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A  
POLITICAL ESSAY

ON  
THE COMMERCE  
OF PORTUGAL AND HER COLONIES, PARTICULARLY  
OF BRASIL IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY  
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TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE.

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1801.

TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
*EARL OF LIVERPOOL,*

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE AND  
PLANTATIONS, etc. etc. etc.

*MY LORD,*

Both from your official character, as President of the board of trade and plantations, and your known disposition to encourage literary productions of acknowledged utility, you  
are

are the most proper person to patronise a work of this nature.

At the present crisis, when it may become a measure of policy and expedience, for Great Britain, to take under her protection the colonial possessions of Portugal, her overpowered but faithful ally, every information, that relates to these colonies, must be highly valuable to the British administration. The delusive peace just concluded between Portugal, on the one side, and France and Spain on the other, it must be obvious to every one, who is capable of reflecting on the subject, is only designed, by the latter powers, to avoid throwing the colonies of that country into the arms of Great Britain. But surely, if a general peace does not immediately take place, it will be considered necessary.

cessary to the interests of the latter nation, that this insidious policy of her enemies should be frustrated.

If, from personal influence and official authority, your Lordship should be able to render the information, conveyed in this work, in any respect useful to the country, it will be highly gratifying to,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most obedient servant,

THE TRANSLATOR.

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P R E F A C E  
BY THE TRANSLATOR.

A bare glance at the title of this publication should seem sufficient, at the present period, to attract the notice of the statesman, the politician, and the merchant.

The original was dedicated to the Prince of Brazil, and published by desire, and at the expence of the royal academy of Sciences of Lisbon, of which the learned prelate, by whom it was written, is himself a distinguished member. \* The number of copies printed

\* The following is the Portuguese title of the original: — Enfajo economico sobre o comercio de Portugal e suas colonias oferecido ao serenissimo Principe do Brasil nofo senhor, e publicado de ordem da Academia Real das sciencias pelo seu socio Joze Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho. Lisboa na officina de mesma Academia.



ed having been almost immediately disposed of, the book has become very scarce, and it was not without considerable trouble and difficulty the translator could procure one copy, from which to gratify his countrymen with an English version.

It is almost unnecessary to observe that, hitherto, we have but very few good statistical sources respecting Portugal, and scarcely any respecting her distant dominions, it having always been the policy of the Portuguese government to prevent the publicity of information, concerning their colonies, especially the rich country of Brasil, which may eventually stand so much in need of the protection of the British empire.

The work before us contains more useful information, respecting the natives, the climate,

mate, the soil, the productions, the commerce, the navigation, and the capabilities, of the Portuguese colonies, but especially Brasil, than has ever yet been communicated to the public. The subject is treated, beside, in a plain and familiar style, by a man at once distinguished by rank, talents, literature, and local knowledge. The correctness of his statements is the more implicitly to be relied upon, as, with peculiar advantages of situation, he collected them on the spot. He speaks everywhere as an eye-witness: and still, indeed, remains an inhabitant of those beautiful regions, whose luxuriance he has so happily described.

The advantages, which may result to Portugal, if it should remain an independent nation, from the knowledge conveyed in this work, may equally result to Great  
Bri-

Britain, if circumstances should render it necessary for her to occupy, either provisorily or permanently, the colonies of her unfortunate ally. The information given by the Bishop of Fernambuco, respecting Brazil especially, may be ranged under the following heads: —

1) The nature of the people, and how they should be treated, in order to be made most useful; — 2) The climate, soil, extent, and productions of the country. Among these are particularly to be distinguished the finest timber in the world for house- and ship-building, as well as for other purposes, and hemp. These are, indeed, most essential articles; and in the power of Great Britain, would render her wholly independent of the northern nations of Europe for naval stores — an object, in the present conjuncture of public affairs, of the very first importance to the government. 3) Commerce and navigation: —

4)

4) Coasts, harbours, and bays. — 5) Agriculture and manufactures, which, however, are but shortly noticed. These subjects are treated, by the learned prelate, with much perspicuity and precision.

In another view, also, this work cannot fail to be interesting to the philosopher of every country, as it clearly refutes the celebrated system of the climates, so long implicitly and almost universally received, of the illustrious Montesquieu.

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*Part the First.*

*On the advantages, which Portugal can derive from her Colonies in Brasil.*

Part I. A

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**CHAPTER I.**  
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*Great fertility of Brazil — Numerous herds of cattle, especially cows, bred on its pasture grounds — Abundance of fish on its coasts.* —

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**A**merica is one of the most fertile parts of the world, and Brazil one of its most fertile divisions. Under a hot, yet at the same time mild and pleasant climate, fanned by cooling western breezes, nature shews herself incessantly active here. A smiling green covers its surface all the year round, and an everlasting spring crowns its plains. The trees, always decked

decked with hopeful blossoms, offer at once ripe and unripe fruits.

§. 2.

The woods too bring forth an innumerable quantity of various sorts of fruit, affording food to an immense number of quadrupeds and feathered animals, which rove through these regions. Vast shoals of fish are swarming in the rivers, lakes, and seas, which bound this charming country.

Under this heavenly climate lives the savage, uncultivated Indian, without agriculture as without industry. Proud of the strength and nimbleness of his arm, without any other covering but that which nature gave him, he exists, and sleeps quiet, a stranger to the care of making provision for to-morrow. His bow and his darts are all the wealth he possesses, and to use them all the labour he knows. In this manner thousands of human creatures spend their lives, without being obliged to toil for their subsistence, and seem born, as it were, only

only to enjoy. Here, indeed, the eye is struck with a true picture of that blessed land of promise, streaming with milk and honey. This superb country produces animals of every description. The number of cows is so great that they are, for the most part, only slaughtered for the sake of their skins. This is proved by the many thousand hides annually exported. — Milk is, of course, no less abundant. The portion of meat, which suffices for the nourishment of the inhabitants, bears no comparison with the quantity that is lost. Birds and wild beasts, particularly tygers, profit of this circumstance. Dearness of salt is the sole cause of the loss thus occasioned.

§. 5.

\* Nature however, produces a great deal of sea salt in Brasil. In Bajo near Cabo Frio, and Cabo de St. Roque, this useful article is gathered in such abundance, that whole ships might be loaded with it. See *Vasconcelos Noticias do Brasil*, Liv. I. N. 42 and 57. But the free trade, in this product, is prohibited in

§. 5. In the country of the Mines, or Minas

Geraes, salt becomes so indispensable a necessary, that not only men, but cattle, and other animals, require it for their food. In every place, where a high mountain extends from the sea to the mines, salt must be given to the cattle; else they would often refuse their usual fodder. The fields, near these mines, produce, indeed, plenty of grass; but not salt enough to feed the cattle. Thus large tracts of land must be lost, or the cattle must have salt, which is much higher, in price, than they themselves.

It is remarkable too that, in the interior parts of these countries, where nature has impregnated the soil with salt, quadrupeds and birds flock together, to eat of this earth. A combination of so many animals, of various species and colours, on one single spot,

in that province, and only farmed out, to an individual, by royal appointment. See *Rocha Pitta Historia da America, Liv. I. N. 49 et seq.*

spot, and the different tones, which, they utter, exhibit a most diverting spectacle to the curious observer.

§. 6.

Salt, a product so indispensably requisite to keep and preserve meat and fish, is uncommonly dear in those parts. The quantity, necessary to salt an ox, costs, in many places, twice or three times as much as the ox itself. Such too is the case with fish. In the province of Rio Grande, a bullock costs 700 Reis \* (about four shillings and six pence English), a horse from 6 to 800 Reis, the largest and fattest oxen 1600 Reis per head (10 shillings and 8 pence), a cheese weighing 9 pounds 160 Reis (one shilling), a pound of butter 40 Reis (three pence) etc. etc. etc.

§. 7.

The salt trade being prohibited throughout Brasil, the exclusive privilege for this useful branch of commerce is farmed out to

one

\* Portuguese Money.



one individual, who pays for it the sum of 48,000,000 of Reis, every year, into the Royal treasury. This farmer gets annually from Brasil ninety six millions of Reis, of which forty eight millions go to the queen's treasury, and an equal sum remains for himself; his agents, and receivers, even after deducting all the principal expences of the salt, including freight and carriage. But much more considerable are the profits he draws from the innerparts of those districts, where the herds are more numerous, the demand for salt consequently greater, and the price of that article enhanced in proportion to the expence of carriage, over the many mountains, which are there to be met with.

On account of the vast sum of money, which is thus every year drawn from Brasil, for the sole purpose of enriching the individual, to whom the salt trade has been farmed out; all the rest of the inhabitants of those countries are made losers; at least their gain is materially prejudiced by the monopoly.

poly. — The whole commerce of Portugal, indeed, is made to forfeit, by this abuse, infinite emoluments and advantages, which would otherwise accrue to it, from a greater abundance of salt fish, butcher's meat, bacon, cheese, and butter, that would be preserved and brought to market. Thus the royal treasury, for the sake of the comparatively paltry consideration of forty eight millions of Reis a year, robs itself of much larger sums, which the duties on these products would fetch, but for the factitious dearness of salt.

Unless flesh and fish can be salted or preserved, the marine of Portugal will never attain any great degree of importance; there will never be many cargoes for ships, never many seamen, never a nursery for their instruction. Thus the expence of freight will always be very high; — Sugar, and all other colonial products, will consequently remain very dear; and the colonists will be deprived of a fair competition with foreigners, who bring the same pro-

ducts to the markets of Portugal, but can afford to sell them cheaper, as they can ship them at a much lower freight.

§. 10.

Those parts of the country, which are the richest in cattle, are exactly the most deficient in population. There, one man is master of a large tract of land, covered with many thousand heads of cattle. But, among the inhabitants of those regions, luxury, which keeps increasing in proportion to the population of a country, does scarce exist, or is at least extremely moderate, considering the many products which they obtain, almost without the least effort of labour.

§. 11.

A single ship, with manufactured goods, from the mother country to Rio Grande, might, for instance, take on board all the wearing apparel, and other articles of luxury, requisite for the inhabitants of those happy plains. But it would be impossible for the same ship to take in at once, and convey from thence

the

the amount of the value of her cargo;— either in money, — for there is none at all in those countries, nor can there be any, since there is no commerce;— or in produce, as it would weigh infinitely heavier, and is by far lower, in price, than the goods coming from the mother country. — A handkerchief, for instance, is sold for more, at Rio Grande, than a fat ox, and is of no weight at all, compared with the animal.

§. 12.

In order to carry back produce of equal value with the first cargo, the ship from the mother country would be obliged to return to the colonies, twice, or three times, in ballast, consequently with expences exceeding the returns. The ship would thus always remain debtor, without being able to settle the account, or she would be otherwise forced to place the charges of freight, for two or three voyages, on the goods of a single voyage; which might fairly be said to be pulling up by the roots the commerce of the colonies, and, by

by the same inference, that of the mother country itself.

On the other hand, such articles might be exported to those colonies, as would equal, as nearly as possible, both in weight and value, the different sorts of colonial produce, which would be taken in return. The mother country has, I believe, no article better calculated for this purpose than salt. This alone can make up the cargo of a ship from the mother country, and procure her a freight from the colonies, on her passage home.

§. 13.

If the salt trade to Brazil were once made free, the super-abundance of that charming country would no longer be the prey of tigers, and that of its coasts the food of sea monsters. The fisherman, the herdsman, the husbandman, the merchant, would reciprocally lend a helping hand. They would, in concert, supply Portugal with meat, fish, bread, cheese, butter, and other necessaries.

This

This trade would pour millions of additional revenue into the royal coffers. And Portugal would possess a mine of inexhaustible treasure, richer than the mines of Potosi.

I cannot, however, forbear censuring here the great supineness and neglect of the inhabitants of Pernambuco, Rio Grande, and Cabo Frio. — Though a thousand circumstances conspire to furnish them with the requisites for carrying on great fisheries, from which they might derive incalculable benefits, yet they wholly disregard so favorable an opportunity of enriching themselves. — Here is plenty of salt, formed by nature's own hand, for which reason the inhabitants are exempted from the regulations, contained in the grant, which the crown gives to the purchaser of the salt monopoly. This exemption is plainly expressed, in art. 9. of those regulations, as follows: —

“The inhabitants of Pernambuco, Cabo Frio, and Rio Grande, may, without the least restriction or controul, use all the salt,  
“either

“either produced by nature, or in the works;  
 “but they shall not carry even the smallest  
 “quantity of that article to Bajo, Rio de Ja-  
 “neiro, Santos, or any other government.”

All the fish, which appear in such im-  
 mense quantities on the southern coasts, must  
 naturally swim by Cabo Frio. Meadows, such  
 as are required to dry and salt them, are here  
 extremely spacious and convenient; and re-  
 main undisputed by any other nation.

In the neighbourhood of the same cape,  
 is the large village of Santo Pedro, inhabited  
 by civilised Indians, who would, for the smal-  
 lest pittance, assist in the fisheries; and even  
 their wives and children could help to unload,  
 salt, spread, and gather the fish on those  
 plains. If good establishments were made  
 here for a fishery, like those in Algarve, Cines,  
 Cezimbra etc. the owners of the nets, salt  
 works, and lands, might acquire large and  
 rapid fortunes; and the trading vessels on those  
 coasts, the slaves, and day labourers might  
 derive great support and encouragement from  
 it. —

In

In advancing what I have done, it has  
 never been my intention, or wish, that the  
 crown should lose those annual forty eight  
 millions of Reis, which it receives for the mo-  
 nopoly in salt. For, the extraordinary ad-  
 vantages that would result to the natives and  
 other inhabitants of Brasil, from permitting  
 a free trade in that article, would enable the  
 government to levy a sum equally great, by  
 way of duty, on some other products, less  
 important to commerce, and to the general  
 interests of the state.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Portugal must encourage navigation, owing to the great plenty of products, which she either draws, or might at least draw from her colonies.

§. 1.

The super-abundance of the products, that a nation possesses, constitutes the object of its commerce. Agriculture and manufactures are its principal requisites. But such is the relation these bear to each other, that, if the one exceeds in proportion the other, it proves their mutual destruction: Without manufactures, the products of the earth bear no value; and if agriculture be neglected, the sources of manufactures and commerce are choaked up. These form the boundless scene of activity, in which so many millions of hands find

find constant employment, while all without it are plunged in idleness, vice, and misery.

§. 2.

An extensive commerce requires a great navigation. And whereas the advantages of navigation spring from the sum of advantages, which agriculture, and manufactures afford, hence it follows that navigation effectuates, in a two-fold manner, an augmentation of the real and relative strength of a state. — In proportion as a nation gains, on one side, it diminishes, on the other, the real and relative power of its rivals; and vice versa, in proportion as it diminishes the power of its rivals, it increases its own power.

§. 3.

Politics distinguish three different objects in navigation: —

- 1) The employment it gives to seamen.
- 2) The building and fitting out of ships, which ought necessarily to be considered as a manufacture.

Part I.

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3)

3) The benefits resulting from the conveyance of natural and manufactured products, which affords not only very great convenience to trade, but also great emoluments to the whole nation, that manages it.

These three objects merit farther development.

§. 4.

A well-peopled country, whose provinces are close to the sea, whose coasts are extensive, and whose inhabitants have a natural inclination to a sea life, could occupy a great number of people on board of ships, where they might earn more money, than they would otherwise be able to get as day labourers, ploughmen, or artisans. As sailors spend the greatest part of their lives on board a ship, and have, therefore, few opportunities of spending money, they may leave to their families, or to their country, all the savings of their wages, or what else they may happen to get by

many

any commercial speculation. \* This is so much money wholly gained to the state, and increases the mass of its wealth.

§. 5.

Every one, who has ever seen a ship built and fitted out, must know that many different trades get their bread by it. Carpenters, rope-makers, white-smiths, painters, turners, glaziers, and other mechanics, must all unite their labours, in order to get even a single vessel ready for sea. Products of the country, without number, such as iron, hemp, timber, canvas, etc. are required to build even a single ship: — And this demand increases the general consumption of these articles, to the great benefit of the state: — In this

\* The worthy Prelate does not seem to be very conversant in the character of the sailor. However few opportunities a person of this occupation may find of spending his money, he will generally find opportunities sufficient of throwing it away, to preclude his family and his country, from ever benefiting much by the inheritance.

Translator.

this point of view, navigation appears as an immense manufacture; and, as such, deserves the same attention that is paid, by government, to the first manufactures of the country.

## §. 6.

As to what concerns provisions and all other necessaries, which the owner of a ship is obliged to procure, previously to her undertaking a voyage, the rearing of those productions becomes the more considerable; and commerce, for this very reason, gets the more important, the more the number of ships, and consequently the demand for those products, are multiplied. — Hence arises another very essential benefit to the state. — As all those stores must be procured in the very harbour, from whence the ship sails, the consumption of country-products does not suffer the smallest diminution, by the absence of the seamen. Both officers and crews are supported on board, in the same manner as they are on shore, by the national and manufactured produce of their country.

## §. 7.

## §. 7.

The advantage, which navigation obtains for commerce, by the transporting of goods, is not less important. If a state has no navigation, or at least none that is adequate to the proportion of its products, the merchants are obliged to wait the arrival of foreign ships, which they can neither dispatch, nor order to return, at their pleasure. Merchandises, which they should like to expedite to foreign countries, are thus often long laying in chests, where they either spoil, or get at least damaged; — which occasions a loss to the owner of the profit he might otherwise make by them. — The most favourable and most advantageous periods for disposing of goods, often pass by, without ever again returning.\*

## §. 8.

The navigation, which a country carries on, in its own bottoms, affords yet still greater

\* This is supposing a case, that cannot happen. If goods cannot be regularly conveyed to market, they will not be manufactured.

*Translator.*



ter advantages. As the charges of freight make always a part of the value of merchandise, it becomes evident that the foreign consumers of all exports are obliged to defray the expences of freight, to the advantage of the exporting nation. On the other hand, the value of the goods imported is lessened, in the general balance of commerce, in proportion to the amount of freight, which is earned by the importers. In a country, where commerce flourishes, this double advantage is of uncommon importance.

