivate their lands entirely in Corn, and have little or no grass at all, by which they maintain five or six times as many people as are in the three *British* isles, although the three isles of *Japan* are not so large, nor nigh so

† *Kempfer's History of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 121.

fruitful.

fruitful. This number of people they are able to maintain, by improvements in agriculture which are unknown in *Europe*, however great we reckon ours to be; and by living almost entirely on vegetable food; whereas in *England* we breed so many beasts, that we extirpate the people by them.

Thus there is nothing wanted to procure a sufficient number of people in *Britain*, and that very soon, but to employ them in a proper manner; which would render the naturalization of foreigners totally unnecessary, although that is otherwise deemed to be much wanted. For this purpose the land should be appropriated only to such uses, as contribute to the support of mankind. Corn should be the chief and almost only produce of the country. This is likewise the proper improvement for *Ireland*, and the way to increase the number of people. By that means also the nation might preserve the Corn Trade, which is otherwise likely to be lost; and would be as great a prejudice, as many reckon it to be a benefit to the nation, were we to have as many people in it as are wanted. It would be impossible for this nation to maintain nigh as many people as it requires, and at the same time to export Corn. That only becomes an advantage from the want of people to consume it, which we can never have without plenty of Corn, nor even without the employing of people to raise it. But the breeding and supporting of a number of people

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by that means would be a much greater advantage to the nation, and particularly to the landed interest, than the exportation of Corn. A number of people would render Corn and land much more valuable than they are. The exportation therefore is only allowed as a temporary expedient, in order to encourage agriculture, till the people come to be so numerous by it, that they may consume all the Corn that the country produces. They would then find, that a supply from *Ireland*, which it is very capable of producing, would be the greatest advantage to this nation; and is indeed absolutely necessary to maintain half the people that are wanted in *England*. For this reason we should encourage the Corn Trade in *Ireland*, in order to promote the agriculture of the country, as much and rather more than in *England*. That may be the only way to keep the trade from falling into the hands of *France*, when there are such frequent prohibitions of it in *England*. It is a sure maxim in trade, says a very good judge*, *all covet, all lose*. This seems to be the proper improvement for *Ireland*, which is suitable both to the soil and climate, and necessary for the welfare and support of the whole nation, if it would study to have as many people as it wants and requires. But instead of that, they there also turn the best Corn lands into grass, and starve and extirpate the people with cattle, as they do in *England*

* Sir *Josiah Child*.

with

with horses. By that means the people are deprived of the benefit of their labor in agriculture; they thereby become so poor and miserable; the country is depopulated, and does not contain a fourth part of the people that it is capable of maintaining.

Another cause of the want of people in *Ireland* is the sowing of Hemp and Flax; which is lookt upon as a great improvement, as it may no doubt be in such a soil and climate, where the people are so few; but so long as they convert their lands to that use, they will never have any number of people. Hemp and Flax destroy the best Corn lands, and deprive the people of bread, wherever they are sowed. It is for this reason, that they are obliged to live upon potatoes, as the very best Corn lands are not only occupied, but totally exhausted, by Hemp and Flax; and they buy Corn for so few people in such a fruitful country. By such a method of agriculture you will never maintain people, but extirpate them, as much as by keeping of cattle and horses instead of them. It is to these two causes that the depopulation of *Ireland* seems to be chiefly owing. This we may learn from the example of the *Ukrain*, and parts adjacent, those rich and fruitful countries, which formerly overran all *Europe*, when the people made nothing but Corn; but by the planting of such quantities of Hemp and Flax, as they now make, they have hardly any people in them,

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and can never maintain any number upon these poisonous weeds, which deprive them of Corn to eat. It is for this reason, that most of the landlords in *England* will not suffer their lands to be sown with Hemp or Flax, under a penalty of five pounds an acre. However this nation may want those commodities, and notwithstanding the soil and climate are both fit to produce them, yet *Britain* is obliged to expend great sums for them, and can never have them of her own growth, without a much greater loss in people, than they are worth. For the same reason these islands will never produce any quantities of *Timber, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Pot-ash,* and many other valuable and necessary commodities. These the nation is deprived of for want of land, and of many others by the climate.

Thus, besides people, *Britain* wants many of the most valuable and necessary commodities. Not to mention *Wine* and *Oil*, she has neither *Hemp, Flax, Silk* nor *Cotton*, the manufactures of which are reckoned to be equal to the woollen.—She has not even *Wool*, to carry on that great branch of her Trade and manufactures.—She is without that necessary article of *Iron*, and is obliged to import two or three and thirty thousand tons a year, when she makes but fourteen thousand of her own—And notwithstanding the great occasion the nation has for trade and navigation, yet *Britain* produces neither materials for *ship-building*, nor *naval stores*;

stores; but is obliged to import great quantities of these from foreign countries, at the same time that most of her ships are built in the plantations, and large supplies of naval stores come from thence.—It is upon these and the like commodities, that this nation expends its treasure to the amount of four or five millions a year, which might be all saved by getting them from the plantations; besides all the advantages of the navigation, which are equal to half their value.

Thus *Britain* is a country of manufactures without materials—a trading nation without commodities to trade upon—and a maritime power without either naval stores, or materials for ship-building.—It is this situation, that renders both trade and plantations so essentially necessary, for the support of this nation, as well as agriculture. By these as many people are perhaps maintained in *Britain*, as by the produce of the lands. It is said by a very good judge, that “every *Englishman* in the plantations creates employment for four at home* ;” but if we only suppose, that every person there employs one at home, the three millions of people we have in *America*, with *Asia* and *Africa*, will almost maintain as many in *Britain*, which are nigh half the people. And as the colonies increase so fast, if you find em-

* *Child* on Trade,

ployments

ployments for them, to support the nation at home, and make them mutually supply one another, the manner of doing which was the first design of this discourse, you might have twice as many people in *Britain*, as the land would maintain. By that means *Britain* might vie with all its enemies and rivals, and maintain more people than all *France*. It was not for nothing, therefore, as many who do not understand trade would persuade themselves, that this nation endeavoured to defend and secure her possessions abroad. It is for the sake of trade, that so many people flock to the towns in *Britain*, which are entirely supported by it; the chief and most profitable branches of which are to the plantations. Were it not for these advantages of trade, both the trading and manufacturing towns of *England*, and especially this capital, would dwindle and go to decay, much faster than they have throve; and the people would decrease in them likewise, more than they appear to have done in the country. This kingdom would suffer still more in its finances, whatever bad situation they may already be in. The three articles of *Tobacco*, *Rice*, and *Fish* alone, bring in a ballance of trade to *Britain* of at least a million a year; not to mention sugar, ships, naval stores, and many other articles which she both vends, and requires for her own use; without which this nation would soon be drained of every farthing of

of money it has; and might be insulted by every fishing vessel upon her own coasts.

If these things are considered, this nation could not subsist, as an independent state, without her colonies; and would neither be able to maintain any number of people at home, nor to defend herself against her enemies abroad. We need only mention what happened in the year 1718, when the *Swedes* and *Russians* leagued together to deprive *Britain* of *naval stores*, and would allow none to be exported out of their dominions, but in their own ships, and at their own exorbitant prices; which must soon have ruined the trade and navigation of this kingdom: But proper measures being concerted for getting those necessary articles from the colonies, they were immediately attended with the desired success, and *Britain* had not only a sufficient supply for her own use, but great quantities to export; by that means, pitch and tar fell from the exorbitant price of three pounds a barrel, which the northern powers had set upon it, to fifteen shillings a barrel, and other naval stores in proportion*; besides which this nation stands in as great need of many other as necessary and useful articles, which are, or might be, as easily obtained from the colonies*. Let those therefore who would say, that the colonies must be the ruin of this nation, consider its condition and situ-

* See *See on Trade*.

ation; if they are, it can only be by their mismanagement.

From this we may see both the use of colonies, and the design and intent of settling them; which is, to supply the nation with such commodities as she has not of her own, and to purchase their necessaries from *Britain* by that means. They should supply their mother country with the materials, of which she has few or none of her own, and get their manufactures for them. By that means they would aid and assist, and support one another; their connection and dependance would be mutual and reciprocal, and consequently lasting and secure. It is by such an establishment, and by that alone, that *Britain* can either reap the benefit, or preserve the allegiance of her colonies, or that they can subsist by a dependance upon her. If they were to be established on such a footing, their allegiance and dependance would be as secure and lasting, as the advantages reaped by it would be great and beneficial. When the colonies make such commodities as are wanted in *Britain*, of which there are many, they depend upon her for the vent of these their products, on which they rely for their daily subsistence; and as *Britain* is the best market in the world for such commodities, that makes their dependance their interest, and interest rules the world. The colonies which make staple commodities for *Britain*, could not subsist without her; they who make none

cannot live by her. This is therefore the way both to govern the colonies, to secure their allegiance and dependance, and to reap the benefit of them. Many indeed think of nothing but keeping them in subjection by the rules and power of government; but the first thing to be considered in governing any people whatever, is, how they are to subsist under that government, without which it will be very difficult to keep them either in awe or order. A few staple commodities would govern the colonies, much better than all the laws or regulations that were ever thought of, and none can be effectual without them. So long as they produce nothing wanted in *Britain*, they can never live under her government, without great complaints on both sides; they cannot then vend their products in *Britain*, on which they rely for a subsistence, and must depend on other powers for the chief part of their support, as we have said above.

But notwithstanding the many colonies which this nation has, very few people in *Britain* seem to know what a colony is, or should be, and are still less acquainted with those in *North America*. Colonies should live *merely by their Agriculture*, without either Manufactures, or Trade, but what is confined to their Mother Country; a way of living of which there are no instances in any part of the world, and which for that reason is so little understood. To maintain a number of people in that manner, merely by the produce of lands, requires ten times more

land than many would allow them, while the colonies in *North America* have not above a tenth part of what many people imagine. They are limited both on the North and West by chains of barren mountains, one beyond another, which confine them to a very narrow slip of land along the sea coast. Within these bounds all our colonies make but three different and distinct countries, and those of no great extent. The four northern colonies are exactly such another country as *Scotland*, and of the same dimensions; the soil is as poor, and the climate much worse.—The two Tobacco colonies, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, adjacent to these, are about as large as one half of *England*, and not so large as *Ireland*.—The two Southern or Rice colonies, *North* and *South Carolina*, are a little larger than *England*, but as barren and unhealthy, as this is the reverse of both.—Thus the *British* Plantations in *North America* make three different countries, the Northern, the Middle, and Southern colonies, which may be compared to the three *British* isles at home, and are about as large*.—Of this it is but a very

* From a careful examination of their several surveys, and a comparison of them with the observations of the longitude and latitude, too long to be here inserted, it appears, that *New-England* and *New-York*, which are one and the same country, divided only by a row of trees marked in the woods, or a little brook, make about three degrees of longitude, and two of latitude, or about 16,000 square miles; below the barren mountains which surround them both in the North and West; and if we take all the mountains out of

very small spot, that produces any thing for *Britain*; not much more than a few Tobacco plantations which have been lately settled in the middle colonies (the rest being worn out with that exhausting weed) and the Rice Grounds or Swamps of *Carolina*, which are so unhealthy, that they destroy more people than they are perhaps worth, especially to this nation, which wants nothing more than people, both at home and abroad.—The climate in the Northern, and the

of this, which are so barren that they are quite bald on top, and hardly produce a tree or a bush, both from the nature of the soil and climate, it would reduce them to a much narrower compass.

New Jersey, and the inhabited parts of *Pennsylvania*, below the mountains, which are likewise one and the same country, make two degrees of latitude, and two of longitude, or about 11,000 square miles; this makes 27,000 square miles for the four Northern colonies; and *Scotland*, by *Templeman's* Survey, contains 27,794.

Virginia and *Maryland* again make one country, lying on *Chesapeak Bay*, which, with the many large rivers that fall into it, are at least a third part of the country for a great distance from the sea, and if we deduct these, the whole contains about 24,000 square miles.—By the accurate surveys of Lord *Fairfax's* territories in the middle of the country, it is but 115 miles broad from *Chesapeak Bay* to the mountains in a straight line; and it cannot be more, since they reckon but 140 miles on a crooked road.

North and *South Carolina* are as large as all the other six taken together, below the mountains, and contain about 51,000 square miles, with the best part of *Georgia*. This makes 102,000 square miles for all the eight colonies. If we allow them 105,000, which is the dimensions of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, it is as much as they contain, and of that a great part is perfectly barren.

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the barrenness of the soil in the Southern, render them unfit to produce any thing of consequence, that this nation wants from them, that is, for *British* colonies.—It is only from the 41st to the 36th degree of latitude, or from the town of *New-York* to the middle of *North Carolina*, that we meet with a tolerable good soil and climate in all that Continent, on this side of the mountains which surround them; and of that it is not one half that produces any thing for *Britain*.—If we go beyond this, either to the North or South, the lands grow worse, till they end in bare rocks, covered with snow, in the one, or barren sands, scorched with the sun, in the other; if it be not here and there in a spot upon the side of a river, no broader than a handkerchief.—No part of that Continent is fit for *Agriculture*, to the northward of the 43d degree of latitude, as would appear from a due account of it; and even there it does not produce *Corn to eat*, in the best part of it, for the few people who are already in it.—The Southern parts again are

The *British* dominions in *North America*, from the North Pole to the Gulf of *Mexico*, contain about 1,600,000 square miles at most; of which one half is constantly frozen, and does not produce so much as a tree, or a bush, or a blade of grass; two thirds are uninhabitable for the same reason; and three fourths of these territories will not produce the necessaries of life, at least by *Agriculture*. It is only the remaining fourth part that is fit to cultivate, and of that our colonies possess but a fourth part, or a sixteenth part of the whole; and cannot well extend their settlements, so as to keep up a correspondence with *Britain*, till they pass the mountains which surround them, and settle on the *Mississippi*.
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rather worse, as they destroy more people than they are worth to this nation; and human nature is not fit to undergo *the slavery of Planters*, in such intemperate and unhealthful climes and situations, if we knew what either of them were.

This is in general a view of the *British* colonies in *North America*, which must be known to all who are acquainted with them, as many pretend to be. To give a particular account of any one of them, would require a treatise of itself, as we know by experience. A due account of the climate of *North America* alone would require a much longer treatise than the one we write. But unless we are well acquainted with that, all our knowledge of the colonies is but dark ignorance; and serves only to mislead many, and to deceive and disappoint the nation. The interest of the nation in the colonies depends entirely upon their staple commodities, as these do upon the soil and climate; without a due knowledge of these, therefore, we can form no judgment concerning the colonies, and much less of the interest of this nation in them. But if we were so much as to enter into an account of any one of these, or a description of the colonies, they would make the tail of this discourse much longer than the body.

To live merely by *Agriculture*, and to purchase all their necessaries by the produce of it, as all colonies should, and would do, if they could, is much more difficult in such a soil and climate as *North America*, than in any other part of the world;

world; it is so difficult, that it is absolutely impracticable in many of them; while these are the only people in the world who are obliged to subsist in that manner. To live by planting, as it is called, or by the making of their present staple commodities for *Britain*, it is found from daily experience in the Tobacco colonies, where they have hitherto subsisted in that manner, that a Planter should have forty or fifty acres of land for every Labourer; where they are reduced to less, they are soon obliged to leave off that manner of living; that quantity of land is required not only to produce their staple commodities, and to supply them with fresh lands as they wear out, but to afford a large range for their stock, which should in a manner maintain themselves, while the people bestow their time and labour upon their staple commodities for *Britain*, otherwise they cannot live by them: But it appears, from a particular inquiry into the number of people and quantity of land, that in many of these colonies they have but ten or twelve acres a head; in others not above twenty; and not a sufficient quantity in any of them, to live *merely* by making Tobacco, Hemp or Flax, if it be not in the Southern or Rice colonies, where the land will neither breed people, nor produce any thing. But if the colonies thus want land to subsist by their Agriculture at present, that is, to live by a dependance on their Mother Country, what can we expect from them in twenty or thirty years, which soon come about in a nation, when their numbers may be double! It will then be as impracticable for

for them to purchase their Manufactures from *Britain*, or to live in that state of dependance on their Mother Country, as it would be for *Britain* to purchase all the Manufactures she uses, without making or selling any. We have said above, that the people of *Britain* would require four acres of land a head to maintain them, and in *North America* ten or twelve would not be sufficient to subsist in the same manner, for the reasons before mentioned. It would therefore make one smile, to see "a question of importance proposed to the "public," in which it is alledged, that these colonies might live on an acre and an half of land for each person, as the *Romans*, *Sabines*, and we know not who, did in the days of yore, it is pretended (probably on rapine and plunder); and that these colonies may spoil the manufactures of *Britain* by purchasing too many of them! But all our late accounts of the colonies seem to be of a piece with this, to be as wide of the truth, and as directly contrary to the interest and welfare of this nation. To confine them even to their present bounds, is to oblige them to become independant of their mother country, whether they will or not. And this is the more to be regarded, especially in *Britain*, as the people in the colonies must increase and multiply much faster, than they do here; since they live almost entirely by their agriculture, the only source of population, perhaps, in any part of the world; which we have been so particular in explaining for that reason.

All this would abundantly appear from a due account of the colonies, of the soil and climate of *North America*, and of what they produce, or may be fit to yield for the benefit of the nation; of which we can only here give a general view; the particulars must be reserved for *an account of the property and interest of Great Britain in North America*, and a particular description of that Continent, compared with the other parts of the world, by which we may be able to form a better judgment concerning it. We can here only give a general view of their staple commodities, on which the interest of the nation more immediately depends; from which it will appear, that these colonies can never purchase their necessaries from *Britain*, or subsist by that dependance upon her, by the present state of their agriculture.—It is expected, they should do this by means of *Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp and Flax*, which are the most unsuitable to their soil, and the two last to the climate, of any thing almost that grows; and it is impracticable to make these or any other productions of the earth, which neither agree with the soil nor climate, the staple of any country whatever.—These commodities require the very best and richest lands, whereas their lands are very poor and mean.—*Tobacco* is one of those rank and poisonous weeds, which only grow on rotten soils and dunghills, such as fresh wood lands, and will not thrive on any others.—To make *Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp or Flax*, especially

especially on their lands, requires more manure than those vile commodities are worth, and more than can possibly be had for them in the soil and climate of *North America*, which produce so little or no grass.—The length and severity of the winters in the Northern colonies, and the badness of the pasturage in the Southern, render it impracticable to maintain stocks of cattle sufficient to manure lands for these commodities, which their lands will not produce, without great quantities of manure.—In the northern colonies they are obliged to expend their manure on their Corn and grass grounds, and have none to spare for *Hemp and Flax*; in the tobacco colonies that weed would require more manure than any country affords, and more than all the cattle and horses in *England* yield; and in the southern colonies their scorching sands in a hot climate will not take manure, by which they are good for nothing, and much less to produce such commodities as these, which many think should be their staple.—These and the like commodities rob the earth of all the nourishment in it, and all the manure upon it, while they afford no sustenance to any thing; and thereby starve both man and beast, as our Planters complain every day, while we are laying taxes upon them here.—At the same time they are obliged to plant *Indian Corn*, which, by its great substance and large spreading root, exhausts the substance of the earth, as much as these their staple commodities; and both together deprive the people of the very neces-

saries of life, instead of affording them a subsistence, by purchasing their necessaries from *Britain*, as many, who appear to be totally unacquainted with those things, imagine they should.

By these means their lands are so exhausted, that they do not produce above a third part of what they used to do. Formerly they made three and four hogheads of tobacco a share, that is, for every labourer, where they cannot now make one; and they used to have fifty and sixty bushels of Corn to an acre of land, where they now reckon twenty a good crop. Thus their lands do not produce above a third part of what they did formerly, when they were fresh and fertile, while the people are twice or thrice as numerous, and require the produce of their lands for their own use; instead of being able to pay taxes, or even to purchase absolute necessaries.

It is by these means, that Corn is three or four times as dear as it was only twenty years ago; it is as dear in the colonies as in *England*, and will soon be much dearer, if the people increase and multiply at the rate they do, and exhaust their lands by planting these and the like commodities. The consequence of this is, it not only renders them unable to plant any thing for *Britain*, before the necessaries of life; but as Tobacco, Hemp and Flax exhaust their Corn and Grass grounds, they hinder the people to raise stocks of cattle, either for their subsistence, or to manure their lands for these crops, and oblige them to keep stocks of sheep; thereby

thereby supplying them with the materials both of their hempen, linen, and woollen manufactures, while they obstruct the growing of other commodities to purchase these their necessaries from *Britain*.—But none seem to consider the necessaries of life in the colonies; the first thing to be considered in all countries, and more especially on plantations, where they have no markets for provisions; these every one is obliged to make for their own use, and thereby waste and consume twice or thrice as much as they do in other countries, where they sell the produce of their farms, and supply themselves at markets.

These colonies have hitherto subsisted upon the gleanings of the woods, and the fertility of the fresh wood lands, which is very great at first; it is only these that produce any quantity of Tobacco, Hemp, or Flax, or any plenty of the necessaries of life; these they are at first obliged to plant with such crops, in order to exhaust the luxuriant fertility of fresh wood lands, and bring them into culture and tillage; but as soon as that is worn out, which is in three or four years at most, they are under as great a necessity of leaving off that method of planting, and making these staple commodities for *Britain*. It is for these reasons, that most of our Planters have been obliged to leave off planting altogether, instead of making improvements in it, with such commodities as Hemp and Flax. Most of our Tobacco plantations are broke up, and turned into Corn and Pasture Grounds, which

which produce nothing but Corn, Cattle, and Wool, the staple of *Britain*; which will soon become the only staple of all these colonies, without some other methods of Agriculture; and that state we only hasten and precipitate them into, by planting Hemp and Flax.

This state of the colonies is more to be regarded, as their pastures will not maintain large cattle, and are only fit to feed sheep and goats, on which they must subsist, as people do in the like soil and climate in all parts of the world. Their Wool is likewise better than the *English*, at least in the Southern colonies; it is of the same kind with the *Spanish* Wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the same management. Sheep likewise maintain themselves, in these Southern Colonies, throughout the whole year, without cost or trouble. Thus by the step which the colonies have lately taken, to raise all the sheep they can, they will soon have plenty of Wool. With this they have already made Cloth worth twelve shillings a yard, which is as good as any that is made of *English* Wool. Some of their Wool has been sent to *England*, where it sold for the price of the best; although this was from a common Tobacco plantation, where no care had been taken of it, since *America* has been settled. This may perhaps be looked upon by some as a loss to *England*; but if she would study to make a right and proper use of her colonies, this might be of more service to her, than any one thing they are capable of producing.

ducing. If the *Spaniards* succeed in their attempt to manufacture their Wool, *England* may want it from the colonies, more than any other commodities, as it is well known, there is not a single piece of fine Cloth made in *England* without *Spanish* Wool.—Were we to consider the proper improvements for the colonies in *North America*, Wool should be the very first of them. They have already Wool enough, which is as fit for their use, as if it were finer, and the only way to hinder them to manufacture it, is, to improve it so as to make it fit to send to *England*, in order to purchase their Manufactures, instead of making them, and to supply the place of *Spanish* Wool; and if that were rightly set about, it might be easily done.

In order to prevent this state of the colonies, and to supply them with a proper staple commodity for *Britain*, nothing seems to be thought of but *Hemp* and *Flax*; but it shews a great want of knowledge to endeavour to improve lands with *Hemp* and *Flax*, which are worn out with *Indian* Corn and Tobacco, or would never bear them. They are obliged to leave off planting tobacco, because it requires manure once in three or four years, but *Hemp* and *Flax* require it every year, and that here in *Europe* †, and much

† Both *Hemp* and *Flax* are so great impoverishers of ground, that it requires dunging after each year's crop; nor should either of them be sown two years together on the same ground. *Du Hamel's Husbandry*, p. 330.

more in *North America*. It is contrary both to reason and experience, to expect to get Hemp and Flax, which require a strong rich and moist soil in a cool climate, from the light sandy and parched soil of *North America*, which has a barren dryness in it, that renders it the most unfit to produce these commodities, of any thing that grows. We might as well expect to get them, instead of wine and oil, from *Spain* and *Portugal*, where both the soil and climate are more suitable to them. They are as improper for these singular and peculiar climates, as for the soil. The proper climate for Hemp and Flax is from the middle of *France* to the middle of *Russia*, that is, from the 45th to the 60th degree of latitude, which in *North America* extends from *Montreal* to the northern parts of *Hudson's Bay*, where we have neither soil nor climate fit to produce any thing. If we would plant Hemp and Flax to the southward of this latitude, in which all our colonies lie, they should be sown in winter, like wheat, that they may in like manner get strength and substance before the heats of summer come on; this is the practice in sowing Hemp and Flax from the southern parts of *France* to *Egypt*; but in *North America* this cannot be done on account of the long and hard winters, and late and backward springs; which hinder these crops to be sown, till late in the spring, when they are burnt up by the heats of summer which immediately ensue, before they come to their full growth, and

before they acquire that strength and toughness, for which the commodity is only valuable. Hemp and Flax cannot be sown in the proper season for them, any where in *North America* to the northward of *Carolina*, where the poor sandy soil is the most improper for these crops, of any thing that the earth produces. For this reason, they sow Hemp and Flax in their swamps, the greatest part of which are only the washings of the sand-banks which surround them, and are nothing but sand and water; in which Hemp will shoot up to a great height, it is true, but it is as weak as the water it grows in. The proper soil for Hemp and Flax is such as a *white oak swamp*, which has a strong clayie bottom; or the low grounds upon the sides of a swamp or brook, and not in them; upon these they grow some which is very good, but it is not so much as they require for their own use, nor can we expect those countries to produce much more. They are obliged to import great quantities of Hemp, and pay a double freight for it from *Russia* and from *England*, instead of making it to supply the nation.

Thus the present bounty on Hemp and Flax will only serve, as the late one did, to set the colonies about growing these commodities, in order to manufacture them, instead of supplying the nation with them. They have made many hundred tons, but have been obliged to manufacture it all, if it be not a sample or two. It is not a bounty that they

want, but a proper soil and climate, such as those upon the *Missisipi* and *Ohio*. They lately had a bounty of twelve pounds a ton granted for Hemp sent to *Britain* by the province of *New-York*, which expired without any effect; and after the bounty was granted in *Queen Anne's* time, people were sent to *New-England* to induce that colony to plant it, which they have never been able to do, as it exhausts both their Corn Lands and manure, they tell us †. They have had a bounty on Hemp and Flax in *North America* ever since the year 1663, which has been renewed from time to time, and they have as often tried to make these commodities, but could never produce such quantities, as to serve for a staple commodity to send to *Britain*, and to purchase their necessaries by that means; and where that is the case, they are obliged to convert the produce of their lands to their own use, and to make those necessaries which they cannot purchase.

Since their lands will not produce those commodities which require a rich and fertile soil, it is proposed to plant them with *Cotton*; which grows in the greatest plenty and perfection in

† Hemp requires such very strong land to produce it, that it would consume all our dung to raise it in any great quantities, so that we should not be able to raise bread Corn; therefore, how inviting soever the trade is, and how great soever the encouragements have been, both from home and by our own governments, we have not as yet engaged in that affair. *Elliot's New-England Husbandry*, l. 15.

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all our colonies from *Maryland* to *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, and might even be made in the northern colonies, as it is in *Russia*, if they had the right sort. Cotton is as common, and as generally manufactured in many of them, as wool is in *England*. I have made several manufactures of it, which were the best of the kind I have seen. They likewise mix their Cotton with Wool, and make a cloth of it, which is the best wear they have in their climate. Thus it is as necessary to get Cotton from these colonies, to prevent their manufactures, as to supply those of *England*. The Cotton I have used there grew in the latitude of *Smyrna*, and parts adjacent, from which the *Turkey Cotton* is brought to *England*; it is of the same kind with that, but is of a much better and longer staple, if it is rightly cultivated; the staple indeed is not so long as the *West India Cotton*, but it is whiter, and wears white, when the other turns yellow, as I have found by experience, with many others. Some of this Cotton from *Virginia* was sent to *Manchester* in the year 1746, where it sold for eighteen pence a pound, the price of the best at that time; and the workmen who had it for a tryal, reported to the merchants who sent it to them, it was as good as any they had, and that they would take any quantities of it. Upon this, several tryals were made of planting Cotton both there and in *Carolina*, as a staple commodity to send to *Britain*; but notwith-

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standing the high price it bore at that time, which was double its usual value, the quantity they made was so small, that it would hardly quit cost, and turned to no account; although the old Tobacco grounds on which this was planted, are the best lands for Cotton, of any in that part of the world, or perhaps in any other. Cotton is a commodity of very small value, and a poor staple for any one colony, and much more for so many; although the nation wants 1,800,000 weight of Cotton a year, yet at a shilling a pound, it is worth but 90,000*l*; and if they were to make it in any quantities, it would soon fall to its usual price of ninepence, and would not clear them above 50,000*l*. a year, which is not sixpence a head for all the people in *North America*. It is for this reason, that they are obliged to manufacture their Cotton, and we can never expect to get either that or Hemp and Flax from them, till they have many other commodities, that may enable them to live, and purchase their necessaries with these; they might then make both Cotton, Hemp and Flax for *Britain*, and as much of the first as would supply the nation; but to settle any other colonies, such as *Florida*, in order to make Cotton, is to oblige all the rest to manufacture it, which would hinder them to make both that and many other commodities of more value.

The next commodity proposed for the staple of these colonies is *Indigo*, which thrives but very

very indifferently either in the soil or climate. Indigo is one of those rank weeds, like Tobacco, which not only exhaust the substance of the earth, but require the very best and richest lands, and such as have a natural moisture in them; whereas the lands in our Southern colonies are extremely poor and sandy, and have a barren driness in them, which renders them very unfit to produce such a crop as this to any manner of advantage. This is planted by the *French* on the fresh wood-lands of *St. Domingo*, which are too rich and moist even for sugar, and is intended to exhaust their luxuriant fertility, as we do with Tobacco, in order to render them fit for that and other crops. They likewise cut it every six weeks, or eight times in a year, and for two years together; whereas in *Carolina* it is cut but thrice, and as the land has not substance and moisture to make it shoot after cutting, and the summers are too short, the third cutting is but of little value, as even the second is in *Virginia*; neither does the soil or climate seem to be fit to yield that rich juice, which makes this dye, in any plenty or perfection. The *French* and *Spaniards* make great quantities of Indigo worth eight and ten shillings a pound, when the little we make in *Carolina* is not upon an average worth above two shillings, and a great deal has been sold for a shilling, and less. This is therefore far from being so rich and valuable a commodity in *North America*, as many imagine; although it is of great service in the Rice colonies, and helps them

them to keep up their plantations, by making a small quantity of Indigo with their Rice; and on some few spots of better lands it turns to more account.

From this brief account of these commodities it must appear, that they can never be the general and lasting staple of any colony we have in all *North America*; which would be still much more evident, if at the same time we consider the state of their Agriculture in other more necessary and essential articles, the necessaries of life. Wherever they have planted these commodities, their lands are so exhausted by them, that they will hardly produce the bare necessaries of life, and much less such exhausting weeds as these. The earth was made to produce Corn and Grass, or the necessaries of life, for the support of mankind, and not such poisonous weeds as Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, which starve every thing upon it, instead of supplying them with all their necessaries, as many expect they should. It is for this reason, that the Farmers and Landlords in *England* will not let any such weeds come upon their lands, if they can avoid it. But these are still more improper for the light sandy and shallow soil in *North America*, which, compared to the lands in *England*, is like sand compared to clay, especially in all our Southern colonies, which alone produce these or any thing else for *Britain*. These their lands are the soonest exhausted by culture of any that are to be seen, while nothing could exhaust

exhaust them sooner than these weeds, and *Indian Corn*. A field planted with Tobacco, and then with *Indian Corn*, is as bare as a sandy desert, and hardly produces a blade of grass, although it has much more manure laid upon it, than for any thing that grows. It is for this reason, that most of our Tobacco plantations are broke up; the people have been obliged to quit them many years ago, after all their charges and improvements upon them; and to retire to the mountains, where they find some fresh lands fit to produce that commodity, which are the support of the Tobacco Trade: but these will in a short time be worn out, as the rest have been, and when that happens, there must be an end of the Tobacco Trade, without a supply of fresh lands, fit to produce that exhausting weed, as well as to maintain cattle to manure them, with convenient ports and an inland navigation to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity; of which there are none in all the *British* dominions in *North America*, but those rich lands on the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*; whoever are possessed of these must soon command the Tobacco Trade, the only considerable branch of Trade in all *North America*, and the only one that this nation has left. By that means we may lose the Tobacco Trade, as we did that of Sugar, after the treaty of *Utrecht*.

If we were to know the situation of these colonies in other respects, and to consider only the Corn and Grass they bear, we would never expect

expect them to live by the planting of such commodities as these. Such light and sandy lands, in hot climates, never bear good Grass, and much less in *North America*; where they are generally covered with Pines, which destroy what little Grass the earth might otherwise produce, and render every thing that grows upon it so sour, that nothing will taste it, unless they are reduced to their last shift. In a *Pine barren*, there is not a blade of Grass to be seen, nor any thing else that is green *, and it is at the best but very scarce in all our southern colonies. A blade of *English Grass*, as they call it,

* These Pines, with which all our Southern colonies are covered, for 100 or 150 miles from the sea coast, and in some all over them, are the most pernicious of all weeds; they not only destroy every thing upon the face of the earth, but the very land they grow upon; insomuch that nothing will grow among them, and hardly any thing after them. It is a general observation, that the lands are not only barren, on which they grow naturally, but if they happen to come up on other lands, they spoil them, and render them more or less barren. Having often examined what this could be owing to, I could not attribute it altogether to their large spreading roots, which spread all over the surface of the earth like a mat, and exhaust its substance; but chiefly to the strong acid juice of their leaves, which distills from them in the spring of the year, like oil of turpentine, and poisons both the earth, and every thing upon it; as it is well known, that all acids are a poison to vegetables, and all alkalies a rich manure. But whatever may be the cause, the matter of fact is certain, that nothing will grow among Pines in *America*, and Mr. *Du Hamel* makes the same observation in *France*. The whole surface of the earth is covered with their acid leaves; they overtop and destroy every thing; and if a little
Grass

it, that is, any sort that is *green*, is as great a rarity there, as the most curious of their plants are here. Their pastures are covered with a tall rank weed, more like *Bent* than *pasture grass*;

Grass should happen to come up among them, where they grow thin; it is so scarce, yellow, and sour, that to see any beast feed upon it, is a certain sign of the miserable poverty of a country; where they are reduced to the last extremity. Yet these are the only pastures they have in many of our colonies, and especially in *Florida*, if it be not in the miry and destructive swamps and marshes.

What is worse, these pernicious weeds are not to be extirpated; they have a wing to their seed, which disperses it every where with the winds, like thistles, and in two or three years forms a *pine thicket*, which nothing can pass through, nor live in. Thus the land becomes a perfect desert, instead of a profitable pasture, in a few years after it is cleared.—Corn upon such lands looks as yellow as the turpentine with which it is fed, and Grass will not grow, without which neither man nor beast can subsist.—But in all our speculations about the colonies, we seem never to consider the necessaries of life, or Corn and Grass, otherwise we should never think of planting colonies in countries which produce neither.—Upon such poor and mean lands, all that the poor people can do, is only to get the bare necessaries of life, every one for themselves, without any regard to the public, or benefit to the nation, as we may see in all the colonies we have.

They can only get the necessaries of life in any of these Southern parts of *North America* by means of Rice, and are daily obliged to run the risque of their lives in clearing the destructive swamps, in order to get Rice to supply the place of Wheat, and to have pasturage on the low grounds, neither of which the uplands afford. This was the occasion of planting Rice in *Carolina*, where they already make more than they can well vend, as it is a commodity not wanted in *Britain*; and to settle any more such colonies, as *Florida*,

grass; which is as dry as a stick, and as yellow as straw, infomuch that nothing will taste it. This their common pasture grass is so rank, hard and dry, that they make their brooms of it, as they do here with heath or birchen rods, and know it by no other name in most of the colonies but *Broom-straw*. Such is the produce of their strongest and best lands; as for the poor and sandy soils, which make nine tenths of the whole in our southern colonies, they are thinly covered with a small sort of this grass, if it may be so called, like *Bent*, and do not afford a bite for a beast for miles together. Such is the produce of that "fertile continent," as it is called *, which shews the very picture of poverty in every beast upon it. Their low grounds and marshes again are covered with

is only to interfere with the others, to depreciate their staple, and to oblige them all to enter into Manufactures.—Where they have not Rice, their only dependance is upon *Indian Corn* and *Spanish Potatoes*, which are but a coarse food, and bad diet, in these intemperate and sickly climates, and add to the mortality which otherwise reigns in them.—Neither can they cure provisions, so as to keep for any time; but without salt provisions it is impossible to live on plantations, where they have no markets, and fresh provisions will not keep for four and twenty hours, from the heat and moisture of the climate, which is the case in all our Southern colonies in summer.—Hence the *Spaniards* never had the bare necessaries of life, in 170 years that they were possessed of *Florida*, but were obliged to purchase them from our colonies, at the public expence of the nation, and not from the produce of the lands, as we are likewise obliged to do.

* Regulations of the Colonies.

