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THE
C A S E
OF THE
FIVE MILLIONS,
FAIRLY STATED.

In REGARD to
Taxes, Trade, Law, Lawyers, &c.

ADDRESSED TO
The Guardians of Our Liberty.

Interdum Vulgus Rectum videt. HOR.

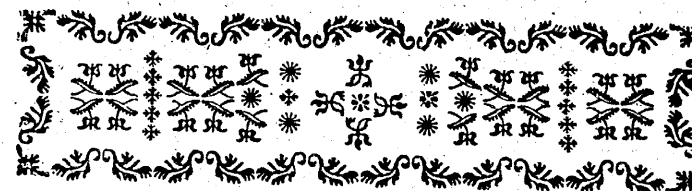
*Libertate Populi oppressa Nihil,
est quod sperent amplius.* CIC.

Make us Free, You'll find us Brave.

L O N D O N:

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[Price One Shilling.]



T H E *
C A S E
O F T H E
F I V E M I L L I O N S
F A I R L Y S T A T E D .

W E, *the Five Millions*, oppressed and rendered miserable by the Weight of Taxes, which have been growing upon us for the last Three-score Years, bear a great Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants in this Island. And though, thro' Pride or Inattention, those of
A 2 higher

* If it appears that the Arguments, exhibited in this Performance, come recommended by Truth and Reason, and are agreeable to the Nature and Relation of Things, they will, it is hoped, be countenanced by all Men of Discernment, Public-Spirit, and Generosity. If they are not conducive to the Interest and Well-being of Society, it is a Duty incumbent upon every useful Member of the Community, to point out the mistaken Principles on which they are founded.

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higher Stations may look with the utmost Contempt upon us, and imagine that they are invested with an arbitrary, uncontrollable Authority over us; tho' their Actions too often shew that they consider themselves as independant; yet their Pomp and external Greatness depend entirely upon our Industry. Take away the Sweat of our Brows, and the Advantages arising from our Labor, our Superiors will immediately find themselves in a more uncomfortable Condition than those of the lowest Stations.

UPON our Industry depends the first, as well as the farther Advancement of every Branch of Trade. Part of us expose Ourselves to the Dangers of the Sea, to carry off the Superfluities of this Nation, and to bring back the Products of all the known Countries in the World. And the Glory which this Kingdom formerly acquired by the Use of Arms, was principally owing to our Courage and Bravery.

THESE national Benefits will ever be in Proportion to our Number; and our Number will always, in every Country, be in Proportion to the Freedom that is given us to exercise our natural Powers in such Manner as our

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our Genius and Inclinations shall lead us to *chuse and to follow.*

THESE Reflections should engage our Superiors to treat us with Humanity, and to grant us all the Privileges, which the Laws of Nature prescribe.

BUT what is our present unhappy State? We are not allowed to follow such Employments as the Exigencies of the Kingdom require. Our accumulated Taxes, and other Restraints on our Industry disable us. The Former by enhancing the Price of the Necessaries of Life; and the latter by making us idle, and corrupting our Morals.

WE therefore pray, that You will take our distressed State into Your Consideration, and that You will remove the Occasions of our Complaint.

TAKE off Taxes from the Necessaries of Life, and grant us that Liberty to which all Mankind have an indubitable Right.

IT has unluckily been a prevailing Opinion, that too great a Degree of Liberty has made the *Common People of England* proud, and corrupted their Morals. But it is very easy to

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to shew that this, in common with most other general Opinions, is very erroneous. This will appear from a right Definition of Liberty, and an Induction of a few Facts, the Notoriety of which cannot be contradicted.

THE Author of the *Spirit of Laws* has defined Liberty, by saying, that "It consists in a People's having the Power of doing all that they ought to chuse, and in not being constrained to do that, which they ought not to chuse."

CIVIL LIBERTY consists in a Freedom from all unnatural Restraints. For whether Man be considered as under the Law of Nature only, or in Civil Society, he cannot be said to enjoy true or perfect Liberty, if his moral Freedom be restrained. It should therefore be the great End of every Government to assert this Right to the meanest of its Subjects*. No Government or Society can, without doing Violence to the Laws of Nature, deprive us of the Right or Power of exercising those Talents or Abilities, with which God originally endowed us, for the most excellent Purpose of promoting the Happiness of our Kind. And

* No Being on Earth should alter or take away these Appointments of God to Man.