§. 9.

On these incontrovertible facts is founded the general political principle that every state, favoured by its natural site, ought to encourage its members, by every possible means, to carry on navigation. \* For a nation

\* The conclusion here adopted, by the author, as a principle, is evidently erroneous. The benefit of every kind of commerce, and its influence on the increase of national wealth, consists chiefly in enlarging the market, for the disposal of home products, by which the number of productive workmen,

tion that can do it, but suffers it to be done by others, diminishes, by so doing, its real

workmen, and the quantity of the annual produce of a state are augmented. The trade for foreign consumption employs, in some countries, only half as many productive hands as the home trade; and, by the latter, two capitals are refunded, in two different places, and the productive workmen supported in both; whereas the former does not produce half the effect, it being a fact, of common notoriety, that, the greater the number of productive inhabitants in a state, the greater must necessarily be its annual produce. The home trade of a nation has evidently more than twice the influence, that its foreign trade has, on the increase of national wealth. Hence where a state favours foreign trade, at the expence of its home trade, it acts inconsistently with its proper interest, and throws a powerful impediment in the way of the increase of its prosperity. Foreign commerce can then only become advantageous to a nation, when it has grown so rich, that it no longer finds sufficient employment, for its capital, in the home trade. Where commerce is perfectly free, there is no occasion to favour any particular branch of it exclusively. Where a state has once attained its proper degree of wealth, the superabundance of the national industry will, of itself, flow into the foreign trade. Upon the whole, the interests of commerce would, in general, be best consulted, by



real and relative strength, to the benefit of its rivals. \*

§. 10.

This multifarious interest induced, at all times, the most civilised nations to keep navies, partly in order to protect the superabundance of their products, and partly to cripple, or wholly to destroy that of their enemies. Commerce alone, by means of the great number of seamen, whom it continually employs,

by neither favouring, nor impeding, any particular branch of it. But it must also be admitted that, in the existing state of some societies, it may be useful to make occasionally exceptions.

Translator.

\* On the contrary a people would diminish their real and relative strength, to the advantage of their rivals, if they carried on navigation, without having risen to the proper degree of wealth. By these means their capital would infallibly be poured into a channel, which has a less important influence on the augmentation of the national wealth, than other channels, that would thus be deprived of it.

Translator.

employs, in time of peace; being able to put such a navy in motion, it plainly appears that a civilised people, whose local situation enables them to carry on navigation, can scarcely subsist without it. \*

§. 11. The riches of a state consist partly in land and partly in moveable property. The land, as it is the source of the capital, is as

\* The example of ancient and modern nations seems to contradict this assertion. The united states of America are very happy. They have advanced, with almost incredible rapidity, to ease and affluence, without any considerable foreign trade, by which they would manifestly have injured themselves. They would have been obliged to take from agriculture a capital, while agriculture yielded to them surer and greater benefits, than trading, by sea, to foreign countries, could possibly have done. But, in proportion as their capital increases, their foreign trade will increase also, without injury to agriculture.

The policy of the court of Prussia, in not attempting prematurely to force navigation in its dominions, seems to have been discreet and wise.

Translator.

Part I.

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as it needs greater inspection, and care, on the part of its owners, usually belongs to the inhabitants of each country, and constitutes the wealth of a state in particular. On the other hand, moveables, such as money, bills, shares in stocks and corporations, ships, and all sorts of goods, having a general sphere of operation, belong to the whole world; which forms, in this point of view, one common whole, of which all other societies or states are members. That people are the richest, who possess proportionally the largest share of such moveables: — For, they have the greatest capital, or, to be more explicit, they have the greatest number of shares, in the vast society of general commerce.

## §. 12.

A state that possesses but few or no such moveables, must either not trade at all with other states, or be without liberty. For, it being the design of every trade to augment those things, which add to the comforts and conveniences of man, to make superfluities useful to him, and useful things necessary,

a people, who should only live on the products of their lands, but who should afterwards feel the number of their wants increase, could not have abundance enough to equal other trading nations, in luxury, without growing continually poorer, by compulsive parsimony. \*

## §. 13.

But as, in commerce, every one will receive the fewer goods, the less he is able to pay for them; so such a state must progressively sink deeper into indigence, until its inhabitants become the poor and wretched workmen of other nations.

## §. 14.

Hence such a state either dares not carry on trade with other nations, and will consequently

\* This proposition is at least obscure, if not erroneous: — for the industry of a people, and consequently their wealth will increase, in proportion to the increase of their wants.

Translator.

quently never advance beyond infancy, but will remain confined within it's former barbarism, without luxury and without arts, satisfied with the simple products of it's own territory: — or else the greatest number of it's inhabitants must become slaves, and put up with the most indispensible necessaries of life, in order to gratify the luxury of the few, who govern it. All the voyages, round the world, unanimously agree that those states, which have no navigation, are either entirely barbarous, or live in slavery. \*

§. 15.

\* The author would seem here to have mistaken cause for effect. At least the general inference he has wished to deduce from the facts stated by circumnavigators, appears to be entirely unfounded. The Chinese, for instance, carry on scarcely any foreign-trade, in their own bottoms. They are, comparatively speaking, without navigation. Yet have they not remained barbarous; nor become poor, or enslaved. The ships of all the other parts of the world go to their ports, to seek their produce, and to take it away. Hence they are under no particular necessity of encouraging navigation.

Translator.

§. 15.

On the contrary, states, which seem to be small and insignificant by nature, become great and considerable by navigation. Portugal belonged to the smallest order of states in Europe. But by its marine it became important, sent ships from one pole to another, from the East to the West, ruled seas, discovered a new world, and first dictated laws from Europe, and, at one and the same time, to Asia, Africa, and America. \*

§. 16.

\* Surely this is attributing too much to navigation. The achievements mentioned, which could not indeed have been accomplished without navigation, were, however, as well as her navigation itself, the result of the superior general prosperity of Portugal, at the period alluded to, by whatever circumstances that prosperity might have been occasioned. The prosperity of Portugal has since then decayed, without having been preceded or accompanied by a proportional diminution of her naval force. Navigation, indeed, is not always necessarily a consequence, and is even but sometimes a cause of national prosperity. It's influence over the affairs of the world is not now so great as it was formerly. It may, also, like agriculture and manufactures, exceed it's just proportion. A coun-

## §. 16.

Holland affords us the latest instance of this truth. \* England has rendered herself formidable to all the nations of Europe, even to those that were more powerful. She owes almost her whole splendor and greatness to the famous navigation-act, passed on the 23. of September 1660, which Englishmen may still consider as the palladium of their power. This cele-

country may over-navigate, as an individual may over-trade himself. May we not, therefore, conclude that it is as bad policy, in a state, to force, as it is to discourage navigation?

*Translator.*

\* It is true that Holland succeeded Portugal, in prosperity and commercial importance. But has the subsequent diminution of these, in as far as they may have diminished, in that country, been proportional to the state of navigation? The prosperity and power of a state, however they may, under certain circumstances, be evinced by the extent of its navigation, does not seem to be necessarily determined by it. China and America are instances of a people, prosperous, powerful, and happy, with a hitherto very limited, or scarcely any, navigation.

*Translator.*

celebrated law is fraught with so much wisdom, and has so beneficial an influence upon encouraging and augmenting the navy and maritime trade of Great Britain, that it may surely serve as a pattern of imitation to all other seafaring nations. \*

\* Here the author seems again to be mistaken. The British navigation-act can only, at the best, serve as a pattern of imitation, to a people similarly situated with those of Great Britain. This country is exceedingly beholden to its navy for the safety, which it secures to all parts of the empire, whose principal defence depends on its wooden walls, and the number of its brave seamen. But how far Great Britain is indebted to the navigation-act for the security, which this noble bulwark affords, is another question. Would not the evident interest of the public to increase their navigation, and their capability of doing it, have, of themselves, been adequate to produce the whole effect? It is, at any rate, certain that, if all nations were to adopt a measure similar to the British navigation-act, it would prove an injury, in stead of an advantage, to the whole world. The conduct of a nation, in almost all respects, particularly situated, is not a proper example for the imitation of others. No other nation of Europe is, in almost any respect, situated like Great Britain. It would, therefore, not necessarily follow

low that, if the navigation-act had proved eminently useful to that country, such a measure would produce similar effects in other countries. — An extensive navigation is more an effect, than a cause, of prosperity in Great Britain, and a prosperity too of a particular kind. But for nations, not similarly situated, to force a like navigation, would be impracticable, and the attempt ruinous and absurd. The superiority of Great Britain, in this respect, as in most others, is principally owing to the superior industry, and consequently superior capital, created by a long enjoyment of superior freedom. Something may, perhaps, be also allowed to an insular situation.

From any thing that has here been said, no argument can be brought against the doctrine of the philanthropic author, respecting the policy of encouraging the fisheries in Brasil. It is in every way laudable.

*Translator.*

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

*Without carrying on an extensive fishery, Portugal can have no considerable navy, nor large merchant fleets.*

§. 1.

Where there is a want of sailors, navigable rivers, and excellent sea ports are of no use. The business of a sailor is toilsome, and hard to learn. It requires youth, strength, and agility. An army may easily be supplied with recruits; while a navy can not so easily be manned with good sailors, especially in countries, whose inhabitants have, for the most part, never seen the sea. But in countries bordering on the sea, and having extensive coasts, nature has implanted into the minds of the natives a certain predilection for a sea-faring life; and they accu-

Part I. E from

from themselves, from their earliest youth, to brave that element.

§. 2.

The son, who is accustomed to accompany his father, to fish along the coast, learns, in a short time, to despise the dangers of the main. He learns the trade, at is were, playing; and soon ventures on remoter voyages, till, at last, he becomes, without giving himself much trouble, an able and experienced seaman. Hence arises the necessity for Portugal to encourage, by every possible mean and expedient, her fisheries.

§. 3.

The bold resolution to cross the ocean, to sail from pole to pole, was not the work of a single day. It became necessary, at first, to make a number of attempts, to try a variety of experiments, before men became familiar with this rough, inconstant, and formidable element. It was fishing, which, no doubt, prescribed the first rules of seamanship. This  
valuable

valuable branch of human employment asserts even now its rights over navigation. Fisheries have been, at all times, nurseries for seamen.

§. 4.

The bounteous author of the creation has filled the ocean with an inexhaustible store of fish, the countless species of which vary, in taste, in all latitudes, and almost on every coast. The north sea, the Baltic, the atlantic, the mediterranean, the pacific ocean have, each of them, their peculiar sorts of fish, which again differ, one from the other, on every coast of the same sea. The taste and inclinations of the consumers being various, every one strives to procure this, or that sort, by preference, either because they are more relishing to his palate, or cheaper, or because they are more serviceable than others, by keeping well on long voyages.

§. 5.

Thus the Dutch used to gain every year many millions of florins, by their herring-fisheries.



fisheries. The English, too, make some millions of pounds sterling, by the cod-fishery. To the fishing trade, they stand indebted for their best seamen, their navy, their commerce, and their riches. \* Hence how necessary is it to facilitate, to a country, all the means of enabling its inhabitants to turn to the best advantage its concontiguoufness to the sea.

§. 6.

A nation, that has no extensive fishery, can not keep a large naval establiishment, and its

\* If this be indeed the case, we may, with great propriety, exclaim "what great events from "trivial causes spring!" Although the fisheries, as far as they go, are a nursery for seamen, yet their effects on the commerce and riches of Great Britain are, by our worthy prelate, certainly very much over-rated. — The coal trade, and every other nautical occupation, alike constitute nurseries, of a certain size. But the whole navigation of the state constitutes the grand nursery, which is capable of educating a sufficient number of seaman for the ordinary service of the country, if even any of its subordinate branches, as the fisheries, were destroyed. —

Translator.

it's maritime commerce must, of course, be a very confined one. \* Most naval powers have national fisheries, or certain exclusive branches of navigation, which become the nursery and school of their seamen. Of this description are the herring fisheries of the Orkneys, and on the coasts of Norway, the cod-fishery of Newfoundland, the whale fishery in Greenland, and that of seals, in David's freights.

§. 7.

The carrying of coals from the mines of Newcastle, and from Scotland, to England, has been the means of educating excellent seamen. The great and intrepid circumnavigator, Captain Cook, deemed it an honor to have learnt the first rudiments of practical navigation, on board a collier. In other countries,

\* This, for the reasons stated in the foregoing note, must be taken with large grains of allowance.

Translator.

tries; too, the coasting trade has had an uncommonly beneficial influence on their navies; and the nations that carry on those kinds of trade are so fully sensible of their high importance, that they have frequently waged heavy wars to preserve them. \*

## §. 8.

As long as Carthage remained mistress of her fisheries, she held likewise the dominion over her commerce, and disputed with haughty Rome the empire of the waves. The treaty, which put an end to the first punic war, shews that Carthage was particularly intent upon asserting an exclusive superiority at sea, while Rome was solicitous of maintaining universal domination on the continent. In the negotiations with the Romans, Hanno declared that the Carthaginians would not suffer them to appear in the seas of Sicily. \*\* They would only allow them navigation as far as certain  
capes

\* Justin. lib. 43. cap. 5.

\*\* Titus Livius supplementis Freinshem. Decad. 2.

capes or promontories, but forbid them all commerce to Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, Carthage alone excepted. \*

## §. 9.

No sooner had Massylia made any progress in her fisheries, than it made also great advances in commerce, and ventured even to come in competition with the Carthaginians. But soon perceiving that all its powers were inadequate to make resistance to so mighty an adversary, it formed an alliance with the Romans, who exerted all their resources, both by sea and land, to bring about the downfall of their rival sister, in which they ultimately succeeded. Were it not for the alliance of this weak people, who assisted the Romans with their marine, these had been reduced to accept much harder terms of reconciliation.

\* Polibius, lib. 3.



## CHAPTER IV.

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*Fisheries the best expedients to civilise the  
savage Indians in Brasil, especially such  
of them as live on the banks of great rivers,  
or on the coast.*

### §. 1.

Those writers, who, from their closets, presume to dictate laws to the world, without being thoroughly acquainted with the nations they speak of, or with their manners and passions, maintain that pains should be taken to instil ambition into the mind of the American Indian, in order to induce him to form commercial relations with the people of other countries. Their surmise that these Indians have no ambition is wholly unfounded. They possess virtues and vices, and are as apt to be ambitious as ourselves, if by ambition be meant an un-

uncommon longing after reputation and honor, or a peculiar striving for worldly goods. They are men like ourselves; and more need not be said.

### §. 2.

With regard to the striving for worldly goods, the Indians have very few wants; but every thing that offers any allurements to their likings, for instance tools, glass, and other trifles, which constitute their articles of luxury, they endeavour as studiously to obtain, as civilised nations do to obtain those objects, which best suit their taste and fancy. This plainly evinces that there are implanted, in the very nature of the Indians, as well as in ours, those shoots of passions and ambition, which need but temptation, in order to develop themselves.

### §. 3.

Many schemes have been tried to civilise the Indians of Brasil. But, owing to the little knowledge, which the Europeans had of these people, not one of them succeeded.

Part I.

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The best was that of changing their miserable villages into Towns, of choosing their magistrates from their own body, and allowing them, in some measure, to govern themselves. By adopting these expedients, the same beginning was made, with those Indians, as was formerly made with all civilized nations. But the art of governing well is the most difficult ever discovered by man.

§. 4.

The savage Indian, to whom nature gives, with his birth, an uncontrouled freedom, and entire independence, and who has no other wants, than he is able to satisfy with his own hands, considers all other men as his equals,\* and is not easily reconciled to ideas of

\* Lery cap. 17. Ad politiam barbarorum quod spectat vix credibile est, quam pulchre inter eos sola naturae luce ductos conveniat. Nec referri istud potest, nisi summo eorum pudore, qui divinis et humanis sunt instructi legibus. Si quae tamen contentio inter quosdam apud eos exoriatur (quod rarissime accidit) spectatores litem componere minime curant, sed eos pro libidine agere, oculos

of obedience and submission. But, then, he is as little inclined to command others. — Nature ought to teach us that none of her works is performed, as it were, by a sudden impulse, but that she produces them by gradual and successive operations.

§. 5.

Another expedient, which has been tried, to the same end, seems to be still less calculated to produce the desired effect, than that which has just been mentioned. It was customary to give, to every district of scattered Indian habitations, what was called a "Director," who was not, however, of the smallest service to them; for, instead of there being chosen a truly wise, discrete, and penetrating philosopher, to educate them, this choice usually

oculos licet sibi mutuo sint confossuri, sinunt. At si alter alteri vulnus infixit, comprehendique possit, vulnus ei eadem in corporis parte ab vulnerati cognatis infligitur. Imo si forte vulnus mors consequatur, ab mortui cognatis de medio tollitur homicida. Denique vitam pro vita, oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente rependunt.

usually fell upon some ignorant person, who was himself of no use among the civilised world, and who only sought to reap his sole individual advantage from the labours of the unhappy Indians, whom he treated as slaves, and made them toil like beasts of burthen.

§. 6.

But even the ablest of those instructors, that ever were appointed to that important trust, were not of much greater use to the Indians, than those last mentioned. They immediately set out with instructing them in the arts and sciences of civilised nations. But neither children, nor parents, being able to perceive the tendency and utility of such instruction, and finding no objects of any kind about them to excite a desire of knowledge, their aversion to learn became stronger every day, as happens to every new beginner, who is not guided by able and suitable management, in such pursuits.

§. 7.

Those Indians, perceiving how contented and happy they could live, without the possession

possession of those arts and sciences, began to consider them as the mere folly and extravagance of the civilised nations, or even as a plague, invented to torment and oppress them. They made use of all their influence and persuasives to make their children coincide with them in opinion, and thus taught them the early scorn and neglect of what, among us, is deemed most useful and essential.

§. 8.