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nothing but *Reeds*, *Rushes*, and *Flags*, which are their meadow grounds that should supply the want of grass on their uplands. The hay they mow is nothing but the *three square rush*, unless it is raised by art, at a greater expence than it is worth. The riches of *England* proceed from the plenty of grass, and the poverty of the colonies from the want of that original source both of plenty and wealth.

A soil and climate which produce so little grass, can never abound in Corn, which is but another sort of grass, and requires the same soil. Lands which abound with one, are always fruitful in the other, & *vice versa*. Such Lands are as improper for wheat, which requires a strong loamy soil, that is somewhat moist, as they are for Hemp and Flax, especially in a hot climate. Wheat thrives in this part of the world from *Egypt* to the middle of *Russia*, for thirty degrees of latitude; whereas in *North America* its growth is chiefly confined to seven degrees, and it cannot be said to thrive well but within four degrees, from *New-York* to the southern parts of *Virginia*, or from the forty-first to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude *. It was but very lately, since they have endeavoured to sow some wheat in the inland parts of *South Carolina*, with uncertain success, that they ever had

* To give a due account of the Corn and Grass of *North America*, would require a treatise of itself. On account of the long and hard winters, and backward springs, Wheat does

had a grain to the southward of the middle of *North Carolina*; and to the northward of
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does not grow till the excessive heats of summer come on, by which it is drawn up before it has a root and strength to support it, and produces much straw, but little Corn. The Corn grows in these violent heats of summer, by which it often shrivels, when it should fill, and comes to nothing. The harvest is two or three months later than it should be, as we have said. About *Boston* the Wheat harvest is not before the middle of *September*, but about *Perpignan* in *Spain*, which lies exactly in the same latitude, and in the same situation, surrounded by mountains on the West, with the sea to the East; the Wheat harvest is always between the 12th and 24th of *June*, as we are informed from the best authority, Mr. *Du Hamel*, in his *Elemens d'Agriculture*. So in all our other colonies to the Southward, the harvest is from three to two months later than in the parallel climates. In the Northern parts the Corn is frequently seized with a frost in the middle of summer, and totally blasted; or the thick winter fogs which happen in summer, succeeded by scorching blinks of sunshine in these Southern latitudes, burst the grain when it is in milk, and produce a smut, which is reckoned very unwholesome and poisonous. It is for this reason, that Dr. *Douglas* tells us, the Wheat in *New-England* frequently casts black, and more so the farther North you go to *Nova Scotia*, occasioned by this black smut.

For these reasons they are obliged to give a bounty on the growing of Wheat in *New-England*, we are told, and do not make Corn to eat. This they purchase with rum and molasses, on which we lay a duty of 50 per cent.; which must appear to be very grievous in a country that does not produce Corn to eat, nor any thing to purchase it.—In the other colonies indeed they have plenty of Corn, and no such occasion for the Molasses Trade.—The best Wheat in *North America* grows in *Maryland*, with the adjacent parts of *Pennsylvania* on one side, and of *Virginia* on the other, which is the center both of the best soil and climate for
Wheat

New-England, they have none but the *French Bled marçais*, as we have said. In the northern parts wheat is constantly subject to a blast, or smut, and in the southern to the rust. At the best, the grain is so small, that it yields very little, at least a third less than the lands do in *England*. Thirty bushels to an acre here, is as usual as twenty there. The *Portuguese* who buy the wheat of the northern colonies call it *Palillas*, chopt straw; by which they mean a small sort of wheat, like the one here mentioned that grows in *Canada*, which is still worse than the rest. If it were not for *Indian Corn*, which exhausts lands much more than any other grain, these colonies would not have Corn to eat. Their Barley is but a poor hungry grain, and oats are lean and chaffy. Thus we seem not to consider, what it is to live in countries which produce so little or no grass, and where no sort of Corn agrees with the climate, if it be not one which exhausts their lands, more than they will bear; a thing which none in *England* seem to have the least idea of, and for that reason they are so little acquainted with

Wheat of any in that Continent; and as the Tobacco plantations are now broke up, they produce great quantities of good Wheat, with which they supply the rest of the colonies both on the Continent and the Islands, and export great quantities to *Europe*; which is better than what used to be exported from the Northern colonies, and will be much more considerable, unless they are otherwise employed, by some such methods as are hereafter proposed.

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the condition and circumstances of the colonies in the most material points. It is for this reason, that they are obliged to quit their plantations, as fast as they wear out, and to spread over a whole country and continent, in order to get a few patches of tobacco, or fields of *Indian Corn*. And it is for these reasons, that *Corn* has become so dear in the colonies, and more valuable to make than any thing for *Britain*; which is a certain sign, that they either want to extend their settlements, or to alter their staple commodities, if not both.

So soon as they come to be confined in their settlements, as they already are by the mountains which surround them, and by the proclamation of *October 7th, 1763*, they must leave off planting any of these their staple commodities for *Britain*; in order to get *Corn* to eat, for the daily increase of people. When they double their numbers, as they will soon do, and these countries come to be populous, they must purchase all those commodities that we have mentioned, which require a rich and fruitful soil, and many others which they stand in need of. This they will have no way to do, but by their manufactures, which will render a trade in them absolutely necessary, unless they increase their staple commodities, and the produce of their lands. Unless they do that, their staple will be the same with that of *Britain*, as we have said, and nothing but *Corn, Cattle, Wool, and Fish*, which they cannot

cannot send to *Britain*, and must vend in foreign countries. But the supplying of themselves with their own necessaries, independant of *Great Britain*; a trade in their own manufactures; and the relying upon other powers for the vent of their products, it is to be feared, will occasion a breach between them and their mother country; unless it is prevented in time, and before their manufactures are established, as they soon will be, if they are not already. So soon as this happens, the manufacturers will consume the produce of the lands, and cut off all their returns to *Britain*; and the colonies will necessarily be obliged to interfere with her both in agriculture, manufactures, trade and navigation, and the fishery of *Newfoundland*, all the most material and essential employments of the nation at home; and may thereby become rather a prejudice, than any benefit to their mother country.—We seem not to consider, or to foresee, the power of numbers in the colonies, and the daily increase of the people; or at least to make any provision for such an additional number of *British* subjects, which might otherwise be the greatest advantage to the nation, if they were rightly employed for its benefit.

In order to prevent this threatening and alarming state of the colonies, it is proposed to take a yearly account of their Manufactures; which can only add farther confusion to the late disturbances, unless at the same time we pay

pay due regard to their staple commodities, and see that they make the necessary improvements in these; by which alone they can either purchase their Manufactures from *Britain*, or subsist without them. In the climate of *North America* people cannot go without cloaths, neither can they get the necessaries of life without tools; of which two alone their whole income would not purchase, from *Britain*, even a fourth part of what they want, not to mention any other articles. These they can never purchase, and must make for their own use, without staple commodities from the produce of their lands; by which likewise they supply the nation with those commodities, of which it is in the greatest want. It signifies nothing to say, they cannot, or shall not, make their own Manufactures; they necessarily must do it, so long as they have nothing to purchase them, or perish for want of them. Their whole income would not purchase a sixth part of their necessaries from *Britain*, as appears from a particular account of both, and may be seen by all.

It is this state of the colonies, which alarms every one in *Britain*, makes them imagine, they must become independant of their Mother Country, and may prove the ruin of it. For this reason many seem to have set themselves against the colonies; but that is the way to make matters much worse, and the breach unavoidable. We ought rather to consider what

what this their state proceeds from, and how it may be amended in time, now when it may be done. Unless this is done, the nation has been at the expence of seventy or eighty millions of money, for no other purpose but to lose the benefit of her colonies, and to ruin herself; which, it is to be feared, may be the result of all the late proceedings concerning them. Many indeed imagine, that these proceedings have all been for the benefit of *Britain*, and that the colonies have opposed themselves to her interest; but if the matter is duely considered, and rightly understood, the direct contrary of these suggestions must appear to every one, who is in the least acquainted with them; and that we have done every thing in our power to ruin our own interest in *North America*, after the immense sums it has cost; and to oblige the colonies to become independant in the end, whether they will or not.

‘ We would therefore humbly recommend
 ‘ it to such Gentlemen as are the guardians of
 ‘ the Trade of the nation,’ says a very good
 judge *, ‘ that our own interest is not mistaken
 ‘ for that of the planters; for every restraint
 ‘ and difficulty, put upon our Trade with
 ‘ them, makes them have recourse to their own
 ‘ products which they manufacture; a thing
 ‘ of great consequence to us, and ought to be
 ‘ guarded against.’ And we would as humbly

* See on Trade, p. 152.

recommend it to the colonies, that they would not mistake their interest, for what they think to be intended only for the benefit of others. If they would both consult their own interest, which one would think might be no difficult matter to make any people do, were it not for such feuds and animosities, and preconceived opinions and prejudices, which are directly contrary to the welfare of the whole nation both at home and abroad, the interest of *Great Britain* and her colonies would be mutual and inseparable, and consequently lasting and perpetual; and it is the design of this discourse to point out the ways of establishing both on such a footing. The interest of *Britain* in the colonies depends upon their staple commodities, or the produce of their lands, as that of the colonies does likewise; and as *Britain* is the best market in the world for such commodities, it will always be their interest to depend upon their Mother Country, before any other Powers; not to mention her mild and auspicious government, of which they could not possibly have such another upon a Continent. However necessary Manufactures are to the colonies in their present situation, yet Agriculture would turn to much more account. Manufactures are the result of labor, which is both scarce and dear among them; but staple commodities are the produce of lands, which are both cheap and in plenty; and for that reason it will always be more profitable to apply to the last than the first, providing they are allowed to make use of the

the vast plenty of lands in that Continent. They may likewise sell the produce of their lands, and gain wealth by them, which they will not be allowed to do with Manufactures. And the more they make, the more we get from them, which is both their interest and ours. How can you expect to get any thing by a Trade with people who have nothing?

Now as the interest of the colonies and of their Mother Country is thus naturally connected, let us see what it is that divides them, and makes them thus at variance with one another, or likely to be disunited. This may be summed up in one word; it proceeds from the want of staple commodities to send to *Britain*, which their lands will not produce, and for that reason they are necessarily obliged to enter into Manufactures; they thereby interfere with their Mother Country, and their interest becomes opposite. Now if the cause of this is considered, it proceeds entirely from the want of lands, or a proper soil and climate, fit to produce such commodities as *Britain* wants, and will take from them. The greatest part of their lands will produce nothing but what *Britain* itself does, and on which she relies, as Corn, Cattle, and Wool; by which means the colonies interfere with their Mother Country in Agriculture, as well as in Manufactures, and their interest will become so opposite by both, that it may occasion a breach between them, unless due care is taken to prevent it, before the Manu-

factures of the colonies are thoroughly established. Now there is no possible way to do this, but by supplying them with such lands as will produce staple commodities for *Britain*, for which the nation engaged in so expensive a war.—This state of the colonies has been foreseen for many years, by all who were in the least acquainted with them, and for that reason it was necessary to extend their settlements to such lands, of which there are few or none in all the *British* dominions but those on the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*. No other part of all that continent, beyond the bounds of our present plantations, will ever be of any service to this nation, or enable those colonies to subsist by a dependance on their mother country without this, at least as they increase and multiply. But we were no sooner possessed of those territories, for which the nation chiefly engaged in the war, than the colonies were excluded from them by the proclamation of *October 7th, 1763*, by which they are limited to the same bounds at the *Apalachean* mountains, which the *French* prescribed to them before the war; and are obliged to enter into manufactures, for want of those lands which alone will ever enable the greatest part of them to purchase their necessities from *Britain*.

Since the acquisitions of *Canada* and *Florida*, indeed, the *British* dominions are so much enlarged, that no one seems to imagine, and others will not believe, that these colonies can want land; and yet it is very certain, if we have any regard

regard to the interest of *Great Britain* in them, They have just lands enough to supply themselves and their manufacturers, but they hardly produce any thing that will serve to purchase their manufactures from *Britain*. By that means *Britain* confines her colonies to bounds, in which they must necessarily interfere with her, and excludes them from all those territories, which might be of service to her, and would keep the colonies from falling into the state that we have represented. This is a matter of the last consequence to this nation, and ought to be seriously considered, and attended to, as it will be found upon due inquiry, that the whole interest of *Great Britain* in *North America*, on which she has expended such immense sums, entirely depends upon it. Although these colonies may go on for some time, upon the lands they possess, as they have hitherto done, which is but badly, yet in a few years, when their numbers will be double, they will hardly be able to take any thing from *Britain*, or to send any thing to her, at least the materials of manufactures which are chiefly wanted from them. This must certainly appear to all who are acquainted with the countries which our colonies possess in *North America*, with the nature of the soil and climate, and what they produce, or with their agriculture, and staple commodities; but as these are so little understood, they require a more particular consideration, especially in the southern colonies; where every thing must be made

made that this nation wants from *North America*. Now all the colonies on the continent make three different countries, as we have said, the state of which with regard to their staple commodities is in brief as follows.

I. The northern colonies produce nothing wanted in *Britain*, and are entirely unfit for that purpose, as appears not only from the nature and reason of things, but from 150 years experience—Neither the soil nor climate will admit of any such improvements, and there is nothing to be done against nature.—The length and severity of the winters, the late and backward springs, and shortness of the summer season, are unavoidable obstacles to all such improvements in agriculture.—Were they to make any thing but the necessaries of life, in their short summers, they would all perish in their long and hard winters.—The winters last for five or six months, and longer in the northern parts; the snow lies four or five feet deep; and the cold is twenty degrees greater, even at the town of *New-York* on the warmer sea coast, than the most intense cold felt in *England* during the hard winter 1739-40*.—In the

* By the observations made in *January* 1765, by the masters of the college at *New-York*, *Fahrenheit's* thermometer fell 6 degrees below 0, which is 21 degrees below 15, the greatest cold in *England*.—Water then froze instantly, and even strong liquors in a very short time.—And we are told, it is not unusual there, to see a glass of water set upon the table, in a warm room, freeze before you can drink it, &c.

inland

inland parts again the cold is much more intense, and they have frosts the whole year, even in the middle of summer; which have been observed by many in the month of *July*, upon the mountains in the most southern parts of *Pensylvania*, and even on the mountains of *Virginia*, although they are but very low.

This state of these colonies proceeds from the climate, which is much worse than is generally apprehended. These severe colds are occasioned by the violent north-west winds, blowing from the frozen regions of *Hudson's Bay*, which rage with such fury all over that continent, that they bring the climate of *Hudson's Bay* even to *Virginia* and *Carolina* by one blast; and as these winds blow with great violence about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, they occasion a second winter, as it is called, at that time of year, when we should expect a warm spring in the latitude of these northern colonies, which lie between 40 and 43 degrees; this protracts the season of winter to the middle almost of summer; and the same winds bring on winter again in the middle of autumn; by which they have a very unfavourable season both in spring and autumn, in seed time and harvest, as would abundantly appear from a due account of the particulars, of which we can here only give a general view. In the town of *Philadelphia*, which lies in the 40th degree of latitude, to the southward of *Naples* and *Madrid*, I saw the winter set in with a

violent

violent north-west wind, a hard frost, and ice of a considerable thickness, on the 10th of September.

In *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* again the snow lies *six feet* deep for *six months* in the year! and as they have hard frosts and snows for a month or six weeks before this severe season, which they call winter, their winters are eight or nine months long; they have little or no spring or autumn season; the spring does not begin before the month of *June*; and even in that month our people who resided at *Oswego*, in the most southern part of all *Canada*, observed hard frosts which destroyed every thing at that time of year; and the like frosts in the month of *June* are sometimes felt on the warmer sea coasts of *New-England*, to the southward of that. These frosts continue all over *Canada* during the whole summer; "it is no rare thing there, to see a frost at night after a very hot day in summer*;" and "I have seen as hard frosts there on the first of *August*," says the best historian of *Canada*, "as you will see in *France* at All-saints †," &c ‡.—When they have

* Charlevoix Hist. N. France, Tom. v. p. 246.

† La Potherie Hist. de l'Amerique Septentrionale, Tom. i. p. 281.

‡ "The winter commonly sets in before the ships sail for *France*, and begins with a violence which astonishes all who are not accustomed to it. The first frosts fill the rivers with ice in a few days, and immediately the earth is covered with snow, which lasts *six months*, and always rises to the height

have not these frosts, they are subject to more pernicious cold winter fogs, which destroy the fruits of the earth, in the middle of summer, particularly about the great lakes, and in *Nova Scotia*, which is only the sea coast of *Canada*; and they are not entirely free from them in a great

height of *six feet*, where the wind will suffer it to lie.—The cold becomes extreme, and encroaches upon the best part of the spring.—It is then a melancholy thing not to be able to go out of doors, unless you are muffled up with furs like the bears.—There is no longer any difference between land and water; the very trees are covered with hoar frosts, and are loaded with such icicles, that it is dangerous to be nigh them.—What can any one think, where the very bears dare not shew their face to the weather for *six months* in the year! where icicles a foot long hang to the horses beards! and where I never knew a winter pass, but some or other were brought to the hospital to have their legs and arms cut off, which were mortified with the frost!—If the weather is clear, there blows such a wind from the West, that it cuts the face like a razor; and if it veers about to the South or East, there falls such a snow, that you cannot see ten steps before you at noon-day.—These colds are much more intense there, than they were in *France* during the hard winter 1709.—The inconveniencies of these long and severe colds are not to be remedied. The first is, the charge of maintaining cattle, which cannot get the least morsel in the fields during the whole winter. To avoid the expence of keeping them, they are obliged to kill them in *October*, and keep their meat frozen from that to *May*, &c." *Charlevoix Hist. N. France*, tom. v. p. 242 & seq.

These extreame colds, which are felt more or less all over *North America*, proceed from the northern snowy mountains, which spread all over that continent, from *Baffins Bay* to *New-England*, and render the climate unfit for any purpose, but to produce a few Furs, which are exhausted.—These mountains are covered with snow throughout the whole year, and occasion frosts even in the middle of summer—Hence all the continent north of *Quebec*, and the

great part of *New-England* and *New-York*.—Hence they can neither plow, sow, nor reap, in the proper season for either; but are obliged to plow their lands in *August* or *September*, and cannot

river *St. Laurence* below it, are uninhabitable—“One cannot see a more savage country, and no part of the earth is more uninhabitable,” says *Charlevoix*—“These are mere deserts, on both sides of the river *St. Laurence*, uninhabited by beast or bird,” says *Champlain*, “on account of the severe colds which reign there.”—Thus *Quebec* is the first part of *North America* that is inhabitable, from which we may form an opinion of it.—“The snow lies 15 feet deep in the town; the ice is 10 feet thick; your eyelids are frozen in walking the streets; and people are found dead with the cold about the town;” with many other marks of the most inhospitable climate recorded by the *French* historians *Champlain*, *La Potherie*, *le Beau*, *Charlevoix*, &c.

Upon these accounts both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* are uninhabitable, without good accommodations, and fresh provisions, as appeared for nigh a century at the first settlement of these countries. Hence we are at all this expence both of men and money, to keep up accommodations for an enemy, and thereby enable them to hold the country, which they could not otherwise do. Were they evacuated, the climate would “defend, protect and secure them,” much better than our forts and garrisons, which put the nation to such an expence, and have created such disturbances both at home and abroad. But if *Canada* were evacuated, it would be of less consequence than we see *Cape Breton* and *Louisburg* are; which were of more importance, but are now of none by being dismantled.

The whole of *Canada*, from *Quebec* to *Montreal*, is not above 150 miles in length, and about six broad, in a straight line, which makes but 900 square miles, not so much as a middle-sized county in *England*, such as *Essex*, and is certainly not worth possessing in such a climate. The rest is nothing but frozen lakes, drowned morasses, and sandy plains, fit only for the habitation of Beavers;

or

cannot sow them till the month of *May* the next year, when they must be very unfit to receive seed.—“Properly speaking, they have “but two seasons in the year, winter and “autumn.”

or bare rocks and mountains covered with snow throughout the whole year.

Canada was only a place of arms for *France*, or a factory for the *Fur-trade*; but *Britain* has no manner of use or occasion for either.—Our other colonies are more convenient to the *Fur-trade* by a thousand miles than *Canada*; which can only interfere with them in it, and deprive them of returns to *Britain*, of which they have no other.

It has indeed been given out, with every thing else, that *Canada* supplied the *French* islands; but so far from that, it consumed their supplies, which for that reason they were obliged to get from our colonies, and may now have from *France*. It was a constant complaint in *France*, that *Canada* and *Cape Breton* consumed their provisions which they wanted at home; and it appears from the remonstrance of the states of *Bourdeaux* to the king on *Jan. 7th*, 1763, that this single town supplied them with great quantities of flour and other provisions, although *St. Malo*, *Havre*, *Dieppe*, &c. had the chief part of that trade. But now when they have both *Ireland* and all our colonies to supply them, they pretend to export *Corn*. *New-England* does the same, but imports four times as much.

But as our subject is *Agriculture*, for which these frozen deserts are unfit, and consequently for colonies which should live merely by their agriculture, we can give no farther account of them here. All that they can be said to produce, is only a diminutive species of *Corn*, which is not worth sowing any where else: and even this, if they could make any quantities of it, would only interfere with the agriculture of *Britain*, and that in the most material part of it, the supplying of the fishery. It is surprising, that any should reckon this an advantage to *Britain*, when *Corn* has become almost the only staple of all our colonies on the continent.—Were it not for the fishery, none could live in these northern parts of *America*—Hence they are obliged to feed both man and beast in *Canada* with frozen eels, “which are the manna of the land,” say the *French*.

“ autumn *.”—Thus they have neither spring nor summer, after the hard winter; “ which “ is very long, and the cold intense. If you stir “ out in the frost, you are in danger of perish- “ ing in a quarter of an hour; and the snow “ falls so heavy, that it frequently lies four “ feet deep in four and twenty hours;” † mean- ing in *St. John's* Island on the warmer sea- coast. Such countries must be very unfit for Agriculture, and consequently for colonies, which should live merely by their Agriculture, or become a prejudice to their Mother Country; which these must undoubtedly be, as would abundantly appear from a due account of them, which we cannot pretend to give in the narrow

‘ The whole income of *Canada* was but 650,000 livres a year (about 30,000 *l.* sterling) which is far from being sufficient to supply 30,000 people with their necessaries from *France*—Hence the greatest part are naked (*la plus part vont-ils tout nuds*) others are covered with deer skins like the savages; and others pick old clothes to pieces to spin with flax—The produce of their lands will not maintain them, so that they live by hunting. Many gentlemen have no other way to live at their ease—The king maintains a great part of the country, by pensions. 400,000 crowns a year which his majesty sends to *Canada* are a great resource—The king expends there 300,000 livres a year; the furs come to 280,000; oil and other small articles to 20,000; and the pensions and revenues of the clergy in *France* amount to 50,000; which makes 650,000 livres a year, the whole income of *Canada*. *Charlevoix*, Tom. iv. p. 131, &c. *La Potherie*, i. 367.—Thus the whole produce of the country was but 300,000 livres a year, not 14,000 *l.* sterling—and by settling the country we destroy the furs, and diminish thus its produce, small as it is.

* Letters on *Cape Breton* and *St. John's* island, p. 7.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 96.

bounds of a pamphlet; that must be reserved for some other opportunity.

Besides the climate, the best and fresh lands in all our Northern colonies, which should produce their staple commodities for *Britain*, are worn out by culture. Had they been able to have made any such thing, they would have done it at first, as in the other colonies, when their lands were fresh and fertile, and fit for the purpose, which they are not in any part of *North America*, after they have been exhausted. They are obliged to expend their manure on their Corn and Grass grounds; their plantations are too small to make *staple commodities*; and they have many populous towns, which take off and consume the produce of the lands, that should be sent to *Britain*. Hence the produce of these colonies is only the overplus of the Corn and Provisions, which they make for their own use, which is not a great deal; and in a short time will be little or none at all, as the people increase and multiply. There are nigh a million and an half of people in these Northern colonies, in a country no larger than *Ireland*, and not by a fourth part so fruitful. What then can they possibly have to raise *sterling cash* to pay taxes, when they have neither staple commodities from their Agriculture, Manufactures, nor a Trade in them? Or how can it be supposed, that they can ever purchase their necessaries from *Britain*? Their only dependance is upon a Trade to the *West-Indies*, or the Fur-trade; the last of which is very inconsiderable,

siderable, and daily declines; the first has been long ago insufficient to maintain such a number of people; and is reduced to little or nothing by the great increase of the people, the addition of more Northern colonies, and by the Southern engaging in it. If these things are considered, it will be impossible for these colonies to take almost any thing from *Britain*, or to have any connection with her, when they become more populous, unless they extend their settlements to the Southward. For this every one blames the colonies; but it is not their fault, it is their very great misfortune; this their state proceeds from a barren land and inhospitable climate, for which they are to be pitied and assisted, and not blamed and oppressed. The fault lies at their door, who settle colonies in such countries, which will produce nothing; and will still settle more such to interfere both with them and their Mother Country*.

II. The

* We cannot enter into particulars here, but from these hints any, who are acquainted with the colonies, may perceive,

I. That it can never be for the interest of *Britain* to have any more *northern colonies*—They can never subsist by a dependance on her without staple commodities, to remit to *Britain*, which none of these Northern parts of *America* will ever produce. To settle any more, therefore, such as *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, is to be at the expence both of men and money, to raise colonies which cannot subsist by a dependance on their Mother Country, and to add to the number and strength of those which are already in that situation.

II. The chief staple and support of these Northern colonies, for which they were all settled, was the Fur Trade, but the Furs are now in a manner exhausted, with the *Indians* who got them; the whole Fur Trade does not exceed
40,000 *l.*

II. The Tobacco colonies enjoy a better soil and climate, and have by that means hitherto had a good staple commodity, which has been of more service to the nation than all the other products of *North America* put together, so long as their lands were fresh and fertile; but
most

40,000 *l.* a year, which is not sufficient to maintain any one of these colonies, and is nothing for such a number of people, as is in them all. This is properly the staple of *New-York*, without which they can make few remittances to *Britain*, and that *Canada* can only serve to deprive them of, and to oblige them to supply themselves independant of their Mother Country.

III. So the staple of *New-England*, and source of all their remittances to *Britain*, is the fishery, in which *Nova Scotia* must interfere with those populous and powerful colonies; and by being so much more convenient to it, that colony can only serve to ruin the fishery both of *Old* and *New-England*.

IV. It has been long ago remarked by Sir *Josiah Child*, that settlements on these coasts, adjacent to the fishery, only serve to hurt the fishery of *Britain*; of which we have a flagrant confirmation in *New-England*, where upwards of thirty sail of *English* ships a year used to fish on that coast, before it was settled, but since that we have not had a single fishing ship there for many years. By these means the fishery of *Britain* has been reduced from 250 sail of ships in a year to 70 or 80, and the nation is likely to lose that great source of her maritime power, by creating new rivals, in place of those which we have been at such an expence to expell: and this is the more to be regarded, as the fishery of *France* is always four times as great as that of *Britain*, since they supply more than four times as many people, including their own and the other Catholics in *Europe*. They likewise, by being deprived of settlements on these fishing coasts, have their seamen and fishermen always at home, ready upon all emergencies, while ours are dispersed in the woods of *America*, exposed to every invader; and the nation loses the profit of supplying them, fitting them out,
&c.

most of them are worn out with that exhausting weed, and will no longer bear it; they are then turned into Corn and Pasture grounds, which produce nothing but Corn, Cattle, and Wool, as in the Northern colonies; and we shall soon want a supply of lands for Tobacco, as much as for any thing that *North America* will produce. These colonies likewise want some other staple, as much as all the rest, if not more. They have hitherto depended entirely upon Tobacco, and when that fails, they are in a worse situation than the rest. There are about 800,000 people in these two colonies, who do not make above 300,000 *l.* a year by their Tobacco, which is but seven shillings and six-pence a head *per annum*. This is far from being sufficient to maintain such a number of people, however it might have supported a few. Formerly they made three hogheads of Tobacco a head, where they cannot now make one, while the people are four times as numerous, as we have said. Take all the peo-

&c. which are the great advantages of the fishery—Thus *Britain* may be a loser, and *France* a gainer, by depriving her of colonies which are rather a loss and detriment than any benefit to their Mother Country—The only object in all these Northern parts of *America* is the fishery, and unless we have that, we get nothing by the country, but the cow to keep, and have her to maintain, while others get the milk—As for a security for the fishery, these settlements about it will require ten times more protection than they can give, and may be a ready way to lose the fishery, as happened at *St. John's* in *Newfoundland*—*Britain* must secure her dominions both at home and abroad by her fleets, which these settlements will weaken, and thereby deprive the nation of that security which they are intended to give.

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ple together in these colonies, they do not make above half an hoghead a head; there are 180,000 tythable people in them, who make at most but 90,000 hogheads of Tobacco a year. Thus they must necessarily turn their lands into Corn and Pasture grounds, or get some other staple for them.

It is commonly alledged, and we see in all our histories of *Virginia*, that their lands are extremely rich and fertile, insomuch that it is imagined they will bear Tobacco, or Hemp, and Flax for ever: but although their lands, particularly in *Maryland*, and the Northern parts of *Virginia*, are by far the best of any in *North America*, on this side of the *Apalachean* mountains, they are far from being rich; the soil is in general very light, and so shallow, that it is soon worn out by culture, especially with such exhausting crops as *Indian* Corn and Tobacco. It is for this reason, that they are now obliged to sow Wheat, and exported fifty or sixty shiploads the last year.—One third of the country may be said to be a good and fruitful soil; a third part is but indifferent; and the remaining third is very poor and mean, although not quite barren—The Southern parts of *Virginia* are very poor and sandy, like *Carolina*, and all the Continent to the Southward, whence they will hardly bear Tobacco of any value.—These plantations are indeed capable of many improvements, and more than any of our other colonies, but they have never yet made any; and if ever they do, they must be some others than Hemp and Flax

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for such lands, which are worn out with *Indian* Corn and Tobacco. What these should be, we shall hereafter consider.

III. The next division contains the Southern or Rice colonies, which make the great extent of the *British* dominions on this side of the *Apalachean* mountains; but it is the great misfortune of the nation, that this extensive part of her dominions, which lies in a climate, that might otherwise produce every thing we want from *North America*, is as barren, as it is unhealthful, and unfit either to raise any considerable colonies, or to make any thing of consequence in them; and for that reason these countries will require a more particular consideration, as the whole interest of the nation lies in these southern parts of that Continent. Both *North* and *South Carolina* are a low, flat, sandy country, like a sandy desert, for a great distance from the sea-coast, and the farther South we go to *Georgia* or *Florida*, it grows so much worse. It is said by the late Mr. *Catesby* †, who was sent to *America* on purpose to explore these Southern parts of the Continent, that a third part of *Carolina* is a *pine-barren*, or a sandy desert; and he, with many others, from whom we have had particular accounts of all these Southern parts of *North America*, has assured us, that the greatest part of the land was little better. In the inland parts indeed, as he says, the country is more high and hilly, but the hills are nothing hardly but banks of sand, rocks, or stones.

† Natural History of *Carolina* and *Florida*.

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with a few *Savannas*, or low meadow grounds which afford good pasturage in the vallies, which are called rich lands in *Carolina* §. It was for this reason, that although there were 800 people landed by the Lords Proprietors at once, on the 8th of *May*, 1663, in order to settle that country, more than ever were sent to any of our colonies, yet the greatest part of them soon abandoned it; their settlement at *Cape Fear* was broke up, and the Proprietors, after being at great expences, were at last glad to give up their advantageous and honourable charter. The people could not so much as subsist in the country; and for that reason deserted it (as they have since done in *Georgia* and *Florida*), till they got a bag of Seed Rice from Mr. *Ashby* in 1692, which has ever since been their only support, and staple of the country. For this purpose they quitted *North Carolina*, (which was first intended to be planted, but hardly has been to this day, if it be not by run-aways and deserters from the other colonies), and settled from *Charles-Town* to *Port Royal*; where the country is very low and flat, with great numbers of small rivers and creeks, and swamps and marshes on their borders, which are their Rice grounds, and only fruitful lands in the country. But the deep and richer swamps on the sides of the large rivers are too expensive to clear and drain, as they are found to be in *Virginia*.

§ *Id. ibid.* append. pag. iii, iv.

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Thus all these extensive Southern parts of *North America* produce little or nothing, and the lands are hardly worth cultivating, if it be not in the unhealthy and destructive swamps and marshes; which they are obliged to be at the immense toil and fatigue of clearing, draining, and cultivating, at the risque of their lives, in order to get Rice to supply the place of Wheat, and to have pasturage on the low grounds, neither of which the uplands afford †, as we have said. Whatever any country may produce, the first thing must be Corn and Grass; and it is to get these, that they plant Rice in *Carolina*, which is otherwise not so proper for a *British* colony, as it is but another sort of Corn, not wanted in *Britain*. Out of an hundred and odd thousand barrels of Rice which they make in a year, *Britain* consumes but four thousand; hence they want markets for this, as all our other colonies do for their other sorts of Corn, which is become the chief produce of them all; they thereby interfere with one another, depreciate their staple, cannot vend any quantities of it, and are on these accounts unable to make remittances to *Britain*, to pay their debts, or to purchase their necessaries from hence; which obliges them to enter into Manufactures, and to supply themselves, independant of their Mother Country. We have known Rice so low in *Carolina*, that it

† See a description of *South Carolina* in 1710.

was not worth making. To settle any more such colonies then, as *Florida*, is only to ruin these, and the interest of *Britain* in them; unless you could get some other staple for them, which the country will hardly admit of, if it be not silk, and that requires more hands than these unhealthy sea-coasts will breed. They are even glad to supply the *French* with Rice, in order to enable them to establish a colony at *Cayenne*, to rival and outdo them, as they there make two crops of Rice in a year; and we have been told by some who have resided in *Surinam*, that they can even make three, by which these two may soon undo *Carolina*. Many of our Rice plantations would have been broke up before this time, like the Tobacco plantations, if it had not been for the assistance of Indigo, which has supported them. This may be perceived by all who remember the state they were in, when the bounty on Indigo was granted; before which we knew some people who were obliged to sell their Rice at a shilling a hundred weight, in the late war; and if they had gone on to make as much as they could, without any other commodity or product of their lands, it would hardly have been worth more.

The Rice grounds in *North America* are more numerous and plentiful than in any part of the world, which is their great misfortune. The whole coast of *North America*, from *Delaware Bay* or *New Jersey* to the Gulf of *Mexico*,

Mexico, in all the parts of that Continent which can ever produce any thing for *Britain*, is almost one continued tract of swamps and marshes, or Rice grounds, with barren sands between them, as in *Carolina*. The swamps of *Virginia* alone would produce much more Rice than all *Europe* and *America* consume; and the Rice, that we have seen grow upon them, was nigh as large again as what is made on the poor grounds in *Carolina*; the greatest part of which are only the washings of the sand banks which surround them, and as poor, for low grounds, as the rest of the country: but in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the *Delaware* counties, or territories of *Pensylvania*, where the uplands are fertile, the swamps or Rice grounds are extremely rich; and if they could get the large and rich sorts of Rice above-mentioned to plant upon them, it might help to bring those fertile spots into culture and tillage, to make them fit for other crops, such as Hemp and Flax, and to drain the country, and render it more healthful. But to clear and drain the swamps in *Virginia*, would require all the people in the country to do nothing else, and would kill one half of them. It is found, from daily experience, that the working in the miry swamps in these hot climates is very unhealthful, and even dangerous; for which reason none of them are touched, where they have other lands fit to cultivate. It is only the want of other fruitful lands in *Carolina*, *Florida*, and all the Southern parts

parts of *North America*, that obliges them to enter into these *dismals*, as they are called, which infect all the country round them, and render it very unhealthful, even at a distance, and much more on these pernicious pools themselves.

This situation of the Southern colonies it will be very necessary to attend to, if ever we would promote or preserve the interest of *Britain* in *North America*. All our colonies on that Continent are divided into the Northern and Southern, of which the first will produce nothing that this nation wants from them; it is only in the Southern parts of *North America*, that the colonies can either make those commodities which are so much wanted by the nation, or subsist by a dependance on their Mother Country by that means. The interest of the nation therefore lies in the Southern parts of that Continent, and it is only by cultivating these, that *Britain* will be able to keep her colonies in a state of dependance upon her, or reap any great advantages by them. But notwithstanding they are of such consequence and importance, these Southern parts of the Continent have been neglected, and we have but very few people in them to this day. The great numbers of people we have in *North America* are in the Northern colonies, where they can make nothing that turns to any account, either to them or to the nation, while these Southern parts, which are much more extensive, lie unpeopled and uncultivated;

tivated; which is the true cause of the bad state of the colonies.