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AND whatever Legislature assumes to itself the Power of limiting the natural and moral Freedom of Man, acts, in such Instances, not only contrary to the Laws of Nature, but in Opposition to the Public good. For the free Application of these Powers has a natural Tendency to promote the Spirit of Industry; whatever incites to Industry must also facilitate and accelerate the Motion of the great Wheels which promote the Interest and Good of the Public.

THOUGH the Civil Government of this Kingdom was instituted principally to secure to us the five Millions, the Enjoyment of their Freedom*; though every Legislature is confined to the Enforcement of this natural Right; yet the L--ve Power of th--s Nation has frequently contradicted this great Law of Nature, by enacting L-----s; which restrain Moral Industry; which check and prevent the Growth, the Wealth and Power of our Country.

BUT Riches and Honors cannot raise their Possessors above the Restraints of Virtue and the Laws of Nature; which require the Humanity

* Tho' one great Design of the Magna Charta of our Rights and Properties, was to protect those Liberties and Freedoms which belong to our Birthright.

† Si quis fuerit disseisitus vel elongatus per nos de Libertatibus vel Jure suo, statim ea ei restituemus. *Magn. Chart. Libert. Angliæ.*

manity and Condescension from the most Powerful to those of the lowest Degree. And though to the weak or unthinking Part of our Superiors We, the five Millions, appear insignificant; yet are we and you Members of the same Body, both mutually dependent, and therefore Objects of each other's Care. 'Tis an inexpressible Hardship upon us, to whose Labour and Fatigue his Majesty, the Nobility and Gentry are indebted for all the Necessaries, all the Conveniences and Elegancies of Life, that we are not at Liberty to apply our Industry to the useful Purposes, which our Genius directs and inclines us to pursue. 'Tis to be delivered from these Hardships, and the deplorable Miseries in which they have involved us, that we apply to you. We petition you neither for Places of Profit and Emoluments to add to the immense national Debt, and of Course to hasten the Ruin of our Country; nor do we covet the boasted Privilege of perjuring ourselves and beggaring our Families by enjoying the licentious Power of electing the Members of the H—e of C——s. Let the slavish Fools of the mercenary Betrayers of this Wretched, abandoned Country, enjoy those Causes of Corruption, and of every Kind of Vice and Immorality. We envy them not. All that we desire is the free Use of those Powers

Powers and Talents, which God gave us together with our Being, that we may contribute by a laborious and unrewarded Industry to the Payment of that heavy Debt, which will otherwise, too soon overload our sinking State.

SHAKE off our unnatural Restrictions, and we will, by cultivating the Arts of Peace, restore the Contentment and Prosperity, the Power and Glory of *Britain*, and once more enable her to strike an awful Terror into those very People, who now insult and consider her as inglorious.

WE are persuaded that the Well-fare and Honour of this Nation are the main Objects of your Care and Endeavours. We hope therefore that you will take the Natural, which are ever the only efficacious Means, of obtaining those Ends. The skilful and sagacious Physicians, in the Cure of the most dangerous Maladies and Diseases, diligently observes and assists the Efforts of Nature. And if the Physician of the Body Politic would rectify the Disorders of the State, he must proceed in the same Manner.

Most of the Laws of this Kingdom are founded upon Principles, which contradict those

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those of Nature and the true Interest of Society. Can any Thing be more opposite to Reason and Common Sense than that Law which prohibits our following those Trades, to which we have not served a regular Apprenticeship of seven Years? Children are frequently, through the Inconsideration, Partiality or Poverty of their Parents, put to Trades or Businesses to which they have neither Inclination nor Capacity. Yet if as they grow up they discover---*quid feræ recusant, quid valeant Humeri.*