There are, nevertheless, some few, among them, more apt and susceptible of instruction than the rest. This proves, indeed, how far nature has favoured them with susceptibilities, calculated to produce even elegant accomplishment. But it does not, from thence, by any means, follow that the methods hitherto employed, to draw those Indians from a state of barbarism, have been the best and most conducive to the end proposed. The state of infancy, in which they have now, for upwards of two centuries, remained immersed, sufficiently confirms this assertion.

§. 9.

## §. 9.

Where the instructor has always to combat the opposite inclinations of parents and their offspring, his zeal must necessarily soon grow cold, and himself lose that activity, which, at first, inspired him with hopes of gaining the proposed end. The tender love of a mother, and the firmness of a father, are the only sparks of that ardent fire, which nature alone knows how to produce and to foster, for the purpose of promoting the happiness and welfare of their offspring.

## §. 10.

Man is subject to wants and to passions, the number of which is greater or less, in proportion to the quantity of ideas he has acquired, either by the objects, which surrounded him, or by education. Among these passions, there is always some one, which leaves the others at a distance, and preponderates over them, both in violence and in force. This passion it is, which forms the real character, not only of single individuals, but of whole nations.

## §. 11.

## §. 11.

The art of putting in motion the machine of every individual consists solely in the discovery of his most violent and predominant passion. This once found out, the mystery is disclosed, and the real lever discovered, by which to put him in motion. He that has a keen penetrating look, and a quickness to discern the passions of men, may doubtless lead them beyond the steepest summit of difficulties. If men are compelled, by force, like brutes, to any thing, they are both apt to oppose a lasting resistance. But if they are prevailed upon to exert themselves, by indulging their passions, they will readily and fain comply; nay they will even offer themselves to be led, and dread nothing, not even the terrors of death itself.

## §. 12.

The savage Indian is, as it were, an amphibious creature of the human kind. He  
seems

seems to be born for the water,\* and possesses, partly from nature, partly from inclination, a propensity to fishing. This is his ruling passion; consequently the real spring to set him agoing. For this reason, his exertions ought to be excited in this branch, not only for his own benefit, but also for the benefit of society.

§. 13.

Notwithstanding his violent inclination for fishing, the Indian has great difficulties to struggle with, to gratify this passion. The dangerous and slow method to which, for want of industry,\*\* he has recourse, in fishing, makes

\* Lery cap. II. Notandum est, non modo viros et mulieres, sed etiam puerulos natandi peritissimas esse. Illi praedam natando more barbatorum canum in mediis petunt aquis, hi simul ac ambulare didicerunt, in fluminae marisque litus se conjiciunt, atque aratum more huc illuc oberant caeteri vero, qui instar piscium placidissime natabant, eos suum marinorum more flantes videbamus.

\*\* Lery cap. II. Barbari eos (piscis) ubi vident, telis petunt, ac nonnunquam tam certa manu

makes him, in spite of himself, wander from the gratification he wishes, and obliges him to be satisfied with what is scarce sufficient to appease the cravings of hunger.

§. 14.

But were he to see with what facility and art nets are made, baits prepared, and thousands of fishes drawn out at one pull, this wonderful spectacle, which his rude intellects are able to conceive at first view, would inspire him with joy and enthusiasm. — Unsolicted he would repair to the rich hawl, and voluntarily make a tender of his services.\*

§. 15.

manu, ut duos tresve uno jactu figant: transfixos natantes quaesitum eunt barbari, ut qui mergi nequeant, prisco etiam suo more spinas in hamorum modum componunt, lineamque herba quadam, quam illi Tucum vocant, conficiant, quibus piscantur.

\* Lery cap. II. Barbari nostri (Brasilienfes) non modo mire delectabantur retium nostrorum, quibus piscabamur, conspectu, sed et ipsi nos adjuvabant, utque adeo, si per nos licebat, perite ipsi piscabantur.

§. 15.

The violence of his propensity to fishing would gradually allure him more and more, and impel him to live in the society of those, who follow a calling so delectable to his ideas. This social intercourse would, by degrees, make him perceive the difference between the civilised man, and the savage. He would, by little and little, divest himself of his ferocity, and learn to appreciate the very many and various conveniences, that heighten the comforts of civilised life.

§. 16.

As soon as he knows that the plenty, which he used to consign as a prey to birds and wild beasts, can be preserved, by means of salt, and that he can barter them for other commodities, his passion will gain additional strength, and encourage him, in the same proportion, to excel, in activity and dexterity, in the calling, which he has chosen. He will form a wish of being not only a common sailor, but master of a ship.

§. 17.

§. 17.

He will then become desirous of knowing the amount of profit and expence, falling to the share of each of his fellow-owners. He will consequently acknowledge the necessity of learning accounts, to be able to ascertain the respective shares, with the greater accuracy. The more his trade increases, the more extensive will become his connections, not only with persons on the spot, but also with those absent. This will teach him the necessity of learning to read and write, in which, should he no longer be qualified for it himself, he may still encourage his sons to supply his deficiency.

In the same manner, shirts, hats, coats, shoes, and other wearing apparel, which he did hitherto despise as superfluities, nay even as heavy incumbrances, in breaking through the woods and covers, will now appear useful, nay even necessary to him. There is, indeed, no occasion for parents to teach their children the utility of all these things. It is enough

enough that the children see them worn by others.

## §. 18.

This concurrence of wants and conveniences will gradually accustom them to obedience and subordination, till they acquire at last the same ideas with those, who have hitherto in vain endeavoured to improve them. Experience itself will convince them that the preservation of single individuals, with all the comforts of life, and in unbounded independence, is incompatible with the social state. They will become sensible that a portion of that uncontrouled freedom ought willingly to be sacrificed, in order to enjoy advantages, in many other respects, infinitely more beneficial.

## §. 19.

Those savages, civilised by fishing, will at last form sailors, — useful hands both for the coasting and colonial trade. Traffic by sea will produce stout and intrepid sailors,  
bidding

bidding defiance to the hardest toils, and qualified to belong to a respectable navy.

## §. 20.

The Indians of Brasil are peculiarly clever, in learning all those things, which are acquired by imitation. They will learn to work, for instance, in manufactures, and every trade that requires particular agility and corporeal strength. \* But they seem to have an unconquerable aversion to agriculture, or a constant culture of the soil. Partly because nature has liberally supplied their wants, and partly on account of the little labour required from the ploughman, from the sowing to the harvest season, they are rendered idle and inactive.

## §. 21.

\* The Indians are very expert in splitting wood, and possess an uncommon quickness and dexterity in felling large timber and cutting down brush-wood. Seldom does a piece of timber fall on them, as often happens to the blacks, who are, for the most part, far from being so nimble and attentive as the Indians, and for this reason exposed to greater dangers than the latter, in felling trees.



§. 21.

They have no patience to live in the hope of reward. Their daily task being finished, they wish immediately to enjoy the fruits of it, in the evening. To people of their disposition, fishing and navigation afford a vast field for exertion. Beside making them able seamen, many will likewise become useful artificers, for the service of the navy, such as carpenters, smiths etc. Progressively the savage Indian, who would never have changed his place of abode, will soon cross the seas, and bless one day the beneficent hand, that drew him from indigence, and, solely by enfranchising the salt trade, made him a fisherman, a sailor, a ship-owner, a pilot, an artist, and a merchant.\* — In a word he will

\* Some Indians of the inner parts of the country are not such good Swimmers and divers as those, who inhabit the coasts, and the banks of great rivers. But they are better huntsmen, and possess a striking quickness in catching and dressing wild beasts. They are of great service to the former, either by collecting the herds, and driving them to the Towns, or by preparing dried and salted meat at the manufactures.

will bless that hand, which transformed him into a citizen of the state, and an useful and serviceable member of society.

§. 22.

The blacks, whose hands are more fitted, by nature, for continual labour, in the burning heat of the sun, than on the cold water, and who were hitherto employed in navigation, will, if used in husbandry, effect a considerable increase in the products of the fields.\* The carrying trade of those accumulating products of agriculture, must needs require, in time, a greater number of ships.

§. 23.

If agriculture, fisheries, and navigation combine thus mutually to lend an aiding

\* It would even be useful to lay a tax on every black, who is a fisherman or a sailor, and, on the other hand, to confer a bounty on every owner of a net or ship, whose servants are all native Indians.



ding hand; the combination will raise Portugal to the highest eminence, and procure for her immense riches. Suppose, however, that fisheries and navigation were even of no use to Portugal, still it would be proper to promote them as much as possible, as means of affording useful employment to so many millions of hands, who would otherwise be totally lost to human society.

## CHAPTER V.

*The Brasil Indians are very useful hands, both on board of men of war, and merchant men.*

### §. 1.

I have hitherto been endeavouring to shew that the Indians of Brasil are, by nature, fit subjects to follow a seafaring life. But Montesquieu, and the partisans of his system of the climates, having laid it down, as a general principle, that the inhabitants of hot countries are feeble and faint hearted, from their birth, and that, by the same inference, the Indians, under the torrid zone, are unfit for a seafaring life, particularly for the service of the navy; I find myself called upon to examine the reasons, by which an opinion so general is supported, — an opinion from which

inferences have been drawn, not only absurd of themselves, but offensive to the nations inhabiting hot countries, nay even to those of the south of Europe. \*

§. 2.

Montesquieu asserts that the inhabitants of the hot countries are cowardly, weak, and timid, nay even not endowed with any peculiar natural dispositions of mind. \*\* "Foi" says he "their fibres are weak." This he attempts to prove from a man's growing weak, dispirited, and indolent, upon being brought into a hot close spot. This is the whole force of the proof, on which Montesquieu, and his adherents, founded that system, by virtue of which they presumed to give laws to all nations, to prescribe religions to all men, and to determine the power and valor of every people.

\* Esprit des Loix Liv. 14. Art. 2 and 14.

\*\* Montesquieu does not seem to recollect here that the arts and sciences, especially Geometry and Astronomy, owe their origin to the inhabitants of the hottest countries.

people. — It seems almost incredible how rational men could utter such nonsense. \*

§. 3.

Montesquieu, and his partisans, commit, in this respect, a more egregious error than those, who maintain that the torrid zone is altogether uninhabitable. The latter, who are ancient philosophers, premised the supposition that this zone was always glowing hot, and that, during the most scorching heat, not the least breeze of wind fanned the atmosphere. Thus, not to be in contradiction with themselves, they could not but affirm that it was impossible to live, in those countries, even during the best time of the year. But now-a-days, it being known and ascertained that the countries of the torrid zone are inhabited, and it being a well established fact that the people, who live in them, attain long life, indeed frequently a longevity of four,

\* Esprit des Loix Liv. 14. Art. 3, 5, 22, 23. Liv. 19. Art. 13.

four, or five score, or more years, \* I cannot conceive how their bodies, if they were really in that weakly state, which Montesquieu describes, should last as long, nay frequently longer than the frames of those men, who reside under the temperate zone.

These assertions alone suffice to prove that Montesquieu, and the defendants of his system of the climates, have never been under the torrid zone, and that, of course, they attempted to judge of subjects, of which

\* Lery Histor. Navigat. in Brasil Cap. 7. *ii corpus nec prodigiosum, nec monstrosum habent, sed nostro, qui Europa vivimus, persimile, quod ad staturam spectat. Sunt quidem fortiores, robustiores, et minus obnoxii morbi. Pauci apud eos sunt claudi, pauci altero privati oculo; deformes fere nulli, licet etiam centesimum ac vigesimum aetatis annum saepe attingunt, pauci tamen canescunt. Id vero regionis illius temperiem indicat, quae cum nullis frigoribus aut pruinis torreatur, virides herbas, agros et arbores semper habet; ipsi quoque molestiis ac curis omnino vacui juventutis in fontelabra rigasse videntur.*

which they themselves had no distinct ideas. \*

§. 4.

Upon the whole, Montesquieu does not at all prove: —

- 1) That the degree of atmospheric heat in the warm countries, or even under the torrid zone, are like that experienced by a person shut up in a hot close room;

Which, however, is adopted, as a principle, from which many of his inferences are deduced.

- 2) That a certain degree of warmth, in the open atmosphere, produces the same effects,

\* Montesquieu has certainly been in Germany, Holland, England, and Italy, but had never climbed the Pyrenees. All he says on the influence of the different climates he has copied, as a plagiarist, from *Bodin's Methode d'etudier l'histoire*, and from *Charron's Traité de la sagesse*. Though he quotes many authors in his work, yet he does not mention a syllable of these two.

fects, on the living body, as are produced by the warmth of a close shut up place.

But granting even that the effects of both are alike, still it would be an absurd supposition to form that the creator of the universe only created fibres for the cold and temperate, but not for the hot latitudes.

Meanwhile, let Montesquieu, and his disciples, amuse themselves with hypotheses, as much as they please, we will, on the other hand, analyse the nature of those Indians, from their own destinies.

§. 5.

If we examine the history of the Indians, living under the torrid zone, we shall find (I speak here only of the savages, who have fully preserved their genuine originality of character) that, notwithstanding the great inequality in the means of attack and defence, they never gave way, nor suffered any weak and dastardly enemies to conquer them. By nothing but the utter defect of the knowledge of

of waging war, like their adversaries, and dissensions artfully excited among them, could they be conquered.

§. 5.

The conquest of the government of St. Vicente, in Brasil, \* by the Portuguese, is wholly due to the celebrated Indian Tebirefa, \*\* that of Baja to the Gallant Tabira,

\* Jo. Stadius Histor. Brasil. Pars 1. cap. 19 et 42. Lery Histor. Navigation. in Bras. cap. 13. Ad manus ubi ventum est, longe in pejus res ruere: tanta enim sagittarum nubes est utrinque emissae, ut muscas volantes multitudine imitarentur. Saucii vero non pauci strenue tela a corpore avellabant, quae rabidorum more canum mordebant. Haec enim gens adeo fera est et truculenta ut tantisper dum virium vel tantillum restat, continuo dimicent, fugamque nunquam capessant. Quod a natura illis inditum esse reor. Etenim a nobili quodam accepi viro Gallo, qui militiam colit, bellorumque civilium nostrorum tempore, in legionibus Gallicis Americanos milites duos fuisse, qui strenue et fortiter se gerebant, quapropter a centurionibus plurimi fiebant.

\*\* Vasconcelos Historia de Brasil liv. 3. 101 — 357.

ra, \* that of Fernambuco to the mettlesome Itagiba (implying in the Indian language iron-hand) and the great Piragiba, who, on account of his zeal in defending the Portuguese, was presented with a dress and tent of the order of Jesus. \*\* The acquisition and subjection of Paro and Maranhao was chiefly the work of the famed Tomagica, \*\*\* and other Indians, who served in the army of the Portuguese in their wars against the Dutch; as likewise the effect of the exploits of the invincible Camaroa, \*\*\*\* who immortalised his name, in the war waged, by the Portuguese, against the Dutch, for the re-conquest of Fernambuco. \*\*\*\*\*

§. 7.

\* *Vasconcelos* Historia de Brasil. liv. I. n. 101. 102.

\*\* *Ibid.* liv. 1. n. 103.

\*\*\* *Berred Annæes Historicas do Estado do Maranhão*, Liv. 6. N. 563.

\*\*\*\* *Fr. Rafael de Jesus* Castriot Lusit. Part. I. Liv. 3. N. 12, 53, 54, 122, 124, 127.

\*\*\*\*\* *Pitta* America Portug. Liv. 5. N. 94, 95.

§. 7.

The conquerors of Mexico and Peru had recourse to the same stratagem. The name of Cortez would never have acquired so much celebrity in history, had he not had, by his side, the valiant Tlascaltetic Indians, the inveterate enemies of the Mexicans. \*

§. 8.

Man remains true to himself, in all parts of the world. He is, by nature, ambitious of honor and fame. Nature has implanted this instinct into his heart, to animate his zeal and activity in his different pursuits. The notion of honour is merely the child of our fancy. We all aspire at it; but do not all consider it in the same point of view. That which to one seems ignoble and mean, will to another appear noble and great. The uncivilised

\* *Herrera* Historia General de las Indias Occid. Decad. 3. Liv. 1. cap. 19, 20, 21. *Solis* Historia de la Conquista del Mexico, Liv. 4. cap. 11. Liv. 5. cap. 1, 2, 18.

fed savage venerates tyranny and cruelty, while the refined and cultivated mind admires generosity and humanity.

## §. 9.

The Indians of Brasil prize uncommonly corporeal strength and cruelty. They are the most honorable distinctions among them. They worship them as their idols. Even at the moment when their enemies are going to butcher, and devour them, they insult them, and, in torrents of abuse, express the contempt they feel for them. By this conduct, they wish to prove that, although their lives may be wrested from them, their courage and bravery never can. They die like heroes. \*

## §. 10.

\* *Stadius* Pars 2. cap. 29. *Lery* cap. 14. At vero, num putas propterea eum caput dimittere, ut solent hic fontes minime vero id quidem. Quin contra incredibile audacia res suas gestas apud eos, a quibus constrictus detinetur, enumeret his verbis: — Ego, ego ipse fortissimus, sic vestros olim cognatos vixi. Tum se laudibus magis ac magis evehens, modo in hanc, modo in illam conversus partem alium quidem ita compellat: Heus tu, patrem tuum ego voravi. Alium vero: O bone, fratres

## §. 10.

The inhabitants of the fields of Oueta-cazes, \* or Campos dos Oueta-cazes, one of the most fruitful and richest provinces of the

tres tuos mactavi et boucanavi: tot denique viros, foeminas, puerulosque ex vobis Tououpinambaultiis bello a me captos devoravi, ut numerum affe-qui non possim. Ceterum ne ignorete, pupularos meos Margajates tot in posterum macturos esse, quot e vobis intercipere poterunt, atque ita mortem ul-ciscentur meam.