It was for this reason an enquiry for many years at the Board of Trade, Why we have so few people in our Southern colonies, where the interest of the nation lies? What answer they may have received to that important question, we know not, but it certainly proceeds from the barrenness of the land, and unhealthy situation of the country. The whole sea-coast of *North America*, from the Bay of *New-York* to the Gulf of *Mexico*, is a low, flat, sandy beach; the soil for a great distance from it is sandy and barren; the climate is very rainy, and as these rains have no drain from the land, but stagnate all over a low flat country, they form innumerable swamps and marshes, which render it very unhealthy. It is a common opinion, that all this part of the Continent, which stretches into the ocean at a considerable distance from the rest, has been recovered from the sea, and that it is nothing but a drained marsh or sand-bank, which indeed it very much resembles, and in nothing more than its pernicious influence on mankind. Accordingly, in all this space, nothing is to be found, either on the surface, or in the bowels of the earth, but beds of sea-shells, in place of stones, metals and other minerals, and the earth is as barren in these, as in other productions. Many causes likewise conspire to render all these Southern coasts of *North America* unhealthy, and as they

they are barren withal, and the heats so fultry, that people are not able to undergo the toils of Planters in them, they are abandoned almost by all. It has likewise been observed, that many more people are buried than are born upon these coasts, whence they can never be populous, but are a perpetual drain of people to the nation. To people the Southern parts of *North America* from the unhealthy sea-coasts, would be as difficult as to people *England* from *Romney* marsh.— These Southern colonies are from 150 to 200 miles broad, between the sea and mountains, of which about one half is thus low, flat, and unhealthy on the coast, and the inland parts the reverse. They can likewise only be cultivated to any purpose by negroes, which the produce of the poor and barren lands will neither purchase, nor maintain. For this reason they are obliged to lay such a duty upon the importation of negroes into *South Carolina*, that it amounts in a manner to a prohibition.

It is for these reasons, that we have so few people in our Southern colonies, and are never likely to have any numbers by our present proceedings, notwithstanding the whole interest of the nation in *North America* depends upon it. We think of nothing but extending our settlements still farther on these pestiferous sea-coasts, even to the sunken lagunes of *East-Florida*, and the barren sands of *Mobile* and *Pensacola*; and to add more drains of people to the

the many we already have; by which means we are never likely to have any number of people in the Southern parts of *North America*, if this nation should be ruined by it, as it is very likely to be. The only use of new settlements in *North America* is for the people in the Northern and other colonies, who want lands to make staple commodities for *Britain*, to remove to them; but none of these will ever go to *Florida*, or thrive in it, more than they have done in *Carolina* and *Georgia*; the climate of *Florida* is more intemperate, the lands more barren, and the situation much worse in every respect. For these reasons, if we endeavour to raise colonies there, it will be much more impracticable, without a perpetual loss of people, than in any of our other Southern colonies. None of the Southern parts of that Continent can ever be planted, without a very great loss of people, but at the distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles from the sea-coast.

Whatever any of these maritime parts of *Florida* may be, it is certain, they will not breed people to reap their products, if ever they produce any thing; nay it appears from sufficient experience, that they would not so much as maintain the few people who have been in them. These are facts which speak for themselves: *Florida* has been settled ever since the year 1586, much longer than any part of *North America*; but notwithstanding we

we see the people increase and multiply so fast in all other parts of that continent, they never increased in *Florida*, as they have done in all other parts of *America*, both north and south. The few people who were maintained there at a public expence, who were mostly *forçados* or convicts banished to a forlorn desert, were not able to get the bare necessaries of life, but were supplied by our colonies, the *Havannah*, or other *Spanish* settlements, as is well known in our colonies which supplied them*. Therefore, whatever any may say about the healthfulness or fruitfulness of *Florida*, it must appear to be a mere conjecture, contrary to 170 years experience. Had it been either a healthful or fruitful country, we should at least have seen some people in it, in so long a time. If a few might have been bred there at a public expence, they all deserted the country, as all have done who ever went to it; and none will stay in a country which does not produce the necessaries of life, or corn and grass. These they can only get from the swamps and marshes, which none would ever cultivate, till they are reduced to the last extremity, and can live nowhere else. If you may force a few negroes to

* ' All their supply of bread, cloathing and money, comes from the *Havannah* and *Porto Bello*, and it was going on of three years since they had a vessel from any place whatsoever, which made their wants very great,' as we are told by a good judge on the spot. *Dickenson's voyage to Florida*, p. m. 97.

clear and cultivate these *dismals*, as they are called, white people are not fit for the business in that climate, and will never apply to it, if they can possibly live any where else. But except these dismal swamps, it appears from all accounts, that they have no other Corn or grass grounds in *Florida*, fit to maintain any number of people.

It is as contrary to all reason and experience, to call *Florida* healthful. There never was a healthful country known upon the sea coasts of *America*, whether north or south, from *New-York*, or at least from *Virginia*, to *Peru*; all the *British* and *Spanish* colonies in these climates are well known to be very unhealthful, on the low flat and marshy sea coasts; and *Florida* lies in the very midst and worst situation of them all. If it is healthful, it must alter the very nature of things. It is a low flat and marshy sea coast, scorched with burning sands, in a hot climate, and close woody country, and flooded with excessive heavy rains, which have no drain from the land, but stagnate all over a low flat country, and form those swamps and marshes of which it is full; which become perfectly pestiferous, where the waters stagnate and corrupt in such a hot climate. There is not a hill in the whole country to drain it from the heavy rains, either in east or west *Florida*; from which alone any one might perceive, they can never be healthful. In these respects they resemble all the most unhealthful parts of our colonies,

colonies, and of all other parts of the world, and the climate is more intemperate. We ought not therefore to be deluded with stories about the healthfulness of such a country, when all the world shews it to be the reverse. All our colonies, and *West-Florida*, were very healthful, till they were found to be otherwise; as they must appear to be to every good judge, from their situation on or nigh the sea coasts, which are well known to be very unhealthful *. The complexions of the people, the surest

* The situation of all the maritime parts of *North America* in the south is; I. They are a low, flat and close woody country, which can neither be well aired nor ventilated.

II. The coast for some distance is low, flat and marshy; the marshes smell as bad as any common sewers, and infect the whole country round them.

III. The soil is in general a scorching sand in a hot climate, which with the close woods render the heats so insufferable, that people sometimes drop down dead with them, especially at hard labor in the fields.

IV. They lye in a narrow vale between the sea and mountains, and are flooded with rains from both these sources, both from sea and land winds. The quantity of rain that falls by these means is vastly great, from 50 to 65 inches in a year. In the most rainy season we have known in *England*, there fell 9 inches of rain in two months, but at *Charles-Town* Dr. *Lining* measured 9 inches of rain in one shower, which lasted 36 hours. The greatest part of this rain falls in the months of *July*, *August* and *September*, and renders them very sickly, by stagnating all over a low flat country, which forms so many swamps and marshes. In *Florida* again they have a third source of rain from the gulph of *Mexico*, so that it rains almost every day in summer.

surest sign of the state of health in any country, their pale and fallow looks, and emaciated habits, abundantly shew the unhealthfulness of their

V. All this happens in the climate of *North America*, which is subject to great and sudden changes from heat to cold, especially in the long nights in the southern parts, to which their unhealthfulness is chiefly owing. You are melted with sweat at night, and tremble in your bed with cold before morning. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

Here we have both heat and moisture in extremes, which are the certain parents of diseases, saith *Hippocrates*; and that has been sufficiently verified in the woods and swamps of *America*; although some places are more healthful, such as the banks of *St. Augustine*, which are high and dry, exposed to the sea breeze.—The common diseases are epidemic fevers, and the *country distemper*, as it is called, is a lingering chachexy, of which none can form any judgment in a year or two.

The reason that is given for the healthfulness of *Florida*, is, that the garrison of *St. Augustine*, after staying there for 20 months, happened to escape alive; but surely that is no certain proof that the country is healthful. It may be a sign that it is inhabitable, and so are all parts of the world, in some degree, from *Greenland* to *Gomorrion*, but that is no proof that they are healthful. They appear to be unacquainted with the state of health in *North America*, who draw that conclusion from such an observation! It is well known, that many go and return from all the most unhealthful parts of *America*, and escape with their lives, although not without a severe fit of sickness; of which we see instances every day in all our ships crews, who go to these unhealthful coasts of *North America*. By such inferences, we seem not to observe the first principle of *physick*; the bane of which is, to draw general rules from particular observations. To say that such a one happened to escape with his life out of *Florida*, is no more than to say, that such a one happened to live after taking a dangerous

their situation, and deter all who know them from settling among them. By these means the nation loses more people on these unhealth-

dangerous medicine, when twenty others may be killed by it.—The acute diseases in these unhealthful parts of *North America* generally turn to intermittents, which are not mortal even in twenty months; but in a few months more they may bring on that *Cachexy*, with an emaciated habit, a swelled belly, and pale fallow complexion, which is the characteristic of the bad state of health in all the southern and maritime parts of *North America*; after which acute diseases are mortal, and chronic diseases incurable, without a change of air and climate.—*Videas anhelos & semimortuos, ab oris maritimis ad montes confugere, & cito sanitatem recuperare.* Sanciri de noxiis paludum effluviis.

Upon these accounts, these maritime parts of *North America* differ from most other parts of the world, which are generally healthful, wherever they are barren; but to be both barren and unhealthful, is perhaps peculiar to these wretched sea coasts, on which the poor people starve with poverty, and dye with perpetual sickness; shewing, while alive, the very picture of poverty and bad health, almost in every countenance.

They who tell us, that *Florida* is healthful, would at the same time persuade us, that it will bear sugar; in which they seem not to know, how much they contradict themselves. The small share of health that people generally enjoy in all these southern and maritime parts of *North America*, proceeds from the winters, in which the people recruit their strength and vigor, so as to be able to live out another summer; but in such winters sugar is killed, when men recover; but *Florida* seems to be unfit for either. It is for this reason that the people encrease and multiply so fast in *North America*, when they decrease in the sugar colonies; as they appear to do in these southern and unhealthful sea coasts of the Continent, where the winters are so short. From this we may see the wisdom of nature in every thing; if the severe colds render that continent uninhabitable in the north, it is on that account more inhabitable in the south.

ful

ful sea coasts, than many such barren deserts are worth.

It was by these means that the *Spaniards* have lost so many people; that *Spain* has been depopulated in peopling *America*; and *Britain* would lose as many in peopling *Florida*. For that reason it is proposed to people it with *Greeks*; but the low flat and marshy country, and scorching sands of *Florida*, are as different from the high and dry, hilly and stony country of *Greece*, as of *Britain*. *Greece* lies in the same climate as *Virginia*, and the people of that colony must be supposed to be better inured to the singular and peculiar climate of *North America* than the *Greeks*; but send them to the scorching sands and swamps of *Florida*, few of them would survive it for any time. It is for this reason, that none of the people in our colonies will go to *Florida*, especially in the northern, for whom it is only wanted. They look upon it as going to their graves, or to lead a miserable life in an intemperate and sickly climate, in which they are not able to undergo the labor that is necessary to earn their bread. "The heat of the sands would scorch the soles of their shoes," say they, in the accounts they have published of it; and in effect, the heat in *Georgia* has been found to be 103 degrees in the shade, and in *Carolina* 130 in the sun and sands, which is 34 degrees greater than the heat of human blood. Such a country can never be cultivated but by negroes, which all

all the produce of the poor lands will never enable any one to purchase, especially at their present advanced price. And if any should lay out money upon negroes in *Florida*, it would only hinder the people in *Carolina* to maintain theirs, which they are already scarce able to do without manufactures, as we have said.

If we consider the soil, it is rather worse than the climate and situation. All the southern and maritime parts of *North America* are either a barren bank of sand, or an unhealthful sunken marsh; and the farther south we go, the worse it grows in these respects, till in *Florida* it ends in a mere sandy desert, full of stagnant pools from the heavy rains. The whole coast of *West-Florida* has been well known ever since the year 1719, and the many accounts the *French* have given of it, to be nothing but such a sandy desert; "the land is nothing but a fine sand, as white and shining as snow*." This is the account they give of the country from the *Mississippi* to *Mobile*; of which last an officer of twenty years experience in the country, gives his opinion in these words, "I never could see for what reason this fort was built, or what could be the use of it: although it is 120 leagues from *New-Orleans*, it must be supplied from thence; the soil is so bad, being nothing but sand, that it produces nothing but Pine-trees,

* *Du Pratz, Hist. Louisiana, I. 52.*

‘ or a little pulse, which is but indifferent of the kind †.’ They only settled there for the sake of a port in *Dauphin* island, which was choked up by the shifting of the sands in a gale of wind, and leaves the place without any port above the depth of nine feet. They only maintained this port to vye with *Carolina* in the *Indian* trade, for which purpose it must be rather a prejudice than any benefit to *Britain*. Their other settlements on this coast, they tell us, “ only deserved an oblivion as lasting, as their duration was short.” They then took *Pensacola* from the *Spaniards*, but found it only fit to dismantle and abandon; on which they retired to the *Mississippi*, as we must do, if ever we would hold that country. By insisting upon the settlement of the sea coasts, we shall lose both time, men and money for nothing, till we may lose the country with them, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have done before us.

The greatest part of *Florida* was surveyed in 1708 by Capt. *Nairn*, from *Carolina*, who gives this account of it for about an hundred miles square round *Pensacola*; “ All this country is a *pine barren* (sandy desert) without any water in it;” that is, it has neither earth nor water in it, and must therefore be very unfit for a *plantation*. All the rest of *Florida*

† Du Mont. *Memoires de la Louisiane*, Tom. ii. p. 80. appears

appears to be the same, where it is not swampy and marshy. We may say of the whole, what *F. Charlevoix*, who travelled all over it, says of the next post at St. *Joseph's*, which lies in the middle of the country upon the borders of *East* and *West Florida*; ‘ it is a wretched country (*un pays perdu*) and a mere barren sand, on a flat and bleak sea-coast—the last place on earth where one would expect to meet with any mortal, and above all with Christians *.’ Our people who are there, and those who have come from it, give rather a worse account of their situation, and of the country †.

* *Hist. N. France*, tom. vi. p. 263.

† The following account was wrote by an officer from *Pensacola*, and has been confirmed by other eye-witnesses: “ My expectations with regard to this country, and the hopes of every one else, are sunk to the lowest pitch. Instead of the finest country in the world (as *West Florida* was called) we found the most sandy, barren, and desert land that eyes could see, or imagination paint! not capable of producing a single vegetable, nor the least prospect of improving it! as the soil for an hundred miles back is every where the same as the sea-shore, and consists not of earth, but of the whitest sand you ever saw;” which agrees with the account of Capt. *Nairn* above.

“ In summer it is too hot to go abroad in the day-time; the months of *July*, *August*, and *September* are said to be as hot here as at *Jamaica*. The winter is very cold, but as it depends on what wind blows, that is very uncertain. You have often contrary extreams in the same day; a South wind scorches, and a North wind freezes, which must be very disagreeable—There is so much sickness at *Mobile*, that almost all the officers are ill, and only 60 men of a regiment able to do duty;” which was afterwards the case at *Pensacola*.

Yet we are told, “*West Florida* is extremely “fertile *;” and we have no better grounds to believe, that *East Florida* is so. This is the first part of *North America* that was ever attempted to be settled, and has been better known than any part of the Continent, altho’ it seems now to be entirely unknown and forgot. Both the *Spaniards* and *French* have often attempted to settle *East Florida*, but found it to be so unfit for that purpose, that they entirely abandoned it †. This country has been as well known to the *English* since the two sieges of *St. Augustine* in 1702 and 1740, and the expeditions

* Regulations of the Colonies.

† *Florida* was first undertaken to be settled by *John Ponce* in 1512; *Vasquez d’Ayllon* in 1520 and 1524; *Pamphilo Narvaez*, who had a grant of it, in 1528; *Fernando Soto* from 1539 to 1541; a Company of Missionaries in 1549; *Pedro de Melendez*, who had a grant of all the Southern parts of *North America*, in 1562 to 1586; the *French* under *Ribault* and *Laudonniere* from 1562 to 1567; but they all found the country to be so poor and barren, that they abandoned it, inasmuch that it has never been settled as a colony to this day. *Soto* travelled all over the Western parts of the Peninsula, from the Bay of *Spirito Santo*, where he landed, and tells us of the whole from that to the inland parts of *Georgia*, “that country, which is no less than “350 leagues in extent, is a light and soft land (sand), “full of swamps and very high and thick bushes, which “is very poor and barren:” but where lands bear nothing but bushes or underwoods in *America*, they are good for nothing. *Narvaez* again searched all the Eastern and inland parts for 280 leagues, “and found it to be all a low “flat sand, full of swamps, with a sad and dismal aspect “throughout the whole country.” *Solum omne quod haecenus lustraverant*

peditions of Governor *Bull*, who broke up the *Indian* settlements in it; from which every one has conceived that bad opinion of *Florida*, which all have given us, who ever before knew it. For these reasons the *Spaniards* abandoned *Florida* as a colony, and ‘*St. Augustine* was only maintained by his Catholic Majesty, that it may ‘be of service to the Plate-fleets, when coming ‘through the Gulf, by shewing lights to them ‘along the coast, and by being ready to give ‘assistance when any of them are cast away ‘thereabout *.’ This was the more necessary, as there is not a port upon that whole coast. The Bar of *St. Augustine* has but eight or nine feet water on it, and that over such breakers on the rocks, that it is as tremendous as dangerous to pass it. We are told indeed, that these rocks may be blown up, but for what purpose? There could not be a worse spot pitched upon, either to cultivate or navigate; and there are four good ports nigh it, *St. Mary’s*, *Jekyll*, *Tybee*, and *Port-Royal*, but not one of them will ever be secured by such colonies as *Georgia* and *Florida*; although they are the only good ports

lustraverant (secundum ipsorum calculum 280 leucarum) planum erat atque arenosum, multis stagnis riguum—Tristem & squalidam regionis faciem renuntiavit. De Laet. l. 4. c. 3. Herrera Dec. iv. l. 4. c. 4.

From all these accounts, and from all the authentic documents with which the Council of the *Indies* in *Spain* could furnish him, which were numerous, the Historian of *America* himself informs us, *Florida* is a poor country, without any commodity but a few sorry pearls, and all who ever went to it died in misery. *Herrera Dec. iii. l. 8. c. 8.*

* Report of the Assembly of *Carolina*, July 18, 1740.

we have in all these Southern parts of *North America*.

From all these accounts of *East Florida*, and even from those which have been published to extoll and magnify the country, it must appear to all good and impartial judges, to be nothing but a *pine-barren*, or sandy desert, which can only be compared to a barren sandy *heath* in *Europe*, if it is not even worse †.

But

† This abundantly appears from the journal of Mr. *Bartram* in *East Florida*. Lands in *North America* are easily known by what they produce, or the woods with which they are covered, of which our Author gives a particular account in every part of the country; from which it must appear to all who understand it, that the lands are the worst of any in *North America*, which are so much worse than those in *Europe*. They are in general covered with *pin*s, mixed with a few shrubby *oaks*, *live-oaks*, or *Chinkapins*; and in other places, which are swampy, with *laurels*, *bays*, *liquid-amber*, and *water-oaks*; with underwood of *ivy*, *myrtle*, *whortle-berries*, *palmetto*, &c.; now these are the heath itself of *America*, with which all poor and barren lands are covered there, as they are here with heath, which does not grow in *America*. Hence *Florida* was justly called a *Bag-shot heath*. Were that heath in *America*, it would be covered in the same manner as *Florida* is, since there is no other heath there.—Good lands in these Southern parts of *North America* should be covered, as they are upon the *Mississippi*, and all other places, with tall *red-biccories*, as high and straight as *elms*, *white*, *chestnut*, or *scarlet-oaks*, *tulip-trees*, *black walnuts*, *locusts*, &c. of which we do not meet with one in *Florida*; and it is not a tree or two of any kind that denotes the quality of the land, but entire woods of them.

But many, who are unacquainted with these things, deceive themselves, and impose upon the nation; and it is to be feared, do not know land when they see it. If they find a few *oaks* on land, they think it must be good; but there are four and twenty different sorts of *oaks* in *North America*,

But as the whole is a dead flat, without a hill in it, if it be not some sand-banks, the rains, which are very heavy, and almost perpetual every-day in summer, form many swamps and marshes, in which the waters stagnate for want of a drain, and thereby fertilize the poor barren soil. These are the Rice grounds of

America, which grow on all sorts of soil, from clay to sand, and from the best to the very worst of all. Others again are as much deceived about what they call *biccory-lands*.—So upon seeing a little clay in the sandy banks, they tell us, these barren sands have a clayey foundation!—Mr. *Bartram* could find no clay, till a bit was searched for as a rarity, which proved to be only a concretion of shells. The sandy banks in all these Southern parts of *North America* have some *strata* of clay and shells in them, otherwise they would be washed into the sea, where there are no rocks nor stones to support them; but you will find no clay in the land.

But the way to judge of good lands is from the Corn and Grass they bear, and the crops they yield; so that if any will tell us of good lands in *Florida*, what sort of Grass do they produce, or do they bear any? and what is it like? Sandy soils in hot climates never produce good Grass, and in *Florida* they are covered with *pin*s, which spoil every thing, and even the earth itself, as we have said. But what sort of corn will lands produce, which bear no Grass?

We are told indeed, they have two crops of Corn in a year, which it is well-known the *Indians* of *Florida* always had, and yet they never had Corn to eat for above six months in the year. There are five very different sorts of *Indian* Corn, and a dwarf early kind, of which they have two crops a year in all the Southern parts of *America*, and yet it yields so little, that it is not worth planting; if it be not in *Canada* and *Florida*, where the soil or climate are fit for no other.—Thus you can neither have *Wheat*, *Barley*, *Rye*, *Oats*, good *Indian* Corn, nor Grass; so that it is to be feared, we do not know or consider what it is to plant such a country!

Carolina,

Carolina, which are the best, if not the only fruitful lands in the country; and for that reason a Rice planter who has been to view these in *Florida* tells us, "these *marshes* are extraordinary rich lands †;" from which expression many would persuade themselves, and make the world believe, this is a very rich and fruitful country, as nothing else can induce any one to be of that opinion: but surely such pernicious pools, in that climate, never deserved the name of *land*, if it be not here, or in *Carolina*, where they have no other. A Rice planter may think these marshes on the head of *St. John's* river, or the swamps in the middle of it, "the best in the king's dominions *;" but the better they are in his sense, so much the worse for those who live upon them; for good Rice grounds have a strong holding bottom, on which the waters do not drain off and leave them dry, as upon their poor sandy bottoms, but stagnate till they become putrid, and infect the whole country round them; which fre-

† Account of *East Florida*, p. 77.

* We fear, they who may be of this opinion are not acquainted with the king's dominions. Were they to see the swamps in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, they would think those in *Carolina* and *Florida* hardly worth cultivating. This they may perceive from the *Cypresses* they bear, which are so stunted, that they abundantly shew the sterility even of these their low grounds. And as most of these on *St. John's* river are *Cypress* swamps, which will not defray the charge of clearing and draining, it is to be questioned, whether they are fit for any thing.

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quently happens in all the southern parts of *North America* †.

These swamps, which they would call rich lands, lye on *St. John's* river, which is the only part of the country that is of any value. Now the lands on the lower parts of that river

† For these reasons the wise Author of nature seems to have made all these southern parts of *America*, which are so low and flat, and flooded with such heavy rains, a poor sandy soil, from which the waters drain off, or soon dry up, otherwise they would be uninhabitable; and these Rice swamps are little better. Let not any one therefore set a value upon a clayey soil, on these low flat and rainy sea coasts, even if they should find any. Neither let any one imagine, that *Florida* will ever breed people. Nature makes nothing in vain, and does not breed people to starve in a sandy desert. The *French* observed at *Mobile*, that the breeding women were barren, as they are in a like situation on the coast of *Africa*, and in all such sandy deserts in hot climates, from natural and manifest causes; whatever anile stories any may tell us about their fecundity at *St. Augustine*. Thus we seem not to consider what it is for this nation, which is in such want of people both at home and abroad, to people a country, in which more people are buried than are born, and the women are barren. It is surprising, that when this nation has so few people, we should think of nothing but settling the barren and pestiferous sea coasts of *Florida*, and the *West India* islands, which have been called healthful, as well as the other. These must be settled by *Britain*; none of the people in our colonies will go nigh one of them; and the nation will be drained of people at home, to render her colonies independant, and more populous and powerful than their mother country, to the probable ruin of both. But we seem to be ruled by a little local knowledge of a sandy point on these barren and unhealthful sea coasts, without any regard to all the rest of the world.

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are sandy and barren for 125 miles, above which these swamps extend 40 or 50 miles farther; and beyond these the river is so choked up with pond weeds (a sure sign of an offensive stagnant water) that it overflows its low borders, and drowns the country about it, which forms many lagunes, or miry marshes, from that to its source nigh the cape of *Florida*. This is the whole of this country, which some would extoll and magnify!—As for any uplands, we hear of none but what are all sand. The *Pine-barrens* come down to the river side, where it is not swampy; and the low grounds, between the swamps and the barrens adjacent, are but two or three hundred yards broad, and these are all sand, says our author †. But if this were a fruitful country, these low grounds on the river side should be two or three miles broad with a deep and rich soil. If you meet with no such lands on the river sides, especially in *North America*, it is a certain sign, there are none in the whole country. It is therefore to be feared, that they who would magnify and praise this barren desert, do not know a country when they see it, and are more

† See *Bartram's journal, manuscript*; which passage we do not find in the edition that has been published; although it is the most material of the whole, as it contains a general description of the country, and the author's opinion of it, after he had viewed it; but as this is not in favor of the country, it was not deemed fit to print.

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unable to form a right judgment from an account of it †.

The settlements on these rich lands, as they would call them, are made on little hillocks, about 2 or 300 yards long, and half as broad, which rise up here and there in the midst of these swamps or banks of the river. “These are the best Corn lands,” says our author, and the only lands that the natives cultivated, for which they are rendered fit by being covered with shells, like many parts of *North America*. Such spots are certainly not worth possessing in such a desert. The low grounds on the river side, which are the only other fruitful lands, are but 2 or 300 yards broad, and about 50 miles in length.

† There is not perhaps a river in the world, of the same extent with this, that has so little or rather no good land on it. Even in *West Florida*, barren as it is on the sea coasts, if you ascend the rivers for 100 or 150 miles, you meet with a high dry and fruitful country, in a more temperate climate, and healthful situation; but this muddy canal in *East Florida* is barren at its mouth, and ends in such marshes at its head, that they are not fit to inhabit in that climate. This and all the other little streams in the country proceed from such sources, and run some north, some south, in contrary directions to one another, like stagnant and muddy canals, rather than running waters which proceed from the natural sources of rivers in hills and mountains; of which there are none in all *Florida*, whether east or west, nigh the coast. Yet they would praise even these muddy canals, which they call rivers, as well as the marshes upon them, which they would call rich lands, since there are no others. But if any would see a true account both of such rivers and lands, which smell as bad as any common sewers, and are only to be paralleled by the *Campania* of *Rome*, let them consult *Lancisi de noxiis paludum effluviis*.

Suppose they were a mile broad, and 100 miles in length, which will contain all the best of the sands in the country, they would make but 100 square miles, which is but the size of the tenth part of a county in *England*. Even if we allow all the little spots that may be found fit to cultivate in the whole country, to make 1000 square miles, the size of a county in *England*, can they be worth possessing in such a desert? or can such spots be worth 100,000 *l.* a year!—All the lands of any value in *Canada* make but 900 square miles, and those in *Florida* not 100; the two together are no larger than a county in *England*, and are said to cost near half a million a year, which is nigh half as much as all the lands in *North America* produce for sale.

As for the produce of such a country, we may be sure it cannot be much, if any thing. The first thing to be considered in all countries, and especially on plantations where they have no markets for provisions, are the necessaries of life, or Corn and Grass, which *Florida* will not produce for any number of people, or a colony. Neither Wheat, Barley, Rye, nor Oats, will grow in the soil or climate. A poor and scorching sandy soil is as improper for these, as a miry marsh, especially in such a climate. The winters likewise are too short and sultry to cure provisions, at least to keep for the year; without which it is impossible to live on plantations: but as the winters are attended with frosts, so

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as to render the country unfit to produce sugar, it labors under all the disadvantages of a southern situation, without any of the advantages; and they may be as unable to purchase their provisions, as to raise or cure them. Nothing that *North America* produces, will enable a colony to purchase their provisions. It was for this reason, that the *Spaniards* never had the necessaries of life in 170 years that they were possessed of *Florida*; and every one deserts the country, as fast as they go to it, unless they are maintained at a public expence. The many projectors we have in all our colonies, never consider how their labourers are to be maintained, and for that reason their projects all miscarry, as they certainly must do in *Florida*. You can only maintain a colony there by means of Rice, and to clear, drain and cultivate the dismal swamps of *America* for that, in which half the labourers are lost, is more than any white people can or will do; and to purchase negroes at their present price will never turn to account for that, or any thing else that *Florida* will produce. They find it so difficult to maintain negroes in *Carolina*, that they have in a manner prohibited them. At the best, *Florida* can only be a barren appendage of the other Rice colonies, which already produce more Rice than they can well vend, or at least they and the other colonies have ten times more land than would serve for that purpose; so that the settling of a colony here can only serve to oblige

oblige the rest to set their negroes about manufactures, as we have said *.

For these reasons, they would make a sugar colony of *Florida*; a whim with which the nation has been deluded, with all others that could be thought of. A poor sandy soil is as unfit to produce sugar, as the cane is to grow in frost and snow. They must be little acquainted with the climate of *North America*, who expect to make sugar in any part of that continent. At *Charles-Town* in *South Carolina* the cold has been observed to be greater, than

* We have already had an account of what *Florida* will produce, by a good judge on the spot. Mr. *Bartram* tells us, the richer swamps may produce Rice; the narrow slip of sandy low grounds on the borders of these might bear Indigo; and the sandy uplands, which are in a manner the whole country, would produce *Indian Corn*, Potatoes, and Cotton, “by the help of dung, and good cultivation,” says he; and so would any land, if you could get manure for it; but that is as scarce in a sandy desert, as a clayey foundation is for such a soil, which we are told might manure it.—The proper manure for such lands is marl, which will not quit cost for any thing that *North America* produces, if it were to be found.—As for dung, many of our Planters in the Southern parts of *North America* are of opinion, that it spoils such sandy soils. It is presently exhaled by the heat of the scorching sands, so as to yield little or nothing, and renders them so light, that both the soil and manure blow away with the wind like dust, and leaves them poorer than ever.—Thus all the proposals for the planting of *Florida* are no better than to make sugar in frosts!—To make both sugar and wine in one and the same country, which is certainly very unfit for either!—To make silk, where there are no people! or to support a colony by the planting of Cotton!

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the most intense cold felt in *England* during the hard winter 1739-40*. So in the *French* settlements on the *Mississippi*, they have both frost and snow, and such severe colds, that water thrown up in the air freezes before it falls to the ground †; at which times no part of *Florida* can be free from frosts. And we have seen very credible people who have felt the like cold at *Pensacola*, where water froze as it fell on the ship's deck, and they had ice of a considerable thickness. These colds are occasioned by violent north-west winds, and if we knew their fury, we cannot suppose, that their current can be stopp'd by the low and flat point of *East Florida*. We have had but three accounts of a winter there, which were all attended with severe frosts. The first is by *Soto*, who tells us, ‘the *Indians* going naked (which ‘they were used to) and in irons, during the ‘bitter cold of winter, were almost all starved ‘to death ‡.’ This was in the southern parts of the *Peninsula*; and both he and the *French* call the northern parts of *East Florida* “a very cold country.” In like manner an *English* ship being cast away not far from the cape of *Florida*, and the crew being stript by the *Indians*, seven of them were frozen to death, and when they arrived at *St. Augustine*, ‘on the 16th of *November*, we had ice half

* See a description of *South Carolina* by ———.

† *Du Pratz*, *Hist. Louisiana*.

‡ *Voyage to Florida*, ch. 13.

‘ an inch thick, say they, and it had been so
 ‘ for some mornings past §.’ This cold they
 met with on the 7th of *November*, at the very
 beginning of winter, and not far from the Cape;
 where ‘ the ground was covered with such
 ‘ frosts, that it was terrible to go out of doors.
 ‘ The north-west wind was violent, and the
 ‘ cold such, that the strongest of us thought
 ‘ we should not outlive that day.—The *Spaniard*
 ‘ *niard* who was cloathed, was as bad to bear
 ‘ it as we that were naked ||.’ So in Mr. *Bartram’s*
 journey through *East Florida*, the first
 thing he observed on the morning he set out,
 was, that the ground was covered with a hoar
 frost; and on the 3d of *January* he met with
 such a frost, even on the head of *St. John’s*
 river, not far from the Cape, that it froze the
 ground an-inch deep in one night; which kil-
 led the *Limes, Citrons* and *Bananas* at *St. Au-*
gustine (probably under some shelter) and da-
 maged many hardy plants which grow even in
England. He met with four frosts in all, and
 one on the 12th of *February*. Thus the cli-
 mate is subject to frosts from *November* to *Fe-*
bruary, for three months in the year; in
 which, if the sugar cane may grow, it will pro-
 duce nothing but molasses, as it often does even
 in *Cuba*, and the north side of *Jamaica*, from
 these *Norths* (which seem to be the North-
 west winds from the Continent) and such fre-

§ *Dickenson’s Voyage to Florida*, p. 97.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 81.

quent heavy rains as they have in *Florida*; al-
 though they have no frosts there to render the
 juice more sour, if not to kill the cane.

Others would persuade themselves, that
Florida may produce *Wine* and *Oil, Silk* and
Cotton, Indigo and *Cochineal*; but it is a great
 misfortune, that these things are not better un-
 derstood, since the interest of the nation so
 much depends upon them. These are the
 commodities which the nation has expected
 from the colonies, ever since they were settled,
 but is never likely to get them from these or
 any of the maritime parts of *North America*, to
 which the many disappointments we have met
 with are chiefly owing. The maritime parts
 of all our southern colonies are so poor and
 sandy; the climate is so rainy; and the situation
 so low and flat, on a marshy sea coast, that
 they are very unfit for such productions; and
Florida is much worse in all these respects than
 any of them*.

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* It is well known in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that even
 that climate is too hot to make good wine of any manured
 grapes they can get. The grapes of *Europe* are summer
 fruits there, and make nothing but a *vin du pays*, fit only for
 present drinking. It is only from autumn fruits that we
 can expect good wine in any country, especially in such
 hot climates. Neither is good wine produced in any coun-
 try on the sea-coasts, especially such as the low, flat, and
 rainy coasts of *North America*. A vine is there drowned
 with rains, and killed by damps, as we have often found;
 which renders the juice thin and watery, and the wine small
 and aigre; the fault of what is made in our colonies.

But the grand staple commodities of *North America* are, or should be, Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp and Flax, which all these southern and maritime parts of the continent are still more unfit to produce. These require a strong, rich and fertile soil, and can never be made on barren

This is likewise the quality of *summer fruits*, which have such a thin crude juice; whereas in autumn fruits the juice is thick and racy, and well concocted, which gives the wine a strength and body, so that it will keep—There is more rain falls in *Florida* in a month than a vine would bear in a twelvemonth, on such a low and flat sea-coast. The vine delights in a high, dry, and hilly situation, and stony soil, which filter the wet from the roots, of which it is very impatient; but in all these Southern and maritime parts of *North America* there is not a stone to be seen, which alone shews a soil improper for vineyards: And it is as constantly observed, that vines will not thrive among Pines, probably from the nature of the soil above-mentioned. All that Continent is covered with grape vines, but there are none among the pines, nor will they thrive when planted among them. Nothing that grows is more delicate in its food, or is sooner hurt by an improper soil and situation, than a vine. It is to this unheeded peculiarity, that all our miscarriages in making wine have been owing; and they will be rendered everlasting, by continuing it in such countries as *Florida*, or even the maritime parts of *Carolina*, or *Virginia*—On these barren and unhealthful sea-coasts of *North America*, the vegetables look as yellow and sickly as the animals, and particularly *vines* and *olives*—The *olive* indeed might grow on these poor lands, but it will never bear good fruit on such a rainy and damp sea-coast. This is well known even in *Portugal*, where the olive does not thrive on the sea-coast, although they seldom have any rain above once a year; but in *Florida* it rains more or less every day in summer, we are told—In such a situation, *the olive shall cast*

ren sands. The settlement therefore of *Florida* is the direct way to disappoint the nation in every thing we want from *North America*. The northern colonies will produce nothing of that kind, and these sea coasts of the southern, to which we must by that means be confined, are

cast its fruit, saith the Scripture; vines shed their leaves, grapes burst, and olives drop.