And find in themselves a more natural Disposition for Trades or Professions to which they have not been bound in a legal Manner; they must again comply with the absurd Laws provided for that worst of Purposes, and undergo the Hardships of another Servitude, or trudge on in a Business to which they have an Aversion, as well because Nature never designed them for it, as that it is not in their Power to make a tolerable, not to say a decent Provision for their Families by it. What a Reproach is it to the Legislature, what a Loss to the Kingdom that Millions, who would excell in different Arts or Trades, were they at Liberty to exercise their respective Powers and Faculties, are not suffered to employ themselves for the benefit of their Fellow-creatures? The deplorable Case of the ingenious

ingenious *F. Taylor* who, for making a Pair of Breeches in a large City, of which he was not a Freeman, was treated with so much Ignominy, is too well known to be repeated. "When he was not allowed to work, he begged: Upon which he was taken up; and after receiving a severe Reprimand, he was ordered to quit the Town. On the Day of his Dismission he stole a Half-penny Loaf to appease his craving Appetite and keep himself from starving. He was once more taken into Custody, and whipped. He then crawled out of the City, and made this severe, though just Reflection, *what will become of that Country, whose Laws restrain Industry, and condemn the useful Subject in common with the Worthless, the Vagrant and the Thief?*" Is it to be wondered, when People are not allowed to earn their daily Bread by honest Labour, that our Artificers seek a Livelihood in foreign Climes, that our Country Towns and Parishes are burthened with the Offspring of Sloth and Idleness, that our Metropolis and other Cities are pestered with Street-robbers and Cut-throats? Is it to be wondered that the Price of Labour is dearer in this than in any other Country, that we are undersold in foreign Markets, that every Branch of our Trade daily loses Ground, that our Colonies

are plundered, ravaged and laid Waste; that our Credit sinks at Home and Abroad, and that we are despised by the paltry Knights of *Malta* and the *Pyritical States*?

NOTHING can avert the imminent Dangers which now threaten this Nation, but the Removal of all unnatural Restraints. Occasional Expedients may be productive of momentary Conveniencies, but never of real and lasting Benefits. They are indeed, more Tampering and Quackery. To the undiscerning Part of Mankind they may appear plausible. But the sagacious Few can see through the thin Disguise.

IN a Complication of dangerous Diseases the experienced Physician never directs slow Alteratives. He is sure to prescribe some powerful and approved Medicine. Would you restore our Health and Vigour? Restore to us that Liberty, of which those of our Station have, for many Centuries been, to the great Detriment of the Public, most unjustly deprived: Teach us, by your own powerful "Example to be virtuous, and you will find it unnecessary to have Recourse to those little and despicable Arts, which go by the Name of *State Maxims* and *Cabinet Mysteries*."

'Tis

'Tis owing to these Restrictions that the Generality of Journeymen spend half their Time in Ale-houses, always to the Prejudice and sometimes to the Ruin of their Families. This makes the Price of Labour and of all our Manufactures exorbitant. Hence the chief Cause of Debauchery and Riot, of Bribery and Corruption, and of the other Disorders of the Body Politic. Remove the Cause of these Evils, annul the 5th of *Elizabeth*; restore to us the free Power of exercising whatever honest Trades our Inclinations and Capacities direct us to follow; let us be at full Liberty to do this in whatever Part of the Kingdom we shall chuse to settle, and you will not only make us more chearful in our respective Employments, and much better disposed to discharge all the Duties incumbent upon us; but also enable us, by our Diligence and Industry, to destroy the Combinations so prejudicial to the Public. We will bring all those useful Arts, which contribute to the Pleasure, to the Profit and Improvement of Mankind, to the greatest Perfection. We shall by these natural Means, without the disgustful Expedient of a General * Naturalization Bill, reduce the Price of Labour,

* It is not unknown, "says the Declaration of the Czar of Muscovy, for encouraging Trade and Commerce," "that we, at
" our

Labour, extend our Trade, and of Consequence diminish the National Debt ; we shall correct the Morals of our Fellow Subjects, and render them of the utmost Importance to the Public.

PAY a proper Regard to these Requests and Petitions of a distressed and injured People, and we will sing your Praises in the most grateful Accents; we will call you the Fathers, and, if we may be allowed the Expression, the *Saviours* of your Country. We will acknowledge, with the warmest Gratitude, this wonderful and unexpected Deliverance to be the greatest Earthly Blessing, and a great Means of securing to us the still greater ones of Heaven. We will be loyal to our King; we will fight his Battles, and defend him, under God, from all his Enemies.