\* This province, so remarkable for its exuberance, was in 1748, almost in a state of entire devastation. Some troubles and feuds, which had broken out among its inhabitants, on account of the right of possession, was the principal cause of this havoc. Some of them laid claim to it, because they had obtained a grant of the province. As the troubles between the natives were constantly increasing, my father *Sebastian da Cunha Coutinho Rangel* laid before the then reigning king *Joseph*, in 1750, the wishes of those natives to be, in future, immediately under his Majesty's own authority, and not under the arbitrary controul of those, who possessed grants. This prince not only gratified their desire, but ordered, at the same time, a general amnesty, in favour of those, who had taken any part in the troubles.

the government of Rio de Janeiro, \* are so brave that they prefer death to being conquered. They cannot bear to live in slavery, were it but for a moment. No people in Brasil, nay no nation in Europe, can boast of having ever subdued them. Even now they continue to live in the full enjoyment of their liberties and independence. \*\*

## §. 11.

\* *Vasconcelos* Liv. I. das noticias anteced. Das coizas de Brasil, n. 49. The fields of Ouetaçazes might, with no great impropriety, bear the epithet of Elysian, for their uncommon beauty and luxuriant fertility —

\*\* *Lery* cap. 5. Planitiem fumus conspicati, amplitudinem triginta Milliarium: hanc incolunt Ouetaçates, homines adeo feri, ut neque pacem inter se colunt et cum finitimis omnibus advenisque bellum gerant. Cum verum ab hostibus premantur, a quibus tamen nunquam jugum accipere, mira pernecitate morte se eripiunt. Denique effecti Ouetaçates inter occidentalis Indiae populos immanitate ac saevitiae insignes merito censendi esse videantur. Ceterum, quod nullum cum Gallis, Hispanis, Lusitanisque commercium habeant aliisque transmarinis carent nostris mercibus. Et cap. 15. Populi (Ouetaçates) sunt non multum ab eis (Tououpinamboulticis) remoti, quibuscum inimi-

## §. 11.

This is the character of a race of men, whom the passionate advocates of Montesquieu's vaunted system of the climates, call weak and void of courage. They must, indeed be wholly unacquainted with the history of these Indians, and have never read any thing respecting them, to fall into such gross errors. The mere contemplation of the excellent order and perfection, perceptible throughout the works of nature, should suffice to convince us that a man, born under the most scorching sun, must needs be as lively and vigorous, under his zone, as the native of the polar countries under his. Were climate, however, adequate to create a difference, it might surely be expected to be more in favour of the inhabitants of hot, than of cold countries.

## §. 12.

Indeed if courage be nothing but that enthusiasm, that impetuous fire, which raises those, inimicitias perpetuas gerunt, quos etiam superare nonnunquam potuerunt. *Vasconcelos* Liv. 1. n. 125.



those, whom it seizes, beyond themselves, and inspires them with heroism, it necessarily follows, under circumstances otherwise perfectly congenial, that the man, born under the torrid zone, whose heart, as Montesquieu himself owns, \*is easily inflamed, must have a much higher courage, by nature, than he, who is born in the polar regions.

## §. 13.

Let us now abandon hypotheses, which can nought avail against irrefragable matters of fact. Let us compare the inhabitants of the cold countries, with those of the warm, both in their natural state, unchanged by education, or luxury, and the difference, between them, will be still the more striking. Place,

\* *Esprit des Loix* Liv. 14. Art. 5. La nature leur a donné (à ces peuples des pays chauds) aussi une imagination si vive, que tout les frappe à l'excès. Cette même délicatesse d'organes, qui leur fait craindre la mort, sert aussi à leur faire redouter mille choses plus que la mort; c'est la même sensibilité, qui leur fait fuir tous les périls, et les leur fait tous braver.

for instance, an Indian of Ouetaçazes, born under the torrid zone of Brazil, on the banks of the river Paraiba do Sul, by the side of an Esquimeaux Indian, born under the frigid zone of North America, on the borders of the river St. Lawrens, how robust and valiant, how warlike and invincible does that one appear, — how miserable, weak, and dispirited this!

## §. 14.

Go farther. Compare the Indian of Owhyhee, under the torrid zone, on an Island in the Pacific Ocean, with the Kamtschadale, covered with snow, living at the extremities of Asia: — the latter appears dastardly and timid: — the former, on the contrary, once stood unshaken the most violent shower of bullets and balls, from English infantry, and artillery, and devoured tranquilly the body of the illustrious and ill-fated Cook. Compare a negro, from the banks of the river Senegal, under the hottest climate of Africa, with a Laplander at the farthest end of Europe, on the shores of the frozen sea; — what a dif-



difference! The former attacks the fiercest lions, and lays them sprawling on the ground, while the latter may be seen quaking and shivering with cold, and scarcely able to stir.

## §. 15.

Lery, and the companions of his travels, all of them natives of the temperate zone, were not able to bend a single bow of the Tamoy Indians, of the torrid Zone, in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro. — Lery himself owns that he was obliged to exert all his strength, to bend a bow, destined for the use of children, from ten to twelve years old. \*

Monf. Blande Jannequin de Rochefort, \*\* who travelled along the coast of Africa

\* *Lery* cap. 13. Arcus insuper habent, quos Orapts nominant ex eodem ligni genere, rubio nimirum et atro fabricatos; ii longitudine et crassitudine nostros adeo superant, ut eos nec lentare nec adducere ullus nostrum possit; quin potius immo totis viribus puerorum decem annorum arcubus curvandi opus esse.

\*\* *Histoire General des voyages* p. 263.

Africa, as far as the river Senegal assures us that the blacks of those countries, where an European is scarcely able to draw breath, far excel the European at large, both in strength and courage.

## §. 16.

Let us now digress to the brute creation, How inferior, in strength and courage, are the wolf and bear of Siberia, to the tiger and lion of the plain of Zara! They are not even worthy to be their providers.

Contemplating the vegetable kingdom, and comparing the strength and richness of the Nagatree, \* the Ipe, the Guramirim, and Sucupira, on the coast of the Amazon country, with the oak, the box, the chestnut-tree, and the fir, on the banks of the Dnieper, how weak, tender, and low do these appear, when contrasted with those!

Were

\* This tree called *pão ferro* is called in English Iron wood. Most of the plants of Brasil are little known to the botanists of Europe.

Were it possible that nature, who has manifested her power and energy, in all her productions, under the torrid zone, in the fibres of animals, as well as in those of plants, should have made a solitary exception in man, the chief and noblest object of her creation, by constituting him of a feeble and enervated frame, — what a contradiction!

§. 17.

To give the more weight to his assertion that the inhabitants of the cold countries have stronger fibres than those of the warm, Montesquieu calls history to his aid, according to which the nations of the cold regions have very often conquered the inhabitants of the hot.\* But if a person be not a passionate defender

\* It has been much too usual, as was the case with Montesquieu in framing his system of the climates, to trace events of importance to some one circumstance, while they have been occasioned by a multiplicity of circumstances, of which the one alledged did not even form a part. Thus the progress of conquests would seem to depend on the combined operation of a great variety of moral and physical

defender of that system, and does not rate the strength of a nation united, after that of individuals without union, the cause of this effect may easily be comprehended.

§. 18.

The inhabitants of a rich fertile country easily addict themselves to sensual pleasure, luxury, and idleness. Each of them lives, as it

physical causes, among which climate scarcely appears entitled to hold any rank. It is certain that conquest has never regularly proceeded from North to South, or from South to North. But it has pretty uniformly proceeded from poorer to more fertile countries. It would be irrational to suppose that the extreme of cold is not as prejudicial to life as the extreme of heat; though habit can, to a considerable degree, render them both harmless. The respectable author of this work is, therefore, completely successful in refuting the system, so long celebrated, of the illustrious Montesquieu. And he is so much the more entitled to our esteem, for his labours, that errors are dangerous in proportion to the dignity of the names, by whom they are propagated or supported.

Translator.

it were, separated from, and, independent of the other. This separation of single parts naturally causes a weakness of the whole. On the other hand, the inhabitants of a poor, sterile contry are generally warlike. For poverty, which constantly bears heavy upon them, subjects them to the necessity of getting their subsistence in any way they can. This general need impels a poor, hungry people, to league together, and afford mutual assistance, till at last, after having well and long considered their plan, they break up, and suddenly attack the country of a pacific nation, living quietly, and free from care, in the lap of plenty. They conquer it. But no sooner is this nation roused from it's lethargy, than it regains, quite as easily, the power it has lost.

§. 19.

The Tartars and Scythians over-ran Asia thrice, but were thrice expelled. The northern nations, whose formidable armies overturned so many empires, counted numerous inhabitants. But, without labour, their lands were

were inadequate to feed them; and their industry was not sufficient to enable them to supply their wants at home. Hence arose a kind of necessity of becoming warriors and conquerors, to which they were the more encouraged, by meeting, every where, with enemies, who neither had fortifications, nor opposed any material resistance.

§. 20.

Had they encountered that resistance, which the Rusians once met with, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, they would certainly have turned their attention to commerce. But, in those ancient times, politics and commerce had made no kind of progress, and barbarity characterised both the conqueror, and the conquered.

§. 21.

The inhabitants of Switzerland, with a constitution very advantageous to the increase of population, have so little land that even the highest degree of industry is insufficient to support them. But in Europe, no such con-

conquests are now made, as were formerly made in Asia. Switzerland being quite surrounded with fortresses, and powerful states, its natives are deprived of every hope of ever increasing their ancient territories, or establishing new colonies. The overflowing population of that country is reduced to the necessity of seeking employment from other states. They bear arms for the benefit of foreigners; and are even obliged to carry on their commerce through the hands of strangers, and to deposit their money in the Banks of England and Amsterdam.

## §. 22.

To be brief, it is not the fibres, more or less strong, nor the degree of cold, of this or that country, which are to form the standard of the power and courage of nations. — Education, morals, commerce, laws, instruction, even vices, errors, and opinions decide the fate of empires.

Modern Rome lies under the same climate, in which ancient Rome was situated; and

and yet what a difference between the strength and valor of the ancient and modern Romans! The same climate, which once produced men like Alexander, and conquerors of Asia, now hardly produces low slaves of the most powerful despot in the world. \*

## §. 23.

To prove more clearly his assertion, that difference of climate has a very essential influence on the happiness of man, Montesquieu farther alledges, that liberty continually prevails in cold countries, whereas slavery oppresses warm ones; because, in the former, nature has gifted the inhabitants with a strong, but in the latter with a weak frame: \* — that, for this reason, free states, and

\* If this be meant of the Pope, the case is very much altered. For his power, both temporal and spiritual has almost suffered annihilation, without the modern inhabitants of Rome having, however, yet regained the character of ancient Romans. The argument is, nevertheless, both just and powerful.

*Translator.*

\* *Esprit des Loix* Liv, 17. art. 2.

and popular governments are more proper for cold countries, because they require a greater share of freedom, and monarchies are, on the other hand, more suitable for warm ones. \*

§. 24.

To become sensible of the fallacy of these principles, one need not quite leave Europe. It is generally known that, in the north of Europe, where the climate is of course colder than in the southern parts, there are no free states to be found, but every where monarchies more or less absolute. The North is generally overspread with slavery. The monarchs of Russia daily make presents of hundreds of slaves to their generals, and Muscovites will even sell themselves. \*\* While in the milder climates of Europe are situated the Republics of Holland, Venice, Genoa, and Luc-ca. These have a much warmer temperature than that of Russia, Sweden, and Norway.

In

\* Esprit des Loix Liv. 17. art. 7.

\*\* Esprit de Loix.

In the southern parts of Europe, slaves are scarcely known by name. §. 25.

I crave my readers pardon for having so long dwelt on this subject. I thought it my duty to combat a popular opinion, whose fallacy it requires not much reflection to discover. I hope this pardon will be the more readily granted me, that inveterate prejudices, particularly if supported by great and celebrated men, ought not only to be combated, but entirely extirpated, and that the nation, whose defence I undertake, are those invincible Indians, whom my eyes behold every day, with whom I keep up a constant intercourse, and am intimately acquainted.

What will most of all plead my apology is the fact that, owing to the false opinion, which has hitherto passed for a general principle, "that the inhabitants of hot

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“countries are weak and spiritless by nature,” all the means have been neglected to make a proper use of so many millions of able and useful hands, produced, by a vast country, which issued from the bosom of nature, in a state of the highest perfection.

The present state of the Indians of Ouetacazes, the bravest and most faithful allies of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

The present state of the Indians of Ouetacazes, the bravest and most faithful allies of the Portuguese.

§. 1.

The Indians of Ouetacazes have, like almost all other nations of Brasil, their faults and vices. But, on the other hand, they are endowed with virtues, worthy of the imitation of the most polished people of Europe. They distinguish themselves, in an eminent degree, by their love toward each other, and even toward strangers, who are their friends. All property is common. Their gratitude and fidelity to benefactors is peculiarly sincere and affecting: — they often sacrifice their lives



lives for them. The long intercourse, which I have till now had, with the Indians of Ouetacazes, and the fidelity, which they have, at all times, evinced toward my family, enable me to speak, on this topic, with all the conviction and feeling of my own experience.

§. 2.

Though this people, the implacable enemy of the Portuguese, and all other European nations, nay even of all the tribes of Brasil, \* retain still their entire independence, yet they live at least with their neighbours, the inhabitants of the provinces called campos dos Ouetacazes, and Minas Geraes, in perfect friendship. The many acts of kindness and benevolence, which my ances-

tors

\* Lery. Cap. 5. Ouetacates homines adeo feri, ut neque pacem inter se colant, et cum finitimis omnibus advenisque bellum gerant. Cum vero ab hostibus premuntur (a quibus tamen nunquam jugum accepere mira pernacitate morti se eripiunt) nullum cum Gallis, Hispanis, Lusitanisque commercium habent, aliisque transmarinis.

tors conferred upon them, brought about that wonderful reconciliation, which force of arms could never effect. I am still in possession of the acts made, and the negotiations carried on, under my own eyes, for the purpose of concluding a treaty with those Indians.

§. 3.

Domingos Alvarez Pefanha, my mother's grandfather, and governor of the country of the Ouetacazes, at last, wholly gained over this invincible nation, by loading them with benefits, granting them certain liberties and immunities, and treating them in the most hospitable and affectionate manner.

§. 4.

No sooner had this governor concluded treaties of friendship with those Indians than, in order to render his well acquired popularity more considerable, and to establish a greater intimacy between them and the Portuguese,



guesé, he provided them with settlements at Santa Cruz, on the eastern bank of the river Paraibo do Sul, at the distance of one league from the town of San Salvador; and caused to be erected for them a large and spacious building, which was entirely fitted up and furnished according to their own taste. This edifice stands quite close to the waters edge, so that they may bathe themselves, according to custom, every morning and afternoon, in the river.

## §. 5.

This same building, which now serves them as a warehouse, is always crowded with strangers, who come from beyond the mountains, to deal with the inhabitants of this province.

The chief branches of their trade, which consists wholly in bartering commodities, are wax and honey, of which there is here great plenty, birds and quadrupeds of the forest, and especially a certain kind of clay, of which pots and vessels are made, so strong as to resist

the most violent fire.\* If they have not goods enough of these sorts to barter for swords, tools, salt etc. etc.,\*\* they fell trees, a business in which they excel in dexterity.

Each of them works just as much as is necessary to procure any commodity he has a particular wish for. Thus an Indian of Ouetacazes will work two or three days, until the produce of his labour shall be sufficient to barter for a sword, or some other tool, or a piece of iron, a metal the most indispensable, and most valuable to the Indians. — They never have occasion for any wearing apparel.

## §. 6.

\* To ascertain whether this clay be fine, and unmixed with sand, or any other substance, the Indians are not satisfied with feeling it with their fingers, but take it even between their teeth, to discover, by this method, whether it be as soft and tender as wax.

\*\* In *Serro do Frio* a plateful of salt, at the cheapest rate, is not to be had for less than 225 Reis. Hence a plateful of salt, in those parts, is reckoned one of the handsomest presents that could be made to any of the inhabitants.

§. 6. If any covenant or treaty be made with the Ouetacazes, let them be treated, on such occasion, with the fairest candor and greatest integrity, still a certain mistrust remains in their minds, which prevents them from finally entering into any engagement, however beneficial to them, without having previously taken the advice of their benefactor, or his sons, who have always treated them with the greatest candor. The moment these assure them that they may contract those engagements, without risk or danger, they immediately come to a conclusion with the other contracting parties. They give to their benefactors such very frequent proofs of gratitude in this way, that they are fit patterns of imitation with regard to this virtue.

§. 7.

Scarce had the Ouetacazes vanquished the people of Coropoko, before they made them members of their own state, so that, at present, they form but one nation, under the common name of Coroados, or shaved

ved heads. \* They inhabit an extensive tract of country of one hundred leagues in length, extending from the northern bank of the river Paraiba, to the southern border of the river Xipoto, in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica.

§. 8.

When the inhabitants of Minas Geraes began to open mines, and dig for precious metals, in the environs of their country, those Indians attacked them; and, notwithstanding all the efforts made by the invaded, notwithstanding the loss, on their part, of a great many men, and the expenditure of a large sum of money, they were never conquered or expelled. Tired, at last, of that cruel and long protracted war, they themselves craved peace of those very Indians in 1757. The latter, however, though the inhabitants of the fields of Ouetacazes were their friends, would not con-

\* This name originates from their custom of shaving their hair round, and is derived from the Portuguese verb *Cortar*, which signifies to cut off.

conclude a peace, otherwise than with the consent of father Angelo Pefanha (my mother's brother) who, after the death of the governor before-mentioned, had become their patron.

## §. 9.

Satisfied with this condition, the inhabitants of Minas Geraes, especially senhor Silverio Teixeira, then inspector of the royal treasury at Villa Rica, sent a Letter to father Angelo, entreating him to put a speedy termination to that cruel and bloody war. \*

Father Angelo granted their request. He immediately set out, accompanied by those very Indians, who faithfully conducted him through those parts of the country, where no vestige of a Portuguese was to be found. Being arrived

\* All the wars, which this nation wages, are most cruel and sanguinary. They lay waste and burn all that falls into their hands, even without sparing the life of the most innocent.

arrived at the borders of the country of Minas Geraes; a peace was concluded there, in 1758, which has been kept inviolate, and without the smallest infringement or change, till this very day.