Even the tender *silkworm*, which would otherwise appear to delight in warmth and moisture, like other insects, cannot bear such extremes of either. In *China*, where they are natives, and yield such quantities of silk, the soil and climate are very dry and healthful, insomuch that we are told by *Martini*, it seldom or never rains, as in *Portugal*. It ought therefore to be considered, whether our frequent miscarriages in making silk may not be partly owing to these damp and unhealthful sea-coasts, which are as prejudicial to this tender creature, as to others; especially as the excessive heats from the scorching sands are equally noxious. But on the *Mississippi* and *Ohio* it seldom rains, as in *China*—But the frequent miscarriages in the making of silk and wine have been owing to the attempting them at the first settlement of the colonies, from that of *Virginia* and *Carolina* to *Georgia*; when they have no hands to make silk, nor lands fit for vineyards. These are the most improper of all employments for new settlements. The first thing they want is, to have the lands cleared for Corn and Grass, which is not promoted, but obstructed, by the planting of mulberry orchards and vineyards. Neither will these thrive in close and damp woods. But the greatest obstacle is the want of hands to make silk, which requires so many. It is therefore a very injudicious proposal to make silk in *Florida*, where there are no people, and where there are never likely to be a sufficient number to make any quantity of silk, more than in *Georgia*, as these poor and barren countries will neither breed nor maintain them.

are as improper for that purpose. It is by these means that the nation has been disappointed in all her hopes from *North America*, now for 150 years, and the settlement of *Canada* and *Florida* will only render these disappointments unavoidable and everlasting. All the commodities we want from the colonies can only be made in the southern parts of the continent; *Canada* will produce none of them; *Florida* is

As for Cotton, there are three or four sorts of it which might grow in most of our colonies in *North America*, and one of these is esteemed as the best of any, and even preferable to the *West-India* or perennial Shrub Cotton; which it very nighly resembles. This last, it has been imagined, might grow in *Florida*; but it certainly never can be depended upon, for above a winter or two; which are sometimes mild in all parts of *North America*, but they are as uncertain as the wind. This perennial Cotton was planted in *Georgia* by Dr. *Houfoun*, but died the first winter. Cotton is perhaps tenderer than the Sugar Cane; even the annual sorts, which grow in Northern climates, will not bear the least frost. We ought not therefore to depend upon the perennial Cotton in any part of *North America*; that is more proper for the Islands, as the other sorts are for the Continent; and between the two we have no less than fifteen colonies from *Maryland* to *Granada*, which might make much more Cotton than the nation wants; although it is but a poor staple for any one of them, and will never be made any where without other more valuable commodities with it; the common *Turkey* Cotton, which is the sort generally planted in *North America*, is often at five-pence or six-pence a pound, and is hardly worth making to send to *Britain*. It is double of that value in the colonies, where it is made, and yet turns to very little account, if it be not for manufacturing by those who make it.

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is as unfit for the purpose; and for the sake of these deserts, we are excluded from all the more fruitful parts of the continent, which might produce all the commodities we want, and have no lands to make them elsewhere.—It is to the wretched sterility of these southern coasts of *America*, which will neither produce any thing, nor breed people to reap their products, that all these disappointments, and the bad state of the nation, are owing; and the settlement of *Florida*, which is so much worse than any of the rest, will only increase these evils, and render them perpetual.

Besides staple commodities, there is another more material point to be considered in the co-

The next commodities, proposed to be made in *Florida*, are *Indigo* and *Cochineal*; from the first of which we can expect as little in such a poor, dry, sandy soil, as from *Cochineal* in the climate. The true *Cochineal* does not grow to the Northward of *Panuco* in *Mexico*, which lies under the line, and to the Southward of the Cape of *Florida*. It is therefore to be doubted, whether it would grow in the frosts of *Florida*, as it is a perennial succulent plant, which will not bear a frost. The sort which grows in *Florida* and *Carolina* is but a poor *sylvester*, or wild kind, of so small value, that it would scarce defray the charge of gathering. At the best the picking of Cotton and *Cochineal* is compared, by the people in *America* who try them, to the picking of straws. These are employments only fit for *Indians*, who gather all the *Cochineal* that is got; and if the *Indians* were settled in the Peninsula of *Florida*, they might make some Cotton and *Cochineal*, as they do in the *Spanish* colonies, which is the only proper use of that country.—As for some other pretended advantages of *Florida*, they are more likely to be a loss and prejudice to the nation.

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lonies, which is their great and daily increase; and for which unless we make provision in time, they can never subsist by a dependence on *Britain*. We have above given an instance of a colony doubling its number every twenty years, and the like has been shewn in others; which is so far from being incredible, as many imagine, that it is surprising, they do not increase much faster, since that is not above a fourth part of the natural increase of mankind in *England*, as we have shewn. This increase of the colonies is owing to their occupation of husbandmen, which is the sole business of planters; and to a custom which prevails in them, of dividing the lands among their children, by which they are all provided with a subsistence, and a maintenance for a family, from the produce of their lands. Where this is the practice, any country will soon be full of people, if it will produce the necessaries of life. Mankind is propagated on the earth, like trees, as we have said, according as they have room to grow, and can find a subsistence. Therefore, as *Britain* is a limited and confined country, and the lands are engrossed by a few, it can never be very populous, nor the people numerous, unless the sources of population are better attended to, and the lands are more equally distributed. But altho' the colonies we possess in *North America* are not above a fourth part as fruitful as *England*, yet if they have such a general and free use of the lands, while they are engrossed by a few here, they may soon
become

become more populous than their mother country. There are at present nigh three millions of people in them *, who may in twenty or

* The number of people in the colonies is computed by two different methods: The first is from the militia, to which they add one third of their number for exempts, which they reckon gives the number of males between sixteen and sixty, which is a fourth part of the people; but in some of the colonies, in which we have an account both of the militia, and number of males of that age, this computation appears to be deficient by about one eighth.

The other and most common way is, from the lists of tythables, or taxable people, and polls; but as these lists are made out by every one, in order to tax themselves, they are always deficient, in the same manner as the land-tax is in *England*; and it is but a small allowance for this deficiency, to suppose it to be one eighth.

Now, from these lists the number of white people in *North America* was computed to be 1,600,000, in the year 1755, when the most exact account of their number was taken, before the commencement of the war; to which if we add one eighth, their number at that time must have been 1,800,000, and perhaps not much less than two millions, besides 3 or 400,000 negroes. It was from this computation, that the number of people in the colonies has been reckoned two millions; and they appear even to have exceeded that number in 1755; to which if we add their increase since that time, they cannot now be much short of three millions, including the negroes, of which many are daily purchased.

Since this appears to be the present number of people in the colonies, and they have hitherto doubled their numbers in 20 years, the question is, whether will the present number continue to increase at that rate? It is no doubt more difficult to double three millions than one; but as the country is more cleared, open, and healthful, the lands are more fit for tillage, and the people apply more to the raising of the necessaries of life, they increase faster than formerly; so that their number will soon be very great, and we ought in time to see how they are to subsist by a dependence on *Britain*, which it is the design of this discourse to point out.

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thirty years increase to six millions, as many as there are in *England*: And as they have room in that continent to extend their bounds, they will soon come to be very numerous; although they are never likely to be such great and mighty empires, as many imagine, in the barren and inhospitable soil and climate, which make by far the greatest part of that continent.

It is therefore of the utmost consequence to this nation to attend to her agriculture and population both at home and abroad. The increase of three millions of people will soon render them very considerable. It will indeed be very difficult for the people in the colonies to subsist, or to become very numerous, in the countries they now possess; but it will be as difficult, if not impracticable, to confine them to those bounds. So soon as planters want land, they starve; and to avoid that, people will do any thing. It is for this reason, that although they are confined in their bounds by the proclamation of *October 7th, 1763*, yet we are told, they pay no regard to it. To confine them to those bounds, is to starve many of them, and to oblige the rest to enter into manufactures, and a foreign trade; the consequences of which we would rather prevent than foretell. These should be left to people of judgment to discern and foresee.

The great concern of this nation is, not only to render such a number of people of use to her, and to enable them to support the people at home, by which they may likewise increase
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and multiply, but at the same time to see, that they can subsist by a dependence on their mother country. This they are only enabled to do by the produce of their lands that are wanted in *Britain*; without these they can only subsist by manufactures, and supplying themselves independent of her. Thus the general distribution of the lands in the colonies, by which every one has a portion to cultivate, in such things as they send to *Britain*, is as much for her interest, as for the benefit of the people who possess them; and this nation should never let any in the colonies be without lands for this reason. When they come to want lands to cultivate, which many already do, they have no way to subsist but by manufactures. Thus the use the nation has for new settlements and acquisitions in *North America*, is, for the great increase of the people who are already there, and to enable them to subsist by a dependence upon her; which they can never do, unless they extend their settlements. The test therefore of all our acquisitions is, whether will the people in the colonies, who want lands to make staple commodities for *Britain*, remove to them? It is only by this rule, that we can judge of the utility of any acquisitions or new settlements to *Britain*. More than one half of all the plantations in *North America* would never produce any thing that the nation wants; great part of the rest is worn out; and the people are daily increasing,
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and must have new settlements, or supply themselves independent of *Britain*.

Thus many seem not to know, what it is that we want new settlements or acquisitions for, and for that reason they can be no judges of their utility. It is not to drain the nation of people at home, of which it is in such want, nor even to get foreigners to settle any new colonies in *North America*, that acquisitions are wanted; but to enable the people we already have there, and their daily increase, to make remittances to *Britain*, to pay their debts, to purchase their necessaries from hence, and to live in that state of dependence on their mother country, as all the colonies should and would do, if they could. Now as this is the use for which lands in *North America* are wanted, the sending of any more people there, to occupy those lands, must be the greatest loss and prejudice to this nation, and is the certain way to render the colonies independant, whether they will or not. The lands they at present possess will produce little or nothing for *Britain*, and if they have no others, what are they to do, unless they extend their settlements? It was for this purpose, that the nation wanted to enlarge her possessions in *North America*, and not to settle new colonies to interfere with the old, and to drain the nation of people at home. We have already by far too many people in *North America*, for all that they do or can make upon the lands they possess, not to mention their

their daily increase; and to send any more there, is only to render them all independent together. Thus a colony of *Greeks*, or any others, would be the greatest detriment to this nation, if *Florida* were ever so fit to maintain them. We have already by far too many such colonies as either *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *East* or *West Florida*; and to settle any more such, is the greatest folly that this nation could well commit. Besides the expence, and the loss both of men and money, they can only serve to render all the rest independent. We already have colonies enough that produce nothing, and this nation will soon find that she has too many such, as we have said.

Now as this is the use of all new settlements or acquisitions in *North America*, we may from that judge of their utility and advantage. If the people in the colonies, who want lands to make staple commodities for *Britain*, will remove to any such acquisitions for that purpose, they may be a benefit to the nation, otherwise they will prove a loss and detriment. But will any planter we have in *North America*, remove either to *Canada* or *Florida*? Is it not obvious to every one, that such a removal would be from bad to worse, if it may not perhaps be to get a Rice plantation or two in the destructive swamps and marshes? We already have but too many such poor and barren lands, and inhospitable climates, and these are much worse than what we had before, and so bad that we can

can make no use of them. The Planters in all the colonies we have, are every day looking out for lands; they petitioned for those on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, even before the war, and many have desired to settle them since, but not one of them will think either of *Canada* or *Florida*. Planters who understand the business would think it contrary to reason and experience, to send them to such deserts as these to make staple commodities for *Britain*, and to live merely by their agriculture, where they could hardly get the necessaries of life! It is to supply the deficiency of the poor and barren lands we already possess, that new settlements or acquisitions are wanted in the colonies; and not to acquire any more such, which are much worse than those we had before, and of which we already have too many.—Thus we have lost what we wanted, by being excluded from the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, and are burdened with the charge of supporting what we had no manner of use nor occasion for, in *Canada* and *Florida*.

The only advantage of these acquisitions proceeds from the expulsion of our enemies from them, and not from the settling of colonies in them, for which they are totally unfit. By the reduction of *Canada* and *Florida* the colonies have such a security, from the enemy by which they were before surrounded, that they may extend their settlements with safety, and cultivate those lands which may both enrich them and the whole nation; but of such lands there

there are none either in *Canada* or *Florida*; and to exclude the colonies from all others, for the sake of these deserts, is to deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwise be reaped from the reduction of them, and of the very object for which the nation engaged in such an expensive war. There are but two objects in all *America*, lands that will produce staple commodities for *Britain*, and the fishery of *New-Foundland*, of which we shall get neither, if we are excluded from the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*. It was not for the acquisition either of *Canada* or *Florida*, that the nation engaged in the war, but for lands that would enable the colonies, and their daily increase, to subsist by a dependence on *Britain*, of which there are certainly none in these deserts; although such lands are the only object to this nation. All others are a prejudice and detriment to her, and the settlement of them is the direct way to ruin the interest of *Britain* in *North America*, after all it has cost her*.

It

* I. There could not well be a more ruinous scheme proposed, than to settle all the Northern parts of *America*. The people in them can never subsist by their Agriculture, and must therefore rely on manufactures; with which they must supply the Southern colonies, and get the materials from them, as they could have few of their own. In their long winters, when they can do no work in the fields for half the year, they can only subsist by manufactures within doors, and can make nothing to purchase them. Hence manufactures have ever been established in *Canada*; and we have

It is well known from 150 years experience, besides the reasons which we have given above, that no part of *North America* will produce any thing for *Britain*, to the northward of *Maryland*, in or about the latitude 39°, 30'. North of that the climate is such, that it will produce

have been publickly told, as an advantage of that acquisition, that the Southern colonies are supplied with hoes, axes, &c. from thence, contrary to law, and the manifest interest of *Britain*.

II. Any other settlements in the North can only interfere with our present Northern colonies, and lessen their returns to *Britain*, which are already so inconsiderable. *Canada* must interfere with them in the Fur Trade; *Nova Scotia* in the Fishery; and *Florida*, with *Carolina*, in Rice; which are the great sources of all their remittances to *Britain*.

III. In order to support *Ganada* and *Nova Scotia*, the Northern colonies must be enlarged and confined to lands which can never produce any thing for *Britain*; and to people and support *Florida*, the Southern colonies must be confined to their barren and unhealthful sea-coasts; the ruinous consequences of which must appear to all, who are in the least acquainted with the concerns of this nation in *North America*. We shall by that means be cut off from all the fruitful parts of the Continent; and these ruinous acquisitions will not only depreciate the present staple of the colonies, but hinder them to get any others.

IV. These acquisitions are so far from being any strength or security to the nation, that they deprive it of that security which it would otherwise enjoy.—They are like two wings separated from an army at such a distance, that they cannot join it, and are liable to be cut off on every attack.—They are at such a distance from our other colonies, that they can neither support them, nor be supported by them.—They divide our force, and thereby weaken it.—They are extended over a wide sea-coast, 3 or 400 leagues in extent,
both

produce nothing, but what *Britain* itself abounds with in much greater plenty and perfection; and it is high time, that this should be duely known and attended to, if we would pay any regard to the interest of this nation in *North America*, on which such immense sums have

both in *Nova Scotia* and *Florida*, on which there is but here and there a spot fit to settle; and these are at such distances from one another, that they can neither support, nor be supported by each other, while they are exposed to every fishing vessel.—Hence they can be only so many snares to involve the nation in a new war.—When the *French* see such advantages, with the interest they will always have among the established Catholics in *Canada*, it is not in their nature, we may say in their power, to neglect them, when they have so fair an opportunity to distress this nation.

V. We need say nothing of what these acquisitions cost, since that is but too well known. It was to “defend, protect, and secure them,” that the nation has been put in such a flame both at home and abroad; the colonies and their mother country have been set at variance; and such disturbances have been raised, that they are more to be dreaded than our worst enemies. These expences, we were told, as a reason for such proceedings, amount to 700,000*l.* a year, more than all our colonies ever cost, or ever need to cost, without these burdens. This is added to the expences of the war, for no other purpose but to deprive the nation of the benefit of her other colonies; the ruinous consequences of which three must certainly appear to all.—But neither *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *East* or *West Florida*, for which all these expences are incurred, are able to support their own civil establishments, and how are they to support any part of this nation!—Notwithstanding *Canada* has been settled 160 years, and had all the encouragement of *France*, it cannot yet support its own government! which is a certain sign, that it is worth nothing.—Withdraw our men and money, *Canada* could not subsist,

have been expended. So we cannot expect to make any thing of consequence to the southward of the 32d degree of latitude, or at least of $31^{\circ} 30'$; the whole continent to the southward of that being a mere sandy desert, if it be not in a spot or two upon the *Mississippi*, and about

subsist, and there would be no people in *Florida*—Such colonies certainly were never before thought to be worth possessing.—If at the same time we consider, that they deprive the nation of all the more fruitful parts of the Continent, which alone can be of any service to her, or enable the colonies to subsist by a dependence on their Mother Country, what can any one think of these deserts!—If we are at this pains to expose their ruinous consequences, it is from a thorough conviction, that they must prove the ruin of this nation, if we make this use of them. It is for this reason, that we could no longer be silent about a matter which is of such consequence and importance to the whole nation, although we can perhaps expect nothing but blame and censure for our pains. *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.*

These acquisitions, indeed, would be no such prejudice and loss to the nation, if we were to settle the other fruitful parts of the Continent with them; which, it is to be feared, we shall never do, so long as we are at such an expence both of men and money upon these. We have not people enough for both; so that we throw away our men and money upon these unprofitable and ruinous deserts, in order to deprive ourselves of all the useful and valuable parts of that Continent!—Every one cries out, We have already colonies enough, with all the new added to the old; which is so true, that we have by far too many such as these. For this reason we give up all the territories that could be of any service to the nation, for *Canada* and *Florida*!—The nation engaged in the war to put her colonies in a condition of depending upon her; but now, when it is come to the crisis, we seem to be tired and give them up: every thing that is, or has been done, is all done for them; when

about *St. Mary's* river in *Georgia*. Thus the whole of the *British* dominions, that will produce any thing the nation wants, is reduced to eight degrees of latitude; or 480 miles in length, which is no more than the extent of the island of *Britain* from north to south. The breadth again of this part of the *British* dominions is 620 miles in the north, and 500 in the south; at a medium we may call it 550 miles in breadth from the *Atlantic* ocean to the *Mississippi*; and 500 miles at most from north

when it is absolutely necessary both to promote and to preserve the interest of *Britain* in them; the consequence of which proceedings must be, you will lose the benefit of them, and precipitate them into that state, which you so much apprehend; of which we need no more certain proof than what we have seen, and may be seen by every one from their state and condition.

If we consider the charges of the army, navy, ordnance, and civil governments, since the first settlement of *Georgia* and *Nova Scotia*, which cost 600,000 *l.* at first, and not less than a million in all, these two, with *Canada*, *East* and *West Florida*, cannot have cost much less than three millions; which is certainly too much for this nation, in its present circumstances, to expend in contriving its own ruin.—We ought not therefore to be ruled by a little local knowledge, or other attachment to these barren and inhospitable deserts, when all the great and important concerns of this nation may be ruined by them; and the nation is put to such an expence, for no other purpose but to ruin her own interest; and to force her colonies to become independent, after the immense sums they have cost—All that we can ever expect from *Canada* or *Florida*, besides these ruinous losses, is only to send those brave men, who signalized themselves so much in the defence of their country, to starve and die at *Pensacola*; and to perish with the cold and scurvy at *Quebec*.

to south, which makes 275,000 square miles. This is the whole of what *Britain* has to depend upon in *North America*, either to supply her with the commodities which the nation wants, or to enable her colonies by that means to subsist by a dependence upon her. Now this is but a little larger than the kingdom of *Poland*, which contains 222,000 square miles; and one half of this, which is the only valuable part of all the *British* dominions in *North America*, is a barren mountainous or sandy desert. The *Apalachean* mountains run through the country, and extend nigh 300 miles from east to west, which with the barren lands on the coast make at least one half of these territories. Thus the whole that is fit for culture, contains but 137,000 square miles, which is the size of *France*. If we allow it to contain 150,000, it is but three times as large as *England*, which is all the fertile land that we can depend upon in *North America*, for producing any thing that *Britain* wants*; and

* Every one seems to take the Continent of *North America* by the lump, without knowing any thing more about it. They consider only the quantity of land, without any regard to the quality, which is a certain way to be deceived about it. It is this that deceives every one about the extensive sea coast we possess, from the river *St. Laurence* to the *Mississippi*, which they think must be sufficient for all purposes. But the sea coast of *North America* is the most unprofitable part of it, and is little better than a nuisance to the nation, almost from one end to the other. In the Northern parts, it is only the coast itself that is of any service, on account of the fishery, in which the colonies interfere

and if we consider the quantity of land that people require to live merely by their Agriculture, and to purchase all their necessaries by the produce of it, this will be found to be absolutely necessary for that purpose. Were the colonies in *North America* to purchase all their necessaries from *Britain*, without any Manufactures of their own, they would require the greatest part of the land here mentioned, which will be absolutely necessary for their

interfere with *Britain*; and in the Southern parts, the sea coast, which makes two thirds of the whole, is a perfect nuisance to the whole nation, both at home and abroad. Were it not for the ports upon it, this whole coast is only fit to be abandoned, as great part of it must be. But ports are of no consequence without commodities to ship at them, which the lands will not produce. The whole coast of *North America* produces nothing but a little Rice in the destructive marshes. It is only in the inland and fruitful parts of the country, that we can either raise colonies, or make any thing in them. This we may learn from the long experience of the *Spaniards*, whose dominions are equally barren and unhealthful on the sea coasts; and for that reason their colonies are all settled in the remote inland parts, both of *North* and *South America*, at a ten times greater distance from any navigation than the territories of the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*. By that means likewise they are free from those invasions, to which they would be exposed on an open sea coast. So that if colonies are more remote from *Britain* in these inland countries of *North America*, which are at no great distance from the ocean, and are all convenient to navigation, they are more secure from the charge of defending and protecting them; in which *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Florida* will ever involve the nation. There are but a few straggling spots in them that can be settled, which are exposed to every invader, while they can neither support one another, nor be supported by the rest, as we have said.

daily and great increase, if we would have them to depend upon *Britain*.

This part of the *British* dominions is divided into three different countries by the mountains, which run through the middle of them from North to South; and from their Southern extremity they run West to the *Mississippi*, forming two ridges in shape of the letter L. On the East side of these mountains lie the territories possessed by our *Southern colonies*; on the West are the *Territories of the Ohio*; and on the South are what we call the *Territories of the Mississippi*; the two last being divided from one another by the *Western* or *Chicasaw* mountains, which run through them from *Carolina* to the *Mississippi*. Thus these fruitful parts of the *British* dominions are divided into three, which we may call the East, West, and South divisions; each of which contains, at most, about 50,000 square miles of good and fertile lands, and forms a country about the size of *England*, in climates that are fit to produce every thing the nation wants. If the barren sands and mountains, which make one half of these countries, may hereafter be improved, it is certain, they will not admit of it at present, till we have a sufficient force in the country for that purpose, which can only be raised upon the more fruitful lands.

Now, it is this Southern division which we ought to settle in the first place. This extends from the sea coast of *Georgia* to the *Mississippi*, and

and is bounded on the North by the *Western* or *Chicasaw* mountains, and on the South by the *Gulf of Mexico*; the whole of this country is about 500 miles in length from East to West, and four degrees of latitude or 240 miles broad; this makes 120,000 square miles, of which one half on the sea coast is the barren desert of *Florida* above described; the rest is the fruitful part of the country, which we would propose to settle. This makes about 60,000 square miles, of which we possess about 10,000 in *Georgia* and *Carolina*, and have 50,000 to settle from that to the *Mississippi*.

This country may be divided into two parts, the Eastern division in *Carolina* and *Georgia*, and the Western on the *Mississippi*; which would make two good colonies, and they are hardly fit for more, especially on these frontiers. The last of these, known by the name of the country of the *Nauches* on the *Mississippi*, which extends from the Island of *New-Orleans* to the *Chicasaw* mountains, is well known to be by far the best and most fruitful country in all these Southern parts of *North America*; and extends from the *Mississippi* to the river *Coussa*, which falls into the Bay of *Mobile*; making a rich and fertile country about 200 miles square, which would perhaps produce more than all these Southern parts of the Continent put together, from that to *Virginia*. In all that distance we do not meet with a good and fruitful country of any extent, if it be not in the inland parts

parts of *North Carolina*, which is but very narrow, and has neither a convenient water-carriage from it, nor a good port belonging to it. The only other fruitful country in these Southern parts of the Continent is in the inland parts of *Georgia*, on the heads of the rivers *Alatamaha* and *St. Mary's*, with *Flint* river adjoining; which is recommended by the *Spaniards* as the most proper place for a settlement, after they had searched the whole country from the Cape of *Florida* to the *Mississippi* *; and some people who live in the country, at the forks of

* "That was a pleasant country, fruitful, and watered with a great many rivers. It produces but little underwood (a sign of good land) but hiccories and mulberry-trees in abundance—It was thought fit by all, that we should people this place; which was so advantageously situated—that the country was exceeding good, and that it might afford a good trade and considerable profit." *Soto's Voyage to Florida*, ch. 14.

This was the old country of the *Creek Indians*, which they left in the year 1715. At a small distance to the Southward of this is the country of the *Apalachees*, on the head of the river *St. Mary's*; which are the fruitful parts of *Georgia*, but they are of no great extent—West of these is *Flint* river, which has been surveyed, and found to be a good and fruitful country, as well as the river *Chatahoocè* adjoining, on which the lower *Creeks* dwell. There are many fruitful spots on these rivers, but with *pine-barrens* between them, as in all the rest of *Carolina*. This country has four large navigable rivers running through it, so as to be the most convenient of all the inland parts of *Carolina*; and if it were annexed to that government, it might make *South Carolina* a good and respectable colony upon these our Southern frontiers.

the

the *Alatamaha*, have given us the same account of it, and of the countries adjacent.

Now, if this country in *Georgia* were annexed to *South Carolina*, as far as the river *Chatahoocè*, it would soon be settled, and would make that a very respectable colony on our Southern frontiers, which would soon join to the other on the *Mississippi*, and they might thereby support one another without any charge to the nation *. It is well known, that *Georgia*

* The only obstacle to this junction of *Carolina* with the *Mississippi* proceeds from the *Creek* and *Chaftaw Indians*, who lie in the way; but as they are now at war with one another, that obstacle might be removed by proper management. It was by a like incident, that we got possession of *Carolina*, by two powerful nations of *Indians* who held it engaging in war with one another; in which the greatest part of them were extirpated, and the rest afterwards fled to the Peninsula of *Florida*. If these *Indians* were settled there again, they might be out of the way both of harm and mischief, which they will ever be in, where they are. A great part of them left that country only in the year 1715; where they might get their living by fishing and hunting, better than where they are, or nigh our plantations, which extirpate them.

If these and all the other *Indians* in the *British* dominions were at the same time deprived of fire-arms, we might be rid of all future trouble from them; and that might easily be done, now when they have none to supply them. It is only by that means, that their insurrections are to be prevented, and with more humanity than by endeavouring to extirpate them. By depriving them of fire-arms, we might save the few remains of them, and render them of some service to the nation. If ever *Florida* is peopled and cultivated, it will only be by the *Indians*, who are a vast advantage

gia was only separated from Carolina, to please the Indians, who would not suffer the Caro-

tage to Spain, and might be rendered as serviceable to Britain, instead of a perpetual annoyance. For this purpose we have only to supply them with implements of husbandry, in place of fire-arms. So long as an Indian can get a gun, he will never mind any thing else, and is never to be kept out of mischief.

Another cause of these insurrections of the Indians proceeds from the banditti of Indian Traders, who go among them, and are worse than the Indians themselves. They are there out of reach of the law, and observe no one law of civil society. The sending of such people among the Indians begets that familiarity, which gives them a contempt of the whole nation; but by keeping them more in awe, and at a distance, without such parlies and talks with them, they would have a greater respect for it.—For these reasons, none of them should ever be suffered to go among the Indians—Their trade should be confined to one or two places, where justice might be done, and good order preserved. For this purpose, Oswego in the North, and Augusta in the South, would be sufficient for all the Indian trade in North America; if it be not what New-England has so well established and regulated in the East by the same means. If their trade were confined to these two places, the Northern Indians would be drawn to Canada, and the great lakes, where the furs are to be had, and where they could only find a vent for them; and the Southern Indians would find it as convenient to settle in their former country of Florida; by which the nation would reap the benefit of both these acquisitions, much better than by any other means, or by being at such an expence both of men and money, to settle and protect them; and the Indians would at the same time leave all the fruitful parts of the Continent, here mentioned, for us to cultivate—This is the plan, which we would humbly propose for the settling and securing of North America; to keep the Indians upon these frontiers both in the North and South, for which they are only fit; and to unite our force in the center, where all the fruitful lands lie, that will ever produce any thing for Britain.

Indians to settle to the Southward of the river Savannah, after their quarrel with them in the year 1715; but that is now rather a reason for enlarging and strengthening that colony, which in 100 years is hardly able to defend itself against its intestine foes, negroes, and Indians. This state it has been reduced to, by dismembering it, and erecting a separate colony, which has no people hardly in it to this day, and is not able to support its own government, notwithstanding the vast charges it has cost, amounting to 200,000 l. at least, more than was ever before expended on all the colonies we have. This is a certain sign, that Georgia is not fit for a separate colony and government. The whole is but a small spot, and the fruitful lands in it would not make more than one or two good counties. We cannot therefore see the propriety of putting the public to the expence of maintaining such petty governments on these our naked and defenceless frontiers, which they weaken more and more, by dividing their force. For these reasons, it is proposed to annex Georgia to South Carolina, to which it properly belongs; and which it might strengthen: And in lieu of this, North Carolina should be extended to Wineau, as that is the only port to all the inland and fruitful parts of that country, which hardly produces any thing for want of such a port, although, in point of fertility, it is perhaps of more value than all

the rest of both the *Carolinas* and *Georgia* put together *.

Now, if this were done, and all the straggling and unprofitable settlements of *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *East* and *West Florida*, were united in one on the *Mississippi*, the nation might be rid of this enormous expence in "defending, protecting, and securing them;" they would secure these more valuable parts of the *British* dominions, and by being united together might be able to defend themselves; the nation would thereby have lands for all the Planters we have, instead of obliging them to enter into Manufactures for want of lands to cultivate; and we should thus have two good and profitable colonies in the

* There are few or no good lands in *North America*, but upon the sides of rivers; it is by means of the many large rivers in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that they have some fruitful lands on their banks; and there are five large rivers which rise in the inland parts of *North Carolina*, the banks of which are rich and fertile, although the hills between them still partake of the barrenness of *Carolina*, as we are well informed by several, whom we have recommended to settle in the country. This seems to be the most improveable part of all the *British* dominions on this side of the *Mississippi*; but as it lies in the narrow compass of a degree and an half of latitude, the best lands are taken up, and are a very small spot for so many people as we have in *North America*. They have likewise no navigation nor ports to the more fruitful parts of the country, if it be not by the river *Pedee*, which runs through all this inland part of *North Carolina*, and falls into the sea at *Wineau*, which now belongs to *South Carolina*; and for that reason it is neglected and never used by the other, which possesses the fruitful lands belonging to this port.

Southern parts of *America*, which might supply the nation with the many valuable commodities that are so much wanted, and would produce more for *Britain* than all our colonies in *North America* put together. Had *Carolina* been a fruitful and healthful country, it would long ago have been the most considerable and profitable colony the nation has; and the only way to render both that country and *Florida* of that service to the nation, is, to settle the inland and western parts, which are as fruitful and healthful, as the eastern and maritime parts, to which we are confined, are the reverse of both: and when these are peopled and secured, it will be easy to extend their settlements up the *Mississippi*, and across both the *Apalachean* and *Chicasaw* mountains to the territories of the *Ohio*, by which we may secure, people and cultivate every part of the *British* dominions, that can be of any service to the nation. By that means we might have lands for all the people in *North America* to live by their Agriculture, as all colonies should do; they would here likewise have room to enlarge their plantations, as they wear out; whereas by confining them to such pitiful spots, as the sandy point of *East Florida*, they would exhaust it in a very few years, if it were much richer than any would alledge*.

It

* By thus strengthening *Carolina* we might have a strong and powerful colony, which might be able to defend itself,

It is by these means, and by these alone, that the nation can reap the advantages of the late peace, or indemnify herself for the charges of the war. Nay the territories here mentioned were the very object and occasion of the war. It was in order to enlarge their plantations of staple commodities for *Britain*, and to find lands for that purpose, that the colonies extended their settlements beyond the mountains, to the river *Ohio*; from which the *French* expelled them, which was the immediate occasion of the war. These territories are the only object in all *North America* to this nation, and by cultivating these she might have some recompence for the many millions that have been expended, which there is no other way to obtain. The possession of *Canada* and *Florida* will only

on our southern frontiers, as *New-England* is in the north; and these two might save all the expences of those five new governments, which would cost nigh half a million a year to secure them, and after all, can only expose the nation to perpetual insults and invasions. If these colonies may become too large or populous, which there is no reason to apprehend in such a soil and climate, it is time enough to divide them, as they do the counties in the colonies, when they have a sufficient number of people in them, to defray the charge of a county, or government, and not before they have any, or are ever likely to have. By thus establishing so many little defenceless colonies and settlements, we only expose the nation again to insults and expences on their account. It was justly said by a *French* commander, that the fortifications of our colonies were towns and villages, and the people were the garrisons; but now we establish forts and garrisons, to protect the people where there are none, and where there are never likely to be any, to defend them.

deprive

deprive the nation of these advantages, while they can be none in themselves, but a perpetual burden and charge. We must no doubt own, that the reduction of these countries is a very great service to the nation, providing she makes a right use of that advantage; by the expulsion of our enemies from these and their other *encroachments*, the colonies are at liberty to extend their settlements to the more fruitful parts of the continent, which they otherwise could not do with safety; but if we exclude them from these, for the sake of *Canada* and *Florida*, we lose all the advantages, which we might otherwise obtain from the peace. Wherefore, they who would magnify *Canada* and *Florida* as valuable and profitable colonies, to which we should be confined, deprive the nation of all the advantages which have been acquired by his majesty's arms, and render the peace ten times worse than it is, or would be, if it were ever so bad; they render all the acquisitions obtained by it much worse than nothing, when they might otherwise be made the greatest advantage to the nation. We engaged in the war for those fruitful territories on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, which we got by the peace; but by the regulations after it we are deprived of them, and thereby conspire with our enemies, to deprive ourselves of those very advantages, which it was their aim to do by the war; while we get no more by *Canada* and *Florida*, than to relieve them of a burden and charge,

charge, and to saddle ourselves with it! It must be apparent to every one, who are acquainted with the products of our colonies, that no part of that continent will produce any thing for *Britain*, but what lies between the 40th and 32d, or at most the 31st degrees of latitude, as we have said; but by the proclamation so often quoted, which regulates the bounds of our colonies, we are excluded from all those fruitful and valuable territories, which might be of any service to the nation; and are confined to the barren sands in the south, or frozen deserts in the north, which can be nothing but a burden and charge, and a direct way to ruin the whole nation. The consequence is, the colonies are in a much worse situation, after all the expences that have been incurred, and the acquisitions we have made, than they were before; they are now involved in debt, and have no visible way of paying their debts; their staple commodities are failed, and they have no lands to increase them; they are unable to purchase their necessaries from *Britain*, and are obliged to establish manufactures; they are drained of money; are unable to comply with acts of parliament, &c. all which must daily grow worse, till they extend their settlements to the territories here mentioned; and might have been prevented by that means, instead of increasing those evils by the contrary measures.

If

If we would use any certain and effectual means to remedy this bad state of the colonies, or to prevent its evil consequences, we should give them lands that will produce staple commodities to send to *Britain*; for which the colonies were settled, and which is the only use of them. How necessary such lands are, will appear from their state above described. The northern colonies cannot produce any thing on account of the climate; the middle colonies are mostly worn out; and the southern are as barren as they are unhealthful; this is the true cause of their bad state, which must daily grow worse without an extension of their settlements to more fruitful lands, and a more proper climate. It was for such territories that the nation engaged in the war, if we yet know what we were about, but does not possess a foot of them. We are burdened with the charge of supporting *Canada* and *Florida*, and are excluded from the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, which last was all that we wanted. And although every one imagines, that we have land enough, as they call it, since the reduction of *Canada* and *Florida*, yet as these can only interfere with our other colonies, they make other lands more necessary for them, than they were before. Every one indeed seems to imagine, that such lands are only wanted for *them*, and for that reason they pay no regard to them; in which they do not so much as understand their own interest. The colonies have lands enough to supply

supply themselves with their own necessaries and manufactures, but as they will produce little or nothing that is wanted in *Britain*, and their products are the same with those of *Britain* itself, they must interfere with her, and may thereby become rather a prejudice than any benefit to the nation at home. It is for this reason, that many apprehend, the colonies must become independent, and may ruin their mother country, and we may see by what means. That can only happen for want of lands which will produce staple commodities for *Britain*, from which *Britain* herself excludes them! But if she would consult her own interest, or consider in what it consists, she should confine her colonies to those territories alone, above mentioned, from which she excludes them; and should exclude them from all other new settlements, to which she would confine them. If the colonies were possessed of those territories on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, their great and daily increase would be the greatest advantage to this nation, instead of a cause of jealousy and suspicion. Every person in the *North American* colonies is worth twenty shillings a year to *Britain*, even in the poor and barren countries and inhospitable climates they possess, and on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi* they would be worth at least 40 s. a head *per annum*. But suppose they were to bring in only twenty shillings a year, their numbers will soon be six millions, and they would be worth so many pounds

pounds sterling to this nation, which is certainly an object worthy of consideration. It is by these means, and by these alone, that the nation can indemnify herself for the expences of the war, or maintain her colonies in a state of dependence upon her. On the other hand, if they are excluded from these fruitful parts of the Continent, they may become a prejudice to the nation. The difference will not be less than five or six millions a year, with the probable loss of the colonies at last.