— *Make us free, you'll find us brave.*

HAVING

“ Accession to the Crown abolished the old Custom, that denied
“ Foreigners a Free Entry into our Dominions : Therefore we not
“ only herewith confirm that Act, but extend this Privilege to
“ Foreigners, in such a Manner, that every one, who Travels
“ hither, shall not only pass free of all Expences to the very City
“ where we reside, but likewise have all the Safety he requires
“ secured to him. Officers coming hither shall not be hindered
“ or molested in any Manner, but rather treated with all Goodwill
“ and Humanity. Likewise all Traders or Merchants, that are
“ inclined to come and settle with us, and all Artists, shall be re-
“ ceived with Marks of Favour, nor, if they differ from us in
“ their religious Opinions, provided they are Christians, shall they
“ be interrupted either in their private or public Exercise of Re-
“ ligion, but be secured and guarded against any Molestation.”

HAVING received the foregoing Case from one of the five Millions, who is confessedly the most industrious and best Workman in the City of ———; but who, by not being a Freeman thereof, is frequently without any Employment, and his Family thereby reduced to great Distress, I cannot avoid adding something in Favor of those unhappy Persons. I will therefore endeavour to point out some farther Methods by which they may be greatly relieved, and the Kingdom in general much benefited at the same Time.

HAVING laid before you the great Hardships, under which the Labour, and the many Disadvantages and Losses, which the Public suffers on Account of the Infringements, which the Laws have made upon their Liberty; I shall now proceed to shew that our heavy Taxes and Excises, together with the incredible Expence that attends the Collecting them, are another Grievance, which restrains their Industry, and calls loudly for a Redress.

THE voluntary luxurious Livers, and the Consumers of those Commodities which are not absolutely necessary to assist the carrying on any useful Branch of Business, and are im-

imported from Countries that are our own Rivals in Trade, are the only People, except Publicans, who ought to be taxed.

BUT there is no Rank or Station, no Commodity that is not taxed in this Kingdom. And yet, if the Provisions and Conveniencies, necessary to the comfortable Support and Preservation of the inferior Class, are burthened with heavy Taxes, the Price of Labour and Manufactures must be greatly enhanced, and the Exports proportionably diminished. But the Manufactures of this Kingdom, on Account of our accumulated Taxes, and other Restraints on Industry, are dearer than those of all other Countries, who are our Rivals in Trade. So that our Exports, viz. our Trade has decreased reciprocally as our Duties have been increasing.

As therefore the Power and Happiness of every Country depends upon its Trade; and Trade will stagnate, or flow out of its wonted Channel wherever it is obstructed; and as the various Imposts are great Obstructions and Hindrances to the free Circulation of all useful Branches of Trade and Commerce; it is therefore the Business of all Governments to use their best Endeavours to remove such Obstructions, by levying and collecting the

the Taxes, necessary to make up the Exigencies of the State, in the easiest and most natural Manner.

THO' it were not a difficult Task to exhibit a Scheme, which would prove of incredible Benefit to the Community, was it substituted in the room of our present * preposterous Method of Taxing; yet shall I content myself with mentioning our Grievances and
C Complaints

* It is not in the Power of Man to devise worse Taxes, or more pernicious Methods of collecting them, than what in many Instances subsist at present. Many of the Taxes are laid upon the Necessaries of Life, and more than an Army of Custom-house and Excise-Officers are employed to collect them: All which Circumstances enhance the Price of our Imports as well as Exports, and consequently greatly tend to the Ruin of our Trade, And immense as the Revenue arising from such Taxes ought to be; yet it has been found insufficient to defray the Expences of Government. But these Grievances are the most tolerable of all those attending this preposterous Method of Taxing. How does it open the Flood-gates of an impetuous Torrent of fraudulent Practices, more especially Perjury, than which there is not a Crime of greater Guilt? A more advantageous Scheme, not altogether unlike that of Sir Mathew Decker's, might be proposed; which would exempt the Laborious from every Tax; by which the landed Interest, and all the useful Members of the Community, would be considerable Gainers. I know no Class who would be mercenary enough to insinuate that such a Scheme is unfair, unequal, or impracticable, except greedy and insatiable Usurers, or those who have rendered themselves ignominious by wearing a M—l Livery. And these Objections will be sufficiently precluded by the following Observation: 'Tis incumbent upon all Individuals, who are possessed of Property, to contribute towards the Preservation of that Property. But if these greedy Wretches partake of the Benefits of Society, the Society of which they are Members has the strongest Claim to a Share of those Profits, which are secured to them by its Clemency and Form of Government.