## §. 10.

Soon after, in 1767, when Luis Diogo Lobo da Silva was Governor of Minas Geraes, the Cujeto Indians, more commonly called Botocudos, and Gamelas, appeared there, and committed dreadful ravages upon the possessions of the inhabitants of Arrajal de Antonio Dias, on the northern bank of the river Pereicaba.

## §. 11.

Being attacked, by those new enemies, the people of Minas Geraes had again recourse to the Governor. But, notwithstanding he gave them all the assistance in his power, they were baffled in every attempt to dislodge them. But no sooner had father Angelo summoned the Indians of Ouetaazes to fight, in defence of their friends and allies, than they rushed, with

with such fury, upon the Botocudos, and Gamelas, that they forced them to a precipitate retreat, as far as the Amazon river; and, since that time, these dangerous foes have never dared to molest the people of the mines.

§. 12.

Those very Botocudos and Gamelas became the heralds of the fame and reputation of the patron of their conquerors. His fame resounded from mouth to mouth, as far as the banks of the Meari, in the vicinage of Maranhao, where this event is still fresh in every body's memory. It will serve as an unperishable monument of the good faith and gratitude of the Indians of Ouetacazes, who cherish the memory of their patrons, in the remotest part of their country, and even in the midst of their enemies.

This warlike nation serves as an impenetrable bulwark to their neighbours, the inhabitants of Campos dos Ouetacazes and Minas Geraes. They live free from alarm, and

and in the most perfect security. The invincible Indians of Ouetacazes, our brave friends and allies, afford them the fullest protection against every attack of other races of Brafilians, who are hostilely disposed.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Portugal can maintain a considerable marine, without incurring vast expences and great danger; and without it's begetting her the ill-will, or enmity of other nations.*

## §. 1.

The policy of every nation of Europe, particularly that of the most powerful maritime states, is cautiously on the watch to prevent any other naval power from augmenting it's navy, and often even claims a right to prevent it. The injurious influence, which this policy must have on the marine of a nation, lies beyond all doubt, as, by this very circumstance, it may become, in many respects, dependant on a rival state.

## §. 2.

## §. 2.

To a nation that has credit, money and soldiers will not be wanting. An army of many thousand men may, in a short time, be raised. But the formation of a navy is very different: — it is not the work of a day, nor can it be purchased or hired ad libitum. Portugal, indeed, might keep up a formidable navy, without bringing on herself, on that account, the least jealousy of other nations.

## §. 3.

The extensive coast of Brasil is defended by many very steep rocks,\* and dangerous shoals; yet it has, for all that, some excellent harbours, and wide bays, where large fleets may ride in perfect safety, and protected from storms.\*\* In those excellent harbours,

\* *Vasconcelos* Liv. I. Das noticias do Brazil. N. 68. — *Rocha Pitta* Historia da America Portug. Liv. I. N. 10.

\*\* *Herrera* Descript. n. orb. art. 12. Descript. Ind. Occident. cap. 25 de Provinc. et region. Brasil, juxta oram hanc portus octo aut novem occurrunt. *Lery.*

hours, merchants only get large ships built for their private use.

## §. 4.

A merchant gets more profit by one ship of a thousand tons burthen, than by two ships, of only five hundred tons each. The latter require double the number of sails, two captains, and double the number of pilots. A large ship will stand double the wear of a small one, will resist better the dashing force of the billows, and venture on a much remoter voyage.

## §. 5.

Some writers assert that ships, of a smaller size, are to be preferred to those of a larger, because

*Lery* cap. 6.

*Vasconcelos* Liv. I. das noticias do Brasil n. 48 et seq. Liv. I. n. 38. et seq.

*Rocha Pitta* Historia de America. Liv. II. n. 3. et 89.

Beside the large harbours there are many others, which, though less spacious, are extremely important for the trade between the several provinces respectively.

because they occasion less expence, and need not wait so long for a cargo in the different ports. But this assertion only holds good in short voyages, or where the cargoes are of great value in proportion to their weight. In long voyages, and with cargoes, the value of which is small, in proportion to their weight, as is usually the case with those of Brasil, the inference does not hold true.

## §. 6.

An arrovo of Sugar, for instance, weighs more, and is nevertheless of much smaller value, than a few handkerchiefs of fine linen or silk. A small vessel, freighted with fine linen or silk, is worth more than a ship of twice her size, freighted with sugar, wood, or any other Brazilian products. It is as easy in Brazil to get a sufficient cargo for a large ship, as, in Europe, for a small one, because the european cargo bears twice the value of the Brazilian.

## §. 7.

The merchant very well knows that it is not sufficient to have many and large ships;

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but that they must be stout, adapted to the depth of the harbours they are to frequent, and to the quality and quantity of the cargoes they are to carry; and particularly that they must be built as light as possible. For, the shorter the time required to complete a voyage, the less is the danger to the ship and cargo, and the less are the expences for the maintenance of the crew. All this produces more gain to the owner of the ship, and advantage to the state at large.

§. 8.

But it is necessary to establish good dock-yards, separated from the men of war docks, in the principal harbours of Brasil, where the materials for shipbuilding are the best and cheapest; so that the merchants may have full liberty to get ships built, and sent off when they please; and also that all the provinces should take care to raise a sufficient number of able masters and ship-wrights. In the royal dock-yards in Portugal, the number of workmen is often greater than is required;

quired; but in Brasil, they are always scarce. \*

§. 9.

The art of building ships is more difficult than is generally believed; and its theory and practice differ among all commercial nations. The English, French, and Dutch ships differ from each other very much, in form and structure. Each of these nations has its particular reasons for preferring to all others the form it makes use of. The long and less vaulted ships, the sterns of which are pointed and prominent, are the lightest and the most easy to govern. But those, on the other hand, which are broad and round about the stern, will carry a larger burthen, and are stouter, although slower sailors.

§. 10.

\* If there were a great number of workmen in Brasil, ships might be built there at a very low price, owing to the abundance of materials. The expence of freight would then become trifling, the colonial products would become cheaper in the mother country, and better than those of foreign nations.



## §. 10.

Allowing every ship-builder his merit, it seems, however, that the English method of ship-building is, upon the whole, preferable, and therefore most deserving of imitation.

As, in every thing, which relates to navigation, Britain has, for some centuries, had a constant practice, and of course a longer experience than all other nations, so she greatly excels them in this art. English ships are not only of a finer and more pleasing form than all others, but they are also generally distinguished for swift sailing. The English being, beside, the best seamen in the world, it is no wonder they should be able to terminate any voyage, in a much shorter period of time, than any other nation. A start of even two days affords, with a great navy, an immense advantage, in commerce.

## §. 11.

If fixed bounties or privileges were granted to the owners of ships of a certain rate,  
built

built of the best timber, and in the neatest manner, especially to the owners of such ships as might be used for war; were such owners, for instance, to be entitled, on that account, to complete their cargoes sooner than the owners of smaller vessels etc. etc., \* Portugal would be able, in time of war, to command immediately as many frigates, as she would require, without incurring, by that, the least ill-will, on the part of other nations.

## §. 12.

If the owners of ships of that description were even granted the artillery, or guns, necessary on board of men of war, on the sole condition of their giving a certificate of having received the same, the Portuguese flag would

\* The merchant trading in products of Brazil is naturally prompted, by his own interest, to get his ships built as stoutly, and as fit to last long a possible. But he ought to be encouraged by bounties and privileges, to induce him to get them, at the same time, fitted out so as to be capable of becoming serviceable for war.

would be respected every where on the ocean; it would afford protection and safety to the smaller vessels, the commerce of Portugal would become flourishing, and her marine formidable. \*

\* How far the end, proposed by the author, could be accomplished, by granting the bounties and privileges he mentions, seems liable to much doubt. It does not appear clear that these kinds of encouragement are capable of encreasing any trade, much beyond what it would reach, merely from the prospect of gain to be derived from it; and such privileges are always an injustice toward the bulk of the community. Would it not tend more to render Portugal rich and powerful, if the trade to Brasil were left free to all the nations of the world?

*Translator.*

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Portugal, to obtain her ships of war and merchant-men at a moderate price, ought to allow every nation the wood, and timber-trade with Brasil.*

§. 1.

One of the the principle branches of the commerce of the northern powers is the timber-trade. Many parents leave vast fortunes to their children, solely arising from cargoes of that important product. \*

No

\* *Biefeld Institutions Politiques Tom. 2. chap. 1. §. 46.*

No nation can boast of such excellent wood as the Portuguese, especially for ship-building. All ship-wrights know the capital qualities of the Tapinhoam, the Peroba, the Brasil-fir, the Cherry, the Cedar, the wild Cinnamon tree, the Gurarema, Jequetiba etc. etc. Some sorts of this wood are of excellent use under water, others for constructing lofty and exalted objects. The Brazilian Olive and Fir-tree, for instance, are of peculiar service as large masts.

## §. 2.

If these different sorts of wood be taken proper care of, they will keep, for many years, particularly in cold countries, without spoiling. When wrought, they dry up more and more, and ameliorate in point of quality. But if the trees be left standing on those large tracts of country, without taking any farther care of them, they die away, and entirely spoil.

## §. 3.

Beside the dangers mentioned, these trees are exposed to another still greater. Notwithstanding

standing their tallness, their roots are but very low, spreading wide over the surface of the ground. They attain the uncommon height of more than 150 palms, and a proportional thickness. Every high gale of wind, which puts in motion their strong branches, is apt to throw them on the ground; and in their fall, they unfortunately pull down, along with them, other sorts of wood of a much greater value. \*

## §. 4.

Condamine in his account of his journey to the Amazon river, mentions a tree, which had

\* I was once in very imminent danger of my life, journeying from *Bacacha*, in the province of *Rio de Janeiro*, to the fields of *Ouetacazes*, during a violent storm. I saw myself often buried, as it were, under large piles of wood, which, by their sudden fall, blocked up the narrow path, on which I went. The branches are shattered by the violent shock, and, by the suddenness of their fall, become highly dangerous to passengers. But not only travellers, who pass through woods, under similar circumstances, are exposed to those dangers, but those also, who do not use proper precautions in felling these trees.

had been thrown down by a violent storm, and on which he made his astronomical observations. Although it was hollow, and almost entirely spoilt, yet it measured one hundred and twenty six palms in length, and thirty six palms in circumference.

In another part of his journey, \* Condamine makes mention of the canoes, which are used by the Carmelite friars, whom the Portuguese send to the Amazon river as Missionaries. He went on board of one of these canoes, and assures us that they are all made of one tree, contain ninety palms in length, ten and an half in breadth, and upwards of one hundred in height,\*\* and must be rowed with twenty pair of oars.

§. 5.

\* *Condamine Voyage de la riviere des Amazones* p. 91.

\*\* Granting the rest of the description to be just, there is here some egregious mistake respecting the height of the canoe, which, as the height and the breadth cannot exceed the diameter of the tree, from which the canoe is made, the one cannot greatly exceed the other.

Translator.

§. 5.

Rocha Pitta, in his history of the Portuguese part of America, also mentions such canoes, made of the single trunk of a tree, measuring in diameter from sixteen to twenty palms, having ten or twelve pair of oars on each side, and carrying from five to six hundred casks of Sugar, each cask containing forty arroves.\*

A travelling companion of Villagnon wrote, from Rio de Janeiro, to a friend in the neighbourhood of Paris, that there were in that part of Brasil, trees measuring one hundred and fifty palms long, and nine palms in diameter.

§. 6.

The roots of these trees encompass their trunks to the height of six or eight palms above the surface of the earth, from whence they continue growing less, so that the roots form, as it were, as many right angles with the tree,

\* *Condamine Liv. I. N. 58, 59.*

tree, as their number amounts to. There is nothing stronger than these roots for making bent or crooked implements, especially if taken from the Sucupira, the Jpe, the Bow-tree, the Peroba, or Sapocaja etc. All these valuable roots are liable to be torn up, during storms, and shattered into splinters, together with their trunks.

§. 7.

The wood felled on account of the royal treasury, as it usually happens, or even that felled for the benefit of private individuals, costs nothing raw, or on the spot where it grows. But the expence of carriage to the market or river, where the ships lay, renders it much dearer, than if sold by the workmen on the very spot.

§. 8.

It is, indeed, quite a matter of indifference to the officer, or the labourer, who has orders to fell the wood, on account of the royal treasury, and to bring it to market, whether

whether the expence of carriage be considerable, or whether the wood itself be of a good kind. They often also destroy the most costly article of that kind, merely to fell a trunk or two, which appear to them the most convenient. — Such havoc and disorder daily take place, in the districts, where wood is to be felled, notwithstanding the greatest care and vigilance used to prevent it.

§. 9.

The very proprietors of the lands, on which this wood grows, will, as it brings them no profit, be the first, notwithstanding the most rigorous prohibitions, and threats of the severest penalties, to suffer the wood either to spoil, or even to try to destroy it. This they are prompted to do, merely in order to get rid of the incumbrances and duties, entailed, by it's means, on their estates, and the mortifications and grievances they are obliged to suffer, from those, who fell the  
wood

wood on their grounds, in the name of the government. \*

§. 10.

The case is quite the reverse, if the landholder, or even the labourer works for his own account. He will then use the woods with the most sparing management, that he may not spoil, or wholly destroy them. He will convert to useful purposes every piece of wood, which would otherwise be lost. He will take all possible care to improve the trees, in order that he may, by these means, obtain a preference over all his competitors, at the public market-place. Actuated by these motives, he daily invents fresh expedients, to diminish the expences, and to facilitate the conveyance of his timber, in order to derive as much profit as possible from it's sale.

§. 11.

\* It seems extraordinary that a government should choose to carry on the business of wood-merchants, both to their own loss, and to the annoyance of their subjects; but such are the usual effects of the spirit of appropriation.

*Translator,*

§. 11.

The gain, which a labourer, or a journeyman amasses, in this way, will prove an inducement to others to be equally laborious; and thus the number of new workmen will daily increase. The greater number of fellers, too, will of necessity effect a reduction in the prices of the wood, and the purchasers will, for the same reason, have more variety to choose from.

§. 12.

Interest has, at all times, been the parent of industry. It will teach the Indian, too, to explore new roads, and to make small rivers navigable. Personal interest will instruct him to saw the wood, on the place, where he fells it, that, when cut in boards or tables, he may be enabled the more easily to convey it, either on sledges, through dry and level countries, or on beasts of burden, or even with his own hands, to the borders of the water.

§. 13.

## §. 13.

The large masts, which come from Riga, grow in the forests of the Ukraine, and in still far more distant countries. It is necessary to wait, till winter has set in, to convey them, on the snow or ice, to the banks of the Unna, from whence they arrive at Riga, in the month of June. All this can only be effected by persons, whose personal interest is deeply concerned, in the conveyance of wood, in the cheapest and most advantageous manner. For this reason, it becomes likewise necessary to abandon, to the Indians of South America, all the expences and profit incident to the transportation of wood and timber.

## §. 14.

Allowing even that this felling of wood should be often repeated; yet, if done with management, and only for the supply of the royal navy and commercial navigation of Portugal, it cannot produce any material scarcity of wood in those countries, because

- 1) A ship built of Brasil wood lasts many, many years. A navy is not produced by

by one effort, but is the gradual result of a long series of years. The scarcity, occasioned by the felling of aged trees, is very soon supplied, by the thriving growth of the young ones, which get, by their removal, a freer space, and consequently gain much in quality and perfection.

- 2) The forests of Brasil are immense in point of extent.

## §. 15.

The part which Portugal possesses in South America, from the river Vicente Pinson, at the distance of forty leagues from the northern end of the Amazon river, to beyond the large river of St. Pedro southwards, comprises, in length merely, upwards of five hundred leagues (fifteen hundred English miles) reckoning eighteen leagues to every degree of the equator. Of the same length is the western side from Cape St. Roque to the remotest possessions of the Carmelite Friars, sent as missionaries from Portugal, and from

Part I. P the



the southern and northern banks of the great Amazon river, in the vast district of *Maçapa*, thickly covered with precious woods, and the black river (*Rio Negro*\*) to the banks of the rivers *Napo* and *Aguaricu*.

§. 16.

Meanwhile as the Portuguese part of South America forms a triangle, the ground-line of which runs parallel with the equator, it contains, upon a more accurate calculation, one hundred thousand square leagues,

\* In the year 1744 the Portuguese went in boats from the black river (*Rio Negro*) to the river *Oronoko* (*Rio Orenoko*) one of the largest in South America, which springs from the forests of the province of *Popayan*, in the new kingdom of *Grenada*, between the *Audienze de Panama* and *Quito*; and, by so doing, removed at last every doubt, which has hitherto subsisted, respecting the communication of the *Orenoko* with the Amazon river, by means of the black river. Vide *Condamine Voyage de la riviere des Amazones*. P. 116. *Berredo Annaes Historicas do Estado do Maranhao*. Liv. 10, N. 728.

gues, reckoning eighteen to every degree of the equator. \*

Of this vast extent of country, one half may be taken, upon a fair computation, to consist of cultivated land, rivers, and lakes; but the other half, consisting of more than fifty thousand square leagues, is an uncultivated wilderness.

§. 17.

Supposing even that a real scarcity of wood were to be apprehended, for the future, still it would first become a proper subject for enquiry, whether all that wood in the forests being left to itself, and considering the danger, to which the more valuable parts of it are

\* No empire in Europe is so extensive. *Russia* itself, which surpasses all other European states, in superficial extent, contains scarcely 59,600 square leagues. Vide *Busching's* introduction to Geography §. 17. Some authors even assert that *Brasil* contains as much land as all Europe taken together. Vide *Bielfeld Institutions politiques* Part. 3. Chap. I.

are exposed; would procure greater advantages to the state, than if it were, by degrees, metamorphosed into ships, to aggrandise the navigation of Portugal.

§. 18.