This nation wants many of the most necessary and valuable commodities, as we have said, on which she expends her treasure to the amount of four or five millions a year, which might be all saved by making them in the colonies. It was to supply the nation with these commodities, that the colonies were planted; and there is no way for the nation at home to reap the benefit of them, or for them to subsist in a state of dependence for their supplies, but by such products of their lands, which the greatest part of them will not yield. More than three-fourths or four-fifths of that Continent are not fit for *British* colonies, as they will produce nothing but what *Britain* herself does. The first thing to be regarded is the soil and climate, of which there are none to be met with, fit to produce any thing that this nation wants, if it be not in the Southern parts of that Continent, and there only in the three divisions above mentioned. It is only by settling these, that

we can ever have any number of people in the Southern parts of the Continent, where the whole interest of the nation lies, as we have said. If it was therefore an enquiry, why we have so few people in our Southern colonies, we may now see the cause of it; and the way to remedy that baneful state of the nation. The confining of the Northern colonies to their present bounds, according to the proclamation issued for that purpose, is, no doubt, a wise and salutary measure, as they can have no lands beyond those limits, but what are much worse and more unfit for *British* colonies, than what they already possess*; but for that reason it is absolutely

* The present Northern Colonies may subsist within themselves, and be of service to the nation, as they have hitherto been; but an enlargement of them would obstruct both. When the people come to be numerous in a colony, they starve one another, without staple commodities, manufactures, or a trade in them—The very being of these colonies seems to depend upon their timber and ship-building, by which they carry on their trade and fishery, the two great sources of their subsistence; but by settling all the countries round them, they would soon destroy their timber, which is so necessary for their support. These ought therefore to be kept in woods, both to supply them, and our Sugar colonies. It is well known, that new settlements make no other use of timber, but to destroy it as fast as they can; which indeed is necessary to clear the land for Corn and Grass; when these colonies are already obliged to make laws to preserve their timber, and to send some hundred miles by sea for firewood.

For these reasons, we are apt to think that *New-England* does not consult her own interest, by desiring to settle the territories of *Sagadahock* and *St. Croix*; from which they are

absolutely necessary to extend our settlements in the South. There are not less than a million of people in these Northern colonies, who cannot make any one thing to send to *Britain*; and how are they to live by a dependence upon her?

are already obliged even to get firewood. It seems indeed, on this account, to be very proper to annex those territories to *New-England*; but not to settle them, and destroy the timber, which is so convenient to navigation—By making settlements there, they would not only destroy their timber, but create new rivals to themselves in the fishery, who would be so much more convenient to it; whereas settlements in the Southern parts of the Continent would help to support the Northern. The great things wanted by the Northern colonies, which depend so much upon trade, are commodities to trade in, and people to trade with, both of which they might find, by making settlements on the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*.

Many seem to think, that we may raise populous colonies, such as *New-England*, on these Northern coasts, which appears to be impracticable; and happy it is for *Britain*, that it is so. All these countries, North of the settlements in *New-England*, lie within the verge of the *Northern snowy mountains* on one hand, and the islands of ice on the other, which render the climate unfit for Agriculture, on account of the perpetual frosts, or more pernicious cold fogs. These mountains run down to the sea coast, and leave but here and there a spot fit to inhabit; so a ridge of these bare and barren mountains runs through the whole Peninsula of *New-Scotia*. Hence there are but a few inconsiderable spots fit to cultivate, and the land is covered with a cold spongy moss in place of Grass, as all countries are, which are so drenched with snow. “The land is so barren, that Corn does not come up well in it; and though never so much pains be taken to manure it, still the crop will be very inconsiderable, and they are often obliged to throw it up at last. For this reason they are obliged to

her? These people have been petitioning for lands for many years, and if you will not grant them any, what can they do but supply themselves with their own necessaries and manufactures, independent of *Britain*? Many of them have removed to the more inhospitable climes

“sow Corn on their marshes.” *Relation de l'Acadie*, p. m. 283.

This is the account which the *French* give of *Nova Scotia*, from 100 years experience; and this has made it so difficult to people that country, which hardly produces either Corn or Grass, if it be not in a few marshes, and these are not fit for Corn in any part of the world. Yet we are told in *the regulations of the colonies*, “by clearing away the wood, they will soften the rigour of the climate, and find themselves richly overpaid in the *inexhaustible fertility* of the soil;” both of which are as contrary to truth, as any thing that could be imagined. The clearing of the woods would render those countries much more uninhabitable than they are; as must appear to all who are acquainted with the climate of *North America*; and the land is not worth the charge of clearing, as it must all be grubbed; the soil is so barren, that we see, manure itself will hardly make it yield a crop, not even now, when it is fresh and fertile. The earth is so chilled by the frosts, snows, and perpetual cold fogs, both in winter and summer, that it seems not to have warmth enough in it to rot manure, and make it yield its nourishment—It is not in the nature of things, that any land, whatever it may be to appearance, can be fruitful in such climates—In such frozen regions, we never meet with a fruitful soil in any part of the world, and much less in *North America*—The fertility of the earth proceeds from its warmth, which is not to be expected in the frosts, snows, and fogs of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*—Such countries must be very unfit to yield any thing for *Britain*; and if they do not, we cannot see the use of maintaining colonies in them at such an expence. And this is the case of all *America* North of *New England*; where colonies can only subsist by the fishery, and must ruin that of *Britain*.

of *Nova Scotia*, or the *deserts of New Jersey*, where they are lost to the nation, and find it so difficult to subsist in these deserts, that they are again obliged to return to their own country, we are told. They are now, and have been for many years, petitioning for those lands on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*; which if they do not get, they have no resource left, but to apply to Manufactures, and to carry on a trade in them, by which they will soon supply the rest of *America*. There are not less than 2 or 300,000 people in *North America*, who are in this situation, and want lands to make staple commodities for *Britain*; who would soon establish a good and respectable colony in any of the fruitful parts of the Continent here mentioned, but will never go either to *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, or *Florida*. It is for these people that lands are wanted, but not either for *Greeks* or *Britons*. If a few foreigners, such as the *Greeks*, or any others, may be procured to join these people from the Northern and other colonies, as many may from all parts of *Europe*, in order to secure the country at first; they may be of some service in the countries we mention, but in any others they must prove a prejudice to the nation, after all the charges they will cost; and even in these, a few would be sufficient, as these lands are wanted for the daily increase of the colonies.

If these countries are settled, they will produce many commodities, which may for ever keep

keep the colonies from interfering with their Mother Country, and prove the greatest service to the whole nation both at home and abroad. In all the three divisions of the *British* dominions here mentioned, both the soil and climate are so different from what they are in *Britain*, that their products will never be the same, as they are in most of our other colonies. This will always make the products of the one wanted by the other; and that keeps up the connection and correspondence between the colonies and *Britain*, which is what we call their subsisting by a dependence upon her. It is by that means, and by no other, that this their dependence is to be preserved, and rendered as beneficial to the one, as the other; and it is for want of such means of subsisting, that we see such differences between them, that they are at last likely to end in a separation, unless their connection is preserved by the ties here mentioned.

To give an account of the several commodities which these countries, and our other colonies, might produce, and the proper soil and climates for them, would require a treatise of itself, which was intended to be the chief part of this discourse; but as the present part has drawn it to such a length, the other must be deferred to some other opportunity. In the mean time it might be easy to shew many commodities of the greatest value, which might be made in the territories of the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*. That
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whole country, from the island of *New Orleans* to the river *Ohio* and *Illinois*, is the richest and most fruitful of any in the *British* dominions, and extends upwards of a thousand miles, containing more fruitful lands than are in all our colonies put together. There are no good lands in all *North America*, but upon the sides of rivers, and as the *Mississippi* is so much larger than all the other rivers in that Continent, the lands upon it are as much more extensive and fertile. This we are assured of by those who were sent from *Virginia*, in 1742, on purpose to survey those countries, who reported, 'they saw more good land on the *Mississippi*, and its many large branches, than they judged was in all the *English* colonies, as far as they are inhabited.' The same is confirmed by the *French*, who tell us from experience of them, 'the lands on both sides of the *Mississippi* are excellent for culture, and produce *Indian Corn, Tobacco, Indigo, &c.* and all kinds of provisions, with little or no care or labour, and almost without culture; the soil being a black mould of an excellent quality *.' More particularly, in the county of the *Nauches* above-mentioned, we are told by a Planter of sixteen years experience in that country, the soil is a fertile mould three feet deep on the hills, and five or six feet deep in the vallies, with a strong clayey foundation †; the like of

* *Du Mont Memoires de la Louisiane*, Tom. i. p. 16.

† *Du Pratz Hist. Louisiana*, Tom. i. p. 263.

which is certainly not to be seen any where else in all these Southern parts of *North America*. Even the hill sides are covered with *canes*, which in our colonies only grow in the deepest and richest swamps.

Such lands have a natural moisture in them, which is the very soil that both *Hemp*, *Flax*, and *Indigo* delight in; and these are the three first commodities that the nation wants from the colonies. Upon such lands Hemp and Flax might be made in quantities, as a staple commodity to send to *Britain*; whereas on the poor lands in our colonies, and their small plantations, they can only make a little for their own use. The one would be the greatest service, when the other is a prejudice to the nation. The climate likewise is as fit for these commodities. Here they might sow Hemp and Flax in winter, which is the only proper season for them in any part of *North America*, as we have shewn above. This would afford time for making another crop in summer, which should be *Indigo*. Now a crop of *Indigo*, *Hemp*, and *Flax*, would be much more profitable, than any thing that *America* produces, whether on the Continent or the Islands. Every labourer might cultivate two acres or more in *Hemp*, and one or two in *Indigo*, the produce of which would be worth from 30 to 40 pounds a year. This would enable them to purchase negroes, and to enlarge the *British* plantations, beyond what they

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are otherwise capable of. Such plantations would be more profitable than even Sugar colonies, and supply the nation with more valuable and necessary articles. A hundred thousand labourers, which might be easily found in all our colonies, taken together, would at this rate of 20 *l.* a head, make two millions a year; but suppose they make only one half of this, it is as much as all our colonies in *North America* now produce.—If we compare this with the barren deserts of *Canada* and *Florida*, what a wide difference is there!

By these means the nation might get the trade both of *Indigo*, *Hemp* and *Flax*, and supply all *Europe* with these commodities, as we now do with *Tobacco*; which last these lands are as fit to produce, in much greater plenty and perfection than any other part of *North America*. And when our *Tobacco* plantations are worn out, there are no lands to supply their place in all the *British* dominions, but those on the *Mississippi*. There are three things necessary for a *Tobacco* plantation; to wit, rich and fertile lands; good pasturage for maintaining stocks of cattle for manure; and an inland navigation, with convenient ports, to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity from every plantation; which three conveniencies you will not find in any part of *North America*, but in the *Tobacco* plantations, and on the *Mississippi*. Our *Tobacco* planters therefore may find others there, when their old plantations are worn out, as most of

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them

them already are, and will all be in time. To these they may send their negroes, as they lately did to the mountains, when they cannot maintain them elsewhere. It was for this purpose, that they petitioned for lands on the *Mississippi*, and some of them made settlements not far from it, even before the war; and many settled on the heads of the *Ohio*; but the only port to all these inland parts of the continent, is at the mouth of the *Mississippi*; which is more convenient than the mountains, on which most of our Tobacco is now made, however remote some may reckon it, who are unacquainted with that continent. It is but 500 miles, in a straight line, from the sea coast of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, which is no great way to go for good lands in *North America*, especially in these barren sands. We remember in our days, when the mountains, which are now the center of our best plantations, were reckoned to be more remote than the *Mississippi* is now*.

Thus

* At present indeed it might not be so proper to make Tobacco on the *Mississippi*, so long as our old plantations will produce it in sufficient quantities; or at least till they have some better and more profitable staple, which they so much want, and might easily get. If the colonies plant only one or two commodities, as they now do, and interfere with one another, it is the way to ruin them all, and the interest of *Britain* in them. But the settling of the Planters themselves in these countries is not to interfere with them, but to supply them with fresh lands, of which they are in want; and it is only by that means, that they have hitherto kept up their Tobacco plantations, or will ever

Thus we see, that the territories of the *Ohio* and *Mississippi* are very fit to produce *Tobacco*, *Indigo*, *Hemp* and *Flax*, which are the grand staple commodities of *North America*; and it is to produce these, that lands are wanted there. These are likewise the proper crops for fresh wood

ever be able to do it. Such commodities as either Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, or Flax, can only be made to advantage, or in any quantities, on fresh wood lands, and in woody countries, which afford plenty of mast and pasturage in the woods, and maintain their stock, while the people bestow their time and labour on these their staple commodities; it is by these means, that we have hitherto made such quantities of Tobacco; but as soon as these resources are exhausted, they are obliged to turn their lands into Corn and Pasture grounds, in order to get the necessaries of life, which these exhausting weeds rob them of. We shall therefore soon find a supply of fresh lands on the *Mississippi*, necessary to keep up our Tobacco plantations, if they are not already. It is for want of such lands, that these colonies are so much in debt, and are obliged to establish Manufactures—They may perhaps think, as many have always done, that the making of more Tobacco may depreciate the value of it; but many are of the contrary opinion, and think it is the only way to preserve the Trade. The staple of a country, which may be made in so many different parts of the world, should not be made dear, otherwise you will lose the Trade in it. It was only the plenty of good and fertile lands, that has hitherto given us the Tobacco Trade; but when these are exhausted, we must lose it, as we already have one half of it.

The low price of our Tobacco does not proceed from the quantity we make, but from rivals in the Trade, and the Tobacco plantations in *Europe*, which now produce at least 100,000 hogsheds a year, more than we make in all *America*. Thus we do not make half the quantity of Tobacco that is consumed, and wanted in the several mar-

wood lands, or new settlements. Lands which will not produce these at first, are not worth possessing. In a few years they are worn out, and will hardly yield the necessaries of life. It is for this reason, that on our poor plantations fresh lands will always be wanted for these

kets of *Europe*. It is this that makes so many competitors in the Trade, and threatens to ruin it. When our Tobacco bears a price, they immediately make such quantities in *Europe*, that we have no vent for it; but as our Tobacco is so much better than theirs, if we were constantly to make a sufficient quantity, as cheap as they can afford it, we might soon put down their plantations, gain a monopoly of the Trade, and put our own price on Tobacco, which appears to be the only way to raise it; and this might easily be done, by such plenty of rich and fruitful lands as are upon the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*. Now, such a monopoly of the Tobacco Trade, or 100,000 hogsheads, would be worth nigh a million a year to *Britain*, over and above what it now clears; which is about 1,100,000*l.* *per ann.* including the duty and all charges.

Such fresh lands are more wanted for the making of Tobacco on another account. When the plantations came to be exhausted, the Tobacco was so bad, that it would hardly pay the freight and charges upon it; for which reason they were obliged to make a law, in 1733, to burn all that should be deemed bad by inspectors; but this was no relief to the people, to burn what their lands bore, when they would produce no better. This obliged many to quit their plantations, and others to turn them into farms, or Corn and Pasture grounds, to supply themselves. Neither was this a way to preserve the Tobacco Trade, however convenient it may be on many accounts. They often burn better Tobacco than their rivals and competitors in the Trade can make, which has so much increased their plantations, to the ruin of ours. This, we remember, was foretold at the time when this law passed, and it hath accordingly happened.

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commodities, which no other part of the *British* dominions will produce. Here likewise they have the necessaries of life with little or no cost or labor, which is as necessary to make staple commodities for *Britain*. The pastures are covered with green grass knee high, and as high as a man in the vallies, the like of which is not to be seen in any other part of *North America*; such lands yield three and fourscore bushels of Corn to an acre; and the cattle maintain themselves the whole year without the charge of feeding them*. Hence the country abounds with wild kine, a large creature like an ox, with a fleece like a sheep; the wool, hides, and tallow of which are of great value; but in our colonies the pasturage is so poor, that there are none to be seen. How different is this from the barren sands of *Florida*, which neither produce Corn nor Grass! or even from our northern colonies, where many can hardly make Corn to eat, and they are obliged to spend their whole year's labor on maintaining a few cattle in winter! The very offals of a plantation here would yield more Corn and provisions, than they can make in our northern colonies, while it would produce these staple commodities for *Britain* at the same time. Here then the colonies of *New-England* or others, which want Corn, might be supplied both for their own use, and their trade; and the islands might by that means be supplied at

* See *Du Pratz, ibid.*

a cheaper

a cheaper rate. But by confining them in their settlements, Corn is become more valuable to make than any thing for *Britain*; and they will soon have but little to spare at that price.

At the same time these countries are as healthful, as they are fruitful; although we are told by those who have only heard of *New Orleans*, that the *Mississippi* is very unhealthy, as all the maritime parts both of *North* and *South America* are. But the whole country from the island of *New Orleans* to the river *Ohio* is high, dry and hilly, refreshed with cooling breezes from the adjacent mountains, which assuage the heat of the climate, and render it healthful. The banks of the *Mississippi*, on the east side, are from 100 to 2 and 300 feet high, without a marsh near them. It is likewise observed, throughout all these countries on the *Mississippi*, that it seldom rains. The *Apalachean* mountains intercept the clouds brought up from the ocean, and render the seasons both dry and healthful. How different this, from the low flat and sandy, marshy and rainy sea coasts of all our southern colonies, and of *Florida*! If we would people these southern parts of *America*, where the whole interest of the nation lies, it will only be in these countries, where it might be so easily done. And if the nation would expect any indemnity for her expences in the war, it can only be obtained from such countries as these, which were the very objects of the war.

When

When these lands are cleared, and exhausted with Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp and Flax, they will produce Silk, Cotton, Wine and Oil, for ever; which are the great commodities that this nation wants. It is such commodities as these that we should call *acquisitions*. These are the proper produce of *North America*, and render colonies there so beneficial to *Britain*, but of much less consequence either to *France* or *Spain*. They make these commodities at home, and would be losers by making them in *North America*. Colonies there, whose staple must soon be Silk, Wine and Oil, could not depend upon *France* or *Spain*: Hence it is the greatest folly in them, to endeavour to raise colonies in *North America*. Such a false policy could only be equalled, by *Britain* confining her colonies to countries whose staple is Corn and Wool. The island of *Hispaniola* is of more service to *France*, than *North America*; and if we are excluded from the *Mississippi*, *Britain* will lose by her successes, what *France* has gained by her defeats—profitable colonies in *America*.

But besides these or the like new settlements, the great thing wanted in the colonies is some staple for our old plantations, which are worn out with these and the like crops, or would never produce them. The staple commodities which they have hitherto made to send to *Britain*, are only such as are proper for fresh wood lands, and when these are exhausted, as the
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most and best of them now are, they have no others. Thus when their lands are brought into order for culture and tillage, they are no longer of any service to the nation at home. They are then turned into Corn and Pasture grounds; which produce nothing but Corn and Wool; and as these cannot be sent to *Britain*, the colonies are obliged to make their own manufactures with them, and to interfere with their mother country both in agriculture and manufactures. It is for this reason that fresh lands, and new improvements for the old, are both so much wanted; and let any one judge, whether this is intended *for them*, as is given out, or for the interest of *Britain*! Many such improvements have been proposed for the colonies, ever since they were first planted, but none of them have ever been brought to perfection. There is not a colony we have in *North America*, but what would, in the opinion of some or other, who still maintain these opinions contrary to such ample experience, produce almost every thing that the nation wants; but they have never yet produced any one thing that has been proposed, and the nation has been disappointed in all its hopes and expectations now for 150 years. The very measures that are taken to promote these designs, are the greatest obstruction to them, and must render these disappointments everlasting. It is therefore high time, that we should consider and attend to the causes of the frequent miscarriages in all these designs, which appear to be the following:

I. The

I. The singular and peculiar climate of *North America* hardly agrees with any one thing that is commonly proposed to be planted in it, and the soil is as unsuitable to many others. Every one seems to imagine, that in the several climates we possess from north to south, all the productions of *Europe* may be raised in our colonies; but if the truth were known, there is hardly any one climate suitable to them in all *North America*. The productions of *Europe* are there either destroyed by the long and intense colds in the north, or burnt up by the sun in the south, especially on their scorching sands. Hence there is hardly any of them that will thrive in our colonies, as the staple of a country ought to do. Of this we have above given an instance in Wheat, Hemp and Flax, and it is more visible in many other things. The causes of this would abundantly appear from a due account of the climate of *North America*, which we cannot pretend to give in the bounds of this discourse. It is commonly imagined, from mere guess, that the climate of *North America* differs from that of *Europe* by ten degrees of latitude; but from certain observations in both for thirty years together, we are well assured, that there is a difference of at least fourteen or fifteen degrees of latitude between the respective climates in these two continents; it being so much colder there, than here*.

Now

* These severe colds are commonly attributed to the woods with which that Continent is covered, and it is imagined,

Now this is as great a difference of latitude as most productions of the earth will thrive in ;
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imagined, that the clearing of these will abate the rigor of the climate ; which is as contrary to all reason and experience, as all the other common opinions relating to that Continent, and the colonies in it. Now, as these vulgar errors proceed from an ignorance of the climate, it may be proper to give some account of it here, as far as our room will permit. This coldness of the climate, which is felt all over *North America*, appears to proceed, chiefly and principally, from the three following causes, besides others which conspire with them, particularly the nature of the soil.

I. That Continent in all probability extends to the North Pole, as no end could ever be found to the land, although it has been searched as far North as the latitude 80 and 82 degrees. In these Northern parts, *America* is as extensive from East to West ; both *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen* appear to be parts of that Continent, or at least nighly join to it in those frozen regions. Thus *North America* extends over the greatest part of the frigid zone, and is by that means constantly overwhelmed with frost and snow ; whereas *Europe* and *Asia* terminate in or about the 70th degree of latitude.

Thus *America* extends farther North than any other part of the world, and by that means is so much colder—*Europe* is surrounded by the warmer ocean, which is always open ; *Asia*, by an icy sea (the *mare glaciale*) ; and *America*, by a frozen Continent ; which occasions the diversity of climates in these three Continents.

II. That Continent, which is thus extensive in the Northern parts, is one entire groupe of high mountains, covered with snow, or rather with ice, throughout the whole year. These mountains rise in the most Northern parts of the Continent that have been discovered in *Baffin's Bay*, and spread all over it to *New-England*. Hence " the coast of *Labrador* is the highest of any in the world, and " may be descried at the distance of 40 leagues ;" and in the Western parts discovered by the *Russians*, they tell us, " the country had terrible high mountains covered with
" snow

consequently, we can expect nothing to grow there as it does here. It is for this reason, that
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" snow in the month of *July*." This was in latitude 58 degrees, and the country to the Southward of that in 40 degrees, is by the *Spaniards* called *sierras nevadas*, *snowy mountains*. " So a ridge of mountains rise at *Cape Tourmente* by *Quebec*, and run four or five hundred leagues, forming the greatest ridge of mountains in the universe," which spread over all the Northern parts of that Continent. These are what we call the *Northern snowy mountains*, which extend to the 43d degree of latitude, and render the whole Continent unfit for Agriculture to the Northward of that. The river *St. Laurence* is only a large arm of the sea which runs up between these mountains, as *Hudson's* and *Baffin's Bay* do in the North, in order to carry off the snow waters.

III. All the countries which lie within the verge of these mountains, or North of *New-England*, are perpetually involved in frosts, snows, or thick fogs ; and the colds which are felt in the South, proceed from these frozen regions in the North by violent North-west winds. These are the peculiar winds of that Continent, and blow with a fury which no wind exceeds. It appears from many observations, that they blow quite across the *Atlantic Ocean* to *Europe*. The great lakes of *Canada*, which are an inland sea extending North-west for 12 or 13 hundred miles, give force and direction to these winds, which blow from the Northern frozen regions, and bring the climate of *Hudson's Bay* to the most Southern parts of that Continent, whenever they blow for any time. Northerly winds are cold in all countries, and as these blow with such violence, and from such frozen regions, they are so much colder than others. Every one may observe, that the extreme colds in *North America* proceed from these winds, as I found by keeping a journal of the weather there for fifteen years ; whence a *North-wester* and cold weather are in a manner synonymous terms in all our colonies.

Many imagine that these colds proceed from the snows lying in the woods, but that is the effect, and not the cause,
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the nation is disappointed, and every one is so much deceived about *North America*. Even the

of the cold. The question is, What occasions such deep snows in these Southern latitudes? They, who attribute this to the woods, do not distinguish between wet and cold, or the damps of wood lands and frosts, which are very different things; so different, that they destroy one another, like a shower of rain in a frost. These colds are so far from being occasioned by the woods, that one half of that Continent, which is the coldest, and from which they proceed, has not a wood in it; and is so barren, that it does not bear a tree or a bush. It is from this want of woods in the Northern parts, and the great lakes, that these furious winds proceed; which are very much abated by the woods. In the woods these cold winds may be endured, but in the open fields they are insufferable, either to man or beast, and that even in our Southern colonies. We talk from experience,—Hence, if all the woods in that Continent were cleared, *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* would be as uninhabitable as *Hudson's Bay*; our Northern colonies as cold as *Canada*; and the adjacent Southern colonies in the situation of the Northern; which would make a very great alteration in the affairs of this nation—Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, among other things, with the vain hopes of mending nature; and abating the rigor of these inhospitable climes; that is not to be done, but by cutting off, at least, 20 degrees of that Continent in the North, and levelling the innumerable snowy mountains; from which two causes these severe colds proceed.

No part of the world can be compared to this in point of climate, but the Eastern parts of *Asia*, which are almost contiguous to *America* in the North, and are exposed to the like cold winds from this Continent. Hence it appears, from comparing many observations in both, that our colonies enjoy the same climate with *East Tartary*, *China*, *Corca*, and *Japan*; the products of which are so rich and valuable. Here then we might have many of the most valuable commodities for the colonies; and as these are so

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the knowledge which many have of it, only serves to mislead them. For this reason many of our colonies must either have more favourable climates, or make nothing that the nation wants.

In such singular climates few or no products of the earth will thrive, as the staple of a country should do, but the natural productions of the soil and climate; and we must plant and improve these, if we would have proper staple commodities for our colonies, of which many might be found. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in the very first commodities the nation wants from *North America*, which are Hemp and Flax; the *European* Hemp or Flax neither agrees with the soil nor climate, but you may there have at least five or six sorts of these commodities which are natural to both. You may find much better and stronger Hemp there on the merest barren sands, than the richest lands in *Europe* will produce; and we have found it to thrive as well by culture in various soils. It is from such a production of their colonies, which is as common in them, as Hemp or Flax are in *Europe*, and as generally manufactured, that the *Spaniards* make many manufactures preferable to any of the kind that we

totally different from any thing that *Britain* produces, they might for ever keep the colonies from interfering with their Mother Country, and preserve a lasting connection and correspondence between them.—It may be observed, that most of the staple commodities of *America* came from the East, as Sugar, Rice, Cotton, Coffee, Indigo, &c. But these things would require a more particular consideration.

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have seen ; from the samples we have of it, it appears to good judges to be one of the best materials for a manufacture that are to be found ; they have three or four different sorts of it, and we might have five or six more sorts from our colonies, as well as many other valuable commodities. But they have been at the pains to explore the productions of their plantations, and by that means get so many valuable returns from them ; which we have entirely neglected, and thereby get so little from ours. We do not use any productions of the country, and others will not thrive in it. The only rule we seem to have for improving our colonies, is, to make such commodities in them, as the merchants and tradesmen want, whether they will produce them, or not. Wherefore,

—— *varium cæli prædiscere morem*
Cura sit, ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,
Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid quæque re-
cusset.

II. The staple commodities commonly proposed for the colonies will not maintain them, and for that reason they are obliged to manufacture them. Few or no people seem to know or consider, what it is to maintain whole countries merely by their agriculture; and to supply them with all their necessaries without making any, merely by the produce of lands; especially such poor lands as our colonies possess. If they can make a commodity or two, such as Hemp, Flax, or Cotton, many think it is sufficient ;

ficient ; but that is the direct way to promote the manufactures of the colonies instead of supplying the nation at home. All that *Britain* wants of these commodities would not be worth a shilling a head *per annum* to all the people in *North America* ; and before they can be supposed to make even that quantity, the people will be twice as numerous as they are, and will not have even that income from such commodities as these. To maintain such a number of people and whole countries by such employments, they should have a variety and number of them, and such as are more profitable. If they have not, they can never live by them, and are obliged to convert the produce of their lands to their own use. Thus by doing things only by halves, we obstruct the design altogether. We should either promote these designs to some purpose, or let them alone. Every thing that has been done in them, to promote the interest of *Britain*, has only served to establish the manufactures of the colonies, from the making of Iron to Hemp and Flax. Unless they have some other more valuable commodities, they can never send these to *Britain*. They must first supply themselves with these, as they do in all other countries ; after which the produce of such poor countries will hardly yield any overplus. The colonies must ever use such necessary articles as Iron, Hemp, Flax, Wool and Cotton, till they have some other commodities to purchase the manufactures of

of these, which no people can live without. The proper commodities for them are such as *Silk, Wine* and *Oil*, which they do not require for their manufactures, which are more valuable in themselves, and may be made on their poor and mean lands. These commodities cost the nation two millions a year, and they might vend of these to the value of three millions; which would be a staple fit to maintain so many colonies, and such a number of people. These are likewise as proper for their singular soil and climate, and are the great staple commodities wanted in *Britain*. But by growing Corn on their poor and mean lands, they starve themselves, interfere with their mother country, and do not observe the first principles of agriculture. Some countries produce Corn, and in others grapes grow to more advantage.

Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uva.

III. For want of a variety of staple commodities they are not able to make any. By being all employed in planting one or two commodities, as Tobacco and Rice, the people starve one another, when they become numerous, and are obliged to leave off planting altogether. These two indeed afford employment for labourers throughout the whole year, for which reason they are so generally planted, but other commodities are very different in this respect. The making either of Silk, Wine or Oil alone, does
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not employ the labourers above two or three months in the year, and for that reason will not maintain them; and as they have no other employments, they cannot follow any one of these. This is the great obstacle to all these improvements in the colonies. If they make any one, they cannot live by it, as they have no other employments of that sort for the rest of the year. They cannot live by the making of any one commodity, as they are idle for half their time, which they are obliged to spend on manufactures for want of other employments. But if they had a variety of commodities to send to *Britain*, which might be made in various seasons throughout the whole year; they would find the labourers constant employment, and hinder them from thus entering into manufactures; and they might get a living from them all together, which neither of them alone will afford. Thus they complain, for example, they cannot live by making silk, as they make but a pound or two in a season; but as this requires only six weeks in the spring of the year, if they had a crop to succeed this in summer, and a vintage after both in autumn, as they have in all countries where these commodities are made, they might from them all get a better living than by manufactures, which they cannot by any one of them alone. It is only by these means, that you can ever maintain whole countries merely by their Agriculture, without manufactures; for which purpose
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many commodities should be made together, otherwise none of them will succeed.

IV. But here lies the difficulty; they, who are unacquainted with any one of these employments, cannot be supposed to carry them all on to the best advantage, without which they can follow none of them. This difficulty again is increased by the peculiar circumstances of colonies, in which every one is employed on their own separate plantations, and on their own account; they work for themselves, and cannot be hired by others, who might put these employments in their hands, or carry them on for their own advantage. If any may be acquainted with such employments, it is only to talk about them, so long as they can hire none to follow them. If others may have labourers of their own, they are only negroes, who are very unfit to set about new improvements. If they hire foreign workmen, they are either unacquainted with the singular and peculiar climate of *North America*, in which they are apt to miscarry even in their own business; or if they make any improvements, it is only for a private person or two, which die with them, and turn to no account to the public. For these reasons, our Planters follow only a few employments, such as they have learned from their forefathers in *Britain*; and none can put any others in their hands, unless it is done by the public. The first thing that every Planter has to do, is to get the necessaries of life; this they are all engaged in

in for their own immediate subsistence; and if the nation at home would have them follow any other employments, she should take care to set the people about them, otherwise it will never be done. But in all our regulations concerning the colonies, this, which is the only one wanted, seems not to be thought of; although it is the more necessary, as our Planters, like other Farmers, are never to be put out of the way they are once in.

It is for these reasons, that our colonies produce so little, and that they must now interfere with their Mother Country, both in Agriculture and Manufactures, unless these and the like improvements are made in them, in order to increase their remittances to *Britain*. But if these difficulties, in such a design, are duly considered, they will not be so easily surmounted, as many seem to imagine. Were we to consider the execution of these designs, many other difficulties would occur, especially in the soil and climate which the colonies now possess. The very improvements that are proper for them are hardly known, and much less the ways of making them. In the mean time, till these things are better understood, the present improvements of the colonies may be reduced to the following heads:

I. To extend their settlements to new and more fertile lands, and favourable climates, such as we have pointed out, which appears to be absolutely necessary for the greatest part of

them to make any improvements whatever. They will produce Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, the planting of which they are acquainted with, and have no such difficulties to encounter in making new and unknown improvements, which are more uncertain and precarious. It is not yet certain, whether they can make any others, and for that reason, these are more necessary. It is to be feared, that all other improvements have been so long neglected, that they can now only subsist by manufactures, unless they enlarge their plantations, and thereby give room to others to improve the old. When the people become numerous in a country, it is very difficult to subsist merely by their Agriculture, as colonies should do.

II. But the great thing wanted is, to improve our old plantations in staple commodities for *Britain*; which is attended with much greater difficulties, than most people seem to imagine. The first thing to be done, for that purpose, is to make silk and wine, which are the necessary foundation of all other improvements. These commodities are not only valuable in themselves, but they are as necessary to find constant employment for labourers throughout the year, and thereby to enable them to send their other products to *Britain*, which may be made with these; neither of which are likely to turn to any account without the other. Hence we should have begun with the encouragement of silk and wine, before hemp or flax,

flax, or any other materials of manufactures *. But besides all the other difficulties above-mentioned,

* It was to supply the nation with silk and wine, that our colonies were first settled, and no part of the world is perhaps more fit for that purpose, after the woods are cleared. Although the soil and climate are very singular, with regard to other productions, yet mulberry trees and vines are, as it were, natural to them. That whole Continent is covered over with both, as far North as *Montreal*, and *Annapolis*, in *Nova Scotia*. We have seen fifteen different sorts of native grapes there, the like of which, growing wild, are certainly not to be found in any part of the world. The ordinary sorts of these in *Virginia* yield a wine so like the common *Bordeaux* wine, that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other; and from another sort some wine has been made, which was compared by good judges, both here and there, to the best that is drank. Other sorts yield wine exactly like the *Lisbon*. But instead of these, they have transplanted grapes from the hills of *Normandy* to the maritime parts of *Virginia* and *Carolina*, where no one could expect them to thrive, nigh so well as they do. They ripen there in the beginning and middle of *August*, when no one can expect to make good wine; although they yield a very good wine for present drinking. But this is the most improper for their climate of any grape that grows; neither is it the true *Burgundy* grape, for which they got it.

There are likewise three different sorts of mulberry trees in *North America*, and a native silk-worm which spins its cocoons upon these and other trees; which are as large, and weigh as much, as twenty of the common; and the silk is much stronger. This would afford a material for a manufacture, different from any that is known.—It has been imagined, indeed, that the making of silk would turn to no account in the colonies; but it would certainly be much more profitable than tobacco, their most general staple. There are nigh 800,000 people in the tobacco colonies, who might make at least a pound of silk a head *per annum*, which

tioned, mulberry orchards and vineyards require time to be brought to perfection, which the indigent circumstances of Planters will hardly admit of. They generally live from year to year, and cannot so well afford, or at least do not attend to, the making of improvements which require eight or ten years, to turn to account. It is this that obstructs the making of silk and wine in the colonies, more than any other difficulty, and requires great industry and application to be surmounted. If this were once done, many other commodities might be made with these, and the colonies might be constantly employed in making them all for *Britain*; whereas at present, all the commodities proposed for them only serve to establish their manufactures, which will prove as great a loss

which would be worth 800,000*l.*, whereas they do not make above 300,000*l.* by tobacco; and the one is made in six weeks, the other requires a twelvemonth; this is only to be made by slaves, when that is an employment which might be followed by women and children, and is suitable to the condition of mankind in these intemperate climates, as well as the making of wine. Such employments are more necessary, as the women, and other weakly people, who are not fit for labour in the fields, have no way to get their bread but by these, or manufactures; and as they make three-fourths of the people, they must necessarily manufacture every thing they can raise, particularly Flax, Cotton, and Wool. The great obstacle to the making of silk has hitherto been the want of hands, of which there are now a sufficient number in all our old plantations; but as silk alone will not maintain them, they must be otherwise employed, till they have other crops which will not interfere with this.

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to them, as to the whole nation. Both the one and the other will thereby lose the produce of their lands, while they can get nothing by their manufactures, but bare necessaries. Nothing will ever turn to any account in the colonies, but their Agriculture; and if their lands yield nothing, you can expect as little from them in *Britain*. The interest of both depends on this single point, or the improvement of their Agriculture.