Complaints in the Language of a distressed People.

THERE is no Country, under Heaven, where the Necessaries of Life are taxed so heavily, and so much to the Disadvantage of Trade as ours. Salt, that gives a grateful Flavor to our homely Food, and prevents the Putridity of our Juices; Soap, without which Cleanliness and Health can neither be secured or preserved; Candles, that supply us with Light when the Sun has quitted our Hemisphere; nay even this glorious Luminary, which the bountiful God of Nature has bestowed upon all Men indiscriminately; Malt, and the Liquids extracted from it, which are the salutiferous Vehicles of our different Aliments; Coals, that defend us from the terrible Effects of severe and inclement Seasons, and prepare the various Meats and Drinks for the Gratification of our Appetites, for our Nourishment, and the Support of our Lives; Leather for our Shoes and Gloves, without which we should awkwardly and very ineffectually perform many of the Offices that so eminently contribute towards rendering Life comfortable and happy. All these essential Necessaries are loaded with heavy Taxes; the Gathering of which, and the
 many

many Taxes, Duties and Excises, are attended with a vast Expence. Evils these of a very dreadful Nature, and the Authors of them are still the more unpardonable, especially if it be true, that many of these Offices are Appointments made by former M—s with the scandalous Design of strengthening their Interest by multiplying the Number of their abject, dependent Creatures. I can think of no Epithet but what must describe the Guilt of these * Monsters in too favourable a Light. Wherever Places are thus calculated to promote private and selfish Views, the true Interest of such a Country will ever be neglected. Venal, mercenary Wretches will grow rich and live in an ignominious Splendor, whilst, at the same Time, the Honest and Industrious are reduced to a State of Vassalage and Slavery; the public Credit fails, and the Nation falls a Sacrifice.

THERE are many more Taxes of which I shall make no mention. But before I have done with this Subject there is one Tax, which must not escape unnoticed. Is there a Country in the World, besides *Great-Britain*, that
 C 2 taxes

* Are there not Contractors, &c. &c. for furnishing the Navy with Provisions, tho' there is a Board of Commissioners with good Salaries appointed for that, and no other Purpose?

taxes every Kind of Grain? But a Bounty upon exported Corn is the worst Kind of Tax. It makes Bread, which, by a Sublimity of Expression, is called *the Staff of Life*, a dear and scarce Commodity to our own People, and a cheap and plentiful one to Foreigners. If this Island was a Province to some more powerful Kingdom, the Conqueror could not impose a severer Law upon us. The Language of his Edict would be to this Purpose. *Till and sow the Ground; reap and thresh your Corn in Safety. We only desire to eat Bread made of this Corn, and to drink the Liquors extracted from it, upon cheaper Terms than you do. These, and these only are the Fruits, which we expect from our Conquests.* Such an Edict may at first Sight appear very mild and gentle; but must end in the Destruction of the Conquered Country.*

IN former Reigns Proclamations have been issued to empower Commissioners to purchase Corn for public Magazines, when Wheat fell below Sixteen Shillings a Comb, Rye below nine, and Barley below eight.

* "When we see a Government," says the celebrated *Roussau*, "pay Duties instead of receiving them, for the Exportation of Corn in plentiful Years, and likewise for its Importation in Years of Scarcity, it is necessary to be an Eye-witness to such Facts, to give Credit to them; and we should regard them as Lies, if related of antient Times."

eight. There are several Countries in* *Europe* that have Granaries erected for the same Purpose. If at the same Time the Subjects have free Power to send their Corn to what Market they please, whether Abroad or at Home, these Public Store-houses will infallibly have their Use. But to give a Bounty to raise the Price of Corn to our own People, and to make it cheaper to those of other Countries is peculiar to the *English* System of Laws and Policy, and is, even of these Laws, the most extraordinary.