None of the Northern states possess so enormous a quantity of excellent and durable wood, as Portugal does, in Brasil; and none of them have so much neglected to profit of the copious store, especially for commercial navigation. This neglect has been wholly occasioned by the fear of a future scarcity of wood. It is a fact universally admitted that a nation, which carries on commerce by sea, needs men of war for its defence. Navies, and merchant fleets are so intimately connected, that the destruction of the one would have, for its immediate result, the annihilation of the other. — The attention of government ought, therefore, to be equally engrossed by both. They both deserve an equal support and encouragement, not only on account of

of the emoluments, which commercial navigation procures to the state, but also because large merchant-men will, in cases of emergency, often serve, as ships of the line, or at least as frigates, for the defence of the country.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER IX.

*To promote the trade of Brasil wood, the duties of importation, paid in Portugal, should, by all means, be taken off.*

## §. 1.

Beside the various sorts of wood, useful in building of ships, there are in Brasil several others, which are highly serviceable as house-timber, especially in such edifices as are the most exposed to be injured by violent storms. These are of uncommon duration, and are capable of withstanding a very great degree of heat. Many of them will even turn into coal, without being kindled into flame; and will of course never occasion a formidable conflagration.

## §. 2.

## §. 2.

Other finer sorts of wood, which grow here, are peculiarly serviceable, as handles to all sorts of tools and instruments. They display an uncommon brightness, — a quality in which they excel all others, even the best sorts brought from abroad. But owing to the high price of freight, and the many duties, which must be paid, on the importation of Brasil wood into Portugal, a great part of the value of those noble products are lost to the country from which they are drawn, or they are smuggled into the mother country, or left to spoil in the forests, in which they grow.

## §. 3.

With regard to freight, it's price must fall, the more commercial navigation increases; but the latter, too, as soon as the labourers are allowed the free sale of their wood, must gain additional vigor, in proportion as the abundance of products is multiplied. On the other hand, if the duties of importation be not taken off, Portugal will not be able to effect any thing beneficial in the timber-trade,

trade, or rather it will become prejudicial to the state, owing to the powerful competition of foreigners in the same branch of commerce.

## §. 4.

The dearness of Brasil wood, occasioned by these means, in Portugal, will facilitate the importation of foreign timber. This will, of course, give to the revenues of the country a blow doubly severe, by the wilful suppression, in the first place, of the products of the country, and, in the second, by the money paid for the same articles to foreigners.

Foreign wood not only contains, for the most part, more resin, and is consequently more combustible, and more dangerous in fires, but is also less lasting than that of Brasil. The duties on the importation of this wood should, therefore, be taken off, for the purpose of getting a larger quantity of a commodity, so much better in quality, and so much less dangerous, where fires break out.

## §. 5.

## §. 5.

The suppression of the duties on the importation of Brasil wood cannot, at all, be deemed a loss to the royal treasury. Those, who harbour such an idea, are, to the great prejudice of the public welfare, grossly mistaken. State oeconomy differs vastly from that of a private family, for the following convincing reasons: —

- 1) The money, which comes out of a private individual's pocket, is, with respect to him, finally expended. But what is taken from the coffers of the state still remains in the state; and money will seldom pass from one hand to another, without some utility to the state.
- 2) The resources of an individual are always limited; but those of a well-governed state are, as it were, boundless.
- 3) The greatest part of the expence of a private individual has pleasure and convenience

Part I.

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nience for it's object; whereas the public expenditure has, for it's tendency, either the immediate preservation, or the augmentation of the prosperity, strength, and power of the state. We must always sow, before we reap.

## §. 6.

Beside the more valuable sorts of wood, many others may be found in Brasil, which, though they are less valuable by nature, may however be uncommonly serviceable to Portugal, on account of the want of wood there, and the prejudicial and too copious consumption of coals, in the provinces, especially in the province of Alem-Tejo. In Brasil, there is a vast quantity of spare wood, which is only felled, to clear the ground for cultivation. It would, therefore, be very useful to profit of this abundance in the colony, to supply the want of the mother country.

## §. 7.

## §. 7.

The royal ships that sail from Portugal to Brasil, and back again, are usually almost empty, and carry for ballast but a few stones, or some pieces of artillery. Brasil is in great need of lime-stone, especially the government of Beira-Mar, where all the mortar is made of shells and muscles, and is beside of a very bad quality.

It would be very advantageous, as Portugal has plenty of that article, if those ships were to take in lime-stone as ballast, were it only to make mortar, for the buildings belonging to the crown in Brasil. This lime-stone might be bartered for wood, which would otherwise be lost. This wood might be even made into charcoal, for the use of the royal buildings in Portugal, for the melting and refining of metals. \*

## §. 8.

\* There is in *Brasil*, especially in *Rio de Janeiro*, an excellent and very fine clay, which might be used, with great advantage, in the porcelain

## §. 8.

Were the royal treasury to combine some motive of interest with this, by promising either payment, or some equivalent reward, to indemnify the expence attending the transportation of that wood, from the place where it is felled, to the ship, still, by the exchange of the ballast, and exempting that wood from all duties and tolls, the government would, if not gain, at least certainly be no loser, considering the enormous sums it must expend to buy wood and coals.

Beside this, the royal treasury would not only be benefited, by the capital qualities of the wood and coals; but, by introducing this new branch of commerce, it would avert the total ruin of it's provinces.

## §. 9.

celain manufactures. Being brought to Portugal as ballast, and afterwards manufactured, it would open to that country a new source of wealth.

## §. 9.

The farmer, who would be obliged to burn his wood, in order to clear the ground, which he wishes to till and manure, will part with it, with pleasure, for almost nothing, merely for the sake of getting rid of it. The poor, who want work, and have no other means of subsistence, but what they earn, by the labour of their own hands, will gladly convey this wood, on board a ship. This trade, so small in the beginning, will become daily more lucrative and important, by the emoluments which it will afford the state.

## §. 10.

The commerce of the nation will soon second it, and bring it to the highest pitch of perfection. Portugal will have abundance of wood and coals; the provinces will be no longer laid waste by the burning of trees, and making them into char - coal; and government will derive

rive immense benefits from a commodity, which would otherwise be of no value, but would require being uselessly converted into ashes.

## *Part the Second.*

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*The advantages Portugal may draw from her colonies, in the other three parts of the world.*



## CHAPTER I.

*Portugal, owing to the local situation of her colonies, in the three other parts of the world, could carry on a brisker, and a more lucrative commerce, than any other nation of Europe.*

## §. 1.

In the Indies, and on the coast of Africa, Portugal has two sorts of settlements. Those in the East Indies, and on the coast of Africa have solely commerce for their object; while those in the West Indies, on the contrary, have, at the same time, both agriculture and commerce. For this reason, Brasil is not only the richest country, which the Portuguese

Part II. R possess

possess abroad; but it is also that, which deserves their greatest care and attention.

§. 2.

The Portuguese settlements, in South America, are situated in the most beautiful districts of that part of the world. The possessions of all the other nations together cannot be compared with Brazil, in point of agriculture and commerce. All the other nations, who have settlements in America, have them either near the poles, or the northern parts of the equator.

§. 3.

The polar countries, owing to the intense cold, and the immense fall of snow, yield no more than one harvest in a year. The larger lakes and rivers, on which their ports are situated, are frozen over, for the best part of the year, and admit of no navigation. This is the case with the principal part of the United States of North America.

The other countries, situated on the northern parts of the equator, are, indeed, more fruit-

fruitful, yet, at the same time, exposed to violent hurricanes, that pull up the trees by the roots, ravage whole countries, and even bury buildings under a heap of ruins, as frequently happens in the Antilles.

§. 4.

The countries bordering on the coasts of the South sea, from the Straights of Magellan, to the northern frontiers of California, are still less fit for agriculture. The kingdom of Peru, so celebrated for its mines, has nothing to distinguish the fertility of its fields. It is almost divided into three parts; one of which forms a plain, or Lower Peru, which consists entirely of the countries on the coast; the second part, or Middle Peru, consists of high mountains and deep valleys; the third part is the highest, consisting of a continued chain of mountains, without valleys, and is called Cordillera, or the great mountain of Andes, one of the highest in the world.

§. 5.

## §. 5.

The lower part of Peru, and Mount Andes are sterile; the former because no winds blow there, and the ground is almost constantly convulsed with earthquakes; and the latter, because it is covered with snow and ice, all the year round, so that not even a tree can grow on it. The middle part of the Peruvian empire has, indeed, some pasture for herds and flocks; but it is very little fit for agriculture.

## §. 6.

Allowing even there were some fertile districts on that coast, yet the products of its agriculture are almost entirely lost to the commerce of the nations of Europe. An immense sea, a long and dangerous navigation, either through the straits of Magellan, or by doubling cape Horn (Cabo de Horn) will always throw insurmountable obstacles in the way of that commerce, and disable the inhabitants of that country from being our rivals in agriculture, or the exportation of products. Such will likewise be the case as to an equality

lity of industry and activity, in handicrafts, and manufactures, even in the whale fishery, which once occasioned wars between two of the most powerful nations of Europe.

## §. 7.

The Portuguese part of America surpasses the colonies of all other nations in fertility. It lies under the two happiest zones, the torrid and the temperate. The products, in which either of them is deficient, are amply yielded by the other.

Rio Grande produces all the fruits, of a much finer quality, and far more plentifully than all the countries of Europe taken together. This province alone is able to supply Portugal, nay a great part of all Europe, with wheat, hemp for the navy, and other products of the first necessity.

## §. 8.

Brazil lies in the Eastern part of America, almost in the center of the Globe. It directs, as it were, its eyes to Africa; one  
of

of its feet stands on the sea, the other on the continent; one arm is stretched toward Europe, the other toward Asia. This country has, at all seasons, open harbours, which never freeze, nor are exposed to violent storms. It may carry on a convenient and short navigation; with almost all parts of the world. In fine, the wealth and abundance, which nature has scattered all over the universe, is here to be seen, as it were, concentrated.

## §. 9.

Holland has scarcely any continental possessions, is almost overflowed with water, and must even struggle against the elements, to procure the necessaries and comforts of life. In Brazil, on the contrary, climate, soil, and the elements themselves combine to produce fertility and wealth. Nothing is here wanting, but some laborious human hands, whose industry might procure every thing useful, or imaginable, in nature. \*

## §. 10.

\* The only mode of increasing industry is by increasing the proportion of population to the spontaneous

## §. 10.

This want of hands might be generally remedied by natives of Africa, who, from the barbarity of that country, or for crimes committed, would be there put to death. \*

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taneous products of a country. And this can only be effected by enacting good laws, and applying them.

*Translator.*

\* This is a ridiculous pretext, of which the favourers of the slave trade, and of course of slavery, have availed themselves, to defend, or at least to extenuate, that most barbarous of all traffics. Our worthy author seems to have been misled by the alleged facts and false reasonings of these men, together perhaps with the coinciding influence of some prejudices of habit and education, into an opinion that slavery, and consequently the slave trade, are useful, not only to those, who make, but also to those, who are made slaves. It is shewn, in another place, that this degradation of the human species is alike injurious to the slave, and to the master. Vide "A plan for the emancipation of slaves, in America, and in the colonies of Great Britain, and France; without loss of property, danger of insurrection, or other inconvenience, to their present proprietors, or to the public; — by a student of the Laws of nature."

*Translator.*

This very reason renders the preservation of the Portuguese colonies on the coast of America, particularly Brasil, extremely necessary. Though Portugal has lost some of her African possessions, yet she still retains many of them, and just those, which are the most important to promote the slave trade. \* By a well regulated trade, and by strong and well armed garrisons, which would excite in foreigners a respect for the Portuguese flag, and pro-

\* It is strange how habit will reconcile the most extraordinary absurdities to even enlightened minds. The preservation of Brasil is said to be extremely necessary, on account of the colonies on the coast of Africa, for conducting the slave trade; and the colonies on the coast of Africa are said to be useful, for the supply of Brasil with labourers. This is reasoning in a circle. But it does not seem to be remembered that, in proportion as Brasil is supplied with labourers from Africa, that country is despoiled of its hands. The policy which seeks to benefit any smaller portion of the human race, at the expense of a larger, is not only immoral and unjust, but even almost always fails in attaining its object. Those, who are supposed to be benefited, are injured.

*Translator.*

protect her colonies from the insults, which they are almost daily obliged to endure, from foreign merchants, it would be an easy task to make those African settlements flourishing.

§. 11.

In Africa, Portugal possesses the strong places of Cacheu, Bifao, and others, on the river Gambia, on the coast of Nigritia, where a considerable slave trade is carried on to America; and farther a settlement in Malagueta, on the coast of Guinea.

In the kingdom of Congo, where there are very rich iron mines, Portugal is not only mistress of the capital St. Salvador, of Loango, Embaca and Cabinda, on the coast, beside many other places, but also of the whole commerce of those countries, to the exclusion of all other nations. In the same manner, Portugal has St. Paulo de Loando, and Benguela, in the kingdom of Angola.

Part II.

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§. 12.

## §. 12.

Beside the extensive slave trade carried on, on the coast of Angola, Portugal enjoys many other advantages, which other nations cannot boast. All the slaves, coming from the interior of those countries, and from a distance of more than one hundred leagues, generally reach the coast very faint and emaciated. The Portuguese have the custom of getting their slaves cured and well fed, before their embarkation, and use every precaution to ship them in a sound state of body; for which reason very few of them die, on the passage, from Africa to Brasil. \*

## §. 13.

\* When horses, cows, or sheep are to be sent to market, the proprietors of them take care that they are properly treated, so as to bring a good price. But, from this circumstance, as it respects the natives of Africa, surely not much can be inferred in favour of the humanity of the Portuguese. The shortness of the distance, from the coast of Africa to Brasil, is also very much in favour of their living. But nothing that can be said, upon the subject, can place this odious and detestable trade, in a decent or tolerable point of view; and habit

## §. 13.

The other nations, on the contrary, owing to the want of settlements on the coast, find themselves under the necessity of embarking the blacks, brought from the inner parts of the country, as soon as they have got a sufficient number, and, by so doing, often lose one half of them.

Other nations are very well acquainted with the prerogatives of the Portuguese settlements, and their manner of treating the blacks. They have even taken some pains to imitate them, but always in vain. For, not only the ill treatment on board, but likewise the many hardships, which their slaves must endure, owing to the long voyages they must perform, render them sick and exhausted; nay, at the very sight of the coast, many of them die, melancholy, or broken-hearted.

## §. 14

habit alone can occasion it's being even spoken of, without horror.

*Translator.*

## §. 14.

In the Atlantic, Portugal possesses the Azores, or Tercera - islands. These abound in many sorts of vegetables, wheat, hogs, flax, wine, and warm springs; the islands of Porto Santo, and Madeira, produce the most excellent wine in the world. All the islands of Cape Verd produce not only many exquisite fruits, such as citrons and bitter oranges, which are deemed peculiar preservatives of health on voyages, but abound, at the same time, in butcher's meat, and other provisions, which are purchased, at very low prices, by the ships, that touch there, coming from India.

## §. 15.

In the island of Majó, nature yields an immense store of salt; and the island of St. Jago large quantities of cotton and lamp-oil. All these coasts have abundance of fish, turtle, and especially a kind of fish, much resembling the cod, but superior in point of taste. A very considerable trade in these products, might  
be

be carried on, from all the islands, in the neighbourhood of the coast of Africa.

## §. 16.

Portugal farther possesses, on the coast of Angola, the islands of St. Thomas, and Principe, or Prince's island, where foreign ships generally touch, and are obliged to pay a duty of anchorage, partly to benefit the revenue, partly to render it difficult for foreigners to compete with the Portuguese merchants.

## §. 17.

On the coast of Zanguebar, Portugal possesses the important and rich settlement of Mozambique. The trade of this coast is naturally connected with that of the coast of Goa; most of the goods, found here, come from India, and European commodities scarce find any market. Gold, ivory, and slaves, which are brought from thence, are the most lucrative goods in India,\* for which  
reason

\* It may be proper to remark that, speaking of India generally, this is not correct. In the English  
East



reason the ships from Goa may render their cargoes very complete, during their stay in Mozambique.

§. 18.

The troubles, which have occasioned so much prejudice to the trade of Goa, could not, however, bereave it of the advantages of its natural locality. This place, which is shut to all foreigners, needs but little industry, to become, in a short time, one of the richest and most considerable factories of the Portuguese, in India. \*

§. 19.

East India Company's dominions, there is no trade in slaves.

*Translator.*

\* It would seem as if the Portuguese considered their settlements the more flourishing, the more completely foreigners are excluded from their markets; that is the more completely their commerce is cramped. Other nations also have acted upon similar principles of policy, although not in so glaring a degree.

*Translator.*

§. 19.

Goa was formerly the richest factory in India. The interruption of its commerce had no other cause, than the conquests of the English, and particularly of the Dutch, who expelled the Banians, the ancient supporters of that commerce, and obliged the Portuguese to evacuate Surat.

§. 20.

In Asia, Portugal possesses the famous settlement of Diu, in the kingdom of Guzurate, the name of which place I cannot utter, without reviving the memory of the great exploits of the Portuguese heroes, which equalled here those of the Romans. \* The Portuguese

\* It is a weakness, not peculiar to the Portuguese, to boast of their victories, obtained over Asiatic nations, and to compare their exploits, upon these occasions, with those of the ancient Romans. But all, who are acquainted with the want of energy and want of knowledge of these nations, must contemn such vain-glorious pretensions, without necessarily believing that the Romans, in relating their own exploits, against enemies less enlightened, and aggregately more feeble than themselves, always adhered literally to the truth.

*Translator.*

tuguese have likewise the settlement of Damao, in the gulph of Cambay, and Diyar, a small island to the Southward of Goa, and Bardes, another small island to the Northward. They have likewise a part of the island of Timor, where Dilil is their chief settlement. In China, the town of Macao, formerly renowned for its flourishing commerce, likewise belongs to them.

## §. 21.

These many possessions, on the East-coast of Africa, in Malabar, and China, may procure to the Portuguese a very extensive trade to the East Indies. They need make no new conquests there, nor fortify places, and form settlements. They should only strive to get rid of the competition of other nations, which depends solely on their own industry. \*

## §. 22.

\* It should seem that to encourage the competition of other nations would, on the contrary, be the best means of increasing their own industry, and causing their commerce to flourish.