III. Since their lands produce so little, every one is bent upon trade, and the colonies endeavour to better their circumstances by that, which they cannot do by any other means; but their trade seems to be as little understood, as every thing else relating to them. It is imagined, that they do or may make money by their trade to the *West-Indies*, but it rather appears, that they lose very considerably by it. That trade indeed is carried on at so many different ports, in small vessels and cargoes, and in commodities which are, or have been, mostly smuggled, that it is very difficult to get any exact account of it, for which reason it seems to have been so little understood. In all the accounts we have had of their trade, we neither see a state of their exports, nor imports; what the balance is, or how it is paid; without which it is impossible to form any right judgement concerning trade. By the best accounts of these that can well be got, either there or here, their imports appear to amount

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at least to 800,000 *l.* a year, when their exports do not exceed 300,000 *l.*; the balance therefore against them must be 500,000 *l. per annum* *. This balance arises from the very nature

* The quantity of sugar consumed in *North America* may be computed from the consumption of *Britain*, which is by the last accounts of the Custom-house 94,000 hogsheads a year, for seven and an half millions of people; and as in the colonies most of their common liquors are some beverage sweetened with sugar, they must consume rather more in proportion; at which rate three millions of people will require 37,000 hogsheads. The common computation is 30,000 hogsheads, valued at 300,000 *l.*

The quantity of molasses is computed to be 90,000 hogsheads, which at 3 *l. per head* come to 270,000 *l.* But in the account from which this computation is made, now before me, there is no allowance for the Southern colonies, who make all their small beer of molasses, and cannot consume less than 30,000 hogsheads a year, as that would not make above a quart of beer a day for half the people.

The quantity of rum made in our islands, is, by their computation, from 60 to 70,000 hogsheads a year, and as they import but 8 or 9,000 hogsheads into *Britain*, the greatest part of the rest must be consumed in *North America*. It is computed, that they import 30,000 hogsheads; but allowing it to be 20,000, or to the value of 200,000 *l.*, the whole will amount to 770,000 *l. per annum*, for rum, sugar, and molasses.

To this if we add their wine, and other *West-India* goods, the imports into *North America* cannot be less than 800,000 *l. per annum*.

As for their exports, they are more uncertain; but it is computed by our islands, that they take from *North America* to the value of 80,000 *l. per annum*, and they cannot be supposed to export much more to foreign colonies than to our own; but allowing this last to be 220,000 *l.*, the whole amounts

nature of the trade; a cargo of *West-India* goods is so much more valuable than one of *North*

amounts but to 300,000 *l.* a year. If any may suppose, they export more, they may import as much more, so that the balance against them will be 500,000 *l. per annum*. At any rate, the balance appears to be against the *North American* colonies; although it is impossible to ascertain the exact sum, and it may be more or less than we make it.

Hence it must appear to be impracticable, to raise a revenue by such a losing trade; which is, moreover, carried on in such gross and vile commodities, that they will hardly pay the freight. If this trade is thought to be pernicious, it should be prohibited, and not tolerated for the sake of a precarious revenue, which can neither be paid, nor collected.

This is an expence which the colonies cannot afford in their circumstances. Most of these articles are indeed necessaries of life among them at present, especially in *New England*, where they both carry on their fishery, the support of the country, and purchase the Corn they eat, with molasses, and the rum distilled from it: but as they might supply themselves much better with their own products, it would be much more for their advantage; the colonies would thereby save half a million a year, which is a third part of their whole income, and would very much increase their remittances to *Britain*; and in their present situation, we can see no other way they have to pay their debts.

This is the more to be regarded, as the only profitable article in this trade is sugar; but so long as they purchase such quantities of rum and molasses, they have nothing to buy sugar with; neither will the *French* or any others let them have sugar or other valuable effects for their products; so long as they can be supplied with every thing they want for the very dregs of their plantations, which they could make no other use of.

This trade to the *West-Indies* was only carried on, in the infancy of the colonies, to supply them with immediate necessaries, such as beer and other liquors,

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North American produce, that the last will never pay for the first; although they generally endeavour to load their vessels home, in

which they could not make of their own; but it is now time that they should supply themselves with these, rather than with manufactures; and they must do the one or the other. By purchasing these for their consumption, they spend their substance on foreign drugs, with which they might supply themselves, and thereby very much improve their own lands, instead of those of their enemies and rivals — If a few Merchants, or private Traders, may gain by this trade, that is so much loss to the public. All that they sell or export of these imports from the *West-Indies*, as a little rum to the coast of *Africa*, is but a mere trifle.

It is this profusion of spirituous liquors, which they have from rum and molasses, that hinders them to make wine. A vineyard will not produce good wine under ten or twelve years, nor the best under twenty or thirty; but it will yield great quantities fit for distilling in three or four years, which defrays the charge of vineyards. And even in *New-England*, we have known wine made, which was much better than *New England rum*. It was reckoned here to be as good as *Lisbon*.

It is imagined, that they should take their rum, sugar, and molasses from our own sugar colonies, and no doubt, they should give them the preference to foreigners; but they have nothing to purchase all their supplies of this kind, for such a number of people, either from the one or the other. Unless they make the greatest part, they must get them from those who will take their products for them. To say, that they should take all their supplies from our colonies, is the same as to say, they should purchase all their necessaries from *Britain*; and they should do both the one and the other, if they could; but they have no way to do either, till they make every thing of this kind that they can; and that would restrain their trade with foreign colonies, whom they now support, the great complaint of our islands, instead of being supported by them.

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order to save freight. The question, therefore, is, How is this balance paid? or what have they to pay it in, but the *British* goods, which they vend with their own products? They have no money but what they get from the *West-Indies*; but it is impossible to make money by a trade, the balance of which is against them. But if they have no money to purchase *British* manufactures, nor credit for them, how can they carry on their trade but in their own? These are things, which require a very serious consideration, and a more particular account to discuss them; but this is not our subject at present; no more than the proper regulations for this trade, which would be attended with as much difficulty to execute, as to contrive. None of them can well be put in execution, till the colonies supply themselves with their own products, in place of those which they now import, and cannot otherwise do without. The balance of this trade is occasioned by the increase of people, and their great consumption of *West-India* goods, which is daily increasing, unless they have other supplies. A few people might have made money by it, but it will never maintain a number. Their trade is limited and confined to foreign colonies, who cannot trade with them in articles of any value, nor consume their products. They have neither people of substance to trade with, commodities of value to trade in, nor valuable returns for them, so that it is impossible they can ever

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make much at any rate by such a trade. It was upon this account, that free ports were so necessary; but it is to be feared, that even these will not make the trade turn to account. The number of people in all the *West-India* islands, taken together, both *English* and foreign, is so much less than in *North America*, that the first can never consume as much as the last, nor take off the products of a whole Continent; and as their goods are so much more valuable, this must ever make a balance against the *North American* colonies, till they supply themselves with their own products; after which they should prohibit these foreign commodities, which interfere with their own. A country or nation may be ruined by trade, and they can never trade in any thing less profitable, or more pernicious, than spirituous liquors. If they would make money by this trade, the commodities they import should be articles of commerce, and not of consumption; but as these are now consumed among themselves, they lose so much by them. Hence their trade is rather a source of new debts, than a means of discharging the old, or of making money—It is therefore impracticable to raise a revenue upon such a losing trade, without a certain loss to the whole nation. It is this balance against the colonies, which must be paid in *British* goods, that makes them so much in debt to *Britain*; and to lay a duty upon such a trade, is only to increase that debt, and to render them more unable to pay it.

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These are the three sources of all the remittances the colonies can make to *Britain*, and of the improvements which may be made in them; the first we have here considered, as it is the foundation of all the rest; and the other two would each require as particular a discussion, to point out every thing that might be proper to be done in them; which our time at present, or the bounds of this discourse, will not admit of; these must be deferred to another opportunity, when we may give a more particular account of that continent, of the soil and climate, its products, and the improvements which may be made in it. Were these duly complied with, all the colonies from *New-England* to *South Carolina* might have a proper staple for *Britain*, which is the only medium of their connection and correspondence with her, whereas all others are rather means of a separation. It is only by improving these sources of their remittances, that the colonies can ever purchase their necessaries from *Britain*, or have money for any other purposes, as will abundantly appear from their condition and circumstances; of which we shall next give a brief view, with the regulations lately made concerning them.

These indeed are matters, which have been debated with such heat and strife, as if it were between declared enemies, that few would care to be concerned with them, were it not from a greater regard to the welfare of their country, than

than their own interest or quiet. There are so many prejudices and preconceived opinions concerning every thing that relates to the colonies, that no one can declare his opinion about them, without being exposed to their censure and ill-will. They seem not to search for the truth, but for arguments to support their own parties, and preconceived opinions, let them be right or wrong. It is therefore impossible to satisfy many, even by the most convincing proofs. But as the affairs of this nation in *North America* are in such a situation, that they are likely to be ruined, after all the immense sums which have been expended upon them, it is to be hoped, every one will lay aside their prejudices, and shew themselves open to conviction, in matters which are of such consequence and importance to the whole nation. For this purpose they have only to consider the present state and circumstances of the colonies, to be convinced of many mistakes which have been committed concerning them. This is the more necessary, as the regulations lately made concerning the colonies are so far from improving the advantages of the peace, for which they were intended, that they can only burden the nation with an additional expence by that, and deprive her of what she enjoyed before the war; especially if we should lose the benefit of our colonies by them, as we are very likely to do, unless these regulations are well amended; for which purpose we have drawn up the following brief account of them.

P A R T III.

The STATE and REGULATIONS
of the COLONIES.

TO form a right judgment concerning the state of the colonies, we should in the first place consider the produce of their Agriculture in enumerated commodities; which, with all their other products, sent to *Britain*, are well known, both from the accounts of the Custom-house, Merchants, and Planters; all which have been carefully examined for many years past, and from these it appears, that the value of all their enumerated commodities is but 767,000 *l. per annum*; even the highest computation does not bring it to 800,000 *l.*, meaning in net proceeds to the planters. Their value has indeed always been computed at 600,000 *l.*, till within these few years past. But every one, who is acquainted with the colonies, may see, that their enumerated commodities, are the chief part of their produce; every thing they make indeed is for remittances to *Britain*, in order to purchase their necessaries, and to pay their debts; whence we may be very certain, that their non-enumerated commodities, sold in other countries, are not equal in value to the enumerated, which are sent to *Britain*. Accordingly, the first are
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computed

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computed at 700,000 *l.* a year at most; and if we were to enter into the particulars, no one could well make them amount to that sum. Thus the produce of all the colonies in *North America* amounts at most to 1,500,000 *l. per annum*, above what they consume among themselves; and we shall see below, that it cannot well exceed 1,400,000 *l.* All that they import into *Britain*, both in enumerated commodities, and what they purchase with others, amounts at most, by the rates at the Custom-house, but to 1,066,491 *l. per annum*.

By the Custom-house accounts, from the year 1756 to 1761 inclusive, the state of the trade between *Great Britain* and *North America*, during these six years of war, was as follows:

Annual Exports from <i>Britain</i> to <i>North America</i> on an average	£.	2,045,144
Imports into <i>Britain</i>	—	752,338
Balance due to <i>Britain</i>	—	1,292,806

By the same accounts from 1762 to 1764, both included, since the peace, that trade is thus stated:

Exports from <i>Britain</i> on an average	£.	2,022,445
Imports into <i>Britain</i>	—	1,066,491
Balance due to <i>Britain</i>	—	955,954

In these nine years, since the commencement of the war, from 1756 to 1764 inclusive, the

OF THE COLONIES. 281

the following is the state of the whole on an average:

Exports from <i>Britain</i>	—	£.	2,037,577
Imports into <i>Britain</i>	—		857,056
Balance due to <i>Britain</i>	—		1,180,521
Total Exports in these nine years		£.	18,338,199
Total Imports	—		7,713,506
Total Balance due to <i>Britain</i> in 9 years			10,624,693

Now, as the colonies exported to the value of 18 millions, and owe five or six millions to *Britain*, they cannot have paid more than 13 millions in these nine years, which is 1,444,000 *l. per annum*; and as people who are so much in debt, are obliged to pay their all, this must be their annual income, and agrees with the above account of their produce.

Now as their enumerated commodities amount to	—	£.	767,000
The value of their non-enumerated commodities must be	—		677,000
Total			1,444,000

But as the entries at the custom-house are well known to exceed the real value of the exports, this income of the colonies cannot be so much as these accounts make it, and cannot exceed 1,400,000 *l. per annum*. It is indeed impossible to bring such accounts to a certain precision; but from this state of them we may be

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well assured, that the annual income of all the *North American* colonies cannot exceed a million and a half a year, and it is probably not so much.

From these accounts it appears, that the annual balance of trade against *North America* in favor of *Britain* has been for the last nine years 1,180,000 *l.*; but as that balance was greater in the time of the war, it may be reckoned now in time of peace about a million a year, so long as they export to the value of two millions from *Britain*. In the last nine years this balance has amounted to ten millions, which is certainly more than they could pay, if we consider their income. This confirms the accounts of the merchants, who make the colonies so much indebted to them. By these accounts this balance has accumulated to a debt of five millions; and as many accounts have not been received, it is computed, that the whole debt due to *Britain* in *North America* amounts at least to five millions and a half, if not six millions.

Besides this, they owe a public debt of 767,000 *l.* Thus their public and private debts amount to more than six millions of money; the interest of which alone, at five *per cent.*, comes to 350,000 *l.*; but as many of them pay eight *per cent.*, according to the custom of the trade, the interest of their debts may be reckoned half a million a year; especially if we add the loss they sustain in the exchange by making

remittances

remittances of money, which has of late been 30 and 40 *per cent.*, and the 10 *per cent.* they pay on protested bills, with 6 *per cent. per annum* till they are discharged. If we add this, to the balance of trade they owe to *Britain*, the two amount to their whole income.

If we deduct this interest of their debts, loss of exchange, and protested bills, from their income above-mentioned, their net income is but 900,000 *l.* a year; which is the whole of what all the colonies in *North America* have to purchase their necessaries from *Britain*. This sum divided among three millions of people is but six shillings a head *per annum.*—Even if we allow their income to be a million and a half a year, it is but ten shillings a head.

Thus the colonies have to discharge a debt of six or seven millions; to pay an annual balance of nigh one million; and to maintain three millions of people, out of an income of a million and a half a year at most, which is certainly impracticable.—If their whole income were to be appropriated to the payment of their debts alone, and they were to take nothing either from *Britain*, or the *West Indies*, it would not discharge their debts, with interest, in five years.—It is commonly computed, that all their personal estates are not worth above six millions; that they would hardly pay their debts to *Britain*; and that their current cash would not pay the interest of their debts alone for half a year.—How then does it appear, “ they can

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“ certainly

“certainly bear more, they ought to pay ‘more?’ as we are told by the author of the late Regulations concerning the colonies.

If we allow these colonies to have ten shillings a head *per annum* to expend in *Britain*, it would not purchase a sixth part of their necessaries; and as their net income is but six shillings a head, it will not purchase a tenth part of them. To supply them with necessaries from *Britain*, not to mention many other articles, would require at least three pounds a head, as appears from many particular estimates. At this rate of 3 *l.* a head, three millions of people would spend nine millions a year; but as their income is only a million and a half, the difference of seven millions and a half must be looked upon as a national loss; which we not only increase, but render irreparable, by taxes, duties, confinement of their settlements, &c. all which oblige them to supply themselves. By these proceedings we deprive the nation of such advantages, which might be reaped from the colonies, for the sake, or rather the impracticable attempt, of raising 100,000 *l.*, to maintain *Canada* and *Florida*.

This bad state of the colonies is owing to three causes; the first and chief is the wearing out of their lands, and great increase of the people, who consume twice or thrice as much as they used to do, while their lands do not produce half as much, although that is the source of their whole support. They now likewise
require,

require, for their own consumption, most of the articles imported by their trade, which they used formerly to sell, and to make money by them, particularly Sugar. Now as these causes are daily growing more prevalent, we may see the necessity of extending their settlements, and improving their old plantations; without which this state of the colonies is never likely to be remedied, but must daily grow worse.

Their expences in the war have likewise involved them in great part of this debt. It appears from the certificate of the commander in chief, that he had 20,000 provincial troops under his command, besides what they had in other services; to pay these troops, they raised about six millions, and owe that sum to *Britain*. Hence they seem to have run in debt to *Britain* for all their expences in the war, and if they were to raise any more money, it could only be by the same means, or by diminishing their exports from *Britain*.

In these circumstances it is impossible, that they should have any money. The balance of trade they owe to *Britain*, would in one year drain them of all the money they have, were it five times more than it is.—They have no way to get money but by a trade to the *West Indies*, the balance of which is against them, so that it is impossible to make money by it. By that trade they rather lose than gain.—Hence in all these colonies you hardly meet with any thing but paper for money. This paper occasions a trade and circulation, it is true, but as the balance of that trade

is so much against them, it drains them of their current cash, and leaves nothing but paper behind. Thus their trade and paper currency drain them of that money, which their agriculture brings in. And when their cash is gone, so that they have none to exchange their paper, it is no longer of any value, if it be not for an internal commerce among themselves; this ruins their credit in *Britain*, and puts them upon manufactures. It is therefore more prejudicial to the nation at home, than to the colonies, to drain them entirely of money, and to leave them no medium of trade with *Britain*. That only obliges them to make their own necessaries, instead of purchasing them here; and let any one judge, which is the greatest gainer by that alternative.

They who imagine, that the colonies can have money, seem not to know what they are, or should be. It is expected, they should purchase all their manufactures from *Britain*, which alone is impossible. If they were to purchase one half of them, they could never have any money. The raw and unwrought materials, by which they should purchase their manufactures, if they could make them, are of so much less value, that the one will never pay for the other. There are no people in the world who purchase all their manufactures; or if they were to do it, they could never have money. The mere and unmanufactured produce of lands will never purchase manufactures. Suppose we were

were to make no manufactures in *Britain*, how should we be supplied with them? It is by manufactures, that this nation gains its wealth; and if you would have the colonies to get money, or pay taxes, they must do the same, and not only supply themselves, but vend their manufactures, in order to raise that money; which these proceedings will soon drive them to. Thus the very thought of raising money in the colonies, is contrary to the first principles of colonization, and to the interest of *Britain* in them. It must infallibly make them her rivals both in trade and manufactures.

But if this is the case of the most fruitful countries, what can we ever expect from *North America!* or from the produce of the poor and mean lands there, the greatest part of which will hardly yield the bare necessaries of life! What could any one ever expect from a little Tobacco, Rice, Pitch and Tar, or Fish, the chief products of *North America*, or any thing else it produces, to maintain two or three millions of people, and to raise money! They who could expect this, must be totally unacquainted with the value of these commodities. If the colonies could purchase half their necessaries from *Britain*, it would be a very considerable income, and worth four or five millions a year to *Britain*; but on the lands they now possess, if they are confined to them, they will never be able to purchase a fourth, if a tenth part of the necess-

necessaries they want. There are but two ways for any people to subsist, to wit, by the produce of lands, or of labour; that is, by agriculture, or manufactures; and if they can make nothing by the first, they must necessarily apply to the other, which is the present state of the colonies. They now consume the chief part of what their lands produce, and have no way to get manufactures but by making them.—To these two resources many will add trade; but that can only be carried on in the produce of lands, or manufactures; without which you lose by trade, as the colonies do; which will soon oblige them to trade in their own manufactures, if they depend on that, instead of agriculture.

The plenty which many perceive in the colonies proceeds from their land, and not from wealth; they are only rich in flocks and herds, like the Patriarchs of old, and not in money. If any may shew a greater sign of opulence, it all proceeds from the labour of slaves; who are so chargeable, that they rather give their owners credit than wealth, till they are no longer able to pay their debts, which is their present condition. Hence they who go to the colonies, and see signs of opulence in them, as they imagine, only deceive themselves, and impose upon the whole nation, when they pretend to be mighty well acquainted with them.

Upon

Upon all these accounts, it must appear to be absolutely impracticable ever to raise a revenue in the colonies, in *sterling cash*, in which they were to have paid their taxes. They pay their own taxes either in staple commodities, or their paper currency; and no one can expect to get money, where there is none. If they may have a little current cash, it is not properly theirs, but belongs to the Merchants of *Britain*, to whom it is due. This is a stock of the nation in trade, left there by the Merchants, in order to improve it; and to apply that to any other purpose, is like a Merchant who lives upon his capital, instead of improving it by trade; which soon brings them both to an end. But if *Britain* thus ruins her trade, in order to maintain *standing armies* in time of peace, this must become a very different nation from what it ever has been, or cease to be one.

The advantages of the *North American* trade seem not to be considered in a public light; their commodities are of so small value, that they are very unprofitable either to make, or to trade in them, but they are on that account more profitable to the public; if they are vile and cheap, it is because they are gross and bulky, by which they are sources of navigation, and support the maritime power of the nation. If you calculate the freight, commission, and charges, on the products of *North America*, they amount to half their value; which is all gain to *Britain*, but is so much deducted from

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the income of the colonies. From a particular account of the whole trade of *North America*, too long to be here inserted, it appears, that the gross proceeds, including freight and all charges, amount in value, to *Britain*, to three millions a year, when the net proceeds to the Planters do not exceed a million and an half: And as these charges are all paid by the Planters, out of the first produce of their commodities, this nation certainly does not enjoy any trade so profitable as this—‘ If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, and our own,’ says a very good judge *, ‘ it will appear, that not one fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit.’

Thus the colonies, which produce staple commodities for *Britain*, are a much greater advantage to the nation than seems to be apprehended. They pay, one with another, one half of all that they make, for transporting and vending the rest, which is all expended in *Britain*. By that means you get their all, and cannot possibly have any more. Neither can it be expected, that any people can ever be worth money in such a situation. Were they to have the profits only of transporting and vending their own products, their income would be double of what it is; but as these are now all reaped by *Britain*, it is to rob the nation of its

* See on Trade, p. 149.

best

best income, to deprive it of this. This is the advantage of the colonies, and the tax which they pay for their protection; which must appear to be a very considerable one, as it amounts to one half of all that they make; and is much more advantageous to the nation than a petty revenue, which they cannot possibly have money to pay, as that all centers in *Britain*.

Besides this deduction on their products, and the heavy duties upon them, the colonies pay all the taxes of *Britain* on every thing they consume; as it is well known, all taxes fall on the consumers, whoever may first pay them. Now, as these taxes on *British* goods amount at least to 50 or 60 *per cent.*, and the colonies pay such a great part of what they purchase them with, is not this much more advantageous to the nation than a petty revenue? Were they to pay 100,000 *l.* in taxes, they must supply themselves with manufactures to that value; this would establish manufactures among them; the public would lose the taxes and duties on these goods; the Merchants their profits, and the nation the benefit of the trade and navigation; which losses would amount to twice or thrice as much as the tax. And this loss would fall much heavier on the landed interest than the mercantile; the profits of the Merchants in the trade to *North America* are but small: they are reckoned not to exceed 10 *per cent.*, but allowing them to be 25 *per cent.*, the other 75 is expended on the manufactures of the kingdom.

P p 2

kingdom, and chiefly such as are made of *British* materials, which are all gain to the land-owners. Let not the landed Gentlemen, therefore, expect to relieve the burdens on their estates, by taxes on the colonies; that is a certain way to entail their taxes on them and their posterity for ever, and to render them unable to bear the burden. They must then pay their taxes themselves, instead of having them paid by the colonies, who consume the produce of their lands, and employ their tradesmen who are maintained on the land.

But the greatest loss that the nation would sustain by taxes on the colonies, seems not to be perceived, nor understood. If we would have them to depend on *Britain*, they must improve their lands in staple commodities that are wanted in *Britain*, which cannot be done without money; improvements on land require time and expence to be brought to perfection, which their needy circumstances will hardly admit of; they are and always have been so poor, that they cannot afford to make these improvements, but instead of them are obliged to supply themselves with the necessaries of which they are in immediate want: wherefore, the taking of money from the colonies is to deprive the nation of all future hopes of receiving any benefit from them, and to oblige them to supply themselves independent of *Britain*, whether they will or not. They likewise complain, that by sending their products to *Britain*,

tain, their property is in the hands of others; and if the rest of their property is liable to be taken from them, it will make them more averse to have any dealings in *Britain*, or to improve their lands for her benefit; and will put them upon supplying themselves, as the very attempt, with their necessitous circumstances, have already done. 'We would therefore 'humbly recommend it to such gentlemen as 'are guardians of the trade of the nation,' says Mr. *Gee* above, 'that our own interest is not 'mistaken for that of the planters.' Instead of taking money from them, he, who was a very good judge, thinks it necessary to lend them money, to improve their plantations for the benefit of *Britain*: "The business is, says he, "to regulate all those undertakings, and to "send proper persons to direct them, and money to support them, which I think needs "not be a great deal; however, what is expended on this occasion would be only a "little raised by the nation, which would, I "believe, in a short time be abundantly repaid, and be the best harvest that ever the "nation reaped; and I hope all those good "things will be effected by our present most "gracious King and his Parliament*." Without such improvements on their lands, which it was our chief design to point out, it will be impossible for them to purchase a tenth part of their manufactures from *Britain*.

* *Gee* on Trade, p. 211.

From

From all these considerations it must appear, that the raising of money in *North America* is absolutely impracticable, as they neither have nor can have any; which has, moreover, been confirmed by such undeniable evidence, that it can admit of no doubt. It must likewise appear, that the taking of money from the colonies there would be as prejudicial to the interest of *Britain*, as it is impracticable. Were they voluntarily to send money to *Britain*, she ought to reprimand them for it, if she consulted her own interest, and make them lay it out upon the improving of their lands for her benefit; which would not only turn to ten times more account, but is absolutely necessary to preserve their connection, correspondence and dependence on *Britain*. This must certainly appear to all who will be at the pains to consider the condition and circumstances of these colonies, if not within themselves, at least with regard to the interest of *Great Britain* in them. But in all the accounts and debates we have had on this subject, numerous and sanguine as they have been, we have never once had the least account of their condition and circumstances, on which the whole merits of the cause depend. Before we lay taxes on any people, it would appear to be reasonable, that we should know their circumstances and abilities to pay them; and before we make any regulations in trade, it is as proper, that we should know the state of that trade; neither of which seem to have been

been known or considered*. It is only taken for granted; "of their ability there neither was nor is any reason to doubt †;" but how just that is, will appear from the foregoing account of their circumstances, which may be easily perceived by any one, by looking into the Custom-house accounts. If they might be able to pay a little Tobacco, Rice, Pitch and Tar, or Fish, and make their own cloathing for them, instead of purchasing it from *Britain* with these commodities, it is certain, they are not able to raise *sterling cash at 5 s. 6 d. per ounce*, in which they were to have paid their taxes. It is not in the nature of things, that these colonies or any people on earth should be worth money, where they make so little by their agriculture; while they have no manufactures, and the balance of trade against them

* All that we have met with on this subject is, "the colonies in *North America*, near two millions of *British* subjects, an opulent, commercial, thriving people, and who have been enabled by the patronage of their mother country to extend their trade and their cultivation over that fertile continent, supported by her wealth, protected by her power, and blessed with her laws, &c." *Regulations of the colonies*, p. 57.—To which is added in the *Considerations on the trade and finances of this kingdom*, "their seas are from all these causes thronged with ships, and their rivers floating with commerce:" But in all this we can see nothing but words for things; which is certainly a very improper way to regulate such important concerns, on which so many millions have been expended, and to determine the future ruin or prosperity of the whole nation. No one would care to see these determined by a — *Vox & præterea nihil.*

† The conduct of the late ministry examined, p. 12.

is so great. These are the only sources either of wealth or subsistence, of which they have neither, that turns to any account.

But we are told, "they do not plead poverty, but privilege †:" what their *plea* was, we know not, since we have neither seen their remonstrances against the stamp-act, before it passed, nor their petitions against it, after it was passed; but this we know for certain, and it may be seen by many letters from the colonies, that their great objection against internal taxes was, the being taxed by those who were unacquainted with their condition and circumstances, and the proper ways of levying such taxes among them, or the consequences of them *; but as this was not regarded, it put them upon making the plea of privilege. Be-

† *Id. ibid.* p. 124.

* From this we may see the difference between internal and external taxes, which many say they cannot comprehend. Every one may know the external trade of a country, and the consequences of laying duties upon it, when they may be totally unacquainted with the internal circumstances and state of the country. Thus every one knows, that the colonies trade in Rum, Sugar and Molasses; but no one seems to know what they make by them, or that they lose money by them, and must therefore be unable to pay any on such a losing trade.—By duties on an external trade you raise the price of goods, which people are not obliged to buy, if they cannot afford it, or do not like the price; which is certainly very different from obliging them to pay *sterling cash*, by internal taxes, when they have none.

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fides this, it is well known, their constant plea was, that the proposed taxes and regulations would be highly detrimental to the interest of their mother country: and if they had made neither of these pleas, they who were concerned for the interest of the nation, either at home or abroad, should have made both for them; which would certainly have been much more expedient and prudent, than to have forced them to make the plea they did, since no other would be heard.

But it is urged, 'the whole sum expected to be raised by the stamp-duty was 100,000 *l.* a year; the repartition of this upon 1,500,000 people, at which the lowest computation estimates the present inhabitants of *that country*, would not draw from each person more than half the value of a *day's labor* in *America* †. This price of labor in *North America* is made by every one a certain mark, they imagine, of the opulent circumstances of the people; but this appears to be as little understood, as every thing else relating to the colonies, and is not a tenth part of what this author and all others seem to imagine *.

But

† *Id. ibid.* p. 123.

* We are told by the Author of *the Regulations*, p. 61, "they can earn three shillings and six-pence *per diem* by their Agriculture;" to wit, by making Tobacco at a penny a pound, or Corn at two or three shillings a bushel, and that in a soil and climate which are unfit to produce either; by which, it is certain, they do not earn as many pence a day.

Q.1

But if their circumstances are bad, it is al-
leged, ' *England* has even furnished them
' with

day. There are 600,000 labourers in *North America*, who make by all their employments 1,500,000 *l.* a year, which is but 50s. a head *per annum*, and not two-pence a day. In the Tobacco colonies they make more by their Agriculture than in any others, and although they are or have been all employed in it, yet 800,000 people make but about 300,000 *l.* a year by their Tobacco, which is but 7s. 6d. a head *per annum*; and not above 10 or 12 s., including all the other branches of their Agriculture. The labourers, who are about a fifth or sixth part, make about 50s. a head *per annum*, or 3 *l.* at most, which is but two-pence a day; and that appears to be the value of labour on plantations in *North America*.

They who estimate the price of labour in the colonies, by the day, do not know what their labour is, and much less the value of it. There is no such thing as day-labourers on plantations, and it is inconsistent with the design of them, to admit of any. Day-labourers are only to be found in populous and well-improved countries, where they have a variety of employments which afford them a daily subsistence; but as nothing will do that without manufactures, they who would estimate the price of labour in the colonies, by the day, must of course admit of manufactures. But on plantations every one is employed by the year, in order to make a *Crop*, which lasts for a twelvemonth. Now, the wages of such labourers are four or five pounds a year for men, and forty shillings for women, who are the chief manufacturers; this brings the price of labour at a medium to 3 *l.* a year, which is but two-pence a day, for every day in the year.

The dearness of day-labour in the colonies proceeds from two causes; first, the labourers who are thus employed by the year, in order to make a crop of staple commodities for *Britain*, and their provisions with it, may lose their whole crop by neglecting it for a few days, and cannot spare a day's work without losing ten times as much as it is worth,

' with resources to raise the revenue she has
' required; the bounties given to them on two
' or three articles alone would enable them to
' support

worth, and perhaps their whole year's subsistence; which is the true cause of the dearness of day-labor in the plantations.

Secondly, if there are any *common labourers* to be found, who are not engaged by the year, as there seldom are, they cannot find employment for above a few days in a month perhaps; and for that reason, they must have as much for two or three days work, as will maintain them for as many weeks; but at the year's end they have not perhaps earned two-pence a day, for all the wages they may get, which is generally a shilling a day, meaning always *sterling cash*. Thus the day-labourers of the colonies, if there are any, are only the vagrants, and not the labourers, of the country; who stroll from place to place without house or home, are clothed in rags, and have not bare necessaries, notwithstanding the supposed high price of their labour.

About populous towns the case is very different, and labour much dearer; they do not there make the necessaries of life, which enhances the price of labour; they have likewise a variety of employments, and a demand for labourers, who are employed on plantations in the country, and by that means are scarce and dear. Thus we are not to estimate the price of labour from a few towns, as *Boston*, *New-York*, or *Philadelphia*, which we only hear of in *Britain*. These are not plantations, but trading or manufacturing towns, *which shall not be inhabited without Tradesmen and Artificers*, says the wise man; whose labour is still dearer, because Artists are scarce, and have not constant employment, and so much the better for *Britain*.

It is for these and the like reasons, that the common opinions received and propagated in *Britain*, concerning the colonies, are no more than so many vulgar errors, of which we have a list that might make a volume; and particularly with regard to the soil, climate, agriculture, staple commodities, their trade, labour, and manufactures, the great concerns of the nation. By these means most people here seem not to know their own interest in the colonies, and mistake

' support the new impositions *,' which are estimated at a million a year †! The bounties here meant are those upon Hemp, Flax, and

the one for the other. But they must certainly have good reason to be satisfied, that all the regulations, here mentioned, are directly contrary to the interest of *Britain*; and that the colonies and all others have shewn a sincere zeal for the welfare of this nation in opposing them, if they have been exposed to blame and censure for their pains.

Among other things it is alledged, that the colonies cannot make manufactures, on account of the dearness of labour; when two-thirds or three-fourths of the people are clothed with manufactures of their own making; which are so far from being dear, that they cost little or nothing, but industry, as we know by experience. They make them for their own use, and as these are so much better than what are made for sale, it is an inducement for every one almost to make them, as we have found with many others by experience. And if labour is now dear, manufactures will make it cheap, by affording constant and daily employment for labourers; and supplying them with clothing at a cheaper rate than they can have it from *Britain*, which now comes dear to the poor in *America*, by passing through so many hands before the consumers get it, and thereby enhances the price of their labour.

But say the authors of our regulations concerning the colonies, they shall not establish public manufactories for sale; which we were at first apt to believe would be contrary to the interest of *Britain*, and for that reason it is proposed to lay an account of such manufactures before the public; but upon considering these things more carefully, we have the misfortune to differ from many about them, when we intend the same thing. A few people employed in manufactures, would make as many as they all do, and the rest might be employed in cultivating their lands for *Britain*; but so long as the planters and others are all concerned in making their own manufactures, they not only supply

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Considerations*, p. 70.

and Timber, which were the great arguments for palliating the late regulations and taxes, but they have proved as ineffectual as all others.

supply themselves, but cut off all supplies from the nation at home; which is the great cause of the few returns they make, and consequently increases their manufactures.

There appears to be no way to prevent this state, into which the colonies have and must fall, but by a number and variety of employments in planting, or making of staple commodities for *Britain*, in order to purchase their necessaries from hence; as is above proposed; that would reduce the wages of common or day-labourers for such employments, instead of manufactures, which they will otherwise make much cheaper than we can in *Britain*. The price of labor is always in proportion to the necessaries of life, which their plenty of land renders cheap, and consequently labor; but here, where lands are so scarce, and the necessaries of life so dear, both labor and manufactures are much dearer than in the colonies, when they are once acquainted with the way of making them. It is for this reason, that we have been at this pains to compare the agriculture, labor and manufactures of both, as all the great and important concerns of the nation depend on these resources.

For these reasons we may be assured, that the colonies must have manufactures, and a trade in them, when they grow populous, unless that is prevented by the means above proposed. It is indeed here insinuated, that the number of people in them is but 1,500,000; but we would not have any one be positive about that; the exact number of people in any country is indeed uncertain, but we may be well assured, it is much greater in the colonies, than the computations make it, for the reasons above given: and as soon as they establish manufactures, and have that resource of subsisting, with their agriculture, they will increase faster than they have hitherto done; so that for this reason, as well as others, we ought to consider in time, how they are to subsist by a dependence on *Britain*.

Timber

Timber will not bear the charge of transportation from *North America*, and it is not certain, whether they could get it at the price it must sell for there, to allow any profits on bringing it to *Britain*; and if they make Hemp or Flax, it is only a little for their own manufactures, which will not furnish them with *sterling cash* to pay taxes; unless they vend their manufactures, which such an imposition must have forced them to do*. It must indeed be

* This argument is still farther urged, in the *Considerations on the Trade of this Kingdom*, p. 75, as a resource for enabling the colonies 'to pay their debt to this country; but the new duties are represented as depriving them of the means of discharging it: this complaint would be just' (as it certainly is) 'if a revenue had been exacted from them without furnishing them with resources for raising it; but the peace, and the measures taken since for improving the advantages of it, have done much more; for it would be rating the cessions made by *France* very low indeed, if they were not altogether rated to the *Americans* alone, at a sum much larger than the revenue expected from them.' But they tell us in the colonies themselves, where they should know best, 'our trade upon the whole has not been benefited by our acquisitions one groat.' *Otis' Rights of the British colonies*, p. 64. On the contrary, these acquisitions must interfere with the colonies, and deprive them of those resources, which it is alledged they will give.

As for the measures taken for improving the advantages of the peace, they are so far from that, that they have deprived the whole nation of the advantages, which might otherwise be reaped from it. We can expect no advantages from the peace, but by cultivating the territories of the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, from which we are excluded by these measures; the worst part of them all, which seems not to be known, nor understood; and which for that reason we have been at such pains likewise to explain.

owned,

owned, that the granting of this bounty was a very just and commendable measure, and intended for the benefit of the nation, as we believe all the rest were thought to be; but the misfortune is, this with all the others are more likely to prove a loss and detriment, than any benefit either to *Great Britain*, or the colonies. The bounty is a loss to *Britain*, as we have shewn, and only raises the price of Hemp and Flax on them; which although it may be thought some advantage to *Britain* in the other colonies, yet in *New-England* it is a disadvantage; it obstructs their trade and fishery, the only sources of their remittances, which they will never make in Hemp or Flax; they want these for fishing tackle, sail-cloth and cordage, and are obliged to buy great quantities for these uses, which are for the service of *Britain*. Unless they do this, they must manufacture their Hemp and Flax.