It may be objected by those, who have not accustomed themselves to think upon the Subject of Trade, *that Corn would be a Glut, and could never be exported, if the Bounty was taken off.* To which I answer, as Corn would be considerably cheaper, the Price of Labour would be greatly reduced. By which Means the Farmers would carry on their Improvements upon easier Terms, and with greater Spirit, and consequently grow greater Quantities of the different Sorts of Grain. But if we should grow greater Quantities of Corn, our Quantity of Exported Corn would be proportionably greater. For the Quantity of every Manufacture that is exported, will be greater

* "The Granaries established at *Genoa* become a Public Resource in bad Years, we read in the Front of the Edifice this just and beautiful Inscription—*Alit et ditat.*"

greater or less in Proportion to the Plenty or Scarceness of that Commodity. As therefore the Quantity of Exported Corn will be much more considerable, upon taking off the Bounty, I hope our Superiors will immediately take off that Tax, of all others the most prejudicial to the true Interest of Trade and our Country. But there is another Act of Parliament, of which if I was to take no Notice, I should greatly betray my Ignorance with Regard to Farming and the true Interest of this Nation. 'Tis impossible to grow Corn without Manure; and the Quantity of Manure will ever be proportionable to the Number of Cattle. But the Act to which I refer prevents the Importation of great Cattle, &c. and deems it a Public Nuisance. I am not able, to any great Degree of Exactness, to ascertain the Number of Bullocks brought annually out of *Wales* and *Scotland* into the different Counties of *England*. Let us lay them upon an Average, at Sixty-Thousand. If a Law however, was passed to prohibit the *Welsh* and *Scotch* from driving that Number of Cattle into *England*, our Markets could not be supplied with Meat but upon very dear Terms. Experience has proved beyond Contradiction, that the Act to prevent the Importation of Black Cattle from *Ireland*, has done this Island an irreparable Detri-
ment.

ment. Our Ships of War are sometimes, and the *West-india-men* that sail from our Western Parts, are almost always victualled at *Cork*, where Eighty-thousand Heads of Cattle have been slaughtered annually, for several Years.* If that Act was repealed, and free Liberty given to all Foreigners to land and expose their Cattle to Sale in this Kingdom, the Advantages arising from so general a Toleration would be great and numerous. Animal Food of every Sort would be much cheaper than it has been for many Years; The Farmer would be enabled to improve and enrich his Lands, and of Consequence to grow much greater Quantities of Corn. And the five Millions, in common with their Fellow-subjects, would be furnished with Provisions of every Kind, with Shoes, Soap, Candles, and the other Necessaries of Life upon cheap and easy Terms. *Great-Britain* would become the Granary, would become the General Mart, and the Envy of the whole World.

I cannot forbear, in this Place, to express my Astonishment and Concern at the Neglect

* And what a Detriment is it to *Great-Britain*, that our inveterate Enemies the *French*, should be supplied at this Market with Beef and other Provisions upon such easy Terms?

lect with which this divine Science of Farming, is treated.

HUSBANDRY and Agriculture* were formerly the Study of Heroes, of Statesmen and of Kings. And if our Nobility and Gentry would turn their Thoughts this Way, and instead of training up Horfes, at an extravagant Expence, for *Newmarket*, and other such Places of Rendezvous, where nothing is to be learnt but *Gambling and a total Dissolution of Manners*, would inform themselves about the best Methods of Farming, and would then reduce that Knowledge into Practice by improving their own Estates, and by encouraging their Tenants and Neighbours to follow their Examples, they could not fail of greatly enriching themselves, and of doing their Country a most essential Service. They would secure the Esteem and best Wishes of every Individual, who reaped any Benefit from their Example.

THERE are few Men, who are not pleased with the Approbation and favourable Opinion of all those who have any Knowledge of them. Nor are they to blame for desiring it:
And

* *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est Agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero dignius. Tull. de off.*

And if they use the best Endeavours to promote the Happiness of their Fellow-creatures, as one of the principal Means prescribed by the Duty to secure their own, they will deserve, and infallibly gain the Love of all, and, which is superior to all other Considerations, the Approbation of their own Minds and his Favor, whose Friendship we can never forfeit but by our own Misconduct. Though so many Objections have been urged with great Strength of Reason against Patents, exclusive Companies, and Monopolies; though so many sensible Arguments have been offered in Favor of a free Trade, yet it would be considered as a palpable Omission, if I did not in this Place, remind our G——s of the Expediency of annulling all Monopolies,

THE Experience of former Reigns, as well as the present, points out their destructive Tendencies, No sooner did the Parliament, in the Reign of *James the 1st*, annul the Patent of the *Spanish Company*, but the Trade to *Spain* became the most considerable in the Kingdom. All other Trades, whenever they have been laid open, have increased in the same Manner. Witness the Trade to *Germany* and that to *Africa*. Our Trade, upon the other Hand, to all the
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Countries, where it is carried on by Exclusive Companies, loses Ground.