*Translator.*

## §. 22.

But as long as the commerce of Portugal, to the East Indies, remains in the hands of a few individual merchants, whose capitals are too small to carry it on with proper spirit, no considerable increase or improvement of that commerce can be expected. It will thus always remain in a state of mediocrity, to which the superior industry, and the combined efforts of the foreign East India companies have condemned it.

## §. 23.

The East India companies import infinitely more goods, from India to their respective countries, than they can export, from the latter to India, and draw annually considerable sums of ready money from thence. Every body, that has the least knowledge of commerce, will be convinced, that any nation, that has a company of merchants and traders in the East Indies, will never lose by it. \*

## §. 24.

\* These conclusions are, however, obviously erroneous. Every nation, indeed, must, at any rate

§. 24.

Such a nation, in re exporting those East India-goods, gains sums of money far more con-

rate, be a loser, where there exists such exclusive trading companies. Such an establishment is, in every point of view, equally pernicious to a state as any other monopoly. The reasons are obvious.

- 1) The natural division of the funds are impeded, because in the trade, for which those companies are formed, the capitals laid out, are either too large or too small. Too large, if the nation be too poor to carry on such a trade with advantage, under a perfect liberty of commerce; too small, if the nation be so rich, that they would lay out much larger capitals to derive greater advantages from such a trade, were it not for the limitations of the monopoly. In either case a palpable impediment is opposed to the increase of national wealth.
- 2) The other subjects of the mother-country depend absolutely on the discretionary usage of such companies, in the purchase of the colonial products, with which they supply them. They, and not the public, command the markets.
- 3) Colonies are plunged into the deepest misery by such monopolies, because the merchants, their masters, treat them as conquered countries.

Under

considerable, than those they paid when it first imported them into the mother country. Yet it must be owned, that, among nations, whose principal riches consist in manufactures, the injury, which East India merchandises do to their own manufactured produce, overbalances by far the benefit they reap from them. \*

But

Under the protection of a free and unmolested trade only can the prosperity of colonies be accelerated, and a mother country derive, from her intercourse and connexion with them, the utmost benefit. — But:

- 4) And what is of more consequence than all the rest, the operation of such monopolies is highly injurious to the independence, morals, and happiness, of states. See „An enquiry into the effects of colonisation and monopolies, on the independence, morals, and happiness of states; in which the system of government, adopted for the Asiatic colonies of Great Britain, is principally considered: — by a student of the laws of nature.” —

*Translator.*

\* On the contrary, the cheaper commodities of any kind can be procured, the better for the public at large, although it should injure or totally destroy any particular branch of home manufacture. This, therefore, instead of being a valid objection,

But this injury cannot prove very detrimental to Portugal, provided her commerce to the East is carried on with due spirit and alacrity.

## §. 25.

In the present situation of the commerce of Europe, Portugal is the nation, which is in the most advantageous position, for carrying on the East India trade. The building of the ships requisite is a kind of manufacture, which the trade pays, and which diffuses great wealth over the state. The great number of officers and seamen, employed in this trade, is a second advantage, which serves to contribute to the wealth of the nation. \* The timber required to

objection, is a good argument in favour of encouraging the introduction of East India goods, into the manufacturing nations of Europe.

*Translator.*

\* This does not seem of itself to be any particular benefit to the state; for if these hands were not so employed, they might be employed in other avocations, perhaps with greater advantage to themselves and to the community.

*Translator.*

to build those ships, which would be lost, in Brasil and in many settlements of the Portuguese in Africa, were it not for such a trade, forms a third source of riches.

## §. 26.

Saltpeter is a very valuable article in the trade with India, used as ballast for ships. The silk and cotton-stuffs, especially the coarser cottons on the coast of Africa, will afford good custom to other branches of the commerce of Europe.

## §. 27.

We need but turn our regards to the sources of wealth in general, which Portugal possesses, and to the refined principles of commerce, to become immediately convinced, that this state is able to effect a regeneration in the commerce of Europe, and a more fortunate one, than that, which she once produced, by the courage and skill of her seamen, on the coast of Africa, and in the seas of India, by the discovery of the passage, by the Cape of Good - Hope.

## §. 28.

§. 28.

Portugal might add new, greater, and doubtless more useful acquisitions to the commerce of Europe, than she once did, during the epochs of her great discoveries. The increase of the commerce of Portugal is important, to all Europe, without exception, especially to those nations, that have large manufactures, because it serves to increase, at the same time, the number of consumers of their manufactured produce.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

*The more Portugal owes her Colonies, the richer she will be.*

§. 1.

If any product of the mother-country, for instance wheat, is plentifully cultivated, in the colonies, and if, owing to this plenty, the price of produce of the mother-country is reduced, it is not pernicious, upon the whole, to the latter; for individual interest ought never to be confounded with the collective interest of the state.

§. 2.

If abundance diminishes, the price of products, especially of such as are of the first necessity,

cessity, the price of all other goods falls, at the same time, in the mother country, and soon every thing recovers there all the equipoise it had lost. The manufacturer buys, in fact, the raw products at a low price, but then he is obliged likewise to sell his manufactured goods the cheaper, to the husbandman. The same may be said of the day labourer, the mechanic, and the merchant.

## §. 3.

A second benefit, which accrues, from this, to the whole nation, is the following. The uncommon abundance of products occasions, that they can be sold to all Europe, nay even to all other parts of the world, at so low a price, that it may even ruin the country-produce of the rivals, who contend with her for pre-eminence.\*

What

\* This is the common-place cant of common-place politicians. A more enlightened philosophy serves to shew that no nation, no community, no trade, profession, or individual, is, generally speaking, less prosperous, on account of the prosperity

What injury can Portugal sustain, if, for instance, her colonies produce wheat in such plenty, as to destroy the trade of the Moors and other nations, who sell us those necessaries, and draw the money out of the country? The art of a merchant chiefly consists in making himself master of this or that branch of commerce, which is done, by endeavouring to sell his goods so low, that no other merchant can rival him in this point.

## §. 4.

The mother-country and the colonies taken together, ought to be considered like the farm of one single farmer, with regard to what relates to agriculture and all other natural produce. This farm ought to be destined to amass riches in it, and to possess plenty to sell to foreigners. The owner of many estates does not care, whether such or such a one procures him more revenues, but he only regards the collective revenue of the whole.

## §. 5.

Prosperity of their neighbours, nor benefited by their ruin.

Translator.

Part II.

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## §. 5.

It is a fact, that, if agriculture, and the produce of raw materials, obtain all the extent in the colonies, which they are susceptible of, the mother-country is not able to consume them all, nor can it give the same value for them in its own raw or manufactured products; for which reason it is under the necessity of paying for the same in ready money. But what prejudice could arise from this, to the mother-country? The more colonial products it possesses, the more it has to dispose of to foreigners. These products have a great value; they are articles of the first necessity, which foreigners want, and are not able to dispense with.

## §. 6.

Though the mother-country be, in this case, made debtor to the colonies, yet it becomes, at the same time, a creditor doubly considerable, in its claims upon foreigners. It thus becomes doubly a gainer. It gains by the purchase, as well as by the sale, by the freight of the ships, as well as by the shipment to

to all countries, by the aggrandisement of its navigation, as well as by the extension of its commerce. What is it to the mother-country, if it owes much to its colonies, as long as it remains a creditor doubly considerable of foreign nations? It is even impossible, the mother country should become the debtor of its colonies, without becoming, at the same time, the creditor of foreigners. Having otherwise no abundance of necessaries and manufactured goods, the want of this abundance would necessarily preclude all commerce or trade in them.



CHAPTER III.

The more Portugal owes her settlements abroad, the closer it must unite them with her, and the more dependent they must become on the mother-country.

§. 1.

A state, in the quality of a mother country, must afford every aid to the colonies, its daughters, requisite for their defence, as well as for the safety of the lives and property of the inhabitants, whom it ought to maintain in the tranquil and undisturbed possession, and enjoyment of what belongs to them.

§. 2.

These benefits exact proper gratitude, and even some just sacrifices. The colonies

nies ought therefore, to be satisfied, on their part,

- 1) With being permitted to carry on a direct trade with the mother-country only, even when the trade, with any foreign nation, would be more profitable to them.
2) With having no fabrics or manufactures of their own, especially of cotton, linen, wool and silk, but with being rather obliged to cover or dress themselves, with the manufactured products of the mother country.

The strict observance of these two points will promote the true interest of both, and rivet still closer the ties, by which they are mutually bound and connected. \*

§. 3.

\* However much these maxims of the learned author, built on the principles of the mercantile system, may bear the appearance of truth, yet they militate directly against the principles of true policy, and are diametrically opposite to the real interests

## §. 3.

In a word, the more closely the advantages and emoluments of the mother-country

interests of a mother-country and her colonies. That the colonies must lose by the monopoly of the mother-country, is unquestionable; for they are obliged to purchase much dearer all foreign commodities, and sell much cheaper all home-products, than they would have occasion to do, if they were allowed a free trade with all nations. But not to them only, but to the mother-country itself, and to the whole world, does this monopoly prove detrimental. The advantages, which the mother-country derives from it are merely relative, and not absolute. Though it buys up many colonial products cheaper than every other nation, yet it does not at all follow from this, that if there existed a perfect freedom of commerce, it could not purchase them much cheaper; because the more extensive a market there is for any product, the more it is cultivated, and the lower it sinks in price. But the chief detriments resulting to the mother-country from the monopoly, are the following:

- 1) The high gain expected from it, forces a great part of the capital of the country, in to that remote branch of commerce, in which payments ensue slower and later than in others, which

try are blended with those of the colonies, the richer it will grow, and the deeper it stands

which are thus deprived of it. This lessens, of necessity, the quantity of the annual produce of the soil and labour of the mother country.

- 2) The diminution of the funds, occasioned thereby, has for natural consequence the rising of the profit on the capital. This, however, cannot fail producing infallibly an absolute and relative prejudice to every other branch of commerce, which has no monopoly, because they all become dearer by it.
- 3) The defence of such a monopoly occasions to the country an immense expenditure. The wars, to which they give birth, are the most costly and the most ruinous.

But for a more particular enumeration of the injurious effects of the monopolies, on mother-countries, on colonies, and on the world in general, see the publication referred to, in a preceding note.

*Translator.*

stands indebted to its colonies, the happier and the safer it will flourish.

The creditor watches the debtor as he would his own property. He is anxious for his welfare, and never wishes his ruin. The debtor, on the contrary, endeavours to shun the presence of his creditor as much as possible, and the more independent the latter renders himself of the former, the more opportunity he gives to this one to avoid him.

§. 4.

The man, born in poverty, slavery, and wretchedness, curses his progenitors, detests life, revolts against every body, and even against himself, is frequently driven to despair, and commits suicide. Who has nothing to lose, in the world, is the boldest and rashest of all; for there is no tie upon him.

§. 5.

§. 5.

On the other hand, the man who lives in the lap of plenty, soon looks for a noble and admirable partner, to render his life still more pleasant and agreeable. When he sees himself regenerated, as it were, in his offspring, he praises his creator, blesses the beneficent hand, which protects him, respects religion and the laws, and is the first to whom the preservation of the public tranquillity, and safety, becomes important, because his own peace, and that of his family, depend on them.

§. 6.

He alone dreads the disturbance of the public peace, who dreads to lose something by it; and the more he has to lose, the more he dreads it: but the more he dreads, the more he loves to obey. Hence it becomes evidently necessary, that the

Part II. X interest

interest of the mother - state should be connected with that of the colonies, and that these be treated without jealousy. The richer are the subjects of a state, the richer, too, is its ruler.

*Part the Third.*

*The Interest of Portugal with regard to other States.*

## CHAPTER I.

*Manufactures, in Articles of Luxury, do not  
suit Portugal.*

## §. 1.

A wide-spread and extensive trade produces the same effects in one nation, as the richest gold and silver mines in another; the wealth thus suddenly drawn from both sources, instantly excites the covetousness of the members of a state; presently numbers of artists and manufacturers start up, and every one would be a merchant or a miner.

## §. 2.

Boundless luxury diffuses itself among them all; every body would wish to cut the same figure as the wealthiest and highest in rank; none loves to be an artist or manufacturer

turer, unless he can derive great emolument from those callings. The want of manufacturers, which this is apt to create, in a very rich nation, must needs throw the manufactures into the hands of a nation less rich, which can supply labour at a more moderate price.

## §. 3.

This has been the lot of the Dutch manufactures. Amidst the accumulation of the circulating cash, this people disclaimed every source of riches, but that, springing from the extensive trade of their merchants.

The Dutch, though they still retain some remains of their former manufactures, which parsimony has found means to preserve, cannot, however, reckon them among the head-sources of their commerce. The want of workmen, occasioned by an excessive plenty of money, will soon destroy them entirely.

## §. 4.

For this very reason, the consumption of East India manufactured products becomes ad-  
van-

vantageous to Holland, while it operates to the prejudice of all the other nations of Europe, whose riches arise principally from their manufactures.

Holland disposes of those merchandises to other nations, not only with considerable lucre, but she also finds it more congenial to her interest to clothe her inhabitants with articles of Indian manufacture, than with the commodities produced by English and French manufactures. In this manner Holland, by her commercial dexterity, has always warded off the blow, threatened by an excessive superfluity of the circulating medium, which prevents her giving proper support to her manufactures at home.

## §. 5.

The senate of Genoa has set an example of refined policy, in limiting, by a prohibitory decree, the use of China, or Porcelain, while, at the same time, they made no sumptuary law to restrict, in the smallest degree, the use of silver vessels of every description. The  
great

great accumulation of silver-plate was considered, by them, as a remedy against the prejudicial consequences, arising from a too exuberant store of cash, while the duty upon wrought silver appeared, to them, utterly incompatible with the principles of sound state-policy.

## §. 6.

It is impossible to create a considerable increase of the natural or factitious riches of a state, without enhancing, at the same time, and in the same proportion, the price of hand-labor. This has, for consequence, the destruction of the manufactures. If the balance of commerce, that a nation has procured, continues incessantly in her favor, her manufactures must perish. — That nation, indeed, which is solely intent on a constant augmentation of her pecuniary resources, by gold and silver-mines, accelerates, by this, the moment of her total ruin.

## §. 7.

Every idea of establishing manufactures, in articles of luxury, must necessarily be banished

from the system of politics in Portugal: Because, in the first place, it would be impracticable, for the Portuguese, to enter into competition with other nations in this branch of artificial industry, in which the latter have become their masters and teachers: and, in the second place, those manufactures would be immediately ruined, by the balance of trade so much in favor of Portugal.

## §. 8.

Those manufactures, on the contrary, which merely need hands, but no genius, no art, the commodities which are principally calculated for the supply of the lower classes of people, who constitute the majority of consumers in the state — those manufactures, I say, are the most suiting to Portugal. Children, women, oldmen, and those afflicted with bodily infirmities, find each employment in them proportioned to their strength.

## §. 9.

The most necessary manufactures, especially those that may be considered as indispensable



penfable, all the handicrafts, required to equip and accoutre feamen and troops, to fit out fhips etc. etc. ought to be eſteemed in Portugal. They all deſerve equal patronage and encouragement, in order to enſure to their products, in the public markets at home, the preference to thoſe imported from abroad.

§. 10.

Manufactured articles of luxury, ſolely depending on taſte, genius, and art, need no particular ſupport in Portugal, not only becauſe this kingdom is not populous enough to carry on a trade in all the productions, which its colonies yield, or which they are, at leaſt, capable of yielding, but alſo becauſe we ought to afford other nations an opportunity of trading with us, and of ridding us of our ſuperfluities.

§. 11

Unleſs this ſtate maxim be ſtrictly adhered to, we ſhall either never attain any high degree of national proſperity, by concealing our treaſures

and rendering them thus uſeleſs, both to ourſelves and others, or foreign nations will attack us from all ſides — nations, who, owing to the want of employment, will compel us, to ſhare our bread with them. In a word, from neceſſity, all thoſe, who were hitherto our friends, will become our enemies.

§. 12.

The relation, which Portugal bears to other nations of Europe and their colonies, is like that, which an able and ſkilful merchant bears to the manufacturers, on one hand, and to the producers of raw materials, on the other. The latter get rich by producing thoſe goods, that are moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of life and induſtry, the former, on the contrary, derive their wealth from the new prices, which their induſtry adds to the raw products of every country.

§. 13.

It ought, likewise, to be taken into conſideration that, luxury and faſhions ſuddenly fly,

fly, from one object to another. This renders the prosperity of an artist or manufacturer employed to gratify luxury, and factitious industry, very wavering and precarious. We often see some of them, by a sudden turn of auspicious circumstances, plunged into indigence and wretchedness, because the demand for their products has ceased. Others, on the contrary, are unexpectedly seen in affluence and wealth, because of the sudden request of their labour.

## §. 14.

Those unfortunate workmen, whose commodities are out of fashion, do not know, then, whither to turn for support. Many of them are no longer capable of learning some new art, part of them perish by misery, part disperse, leave their country, or increase the number of vagabonds, and the state thus loses a great number of useful subjects.

## §. 15.

The affluence of those lucky manufacturers, for whose products there is a so much greater

greater demand, does not compensate that loss to the state. The increase of their number is effected but tardily, for their prosperity can only be considered as transitory, and should it even be of a pretty long duration, owing to some favorable circumstances, still its effect cannot be very considerable, because the workman, who knows the instability of his fortune, dares not place any dependence on it.

## §. 16.

To a populous nation, that counts many millions of working members, the loss of a few cannot do any great injury. But to Portugal, that has but a small number of such workmen, the loss even of a single one becomes very important. Every plan, therefore, tending to establish manufactures in articles of luxury, in Portugal, ought to be discarded from her system of politics.

I do not, in the least, mean to infer from this, that manufactures of this description ought to be suppressed and prohibited, but I rather wish, that the state may not favour

vour them, nor lavish great sums of money, on such establishments, in order to procure to Portugal advantages, which experience has always shewn to be but trifling and insignificant.