These mistakes in the true interest of *Britain* proceed from the want of due knowledge of the soil and climate of *North America*, and the state of agriculture in it, on which the whole interest of the nation in the colonies depends; and which we have for that reason been at this pains to explain, however imperfectly that could be done in such a general view of all these fundamental concerns of the nation. It is for want of a due knowledge of these, that so many errors and mistakes are committed, and so many discording opinions are daily propagated, that nothing, however untrue, can be advanced

advanced concerning the colonies, but it is defended through ignorance, which is the cloak of all these regulations. It is for this reason, that no one seems to know either the state and circumstances of the colonies, or what resources are, or may be, proper to recruit their circumstances; but on the contrary, take their losses to be resources, and the very obstacles to the true interest of the whole nation both at home and abroad, to be the means of promoting it; of which we have the most flagrant instances in the late regulations*.

Besides

* Of this there are so many instances, that to relate them all, would make a volume. We need only refer to a collection of these erroneous opinions, in *the regulations lately made concerning the colonies*; which we have examined with the greatest care, and can safely say, we hardly find one fact of any consequence in the whole that is true, nor a single argument that is just and conclusive. For this reason these regulations no sooner appeared, than they were exclaimed against by all concerned with them; and were called *mere exaggerations of fancy*, the epithet given to them in the writings of the colonies. How then can we expect, that any people will be submissive to orders, on which every one put this construction?

It is indeed given out, that these regulations were intended for the benefit of *Britain*; and as these colonies are at such a distance, and so little known, many know no better; and it is an easy matter to make people believe what they are told is for their interest, when they do not know the contrary; for which reason we are at this pains to undeceive them. This may be easily done, from a bare mention of these regulations; which were intended,

I. To confine the colonies to their present bounds, and to cut them off from all the more fruitful parts of that continent,

Besides these pretended resources, it is alleged, ' the increase of the establishments there ' furnishes

continent, which would produce any thing for *Britain*, or enable the colonies to make remittances to her.

II. To lay duties on many of the goods they have from *Britain*, which so enhanced their price, that the merchants could not deal in them; and at any rate such duties could only be an additional premium on the manufactures of the colonies, which is already very great, from the dearness of *British* goods.

III. To restrain their trade, which is already so limited, that it will not maintain a tenth part of the people; and to lay new impositions on that trade, by which they are already losers, although many of the colonies have no other source of remittances to *Britain*.

IV. To levy money upon them, when they have none, even to pay their debts in *Britain*; and to lay taxes on them, when they cannot even purchase the absolute necessities they want from *Britain*.

V. The duties laid upon goods were to have been paid by the merchants, who were to collect them, as they could, in the woods of *America*; which was so impracticable, that many of the merchants refused to send the goods commissioned from them, and wrote to their correspondents not to commission any more; of which they gave sufficient testimony.

The result and drift therefore of all these regulations, and of the opposition which the colonies have shewn to them, are, whether shall they purchase their manufactures and other necessities from *Great Britain*, go without them, or make them for themselves; which is a matter of no small consequence to this nation, if we consider the number of people in the colonies, and their daily increase; and must concern the nation at home, much more than the colonies themselves. The true interest of both indeed is mutual and inseparable, and you cannot hurt the colonies without doing double damage to *Great Britain*; notwithstanding the authors of these regulations and others would make them a separate interest, that the burdens which they

' furnishes them with another fund, which
' alone would more than balance the account ||.'

But,

would lay upon the colonies, for the supporting of their acquisitions, may not be thought to fall on *Great Britain*, as they have done with a double loss. It is this that sets the colonies and their mother country at variance, to the loss and detriment of both.

Yet notwithstanding all these regulations have been exploded and repealed, they are still defended; and we are told, in the *Conduct of the late ministry*, who exerted themselves so gloriously in that service of their country, ' the principles and the intentions of the stamp-act, however they might be treated in *America*, deserve the approbation of every inhabitant of *Great Britain*.' As for the principles on which that act was founded, they are well known to have been only a piece of chicanery; by which it is pretended, that the colonies are no other than corporations in *England*. Were they in *England*, it is true, they would be upon the same footing with the corporations here; but as they are at the distance of 3000 miles, the difference between them must be as wide as that distance.—The members of corporations here act in a double capacity, they are both freemen of boroughs or counties, and members of their particular corporations; by which they are entitled to and enjoy all the privileges of other *British* subjects, and the advantages of their corporations likewise; whereas the inhabitants of the colonies enjoy neither of these privileges. The one may be both electors of representatives in Parliament, and elected, as they generally are; when the other can be neither. To put them therefore on the same footing, which was the principle of the stamp-act, and the only one on which it was founded, is an argument only fit for some attorney to advance in a court of *Nisi prius*, and not to determine the rights of mankind, or privileges of *British* subjects.—These their undoubted privileges the inhabitants of the colonies derive from their *Birth-right*, as *Englishmen*; but it was the principle of the stamp-act to deprive

|| *Id. ibid.*

But, alas! we fear, these will rather put the balance on the wrong side, and prove a prejudice

them of those privileges, to which Nature herself, as well as the laws of the land, entitle them.—It is this happy constitution, which the colonies derive from their mother country, that attaches them to her, and makes them willingly and cheerfully submit to *that* auspicious government; but it was the principle of the stamp-act, to deprive them of their constitution and form of government, and their mother country of that certain pledge and security for their fidelity and allegiance.

Besides this first principle of right, there is another of justice and equity, which the votaries of this act seem never to have understood, or at least to have regarded. The inhabitants of the colonies do not so much as enjoy the benefit and profits of their own labor; we are told above, by one of the best judges we have had, " that not one-fourth part of their produce redounds to their own profit;" all the rest is reaped by the inhabitants of *Britain*, who enjoy the profits both of their own labor and industry, and of the colonies likewise: To put them therefore on the same footing, and to make them pay taxes, is as contrary to reason and justice, as to their natural rights, and sound policy. Before they can pay taxes, they must reap all the profits of their own labor; which is the certain way to deprive *Great Britain* of the advantages she does and may receive from them.

But if the inhabitants of *Great Britain* thus enjoy the profits of the labor of the people in the colonies, what can any just and reasonable man think of the first imposing taxes on the last, in order to relieve themselves?—Such a mode of taxation is contrary to the *first principles* of liberty, and we meet with no instances of it in any part of the world; all people are taxed either by themselves, or their sovereign, and not by their fellow-subjects, to relieve themselves.—This seems to be a power too great for mankind to be entrusted with.

dice to the colonies, as well as to *Great Britain*. These establishments are in *Canada*,
Nova-

Were any of the subjects of *Great Britain* to submit to such a power, which is commonly exercised by a minister, they would only be fit tools to make slaves of all the rest. Thus the colonies, by defending their own, preserve the liberty of their mother country. The stamp-act was attended with general warrants, confinement of *members*, seizure of their papers, &c. as subversive of liberty at home, as abroad.—Such a power would be still more prejudicial to the inhabitants of *Great Britain*, as it would only serve to deprive them of the advantages which they now receive from the labor of the people in the colonies; by exercising such a power, the inhabitants of *Great Britain* would only rob themselves of their best income, in order to render the colonies independent of them. They are now, and have always reckoned themselves, one and the same people; but it was *the principle* of the stamp-act, to divide them; deprive an *Englishman* of the right of being taxed by representatives of his own choosing, he ceases to be one, and will never reckon himself a member of the community; but if you will not allow them to be *Englishmen*, consider in time, what they are to be.—It was by depriving the people of their liberties and privileges, that *Flanders* cost *Spain* three hundred millions of money, for no other purpose but to lose it at last; and take care, that *Britain* does not sustain the like loss from *North America*; which will certainly be the case, sooner or later, if you deprive the people of their liberties and privileges; whereas by letting them enjoy these their natural rights, you may reap all the benefits of them without any thing more to do, and have that for the most certain pledge of their allegiance and dependence.

Thus the stamp-act was founded on *principles*, as ruinous to this nation, as *the intentions* of it appear to be. It was intended for no other purpose, but to support those deserts of *Canada* and *Florida*, which the authors and votaries of this act would call valuable *acquisitions*, because they gave up so many real and valuable acquisitions for these;

Nova-Scotia, *Georgia*, *East* and *West Florida*, with which the colonies have nothing to do. All that they can expect from these new settlements is, to interfere with them, and cut off so much of their resources in remittances to *Britain*, which must prove equally prejudicial to both.

these; which put the nation to all these expences, and cannot so much as defray their own charges. Unless they are maintained at a public expence, *Canada* could not subsist, and *Florida* would have no people in it; but as these are all we have got for 80 millions of money, and for all the glorious successes of the war, they must be supported, whether they are worthy of it or not. But it is no doubt a very great hardship on *Britain*, to be at such a charge, without any manner of profit; and for that reason, it must be thrown upon the colonies, right or wrong; whether they are able to bear it or not, and however ruinous it may be to the nation. For this reason, the colonies must be looked upon as a separate interest from their mother country, lest this burden should be thought to fall upon her; as it not only has done, but would have been attended with a double loss to her, if it had been laid upon the colonies. This was *the intention* of the stamp-act, and of all the regulations made with it; which were intended to make these appear to be valuable and profitable acquisitions, contrary to nature itself. That is as impracticable, as the execution of the stamp-act. Since the one therefore has been repealed, and the means of supporting these deserts are found ineffectual, why should the nation be burdened with them? There could not be a more effectual way to ruin the interest of *Great Britain* in *North America*, as we have shewn. The colonies therefore, in opposing that act, and the regulations made with it, have consulted the true interest of their mother country; and have only opposed measures, which were as unjust and impracticable, as ruinous to the whole nation.

Hence

Hence it is a very fallacious argument to say, "the expenditure was restrained to *that country* *;" because it was ordered, that "all the produce of the *American* duties should be paid to the deputy pay-master in *America*, to defray the subsistence of the troops ||:" for these troops were kept in the new governments or acquisitions here mentioned, *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Florida*, and not in the colonies which were to have paid this money for their subsistence. All the money therefore raised in the colonies, must have been drawn out of them, and sent to these hopeful acquisitions, for *their* support, and not for any benefit or advantage to *that country*, in which it was to have been paid. The money was to have been raised by our several colonies from *New-England* to *South Carolina*, which are many hundred miles from those in which it is expended; so that the colonies get as little by all these expences which the nation is put to, as their mother country. Hence they must infallibly have been drained of their specie, in a year or two at most, and to such a degree, that it must have ruined their credit, depreciated their paper currency, and would have left them without any medium of trade with *Britain*, to her very great loss and detriment, as is above shewn. It was proposed to have raised 100,000*l.* annually by the stamps, and nigh as

* The Considerations, p. 74.

|| Conduct of the Administration, p. 38.

much

much more by the customs and duties on their trade, there and here together, which appears, by all accounts, to be as much money as is in all the *North American* colonies *; this they were so

* How much money may be in the colonies, we believe is difficult to determine for certain; but we have known many computations made of it, on account of their paper currencies, both by the officers of the revenue who collected it, and by the merchants to whom it was due; who all agreed, that in the most opulent colonies, and in their most flourishing circumstances, it never exceeded 80,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* at most: This was reckoned to be a fourth or fifth part of all the money on that continent, and it is now well known not to be a third or fourth part of what it was then; insomuch that nothing hardly is to be met with but a paper currency, even in the colonies which never before had any, as *Virginia*, which has a better staple than any of the rest to purchase money.

Their money is all sent to *Britain*, as fast as they can get any; they either owe it here, or lodge it here, in order to purchase negroes, whenever they can save as much as will buy one. The money'd men in the colonies do not even keep their money there, but here, by which they could have gained 30 or 40 *per cent.*, at the time these regulations were made; wherefore, if you would have collected *sterling cash* from them, it should have been here in *England*, where all they have is generally to be found. It is lodged here, to be laid out in negroes, in order to keep up and enlarge their plantations of staple commodities for *Britain*, on which her interest in the colonies entirely depends: This is the last end of all the money in the colonies, which is all remitted to *Britain*, and for her benefit in the plantations. It is well known, that the *African* merchants will take none of the products of the country for negroes, and nothing but money, or bills which are more valuable; so that to drain them of money, by which alone they can purchase negroes, and cultivate their plantations for the benefit

of

so sensible of, that although we are told here, they did not plead poverty but privilege, yet it is well

of Britain, or have a medium of trade with her, must be perfectly ruinous to this nation. Now if this had been done for the sake of Canada and Florida, what can any one think of such acquisitions, as they are called! or of such regulations made to support these deserts, to the ruin of the interest of the nation in all her other colonies!

They who are in the least acquainted with the colonies, must have seen, that it was impossible for them to have money, when these taxes were imposed upon them. Their money is imported by the northern colonies, who send it to the southern for bills on Britain, which they give on their staple commodities, of which the northern colonies have none; but in the time of the war they lost great part of their commodities, and could give no bills upon them: The money likewise was drawn out of the southern colonies, in order to pay the troops in the northern; by which the first are quite drained of specie; and as the last have no commodities to send to Britain, they were obliged to remit their cash; by which means they both lost their money, and have not as much left as will serve for a medium of trade, which is complained of by all the British merchants concerned with them.

In making these remittances to Britain, the colonies lost a third part of their money by the exchange, which was from 30 to 40 per cent. against them, particularly in Virginia. This was occasioned by their debts in Britain, and the great demand for bills, which were granted to British Merchants; for that reason they remitted cash, and now when that is all gone, the exchange within this twelvemonth has fallen 40 per cent.; which is a sure sign, they have no money left to purchase bills, when they still have such a demand for them to pay their debts in Britain.—Their money is so scarce, that in Virginia, which is reckoned to be the richest, they had not as much as would discharge their paper currency, when it became due; but were obliged to keep it current to serve for a medium of trade, or rather of an internal commerce.

We

well known, that the faculty of lawyers, in New-Jersey in particular, gave it as their opinion to the chief justice, "there was not as much money in the country, as would pay the stamp duties alone for one year;" and the same was generally believed in all the other colonies, if we include the other taxes. Hence the execution of the stamp-act must at any rate have been impracticable, and as ruinous in its consequence, especially to Britain, as it was, by all true patriots and friends of liberty, deemed in itself to be arbitrary and unjust. It was for these reasons, that the whole body of merchants concerned in the trade to the colonies, used their utmost endeavours to have that act, with the regulations attending it, repealed; which was accordingly done, by those who deserve the thanks and applause of the whole nation for what they did, notwithstanding the invidious censure thrown upon them for their pains, which is as unjust, as every thing else that is said against those transactions*.

The

* We are told in the Conduct of the late ministry, p. 118, "a regular society of American merchants in London, was formed for this among other purposes—and the counsels of the kingdom were guided, by the temporary and partial views of a junto of interested traders held at a tavern." This society was formed by a general meeting of all the merchants trading to North America; who, after taking into consideration the state of their trade, and situation of their affairs, thought it necessary to appoint a committee of their number, in order to represent them; they

Si accordingly

The plausible pretence indeed that is used for all these measures, is, that "this expence is necessary for their own defence and protection †;" and as that opinion has so gene-

accordingly met at that tavern, where the general meeting was held, and which is the usual place of meeting for the whole body of merchants concerned, either in the trade to *North America*, or the *West-Indies*. This was as regular and usual a way of transacting all business of this kind, as it is a proper one. Many other such societies were formed in all the principal towns in the kingdom, who sent some of the most considerable and respectable of their body, to act in conjunction with the merchants of *London*, in order to get these ruinous acts and regulations repealed. Such a general representation of the merchants of *Great Britain* does not, surely, deserve the name of a *Junto*.

It is only from such information, that even the people concerned in it can know the general state of such an extensive trade; and if others had been influenced by such information, it would have been better for them, and the whole nation. They found, among other things, that the *North American* colonies owed upwards of five millions of money to *Great Britain*; which alone, considering their circumstances, must appear to every impartial judge, not to deserve the name of a *temporary and partial view*, but that serious regard which the legislature thought fit to pay to that, and many other important concerns represented at the same time; on which the "permanent and extensive commercial interests" of this nation depend; although we are here told, "the counsels of the kingdom were not guided by such considerations."

These things we mention, as this is a proper lesson for others to take such information and advice concerning the affairs of the nation in *America*, which appear to be so little known, or understood; and as the stamp-act was repealed upon such good advice and information, it must satisfy every unprejudiced person of the propriety of that measure.

† *Idem*, p. 13.

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rally prevailed, it shews how little people are acquainted with the colonies, or with their safety and protection, as well as every thing else concerning them. Can it be supposed, that these colonies, which are now so much more populous and powerful than ever, and are entirely free from an enemy, by which they were before surrounded, can now want any such defence and protection, which they never had before? or that such an immoderate charge is now necessary for their protection, when no such expence was ever before incurred for the most necessary services? If it were, it abundantly appears, from the false and injurious aspersions which the defender and supposed author of these measures would injudiciously and unjustly throw upon the colonies, to the widening of these differences between them and their mother country*, that he at least has no such regard for *them*, as to be at this expence on *their* account. They never before had above four, or at most six, independent companies in all *North America*, and can they now want fifteen regiments, the number kept there, when they have no enemy to fear; and are so much more able to defend themselves? Surely, if such an expence is now necessary for the protection of our colonies, after the immense sums that have been expended to gain a compleat security for them, and with all the success that

* *Idem*, p. 137—147, & *alibi passim*.

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men could desire, they must have made but a bad use both of that treasure of the nation, and of the successes gained by it.

Besides, the colonies are defended by their militia, which they are at great expence to raise and train; every person in them, capable of the service, is obliged to bear arms, and to be provided with them at their own expence; which not only defends them, but it is universally allowed, that in all parts of the world, where the people are at such an expence, and are thus taken from their labour, and other occupations, to serve in a militia, it is reckoned a very great hardship to burden them at the same time with a standing army in time of peace: Especially when they have been so lately exhausted, and involved in such a debt, by maintaining so considerable an army in the war; the first time the colonies were ever able to aim at such an expence, and which, it is to be feared, they will hardly be able to sustain, without a total ruin of their credit in *Britain*; which must be more prejudicial to their Mother Country, than to them. And such an expence of a standing army, with their militia, is the more grievous, as they have no manner of use nor occasion for it. They who would make that expence necessary for their protection, do not understand what their safety and security consist in. The colonies must defend themselves with their hands, and not with their purses. If you would expect any service of this kind from them, it must be a *servitium in capite*,
a personal

a personal service, as it was called by our forefathers in *Britain*; and not a pecuniary service, in *sterling cash*, when they had none.—In the late war the colonies were repaid the money they expended in defending themselves, and protecting his Majesty's dominions, as it was thought they could not well bear the burden of one or two hundred thousand pounds; but now, the Authors of the Stamp-act and Regulations would exact money from them, when they had raised six millions, and have quite exhausted themselves by these public services.—In the late war they raised but two or three thousand men, for which they were repaid by *Britain*; but in the last war they maintained 25,000, for which it is now expected they should pay, after they are involved in debt, drained of money, and their trade and credit are ruined by that service; not to mention the heavy taxes they paid in the time of the war, and still continue to pay*.

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* What these taxes are, which the colonies pay, seems never to have been considered, nor inquired into; without which none can know what they can or should pay. We only know for certain, that in *New-England* they paid a land-tax, amounting to six shillings and eight-pence in the pound; a tax on all personal estates with it, and even on all trades and faculties; a poll-tax; imposts on trade, &c.; as may be seen by the printed accounts of their taxes, delivered to every one for their payment. These several taxes, we are well assured by those who paid them, amounted to twelve and fourteen shillings in the pound, at the time when these new taxes were to have been imposed on them in *England*; besides all the taxes they pay on the *British* goods

The protection of all the *British* dominions, both at home and abroad, depends upon the fleets and maritime power of *Great Britain*; and not on a few troops dispersed up and down in the deserts of *Canada* and *Florida*, at such a distance from all the colonies on that Continent, as well as every other part of the King's dominions, that they can neither defend them, nor be defended by them. This protection,

goods they consume. A merchant of *Boston*, of undoubted credit, assured his correspondents here, that he paid 300 l. a year in taxes.

In *Virginia* again they were obliged, on account of the expences in the war, to submit to a land-tax; which is a tax upon their tobacco, and other staple commodities that should be sent to *Britain*, and more ruinous to their Mother Country, than to them. If this nation, either at home or abroad, would consult her true interest, she should never suffer a tax to be laid on the lands in *America*, since it is only from the produce of them, that the colonies can make any returns to *Britain*; but by a tax upon the lands there, with the high duties upon the produce of them here, they are rendered so unprofitable, that none can afford either to make them, or trade in them. It is for this reason, among others, that many are obliged to leave off planting tobacco.

Now, if we consider that the colonies bore all these burdens, in order to secure the fishery to *Britain*, which was the first object and occasion of the war, they would be very ill rewarded, to be deprived of their liberties and privileges for their pains; and to be burdened with new taxes, which it is impossible for them to pay; and that for services which are rather detrimental than beneficial to them; or at least are unnecessary, and of no use to the nation, either at home or abroad. For these services they raised six millions of money; and as they have to pay both principal and interest, it is much more to them, than all the expences of the war are to *England*.

which the colonies both want and get from their Mother Country, arises from the *British* navy, which secures them from invasions; and that they both support and maintain, by the trade and navigation to them, and by paying the charges of all the *British* ships and mariners, numerous as they are, which are concerned in that trade: for this they pay at least one half of their whole income, as we have shewn above, which is the tax they pay for their protection; and is as great a one, if not greater, than is paid by any *British* subjects; or whether or not, it is certainly as great a tax, as they can possibly be supposed to be able to pay in their circumstances, and ten times more advantageous to this nation, than all the taxes that were imposed upon them could ever have been.

By these means, the colonies not only pay for their own protection, but help to protect all his Majesty's dominions, in all parts of the world. It is upon this trade to the plantations, that the safety of the whole nation depends, and more particularly of *Great Britain* itself. It ought never to be forgot, for the safety of *Great Britain*, what was so very remarkable in the spring of the year 1756, when *England* was threatened with an invasion, and could not man a fleet for six weeks, on account of an easterly wind which blew during the whole time of that imminent danger; at which the whole nation was in the utmost consternation, till a westerly wind brought our ships home from *America*;

America; after which our fleet was manned in a week or two. This is a fact which was taken notice of, and recorded at the time it happened, when it was known to every one*. To ruin this trade to the colonies, therefore, as it must have been, for the sake of a petty revenue, which could neither be paid nor collected, is the certain way to deprive the whole nation, both at home and abroad, of the only safety and security it enjoys, and that by the means we take to preserve them. Of this we have another most convincing proof, during the very short time that these regulations lasted in *America*; when we are told by a very good judge and credible eye-witness on the spot, "twenty thousand seamen and fishermen are turned out of employ, and the shipping they used to navigate and improve, are hauled up, and laid by as useless †." But 20,000 seamen would have been a much greater security to the colonies, and to all the *British* dominions, than ten times the number of soldiers, which these, or thrice as many more such taxes, would ever have maintained; and the one gain wealth, to pay themselves and others, when it may be wanted, whereas the others consume the sinews of war in time of peace.

This loss of trade by the late regulations is the more to be regarded, as they seem to have

* See the Contest in *America*.

† Essay on the Trade of the northern Colonies, *London* 1764, p. 26.

been

been calculated, as much as if they had been contrived for the purpose, to ruin the colonies of *New England*; which are, and always have been, the bulwark of all the *British* dominions in *America*; to whom this nation owes both the fishery of *Newfoundland*, and all her other possessions in the Northern parts of that Continent. When King *Charles II.* gave *Nova Scotia* to the *French*, the people of *New-England*, knowing the consequences of it, if they were not known in *Britain*, would never let them have quiet possession of that country; by which they were able to take it from them on the first opportunity that offered at the commencement of the war in 1690, and finally rooted them out of it in 1710, which has ever since secured the fishery. They did the same by the taking of *Louisburg*, and breaking up all the *French* fishery in *Newfoundland*, at the commencement of the late war. And in the last war they beat the *French* on the frontiers of *New-York* with equal numbers, raised ten thousand men immediately after it, and thereby covered all the *British* dominions from the imminent danger to which they were exposed, when we had not a man there for that purpose; and afterwards raised and maintained the greatest part of the army, to which our successes in the war, and the salvation of this nation, were owing. It is in a word to *New-England*, that we owe the expulsion of the *French* from *North America*; all which services they are only

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enabled to perform by means of their trade and fishery, which are, or would have been, thus ruined by the late regulations *. It is by their
seamen

* The great support of *New-England*, and the chief source both of their subsistence, trade, and remittances to *Britain*, is the fishery, which amounts to about 250,000*l.* per annum, including all the species of cod, herring, mackarel and whale fishery; great part of this fish they are obliged to sell for molasses, as the *French* will let them have nothing else for it: But upon our laying a duty of three-pence a gallon on their molasses, they exacted 8*s.* a quintal on our fish, which is at least 40 per cent.; and as the duty on molasses amounted to 40 per cent. more, there was a duty of 80 per cent. on such an unprofitable trade as this in fish and molasses, and on such a poor employment as the fishery; which rather deserves a public encouragement, if we consider its advantages to the nation.

Besides, in *New-England* the fishery is not only a source of trade and wealth, and nursery of seamen, but it is a necessary of life, without which these colonies could not subsist. It is with their fish, that they supply the want of other provisions, and purchase the Corn they eat, which the land will not produce; whence the duty of three-pence a gallon on molasses, which we are told by the authors of *the Regulations in the Colonies*, "is but three halfpence on a gallon of rum," is in *New-England* more than 50 per cent. on the most absolute necessaries of life, Corn and Fish: And if any one will consider what such a tax is, in a country which does not produce *Corn to eat*, nor any thing to purchase it, it must appear to be very grievous indeed. This was the cause of the loud complaints of these people, who hardly ever have so good a crop of Corn, as they have had in this year of scarcity in *England*; notwithstanding the people here have complained so much, and raised such tumults on that account. These and many other like circumstances, we believe, were not known to many who imposed these taxes and regulations; and that shews the impropriety of laying taxes on people, whose condition and circum-

seamen and fishermen, whom their trade supports, that the colonies are defended, and at the same time protect the fishery of *Newfoundland*; the only thing in all *North America* that wants protection.

How insufficient the troops kept in *North America* are to protect the colonies, abundantly appeared upon the late insurrection of the *Indians*. The troops were dispersed in the deserts of *Canada* and *Florida*, from *Quebec* to *Pensacola*, *Mobile* and *St. Augustine*, at such a distance from the colonies, that they could give them no relief; they could not be drawn out of garrison there, lest those acquisitions should be left entirely defenceless; and by that means the colonies, waiting for their assistance, which they could not give, were over-run and massacred by a few *Indians*, for a year or two together; till some volunteers from *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, joined a small party of the troops, as is well known, and subdued them: This they might have done at first, had they been ordered or allowed, and had not been in expectation of being protected by the troops,

circumstances we are unacquainted with; this is the case with regard to all the colonies in *America*, whose true state and condition are but very little known here, notwithstanding the boasted knowledge of many, who pretend to be mightily well acquainted with them. The accounts we have of them, are from sailors, soldiers and merchants; who are totally unacquainted with agriculture, on which all countries chiefly depend, and more especially colonies.

for whom all these expences are incurred: Yet it is pretended, the colonies could not defend themselves from the *Indians**; which they have done for 150 years, when they were ten times weaker, and the *Indians* as much stronger.

Now, if the colonies should be invaded by a foreign enemy, what protection could they expect from these troops, who could not defend them from a handful of *Indians*? If upon any such invasion we were to draw the force out of our colonies, they would be exposed; and if we did not, these defenceless acquisitions must fall a sacrifice, and would require much more protection, than all the troops in them can give. Thus the colonies would not only be burdened with these, or any other charges that may be laid on them, to support these insignificant acquisitions, but they will have them to protect and defend after all; and must themselves be exposed to danger, instead of being defended by them, or by all these expences which are incurred for *their* protection, as is pretended. Suppose, *Canada*, or *Nova-Scotia* were to be invaded, how would they ever be defended without the assistance of *New-England* and *New-York*? All the troops there would hardly be sufficient to guard the country against its intestine foes, the confirmed Catholics of *Canada*. So if *Florida* were to be in-

* *Idem*, p. 137. Considerations, p. 84, &c.

vaded,

vaded, it could hardly have any relief, till we get a force in the countries above-mentioned.

From all these considerations it must appear, that this expence, which is so burdensome to the nation, is entirely needless. It was but a mere plausible pretence to say, that it was wanted, *towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting and securing his majesty's colonies and plantations in America*, the pretext for which these supplies were granted. By this description they only mean *Canada* and *Florida*, in which the troops paid by these subsidies are kept. They are there kept to starve and perish, more to support and maintain these useless and unprofitable settlements, than to defend and protect any of the *British* dominions. Withdraw our troops out of *Canada*, as we have said, it could not subsist; and there would be no people in *Florida*, unless they were maintained at this public expence. It is therefore only to support these deserts, that all these expences are incurred, and all these disturbances have been raised; which in two or three years have done this nation more harm, than the *French* could have done in twenty, if they had continued in *Canada*. All the conquests made by the glorious successes of the war, amounting in value to six or seven millions a year, were given up for these deserts of *Canada* and *Florida*; and for that reason they must be supported as valuable acquisitions, although it is at this expence, and to the ruin of the nation.

tion. This was the design, and only use, of taxing the colonies, or of keeping such a force in *North America*, after our enemies had been drove out of it; and both *Canada* and *Cape-Breton* are reduced. But if the first of these were dismantled and evacuated, for which it is only fit, as the other, which was of much greater consequence and importance, has been, we should be rid of all farther trouble and expences in defending, protecting, and securing of either; with which we shall otherwise for ever be saddled; and the nation would be secure from the many troubles, in which *Canada* must otherwise involve it*.

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* It was from the nest of *French* left in *Nova Scotia*, after the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that the nation was involved in the last war, in order to prevent their seizing the whole fishery; and by leaving a like nest in *Canada*, this nation will for ever be exposed to the like troubles, till she roots out the one, as she was obliged to do the other. Since they have the Catholic religion established among them, and are even allowed a Popish Bishop in the *British* dominions, with the *French* language, customs, &c., we cannot suppose that they will ever become *Englishmen*, or true subjects of *Britain*. Under a *British* government they are deprived of those posts and pensions, which were the support of *Canada*, and of all the leading people in it; the loss of which will ever render them enemies to this nation, as we may already see by their remonstrances.

As for the possession of these Northern frozen deserts, none of them were ever thought worthy of it. The *French* were only suffered to settle in *Canada*, which was given to them again, after it was taken from them in 1629, because it was not worth possessing. Even after *Nova Scotia* was restored by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, none but a few indigent fishermen would ever go nigh it; and it will certainly never
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As for the defence and security of our colonies, it is well known, that *Crown Point* and *Niagara*

be settled, without a public charge and expence, much greater than it is worth.

The only object in all these Northern parts of *America* is the fishery, in which these settlements must interfere with *Britain*, and that in such a manner, as to deprive her of that great source of her maritime power, and of the very object which the nation engaged in the war to secure. The fishery of the colonies is already much greater than that of *Britain*; the fishery of *New-England* alone amounts to 250,000 or 260,000 *l.* a year, which is equal to the amount of the *British* fishery; and although *New-England* does not so much interfere with *Britain* in the fishery, as they fish on the Southern banks, South of *Cape Sable*, and the Island of *Sable*, where the *British* ships never fish, yet settlements to the Northward of that must ruin the fishery of both, by being so much more convenient to it.

The colonies should cultivate the vast tracts of land, of which the nation is possessed, in order to promote the trade and navigation of *Britain* by that means; and should leave the fishery to the *British* seamen, who have to defend and protect the whole: but in these Northern climes there are no lands fit to cultivate. This appears even on *St. John's Island*, which is reckoned to be the best of all these Northern parts of *America*. In order to oblige the inhabitants of that Island to cultivate their lands, and to make Corn, the *French* prohibited a part of them to be concerned in the fishery; by which they were so far from supplying others, that they were reduced to the utmost misery and distress; insomuch that the officer, who made a survey of that Island in 1752, thought it necessary for their subsistence, that they should be allowed the fishery again, as appears from his *Letters on Cape Breton and St. John's Island*.

If any one would form a right judgement concerning these countries, let them consider the climate; let them examine matters of fact, and not depend upon opinions of interested people, who are perhaps not able to form a right
judgment

Niagara would have secured them, both from the Indians and the French, even when they were

judgment concerning a country, when they see it. They should take the advice of Champlain concerning Nova Scotia; 'It is impossible,' says he, 'to know that country, unless you winter in it; for in summer every thing appears very agreeable on account of the woods, a fine country, and good fishery; but the winters are intolerable; the snow which fell on the sixth of October, was never off of the ground, but lay three or four feet deep, till the last of April the next year.' This and many other like dismal accounts and effects of the climate may be seen in Champlain's Journals, published at Paris in 1613; but in the History which he afterwards wrote of the country in 1632, he leaves out all these accounts of the climate, both of Canada and Nova Scotia, as that was made an objection to the settling of them; and in all our other accounts of these countries, public or private, we see the like omission, copied from this of Champlain.

But if we evacuate Canada, the French will take it again, say they; to which we may answer, The loss would not be great, if they should; on the contrary, if we are to be burdened with such a charge without any manner of profit, and to lose all the fruitful parts of the Continent, which must deprive the nation of the benefit of her other colonies, for the sake of these deserts, we had much better be without them. We had no sooner got them, than every one, who knew any thing about them, would have been glad to have been fairly rid of them. If the French ever attempt Canada again, it will only be to distress Britain; which they will be much more able to do by settlements in the country, than without them.

It appears from many instances, that all these countries are uninhabitable, and can never be held, without good accommodations and fresh provisions.—When Jacques Cartier first wintered at Montreal in 1535, he lost so many of his men by the cold and scurvy, that he deemed the country not fit to inhabit, and abandoned it on that account.—He

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were in possession of Canada, and much more now when they are drove out of it; but Quebec and Montreal will do neither. These, or Florida, are no greater security to our colonies, than a fort in the Orkneys would be to England. On the contrary, the French may seize these, and thereby hold the country, in order to distress our colonies, by means of the accommodations which we keep up for their reception, without which an army must perish. The security we obtain is from the expulsion of our enemies, and not from maintaining them in the country, to put the nation again to all

and Mr. Roberval made a second attempt in 1540 at Quebec, but soon abandoned it for the same reason.—The French never afterwards attempted Canada, till the year 1599, when Mr. Chauvin left some people at Saguenay, who all perished with the cold, except a few who were saved by the Indians.—In 1604, Mr. de Monts lost one half of seventy hale and hearty men, and twenty more were at the point of death, by wintering at St. Croix in the most Southern parts of Nova Scotia.—Champlain suffered the same fate at Quebec in 1608, when he had but eight men left alive, out of twenty-six, and those so benumbed with the cold, and crippled with the scurvy, that they were unfit for any service; "notwithstanding they were all well clothed, lay in good beds, were kept warm, and well fed," says he, in his Journals, p. 203.—So in the last war, a party of our troops lying out of doors only for one night, before they were aware of the approach of winter, every man of them was so maimed with the cold, that not a single one was fit for service during all the rest of the war.—Such a country could never be held, without the accommodations which have been erected in it, at a much greater expence than they are worth; and which we are at a greater expence to uphold, only to enable an enemy to distress the nation, and to hold the country, which they could not otherwise do.

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the expences which have been so lately incurred on their account. It is well known, that the *French* proposed to abandon *Canada* long ago, which they would certainly have done, had it not been for the hopes of gaining some more valuable possessions with it †. They entered into the war to get out of *Canada*, notwithstanding it was of so much greater consequence to *France*, who had no other colonies there, than it ever can be to *Great Britain*, who has so many, with which this only interferes.— The only object in all these northern parts of *America* is the fishery, for which *Canada* is of no use nor service—*Canada* can be nothing but a factory for the Fur trade, and *Nova Scotia* only a fishing settlement, of both which this nation already has too many.

Whatever any of these acquisitions may be, even if they were to be as profitable, as their advocates would make them, it is past doubt, they will never be worth the charges, which the nation is put to solely on their account. What that charge may be, is uncertain; we have called it nigh half a million, as we are told by one who seems to be in the secret, ‘ the charge must be between four and five hundred thousand pounds *per annum* *,’ including all the ordinary and extraordinary charges; but in these last no account is taken of the much

† *Vid. Charlevoix Hist. N. France.*

* *Considerations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom, p. 77.*

greater

greater expences the nation may be put to, and the wars in which it may and is likely to be involved, by these paltry and defenceless settlements, which were the occasion of the last war. To secure the nation against these, in *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Florida*, would require much more than half a million a year; which must be placed to the account of charges incurred for the upholding of these settlements.