## CHAPTER II.

*Portugal, owing to the natural situation of her territorial possessions, in all the four quarters of the globe, might become one of the greatest maritime powers.*

### §. 1.

Portugal is situated at the Western extremity of Europe, encompassed, from the south to the West, by the Atlantic Ocean, and bounded, on the North, by Spain. This kingdom may, therefore, be said, to have no other neighbours in Europe, but the Spaniards. The immense seas that encircle it, serve it as a bulwark; and though, aided by them, hostile armies can attack its coasts, yet  
the

the same seas bring, as has often been the case, the fleets of its allies to defend it.

## §. 2.

In South America, Portugal possesses all Brasil, from the Northern cape of the Amazons, where it borders upon Guayana, to Rio de la Plata or the Plate River; from the East, it is bounded by the Atlantic, and from the South, and West, it has the Spaniards for neighbours. The whole coast, measuring upwards of six hundred leagues, reckoning eight to a degree of the equator, is divided into many captainships or governments, the principal of which are: Para, Maranhao, Fernambuco, Baja, Rio de Janeiro, St. Catharina \* and Rio Grande.

## §. 3.

\* The province of *Rio Grande* produces many cows, horses, wheat, and hemp; the excessive plenty of these necessaries makes it the richest province of Brasil; but owing to the many flats in the river, of which it bears the name, it is not able to carry on an extensive navigation. The province of *St. Catharina*, which borders on it from the North,

## §. 3.

In the interior of the country lie the provinces of St. Paulo, Minas Geraes, Gojas Cujaba, Mato Grosso. Almost in every one of these governments, and places, Portugal maintains a sufficient and well armed number of troops, who, as often as necessity requires, succour each other reciprocally. \*

## §. 4.

Portugal, owing to its local site, particularly in Europe, and South America, is safe from all descents of foreign troops upon her coasts; for all the foreign powers feel their com-

North, serves as a staple-place to the products of the rich province of *Rio Grande*, not only on account of its vicinity; but peculiarly so by its excellent harbour, which, after that of *Rio Janeiro*, is the best in Brasil. This renders a good garrison, and strong fortifications, very necessary there.

\* The Portuguese government is reputed to maintain, in Brasil, an army establishment of about 8,000 regulars, and about 40,000 militia-men.

Translator.

commerce interested in the preservation of Portugal. But this state, having as many important as remote possessions, in all the four parts of the world, it cannot but be duly impressed with a sense of the necessity of watching most carefully over the preservation of its many provinces, and of foregoing no opportunity of maintaining itself more effectually, by a continual increase of commerce and navigation, in her settlements, particularly in those of Africa, where she counts such numerous rivals and competitors.

§. 5.

Both in Europe and Brasil, Portugal, we have shewn, has only Spain for neighbour; and however much it had to dread, in former times, from the Spaniards, on account of the pretensions which the latter made upon Portugal, and the superiority of forces on the part of Spain, yet many reasons now make us hope, that the continuation of the good understanding, which subsists between both, will nowise experience any material interruption.

§. 6.

§. 6.

The reasons, on which these hopes are founded, are the following:

1) By a treaty concluded and signed at St. Ildephonso, in the year 1668, Portugal was declared independent; this treaty has not only been confirmed in all its points, but even enlarged by the peace of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, as well as by other separate conventions, agreed upon, by both nations.

2) By the alliances contracted, by both royal families, in virtue of marriage-contrats, respectively entered into between them.

§. 7.

3) Owing to the want of provisions in the Spanish provinces, bordering upon Portugal, and many other inconveniencies, Spain cannot march an army against Portugal, sufficiently considerable, to render a resistance equally vigorous and

and powerful impracticable on the part of the latter. \*

4) European politics, continually watching over the preservation of the balance of power among the different states, and endeavouring to prevent any nation from getting a preponderance over another, will not permit, that the treasures of Peru and Brasil should fall into the possession of one sovereign. \*\*

All the maritime powers, are as much interested in the preservation of Portugal, as in that of their own property. Beside they have, always, shewn a readiness to succour this

\* Recent events have completely falsified this reasoning, or rather prophecy.

Translator.

\*\* If Great Britain does not prevent it by all the powerful means at her command, such an usurpation is now more likely to take place than ever.

Translator.

this power, whenever it was threatened by another.

§. 8.

Reciprocity of interest avails more than all the treaties and conventions; it is the only tie, by which states are connected, — the only support of their politics. History proves that the succours granted by other nations have, in more than one instance, defeated all the hostile plans of Spain, against Portugal. The welfare of both nations, therefore, demands, that they should live in friendship and concord together, if not as allies, at least, in the strictest neutrality.

§. 9.

If France were duly to appreciate her interest, she would never attack Portugal in her European possessions, not only because this country is parted by Spain, but also because the success of an attack by sea, or a descent, always remains doubtful, as to the event. Such an attack, indeed, would also beget France the enmity of all the nations, who

who feel themselves interested in the prefer-  
vation of Portugal, and her commerce.

§. 10.

The case is exactly the same with re-  
spect to Brasil:

- 1) Because the possessions of France, in that part of the world, do not border upon those of the Portuguese, excepting a small part of Guyana, on the Northern side of the country of the Amazons.
- 2) Because the Portuguese establishments, in South America, are too ancient; a circumstance highly important and favorable to a nation that has remote and far distant colonies.
- 3) Because Portugal has excellent harbours and fortresses in Brasil, which France cannot take, without having a very respectable fleet.
- 4) Because all maritime nations would, in this case, hasten to the assistance of the Por-

§. 11.

Portuguese, partly for the sake of their trade; partly to prevent too excessive an aggrandisement of the power of France.

- 5) Because it is even beneficial to France herself, if Portugal retains all her colonies, at least, in as far as this will serve to prevent other nations, that are the rivals of France, from growing more powerful at the expence of France. \*

§. 12.

Since the convention of the Hague of the 6th. of August 1661, confirmed by the peace of Utrecht and other treaties between the two nations, Holland is in the same situation as France, with regard to Portugal; but owing to the immense disparity of power between the two nations; it can do nothing in comparison to what France is able to do.

§. 13.

\* See the following excellent treatise: Discorso politico que fêz o Conde de Soure as Cardinal Mazarini, in the works of Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo. Tom. I. p. 5. et seq.



§. 13.  
 Among all the powers of Europe, England is that, whose friendship Portugal ought most studiously to endeavour to preserve, not only on account of the commerce between the two nations, but particularly owing to the prompt and active succour, which Portugal may always promise herself from England.

§. 14.

Yet let no one imagine, for all this, that Portugal lives in a state of dependence on England. This latter kingdom must find purchasers for her manufactures; it prefers the Portugal-wines to those of France, not only because the latter have been doubly enhanced in price, by the many duties laid on them, since the commercial treaty of 1703, but likewise because the balance would turn in favor of France, by the increased consumption of her wines in England. \* In other respects, the great bene-

\* Interêts des nations de l'Europe. Tom. I. Chap. 8. de l'Angleterre. p. 378.

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benefits, which England draws from her commerce with Portugal, afford a sufficient proof, that England depends more on Portugal, than Portugal does on England.

§. 15.

The treaty of 1703 is merely commercial, without the smallest relation to any treaty of peace. By it Portugal engaged only to permit the importation of the products of the English woollen-manufactures into her dominions, without imposing on them a higher duty than that, which they were obliged to pay, before the prohibition of the importation of cloth made of foreign wool was issued. This cannot be considered as an exclusive privilege, binding the hands of the Portuguese, and hindering them from granting an equal right to any other nation, which may purchase from them a greater quantity of their abundance, and of their colonial produce.

§. 16.

Memorias economicas da Academia real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Tom. 3. Memoria sobre o estado da agricultura e commercio do Alto Douro, cap. 2. p. 75.

Part III.

A a

## §. 16.

England buys of Portugal little sugar, little tobacco, and no East India goods at all, because she draws those commodities, for the most part, from her own settlements. Excepting cotton, the English scarce purchase a single article of the colonial produce of Portugal, but gold and diamonds.

## §. 17.

If Portugal were to exempt all nations, without distinction, from paying duties on woollen goods imported, and reduce every thing to the same footing, on which it was previous to that prohibition, she would not only create herself as many new friends and allies, as would find their advantage in the commerce with the Portuguese; but she would augment, at the same time, in her markets, the number of competitors, who would not alone sell to them the products of their industry and manufactures cheaper, but even purchase the products of Portugal dearer than the English. This would certainly be striking a violent blow against the British trade; for since

the

the hand-labour of the English workmen is so uncommonly dear, partly on account of the national wealth of the English, partly by reason of the manifold taxes, with which the people of England are loaded, in order to enable them to pay the interest of the national debt, the British merchants would no longer enter into competition in the Portuguese markets with those of other nations, without its causing them material injury.

## §. 18.

Thus it becomes important for England, to preserve the friendship of Portugal, nay sometimes the English will even find it to their own benefit to make some sacrifice, lest Portugal should have recourse to the liberty of commerce, increase the number of foreign rivals in her markets, and subvert entirely the old-established order of things.

All other nations of Europe have, at present, with regard to Portugal, no kind of interest, but what is merely commercial.

## §. 19.

## §. 19.

We have shewn that Portugal has no neighbours by land, in Europe and America, but the Spaniards; and that it is very advantageous to the latter to live in harmony and friendship with the Portuguese, if not as allies, at least as a neutral people. The Portuguese, however, having a sufficient number of troops in their colonies, particularly in America, to prevent any power of Europe from conquering them, but not a navy, sufficient to protect them from the attacks of such hostile nations, as might undertake a descent, on some weak side of the extensive coasts of Brasil, of Africa, or Asia, hence a necessity arises for Portugal, to reduce the number of her troops, and to maintain only what force is required to keep up the dignity of her empire, among her neighbours, and to preserve the public safety and peace, among her own subjects. On the other hand, Portugal ought to strain every nerve, to increase her navy, which can never be too much increased, and which will always keep increasing, in proportion to the extensiveness of her commerce.

## §. 20.

## §. 20.

Portugal, with regard to her navy, ought to be considered in the same point of view as England, that reduces her military establishment to maintain a more formidable naval force, yet with this difference, that England is far and near, nay from all sides, surrounded by enemies and rivals, who may easily attempt an invasion of her coast, while, on the contrary, the possessions of Portugal are at a far greater distance from those of her enemies, and may, in case of emergency, afford one another mutual assistance, by a combination of their naval and military force. With them, the loss of a soldier may be easily supplied by two or three other stout and sound fellows.

## §. 21

This is not the case with the enemies of the Portuguese, who are often obliged to send to far distant regions for spoiled provisions, and weakened, enervated soldiers. With these the loss of one soldier is not so easily made up, by substituting another in his room.

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All these are advantages, which Portugal may justly boast, to enjoy over England.

§. 22.

Every other maritime power, for instance Spain, France, Holland, that have many continental neighbours, need many intrenchments, fortifications and great and well-disciplined armies, who must always be kept in readiness to attack or defend. Those great land-forces naturally diminish the number of seamen. In this point, too, Portugal has the advantage of all other powers of the continent.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

*The neutrality of Portugal is important to all other maritime states.*

§. 1.

All the states of Europe cannot sufficiently retrench their expenditure, as, exclusive of the pay and maintenance of their troops, in time of peace, they are under the necessity of laying by, and keeping in readiness, a considerable treasure, which is lost to their commerce. Without the strictest observance of this salutary rule of state-policy, they are under daily apprehensions of ruin, and forced to tremble at every hostile attack.

§. 2.

## §. 2.

A power, whose territories are situated between two or more belligerent states, is often obliged either to wage war herself, or to allow other nations the free passage of their armies through her dominions. But since it generally happens, that the latter ravage the countries through which they pass, particularly those of neutral powers, whom they do not reckon among their friends, the neutral state thus annoyed, sees itself forced at last, to espouse the cause of one party, to prevent her possessions from becoming the common prey of both. In this manner, the prudence of the wisest ruler, of the father and friend of his subjects, is often unavailing, to protect them from such a scourge.

## §. 3.

The situation of Portugal, at the furthest end of Europe, secures her from all such calamities. By virtue of her happy site, she enjoys all the good Europe possesses, her arts, her sciences, and commerce; but with regard  
to

to the bad — the wars — she seems not to belong to this part of the world.

## §. 4.

With regard to the belligerent maritime powers, Portugal is able to observe the strictest neutrality, without its being easy for any one of them to force her to take an active part in war; for the nation, that would compel her to go to war, has either a powerful enemy against her, or not. If this enemy be a powerful one, and that nation wants succours against him, it can have no troops to spare, to attack Portugal, at the same time, and involve her in warfare. \*

## §. 5.

But if the enemy be a weak one, that nation needs no combined forces, and will,  
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\* Had the Portuguese government wisely adhered to the system of political conduct laid down here, by the learned bishop, she might perhaps have been free from a Gallo-Spanish Invasion.

*Translator.*

of course, abstain from every attempt to make Portugal furnish succours, for fear of making her an enemy. By such an attempt, indeed, she would only increase the number of her enemies, and bring upon herself irretrievable injury.

§. 6.

A weak, impotent nation can only do great injury to another, more powerful, and formidable, in consequence of its situation. Weak and impotent states are: Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers. Yet these, too, owing to the advantageous situation of their territories, and the manner of making war in small armed boats, have almost rendered all the powers of Europe tributary to them.

§. 7.

Portugal is mistress of a great part of the coasts of America, Africa, and Asia, as well as of the islands situated in the streights of the Atlantic ocean, with their numerous large and small sea-ports. Suppose the Portuguese were to occupy, with a small number of frigates

gates and privateers those islands, near the place, where the India-men generally water and take in provisions and refreshments, those armed ships, issuing forth on cruises from those quarters, which might be every way considered as their home, could strike, with fear and alarm, even the most powerful states of Europe.

§. 8.

It would not even be necessary for Portugal, to fit out all the ships required for those cruises, at her own expence, or that of her subjects. It would be sufficient to grant letters of marque to foreign privateers, to make captures, under her flag, and for their own account, and merely to promise them safety in those harbours.

By these means, the Portuguese might obtain great advantages over their enemies, because they could attack them by merely sailing forth from their homes, whereas the enemies of the Portuguese could not attack them, but at a great distance from their own country.

country. The enemies of Portugal would, thereby, be forced, to give convoys of ships of the line or frigates, to their merchantmen; a measure partly very expensive, partly very cumbersome to their trade; and, without attending to this necessary precaution, their ships would run the risk of being taken one after another.

## §. 9.

The friendship of Portugal, be it as an ally, or as a neutral state, is of the last importance to all the maritime powers, not only owing to the great benefits which they draw from their commercial intercourse with this kingdom, and from its excellent harbours, where they can repair their damaged ships of war, and merchantmen; but, also, from a variety of other causes, the good will of Portugal is of inestimable value to them.

## §. 10.

At every period, when the maritime powers were making war on each other, the  
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Portuguese flag rendered very essential services to them all. In the late American war, while the first maritime nations of Europe, England, Spain, France and Holland were contriving their mutual ruin, Portugal observed the strictest neutrality. The Portuguese merchants, always true to their word, endeavoured, on their parts, to assert the honor of their nation. They held, in their hands, the bands, which rivetted the commerce of all those nations; they preserved them inviolate, nor would they suffer any one to break them.

## §. 11.

If Portugal, in fine, keeps up a considerable navy and large merchant-fleets; if, satisfied with her vast domains in the four quarters of the globe, she renounces all conquests; if she maintains her subjects in the peaceful and tranquil enjoyment of their property; if she only establishes manufactures of the most indispensable necessity, and abandons those of luxury to foreigners, in order to afford them an opportunity of purchasing her superfluities:



fluties: — if Portugal, I say, does all this, no enemy will molest her, or disturb her quiet: for all the nations will feel, in her preservation an interest, closely connected with their own.

FINIS.

ERRATA:

- P. 8 l. 14 falt consequently, r e a d falt is consequently.  
 — 12 — 23 chefe, r. cheefe.  
 — 15 — 13 natures, r. nature's.  
 — 16 — 10 pesselles, r. posselles.  
 — 25 — 4 whole, r. whole.  
 — — 16 manifesty, r. manifestly.  
 — 28 — 8 indispenfible, r. indispenfable.  
 — 30 — 9 Euglishmen, r. Englishmen.  
 — 37 — 16 intreprid, r. intrepid.  
 — 48 — 13 peritiffimas, r. peritiffimos.  
 — 49 — 13 hawl, r. haul.  
 — 50 — 21 dextenty, r. dexterity.  
 — 51 — 3 desireous, r. desirous.  
 — — 6 neecessity, r. necessity.  
 — — 18 be, r. he.  
 — 52 — 22 interprid, r. intrepid.  
 — 53 — 10 strenght, r. strength.  
 — 54 — 15 enfranchiseing, r. enfranchising.  
 — 58 — 11 attemp, r. attempts.  
 — 59 — 6 egreions, r. egregious.  
 — 60 — 9 defendants, r. defenders.  
 — — 15 babent, r. habent.  
 — 62 — 16 examinie, r. examine.  
 — 71 — 7 St. Lawrens, r. St. Lawrence.  
 — 72 — 16 Blande, r. Claude.  
 — 75 — 23 that, r. as.  
 — 76 — 6 contry, country.  
 — 78 — 13 theit, r. their.  
 — 90 — 3 morhers, r. mother's.  
 — 91 — 8 Diogo, r. Diego.  
 — 97 — 19 cargoe, r. cargo.  
 — — 20 — r. —  
 — 98 — 8 — r. —  
 — 101 — 21 a, r. as.  
 — 106 — 16 heighth, r. height.  
 — 109 — 10 vigilence, r. vigilance.  
 — 133 — 22 center, r. centre.  
 — 136 — 8 imporant, r. important.

P. 136 l. 25 expence, read expence.  
— 149 — 7 faltpeter, r. falpêtre.  
— 151 — 7 propuct, r. product.  
— 152 — 23 communit, community.  
— 172 — 16 whihter, r. whither.  
— 173 — 12 polulous, r. populous.