This is the more to be regarded, as all this expence must fall on *Great Britain*, burdened and oppressed as she already is with debts and taxes; and that for no other purpose, as we have shewn, but to ruin her own interest in *North America*, after all it has cost her. It has indeed been given out, with every thing else, that these taxes on the colonies were to relieve the subject at home; who are so unacquainted even with their own interest in *America*, that they seem not to know the contrary to this day. But even if the colonies had paid their taxes, *Britain* would have been involved in an additional debt, for the support of *Canada* and *Florida*, over and above that aid. The whole of the intended taxes on the colonies they would make to amount but to 160,000 *l.* a year *, when the expence incurred is nigh 500,000 *l.*; wherefore, *Great Britain* must still have been burdened with a charge of 300,000 *l.*

* *Id. ibid. p. 71. Conduct of the Ministry, p. 123, &c.*

per ann., over and above what the colonies were to have paid; by which last, we have shewn, she must have lost twice or thrice as much. Thus the whole charge and loss to *Great Britain* would have been at least 600,000 *l.* if not 700,000 *l.* a year, with the probable loss of her interest in the colonies to the bargain. This is all that *Britain* would have got, even if the colonies had paid their taxes. Yet this is what they have all along called the relieving of the subject at home by taxes on the colonies; which were in truth intended to burthen them both with such a needless and ruinous charge, for the sake of *Canada* and *Florida*! Had these taxes on the colonies been appropriated to the payment of any here, or even to any other necessary purpose, they might have been some relief to the nation at home, however burdensome they were to the colonies; but for such purposes as these, to which they were appropriated, they must both have been involved in an additional load of taxes, without any manner of benefit to either; but on the contrary, to the prejudice of both. Thus the nation is doubly indebted to the colonies, for saving her this needless and ruinous expence.

If these taxes on the colonies had been paid, without any loss to *Britain*, they would not have discharged above a third part of the expence of maintaining these acquisitions; which

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is acknowledged by the authors of these measures themselves*; and since the whole now falls on *Great Britain*, why should she be burdened with such a needless expence? Since the proposed means of supporting these acquisitions, by taxes on the colonies, are as ineffectual as those deserts are unprofitable, and prejudicial to the whole nation, why should they be any longer supported? It must appear to be the greatest impropriety, to be at such an expence in supporting colonies, which produce nothing; when we have so many others, which are in the same situation; and when they cost ten times more than they are worth, or than all our other colonies ever did, or ever would cost without these. The use of colonies to this nation is, to load her ships, and to supply themselves with necessaries from *Britain*; but can any one imagine, that either of these can be done in such deserts as *Canada* or *Florida*? If they cannot, of what use can it be to support them at such an expence? By evacuating them, the nation would be free from this charge,

* Conduct of the late Ministry, p. 13. We are here told by authority, that the colonies were to contribute about a third part of the expence, which was computed to be 160,000 *l.*; from which computation the whole expence must have been 480,000 *l.*; so that it may well be estimated at half a million a year, as we have called it. If we make it less, the risque we run by such a saving may make it twice or thrice as much. The nation may thereby lose the fishery of *Newfoundland*, and have all her business to do over again.

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which is ten times more than she can ever expect to get from them. We see above, that the *French* never reckoned the produce of *Canada* to be above 14,000*l.* a year, which was all that it yielded, when it fell into our hands; and notwithstanding the great sums expended in it, *Canada* produces on an average, by the Custom-house accompts, but 22,000*l.* a year, and *Florida* — nothing; which is nigh all that this nation gets for half a million a year, and for 80 millions expended in the war. Now, if the nation loses the benefit of her other colonies, with these expences, which she certainly must do, by neglecting all the fruitful parts of the continent for these barren deserts, nothing could well be more ruinous.

There is no manner of doubt, that this nation will be tired of *Canada*, as soon as she comes to know what it is, and to feel the burden of it, which we believe every one who knows any thing about it already is; we ought therefore to think of doing something with it, before the nation is put to any farther expence about it; and either to secure it effectually, so as to be free from any danger of being seized, or to evacuate it. The first would certainly be a matter of difficulty, with so many *French* as are in the country; and will cost much more, than we fear will ever be expended upon such an unprofitable settlement. To secure both *Canada*, *Nova Scotia* and *Florida*, so as to render them free from insults, will be a much

greater expence, than *Britain* will care to be at for any time. But if they are not secure from invasions, such defenceless settlements can only be a trap to involve the nation again in a new war. The question therefore is, whether will they be secure, or not? If they are not, they should be evacuated, and the climate would secure them without any expence, which there is no other way to get rid of. If the nation thinks fit to keep them in a constant posture of defence, and to settle the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, with *Canada*, *Nova Scotia*, *Georgia*, *East* and *West Florida*, there can be no such objection to these last; but we fear, neither of these will ever be done, so long as we are burdened with *Canada* and *Florida* for nothing.

As for the making of a profitable colony of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, that is contrary to nature itself. They, who may be of that opinion, are totally unacquainted with the soil and climate of *North America*, as well as with the very design and intent of settling colonies. Unless they live by their agriculture, they can be of no use nor service to this nation; but that is certainly not to be expected, either in *Canada*, or *Nova Scotia*. Their agriculture would not even maintain the colonies of *New-England*, which could not subsist without the fishery. In these northern parts of *America*, nature has provided that plentiful source of subsistence for mankind in the seas, which she has denied to the land. We have heard some people indeed alledge,

alledge, that they have a good and fruitful soil in some parts, or rather small and insignificant spots of *Canada*; but that appears to be impossible in such a climate. The *French* tell us from 160 years experience, 'there is no part of the world in which the soil abounds more with sand and stone*', which is the worst soil of any in the world; and if to this we join the consideration of the climate, all these northern frozen deserts must appear to be very unfit to maintain colonies by their agriculture, even in the necessaries of life, and much more by staple commodities for *Britain*. Notwithstanding these northern parts of *America* have been settled and frequented longer than any part of that continent, they have never yet produced any one thing, that could be of the least service to this nation. All that can be said for them, is, that a few indigent people may make a shift to get the bare necessaries of life in them; but we cannot see, of what service that can be to this nation. And as far as we can learn, they could not even do that in *Canada*, were it not for the plenty of Eels, which providence sends them about the beginning of winter. With these they are obliged to feed both man and beast, for want of Corn and Grass; than which nothing can shew a more miserable poverty in any country. This is the way of living in the deserts of *Tartary*, to which the

* *Charlevoix Hist. N. France*, Tom. v. p. 247.

Jesuits

Jesuits on the spot justly compare the deserts of *Canada*. All this would abundantly appear from a due account and description of the continent of *North America*, and the several colonies in it, which the bounds of our discourse will not allow us to give any more particular account of at present; although it is from such a particular enquiry into the state of these countries, the nature of the soil and climate, and what they produce, of which we have had so many accounts from the *French* and others, that we have given this opinion concerning them, which might be supported by many more satisfactory arguments.

The only object in all these northern parts of *America*, as we have said, is the fishery, and unless we have that, we get nothing by the settling of the country, but a burden and charge, which they will not defray. There is not even the least prospect, that any of these northern settlements will ever be able to defend themselves, and for that reason they put the nation to such an expence for their defence and protection; and must expose it to perpetual insults, if not to new wars and troubles on their account. It was by these means, that the nation was involved in the last war, and ought to consider the proper methods of preventing the like for the future.

Now, all the world knows, that *Great Britain* was led into the war on account of the dispute with *France* about the limits of *Nova Scotia*; but

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we seem not yet to know, or to consider, what were the objects of that dispute, or of what service the country could be to either of the two nations. If it had been only for the possession of the country, or for any thing that it is fit to produce, neither of the two could ever have engaged in such an expensive war on that account. The only object in view was the fishery, and it was to secure that great source of her maritime power, and to prevent its falling into the hands of *France*, that *Great Britain* engaged in the war. If the *French* had been possessed of *Nova Scotia*, with *Canada* and *Cape Breton*, *Newfoundland* would have been an easy conquest; that must have fallen next, and the whole fishery with it. Had *France* by that means been possessed of all the countries, which command the fishery, as *Great Britain* now is, which was her aim, she would never have let the *English* enjoy even such a share of the fishery, as we have given to them. It is entirely by means of this fishery, which was first given to them by *K. Charles I.*, that the *French* have been able to raise a naval force, and to contend with *Great Britain* at sea, by means of her own resources. They had no sooner got possession of this nursery of seamen, than they raised a maritime power, which disputed the command of the seas, and consequently of *Great Britain* itself, against the combined fleets both of *England* and *Holland*; which has ever since made all those, who consult the safety or prosperity of *Great Britain*,

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pay such a regard to this fishery, that they justly think, the very being of this nation depends upon it. Thus the fishery of *Newfoundland* was not only the principal object of the last war, but is the grounds of all the disputes with the *French* in *North America*. It was to secure that, which the *French* endeavoured to usurp, that the nation engaged in the war; and how that is to be done without such an expence after it, is the point in question, and what this nation has to consider.

Many may perhaps think, that this may be done by settlements in the country adjacent to the fishery; but we are of the contrary opinion, and are well satisfied, that such settlements are more likely to prove a means of losing the fishery, as lately happened by the taking of *St. John's* in *Newfoundland*. That is the oldest settlement in all *North America*, but is not yet able to defend itself against two or three ships; and all the rest of these paltry fishing settlements, North of *New-England*, are, and are ever likely to be, in the same defenceless condition. We shall never raise a force in these, or any other countries, sufficient to defend them, where the people cannot subsist by their Agriculture, or rather have no soil or climate fit to cultivate. Yet, notwithstanding it is so difficult to raise a force sufficient to defend and secure these countries, there are more ports and harbours in them to be defended, than are perhaps in all *Europe*, exclusive of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. The

whole coast, both of *Newfoundland* and *Nova Scotia*, is one continued harbour, and exposed to every fishing vessel; while there is but here and there a spot fit for settlers to inhabit, and those at such distances from one another, that they can neither support, nor be supported by, each other. It is for these reasons, that such settlements can never be in a posture of defence, although they are exposed to every invader; who may hold the country, and command the fishery by that means, which they could not otherwise do. *Britain* must secure both these and all her other dominions by her fleets, which these settlements will rather weaken, by interfering with the *British* fishery; and must thereby deprive the whole nation of that security, which they are intended to give, if they do not again involve it in another war. All this, with many other disadvantages of these fishing settlements, have been so fully shewn by a very good judge *, that it is surprizing, they have never been attended to.

Thus

* *Child* on Trade, ch. 10. art. 10.—The chief arguments for his opinion are,

I. "The fishermen settled in *Newfoundland*, and much more in *Nova Scotia*, or other fishing settlements, are supplied with their own provisions, or from the other colonies; and get great part of their cloathing, fishing-tackle, and other necessaries, either from them, or from the *French*; by which means the labour, as well as the cloathing and feeding of so many men, are lost to *England*."

II. "These

Thus the only advantage the nation can expect from the reduction of *Canada* and *Cape Breton*,

II. "These settlements only serve to divert the fishermen from their laborious and industrious calling, which they neglect in disorderly houses on shore."

III. "These fishing settlements greatly obstruct the navigation of *Great-Britain*. If *Newfoundland*, says he, should come to be settled, *England* would lose that fishery, as she had already done (even in his time, in the reign of King *Charles II.*) that on the coast of *New-England*; which was formerly carried on by *British* ships, but has now fallen solely to the employment of the people settled there." And if *Nova Scotia*, or the whole coast from *New-England* to the river *St. Laurence*, were settled, as is proposed, the *British* fishery must be totally ruined, as the settlers could follow no other employment.

IV. "Before there were Boat-keepers or Planters at *Newfoundland*, fish was sold 40 per cent. cheaper, and consequently more vended; but now they have enhanced the price of their fish to such an excess, as in effect proves the giving away of that trade to the *French*, who by this our impolitic management are able to undersell us; and most certain it is, that those who can sell cheapest will have the trade."

V. "It is the interest of *Great-Britain* not only to raise as many seamen as she can, but to have them within call in time of danger; but in these fishing settlements, both their maintenance, and service upon emergencies, are lost to the nation."

VI. "The *British* fishing-ships are the only breeders of seamen, and enter many new hands; but the Planters are already bred, follow no other business, and never increase the number of seamen."

VII. "By the building, fitting, victualling, and repairing of *British* ships, numbers of Tradesmen, Artificers, Owners of ships and seamen, in *England*, get their bread, which they lose by the ship-building in these fishing settlements."

VIII. "If

Breton, is a security for the fishery; and if that were rightly improved, it might, no doubt, be rendered a very great national benefit; but by settling those countries, it is to be feared, we shall deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwise be reaped from them. They are widely mistaken about the very object in all these northern parts of *America*, who expect it from settlements, or agriculture. Had we got an exclusive right to the fishery, as was proposed, we are told, by that great and true patriot, to whose conduct and fortitude the few advantages we have obtained are owing,

VIII. "If it is alledged, that without settlements, the country will always be exposed to the surprize of the *French*, I answer, says he; "When we cannot preserve our colonies by our shipping, or so awe our neighbours by our fleets, and ships of war, that they dare not attempt them, our case will be sad, and our property will be lost, or in imminent danger, not only abroad, but at home likewise."

IX. "All the fish that is killed at *Newfoundland*, in a summer, is not sufficient to maintain strength enough on shore to defend two fishing harbours against ten men of war; whereas that country has more harbours to defend, than are to be found in *Old-England*;" and there are still more in *Nova Scotia*, the coast of which extends 3 or 400 leagues, with innumerable harbours on it, which can never be secured by the settlements in the country.

If a protection is wanted by a settlement in these countries, it should be a place of strength, such as *Louisburgh*; and even that might be taken, as well as *Quebec*, after all they will cost. If that, and the other charges of these settlements, were laid out on the navy, and the keeping of a fleet there, they would be a much greater security to the whole nation, both at home and abroad.

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the nation would have got its own again, what is justly due to it, and what might have been some compensation for the expences incurred; but by the settling of these countries we are only burdened with an additional charge; and *Britain* may be a loser, and *France* a gainer, by depriving her of countries, which are rather a charge and detriment, than any benefit to the nation.

But it is not surprizing, that many seem not to know what the advantages of the peace are, or the ways of improving them, when they seem to be totally unacquainted with the grounds and occasion of the war. We are told every day, and it seems to be the general opinion in *England*, that the war was undertaken merely on account of the colonies; "a war undertaken solely for *their* protection*;" "by which they had profited so much; whose interests, commerce and security had been the first objects of *the peace*†," say they! But surely, they, who are of this opinion, are as little acquainted with the grounds and occasion of the war, as with the proper methods of improving the advantages gained by it. The war was undertaken for *Nova Scotia*, and to secure the fishery of *Great Britain*, in which the colonies have no other concern, than to benefit their mother country, and to partake of those ad-

* Considerations on the Trade of this kingdom, p. 69.

† Conduct of the Ministry, p. 12.

vantages,

vantages, safety and security, which they derive from her, and particularly from her maritime power, which is thus strengthened and secured by the fishery. By these means the interest and benefits of the colonies and their mother country are a common cause, and joint concern, and they shew little regard for either, who would make them separate. But of the two, *Britain* herself is, or at least ought to be, much more concerned in the fishery, for which the war was undertaken, than the colonies. Except *New-England*, we have not a single colony concerned in that fishery. The colonies should cultivate their lands, as we have said, and should leave the fishery to the *British* seamen; on the other hand, as they are protected by the maritime power of *Britain*, it is their interest, as it is their duty, to secure this great source of safety to the whole nation. It was by these means, that the war, and the objects of it, were a common cause, and the colonies engaged in it as heartily as their mother country, by her desire and frequent solicitations, which alone drew many of them into it. If the war was begun in *America*, it was because that is the chief source of the maritime power of *Great Britain*; which is the envy of *France*, and the bone of contention between the two rival nations, as it has been, ever since we first gave them a right to fish at *Newfoundland*. The object therefore of the war was, whether should *Great Britain*, or *France*, be masters

of the seas, and consequently of all *America*, if not of *Britain* itself, with the trade of the world. *Great Britain* herself was threatened with an invasion, which was only prevented by her ships coming from the colonies, as we have said; and we believe, there is no other way to prevent the like again. At that time this nation had neither a fleet that could be manned, an army, or militia; but was obliged to send for a few mercenaries to defend her; and only saved herself at home, and all her concerns abroad, by the powerful aid of the colonies, and the diversion made in *Germany*, which first drew the *French* troops from their intended invasion of *England*, or gave her any success abroad.

These successes in the war were owing to the powerful assistance of the colonies, who first beat the *French* at *Lake George*, and put a stop to the progress of their victorious arms; they afterwards maintained from 20,000 to 25,000 men, without which we could not have expected any of the successes we met with; and the nation might have been undone, not with her successes, as we have been told, but for want of them. It is on this aid of the colonies, which is daily growing more powerful, that the safety of this nation depends; the people we have in *North America*, are the only balance to that great superiority, in numbers, which our enemies have over us in *Europe*; and if this advantage were made a right use of, if the colonies and their mother country were united together

ther for their mutual support, instead of being divided, as they have been, by these false measures taken for their "defence, protection, and security," such an union would be a much better security to "his Majesty's colonies and plantations in *America*," as well as to *Great Britain* herself, than all the taxes laid on the colonies for that purpose. That union, which so successfully expelled our enemies from that continent, will secure it against them hereafter; if we make a right use of the great increase of the colonies, which will soon render them considerable. This power of *Great Britain*, united with her colonies, is the envy of her enemies, and excited the jealousy of *France*, which was another occasion of the war. He who was one of the principal authors of the war tells us, 'France had taken the resolution to humble the pride of *England*, and to bring her back to that point of mediocrity which nature had prescribed to her *; this they could only do by reducing her "powerful empire in *America*," and putting a stop to the progress of it; in which common cause the colonies thus assisted their mother country, and will ever be able and willing to do the same again, by preserving that union and harmony which ought by all means to be cemented between them, for their mutual safety and support; but has been interrupted by these acts and regulations,

* *Silhouette's View of England.*

with

with many other misrepresentations, particularly of the causes and objects of the war, and state of the colonies.

If the nation, therefore, exerted itself at home, the colonies did the same abroad, and bore even a greater share of the burden, in proportion to their abilities, than *Great Britain* herself. If we consider their income and circumstances, such a number of men, and the sums they raised to pay them, are much more to them, than all the charges of the war are to *Britain*. And although this was no more than their duty to do, yet it was not certainly all done for *them*. The object of the war was the fishery, which would have been commanded by *Nova Scotia*, and which the colonies, by these means, helped to secure for *Great Britain*. If *New-England*, or any of the other colonies, were concerned in that fishery, they thus secured it for *Britain*, and not for themselves; *Nova Scotia* gives her a command of the fishery, and the advantages reaped from it; whereas it can only interfere with the colonies, and may deprive them of that, which in *New-England* is the chief, if not the only, means of their support. How then does it appear, "whatever may be the value of the acquisitions in *America*; the immediate benefit of them is to the colonies *?" or that "they profited so much by the war?" They tell us above, that all our acqui-

* *Considerations ibid.*

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sitions are not worth one groat to them. The only acquisition is the fur trade, which is still enjoyed by *Canada*; and the colonies only have their former share, which is no object either to them, or to *Great Britain* *.

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* The furs are the only object in all these Northern parts of *America*, next to the fishery, and were formerly very considerable, for which alone both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* were settled; but now they are in a manner exhausted, and the *Indians* who got them extirpated; which renders colonies in these countries of little or no consequence, as this their trade, and almost only support, are daily declining more and more. "Formerly, when the King was at great expences in *Canada*," says *Charlevoix*, "the fur trade amounted to a million of livres (about 45,000 *l.* sterling) a year, but now it is reduced to 300,000 livres." So in *Nova Scotia*, in the time of Mr. *Denys*, they used to get, among other articles, 3,000 elk-skins in a year, but now they observe, "the very species is extinct." Thus, by settling these countries, we destroy the furs, and lose the only profit of them.

It has been imagined, that this fur trade is of great consequence, and we see it, in some late accounts of *Canada*, valued at 200,000 *l.* a year; but by the Custom-house accounts of the importation of furs, since the reduction of *Canada*, the whole fur trade of *North America*, South of *Hudson's Bay*, cannot be estimated, on an average, at above 40,000 *l.* per annum. This we may easily perceive from the number of *Indians* that get these furs, who are not above 6 or 7000 huntsmen; and cannot be supposed to make above five pounds a head per annum, as that is twice as much as our Planters make. Were they to be worth 200,000 *l.* a year, they would be the richest people in all *America*; whereas it is well known, they have not common necessaries.—We fear, the advantages of all our acquisitions have been as much over-rated, in every thing else, as in this.

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The only object for the *immediate benefit* of the colonies, or for the interest of *Great Britain* in them, are fruitful lands to cultivate, that will produce staple commodities; of which they have not got one foot, since the peace. This was the other great and principal object of the war, and almost the only one that more immediately concerns the colonies, and the prosperity of the whole nation; but that seems never to have been understood, or to have been

They are much mistaken, therefore, who imagine, that this fur trade was the object of the war, or that it can be any great advantage of the peace, or resource to the colonies in consequence of it. If the *French* surrounded our colonies with forts, which commanded this fur trade, that was not the great national concern of either; their view was, to secure all the Northern parts of the Continent, and to awe our colonies, which command the fishery.

Neither *Great Britain*, nor *France*, would have engaged in such an expensive war, as this was, for such an inconsiderable object as the fur trade, or any thing else that these Northern parts of *America* produce, without the fishery; although both of them, and particularly the *French*, seem to have set a much greater value on the fur trade, than it is worth. Ever since they took *Hudson's Bay* in 1695, and got a monopoly of the furs, they have had a considerable manufacture in hats, and have aimed at a monopoly of it; why should we not therefore do the same, when it now justly belongs to us? For this purpose, a duty of sevenpence a skin has been laid upon the exportation of beaver, but that is far from being sufficient to answer the end. That will not compensate the dearness of labour, provisions, articles of daily consumption, &c. in *England*; but still gives the *French* the advantage of making hats, with *English* furs, cheaper than we can ourselves, and a very considerable branch of trade and manufactory.

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regarded. There are no such lands to be found in all the *British* dominions in *North America*, but on the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, from which the colonies are excluded by these regulations. Before the war they were settled on the river *Ohio*, *Wood* river, *Holston* and *Cumberland* rivers, beyond the *Apalachean* mountains; but now they are confined within these mountains, by the proclamation issued for that purpose. Thus if they were at such expences, or gained any advantages in the war, they have been deprived of them since the peace. This is the more to be regarded, as the colonies have no other way, either to be indemnified for their expences, to recruit their circumstances, or even to pay their debts in *Britain*, but by cultivating such lands. But if they were even possessed of them, they would not so soon raise *sterling cash*, to pay taxes, which these authors expect from the insignificant resources they would point out. The making of new settlements is a matter of expence, and not of immediate benefit or profit; and the colonies should rather be relieved from taxes, and supported with credit, to enable them to be at that expence, than burdened with such impositions to maintain *Canada* and *Florida*. They have formerly been in debt to *Britain*, by the settling of new plantations, which paid their debts; but now they are in debt for want of such fresh lands, and have no way to pay even their just debts, or to purchase absolute necessaries; and must

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must be utterly unable to pay such taxes, as these authors and many others would impose upon them, especially from the resources they mention. There could not have been a more improper time pitched upon, to impose these taxes and regulations on the colonies; when it is well known, they must either enlarge their plantations, and improve them in staple commodities for *Britain*, or interfere with her both in Agriculture, trade and manufactures.

The only resource of the colonies is in the improvement of their agriculture, which is a work of time; but as this is a matter of such consequence, it ought to be no longer neglected. It is only by their agriculture, that the colonies can make money to pay debts, taxes, or even to purchase necessaries; if we would therefore enable them to do either of these, proper regulations should be thought of for this purpose; by which alone either *Great Britain*, or the colonies, can indemnify themselves for their expences in the war, or recruit their circumstances after it. They seem not to know what colonies are, who would think of any other resources in them. But instead of these, nothing seems to be thought of but trade, which at the best is a very improper business for colonies, who should only trade with their mother country; and for want of commodities to trade in, which they can only have from their agriculture, the *North American* colonies are very considerable losers by their trade, as we have shewn

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above. If they would gain any thing by their trade, they should supply themselves with their own necessaries from the produce of their lands, and should make their imports, which they now consume, articles of commerce; this is the first regulation wanted in the colonies, and might very easily be complied with. By that they might make, with their gains, and the saving of what they now expend, at least half a million a year; and *Great Britain* might save nigh as much in *Canada* and *Florida*; which, with the return of so much from the colonies, are articles amounting to a million a year, and are highly worthy of consideration, in the present circumstances of this nation.

Next to these, the regulations most wanted in the colonies are such as concern the improvements of their plantations in staple commodities for *Britain*, which are equally interesting to them, and to their mother country. These are regulations which should have been first thought of, if we would either expect to get money from them, to prevent their establishing of manufactures, or to reap any other advantages from them. It shews the utmost want of thought and consideration, to expect to get money from colonies, which produce nothing to gain it. Thus in all the regulations concerning the colonies, this chief and fundamental one seems not to have been regarded. If we would expect any thing from them, we should first put them in a way of making it.

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This is to be done by two ways, as we have said, either by extending their settlements to new and fresh lands, and more favourable climates, or by improving their old plantations; the first of which depends upon *Great Britain*, and the last is more particularly the business of the colonies; although there is little hopes of seeing it done without the encouragement and assistance of their mother country. So long as the people in the colonies can get necessaries, which the land produces, they think of nothing else, and the public thereby loses the benefit of their labor, which might likewise turn to much more account to them. Their business therefore is, to set about the improvement of their lands, by some public acts and encouragements; and to tax themselves for this purpose, if they will not be taxed by others. A little laid out upon such an occasion would be the best harvest they ever reaped. It would be like Seed Corn sown in a soil which yields a thousand-fold. It is in this manner that the colonies should be taxed, both for their own benefit, and the interest of the whole nation. Such taxes may be paid in the commodities proposed, when they cannot possibly pay others, till they are enabled by the produce of their lands. This would likewise enable them to pay their debts, and to purchase their necessaries from *Britain*; whereas all other taxes deprive them of the means of both. They who would think of any other way of taxing the

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colonies, do not know what they are, nor the interest of the nation in them.

This is the only way they have to indemnify themselves for their expences in the war, to pay their debts, or to recruit their circumstances; and there is no other way to recompense the nation, for the many millions that have been expended. This is therefore a debt, which they owe both to themselves, and to their mother country; the discharging of which might retrieve their lost credit, and be ample compensation for their taxes. By such staple commodities to send to *Britain*, they would much more than compensate the nation, for the taxes from which they have been relieved, or are unable to pay; and since they are free from the one, it would be a full satisfaction to all who know what colonies are, or should be, and would appease the clamors of many, to see such improvements made in them, for the benefit of the whole nation. This would render their connection and dependence on *Great Britain* more lasting and secure, than the most absolute government, and more advantageous to them, than a perfect liberty and freedom, or total independence; and would at the same time be more profitable to the whole nation, than any thing else that can possibly be done in colonies. Such a design is the more necessary, as it must appear to all, who are in the least acquainted with the state of the colonies, that they must now either improve their lands in staple commodities for *Britain*,

Britain, or interfere with her both in Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures, the essential employments and fundamental resources of the nation.

For this purpose some encouragement has been given to the growing of Hemp and Flax, and the getting of timber; but these are never likely to be a lasting staple of any of our colonies, and are at the best but very insignificant resources for supporting so many countries, and maintaining such a number of people. Since these therefore have failed, and are so insufficient to answer the purpose, some other methods should be thought of, to promote such a signal interest of the nation; of which any one or two that can be proposed would not be sufficient, as we have said; and to find any number of staple commodities suitable to their singular and peculiar soil and climate, and fit to maintain such a number of people, is not so easily done, as may perhaps be imagined. But this is a subject which would require a more particular explanation, if we consider the singularities of the climate of *North America*, and the condition of Planters; and if such a design is likely to be encouraged, we may perhaps prosecute it in another part of this discourse; although there are no hopes of seeing it carried into execution, without the united endeavours of the whole nation, both at home and abroad.

In the mean time, it may be easy to satisfy every unprejudiced person concerning the state

of the colonies, so far as relates to the repeal of the late Regulations and Stamp-act. Many would represent this as a very great loss to *Great Britain*; the contrary of which must appear to all, who will consider not only the condition and circumstances, but the very nature and institution of colonies. It is not in the nature of things, that they, who make so little, and must buy every thing, should ever have money. They must not only supply themselves with their own manufactures, but must even vend them, before they can ever be worth money, as they have nothing else that will ever be a source of wealth. But how prejudicial such a state and trade of the colonies would be to *Great Britain*, must certainly appear to all. That is the direct way not only to deprive the nation of the benefit of them, but to make it impossible for them to live under a *British* government, without a total relaxation and infringement of the most essential and fundamental laws relating to them. Were they to be forced to raise money by the produce of their labour, or manufactures, as they must do, so long as their lands produce so little, their trade could never be confined to *Great Britain*. They might live under a *British* government, it is true, but they could never subsist by a dependence on *Great Britain* for their necessaries; which are the chief and first thing to be considered in the governing of any people whatever,

ever, and especially those who are at such a distance. Absolute necessaries are above all other considerations, and to deprive people of these, is to un hinge the first springs, and the very design, of government, which is intended for the preservation and better subsistence of the people. The first thing, therefore, to be considered, in the governing of the colonies, is, to enable them to subsist under the government they are subject to; which they will never be able to do by paying taxes, so long as their resources are so few, and so limited and confined. Their trade and resources are now, as they ought to be, confined to *Great Britain*, which does not want, and will not take, what the greatest part of *North America* produces; so that, to oblige them to raise money, even by the produce of their lands, is to force them into a trade with foreign Powers.

Thus the repeal of the taxes imposed upon the colonies is so far from being a sacrifice of the highest permanent interests, and of the whole majesty, power, and reputation of government, as many seem to think, that it appears to be the only way to secure them*. The whole income

* The dignity and power of Government was secured by the wise and just law enacted, "to bind the colonies subjects of *Great Britain*, in all cases whatsoever," as they ought to be; but that cannot extend to *impossible cases*, such as the taking of money from them, when it is impossible they should have any. Neither can we suppose, that the wisdom of the legislature will extend it to cases, which are

income of these colonies does not amount to above ten or twelve shillings a head *per annum*, which

ate so contrary to the interest of the nation. But at the same time it was very proper, that the colonies should be bound *subjects* of *Great Britain*, in all cases whatsoever.

That it is impossible for these colonies ever to have money, appears from many considerations. First, the balance of trade upon their exports and imports into *Britain* is about a million a year; besides which, they annually purchase from *Britain* to the value of about 150,000 *l.* in negroes, which takes all the money they have, or can get, to keep up their plantations of staple commodities for *Britain*, on which her whole interest in the colonies depends: This makes the balance of trade against them, at least; 1,100,000 *l. per annum*; and yet that, if they were able to pay it, is not sufficient to purchase a sixth part of the necessaries they want from *Britain*.

Secondly, they have no way to get money but by a trade to the *West-Indies*, where, they are refused both money, or any valuable effects that will purchase it.

Thirdly, their resources for getting money consist in the vent of their products, for which they want markets. Their trade is confined to a few small islands, which are not sufficient to take off a tenth part of the products of that Continent. If we would have given them any resources to make money, as is pretended, it should have been by an enlargement of our possessions in the *West-Indies*: But instead of that, their trade there was restrained, if not ruined, by these Regulations. Among others, the *Spaniards* came to deal with them at *Pensacola*, with a cargo amounting to 600,000 dollars, as was said, but we were hindered to take their money; which occasioned the first failure of the *North American* merchants in their remittances. Thus we would take money from them, when they have none, and at the same time hinder them to get it.

If these things are considered, it would not even be for the interest of the people of *Great Britain*, to have a right to tax the colonies. They might clamour, and even petition,

which will never pay taxes, nor even purchase *absolute necessaries*. By taxes, therefore, you first oblige the people to supply themselves, independent of *Great Britain*, and then to carry on a trade with other nations, in order to raise money, both of which are equally opposite to the *highest permanent interests* and *government* of *Great Britain*. And this is not only the case at present, but is likely to be much more so hereafter. The daily and great increase of the people in *North America* must render this their income, and abilities either to purchase necessaries, or to pay taxes, still less than at present, unless they have both manufactures and a trade in them. They will soon want all the produce of their lands for their own use, after which it will be very difficult for them even to carry on a trade with *Great Britain*; and absolutely impracticable to raise money by

petition, for such a popular measure, unwittingly, to their own ruin. This is the great inconvenience of popular governments, unless they are subject to some controul; which is what we have above called too great a power for mankind to be entrusted with, and in the present case appears to be contrary to their interest to enjoy. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of *Great Britain*, than to take money from these colonies, on any account whatever, and above all, for such purposes as the maintaining of *Canada* and *Florida*.

If it were possible to tax the colonies for the benefit of the nation, it should be in such staple commodities as are wanted from them; although even that would require great prudence and consideration, if it were to be extended to them all, as will appear from considering that subject.

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it, to pay taxes. Even if they were to make all the improvements in staple commodities that could well be proposed or thought of, they would never pay taxes. Before they can make these, the people will be twice as numerous as they are, and their income, if it were ten times as great as it is at present, would hardly be sufficient to purchase their necessaries from Britain.

Thus it signifies nothing, whether Great Britain has a right to tax her colonies, or not, since that right can never be worth a groat; and it would be the greatest loss and detriment to the nation, ever to exercise it. This must ever be the case, so long as these colonies depend on their mother country, without either staple commodities, manufactures, or trade, that turn to any account to them; and the whole profits of these essential resources, both of wealth and subsistence, center in, and are reaped by, Great Britain. If these things are considered, it must appear to be the greatest inconsistency, either to expect, or to take, money from these colonies. That is contrary to the very nature of colonies, and to the intent of settling them. The nation gets both their money, if they have any, and their effects, by trade, and can expect none by a revenue. Upon these accounts, it was absolutely necessary to repeal the taxes imposed upon them, as it was equally contrary to the very nature of things, and the interest of Great Britain, that they should ever be able to pay

pay them, till they enjoy all the profits of their own labour, and of a trade in the produce of it; which is to make them independent. Many other regulations are as contrary to nature itself, particularly in the acquisitions, and must be repealed, when they come to be known, as the rest have been. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.*

Many indeed seem to be apprehensive, that the repeal of the Stamp-act may make the colonies less subject to a British government, and more inclinable to assert an independence; in which they shew themselves to be totally unacquainted with them in this respect, as well as in all the other important concerns of the nation. The inhabitants of the colonies, like all other Englishmen, have ever had a firm attachment to their mother country, and her government; on account of the invaluable blessings they enjoy, from her happy constitution and form of government; this has hitherto secured to them those liberties and privileges, which they derive from her, and are as tenacious of, as all other Englishmen: This is the great band of union between the colonies and their mother country, which we should dissolve, by depriving them of the liberties and privileges of their fellow-subjects, which they have hitherto enjoyed, and think they are entitled to by their birth-right, in common with all other subjects of the realm. To deprive them of this constitution, is the surest way to make them think of another; but so long as they enjoy all the benefits

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benefits of such a government, they never can have a better. This is so well known to all intelligent people in the colonies, that although many here imagine, they want to be independent, and to set up for themselves, yet we believe, no one among them ever once thought of any such thing, unless the people here put it in their heads. So long as they enjoy their present happy constitution, they would not be independent, if it were in their power, or left to their option. They know very well, if they were to throw off the mild and auspicious government of *Great Britain*, they must be subject to tyrants of their own, and exposed to invasions from their enemies. It is therefore only an officious meddling, by people who seem not to know what colonies are, that creates any disturbances between them and their mother country. Such people, by tampering with their government, in order to secure it, take the direct ways to overthrow it. All the other regulations made concerning them have as direct a tendency to obstruct the very designs, which they intended to promote. Their business, and the difficulties in it, are, to pay their debts, and to purchase their necessaries; and all regulations should be made subservient to these purposes. Let them alone, to transact these in the best manner they can, unless you would enable them to do it in a better manner, which is the chief business of the nation, and you would hear of no disturbances in them. Their liberties, safety and security, are a certain

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pledge for their allegiance and dependence which is above all others. This is a band of union between them and their mother country, founded on the nature and reason of things, and the rights of mankind, which are as lasting as the world itself, if we do not counteract them.

Besides this, there is as great a tie of union from their interests, which are mutual and naturally connected together. The colonies which produce staple commodities for *Britain*, could not find such another market for them; and even those which produce nothing of that kind, have the liberty of vending their products in other parts of the world, and the advantage of a trade with *Great Britain* at the same time. To cement their union, therefore, and to make it lasting, nothing is wanted but to secure their property by such a trade, both in public and private transactions, under the happy constitution they enjoy. And as this hath been done, by the repeal of the Stamp-act, the colonies thereby have their liberties and privileges confirmed to them, their constitution established, and their property thoroughly secured; and *Great Britain* has these certain pledges for their allegiance and dependence; which, it is to be hoped, will remove all jealousies and suspicions, or grounds of complaint on either side, and confirm that union and good understanding between both, which are so necessary for their mutual interest and welfare, and which it was our design to point out the ways of establishing.

E R R A T A

- Page 172, line 35, thus *read* this.
- Page 191, line 15, Sanciri *read* Lancifi.
- Page 272, line 15, head *read* hoghead.
- Page 284, line 3, ate *read* late.
- Page 300, line 1, which *read* which resources.
- Page 337, line 19, they *read* the settlements.

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