WHERE there is a free and open Trade, private Adventurers, having many Rivals, will vend their Goods at a foreign Market, as cheap as possible. But the cheaper they sell, the greater will be the Demand for their Commodities; and the greater the Demand, the greater the Advantage to the Public. They will also sell the Goods they bring back, in lieu of their Exports, upon the cheapest Terms imaginable. When Trade is founded upon these rational and just Principles, the gains of the Individuals, who carry it on, will make them useful to the World, and happy to themselves.

THE very Reverse of this Reasoning is true with Regard to the Monopolists. As they have no Rivals they will sell at immense Profits. But though they amass great Riches to themselves, they impoverish their Fellow-subjects, and will be the speedy, not to say the principal Causes of their Country's Ruin.

THE great Oracle of the Law of *England*, gives the Sense of *Magna Charta* about them in the following Words. It signifieth the Freedom

Freedom the Subjects of *England* have. For Example, the Company of Merchant Taylors of *England* having Power by their Charter to make Ordinances, made an Ordinance, that every Brother of the same Society, should put the one half of his Cloths to be dressed by some Cloth-workers, free of the same Company, upon Pain to forfeit ten Shillings, &c. And it was adjudged that this Ordinance was against Law, because it was against the Liberty of the Subject: For every Subject hath Freedom to put his Cloths to be dressed by whom he will, & sic de similibus. And so it is, if such, or the like Grant had been made by his Letters Patent. So likewise, and for the same Reason, if a Grant be made to any one to have sole making of Cards, or the sole Dealing with any other Trade, that Grant is against the Liberty and Freedom of the Subject, that before did, or lawfully might have used that Trade, and consequently against this great Charter. And all *Monopolies* are against this great Charter, because they are against the Liberty and Freedom of the Subject, and against the Law of the Land.

I will here take upon me to add that the Sway of the most despotic Powers cannot possibly take off the Guilt of depriving Subjects

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jects of this natural Liberty or Freedom. 'Tis to seize by Violence that which they have no Right. 'Tis an Act of the most flagrant Injustice; 'tis an Extortion of the basest Kind. Such Treatment does Dishonor to human Nature; causes Disorders that are essentially immoral; obstructs the Welfare of Society, and produces Anarchy and Confusion and all the other Train of Evils. 'Tis utterly abhorrent from the Laws of Nature; 'tis entirely repugnant to the Laws of God.

If you pay a due Regard to this fair Representation of our Case; if you take proper Measures, and put Things upon a natural and right Footing, the State of our Affairs will soon assume a new and more agreeable Face. Having in the Course of this Representation of the deplorable Case of the Kingdom, alluded to several Laws that greatly distress us, I beg leave to make one general Observation upon Laws.

It has long been a received Opinion that a * Multiplicity of Laws, and a general Corruption of Manners are inseparable.† But if there is any Country in the World, whose Laws have

* Παρὸς πλεονομοῦς κ' δικαί: παρα τοῦτοσ' κ' βονὲ Νοχθῆρος.

† "The more Laws are multiplied, the more contemptible they become. To add Edict to Edict, Regulation to Regulation serves only to introduce fresh Abuses."

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have swelled to an incredible Number of Folio Volumes, and are most of them formed to perplex and involve the Inhabitants in Difficulties, the Legislature cannot do that Country a more signal Service, than by retrenching its superfluous Laws, and retaining those only that are founded upon the Nature and Relation of Things, and are conducive to the Happiness of Society. Since the Morals of every People are fashioned by their Laws, all Law-givers should model their Laws in the most perfect Manner, so that they may secure the Freedom and Liberty of the Individuals, upon which the Safety and Honour of the Kingdom depend. "If Legislators would
" make Individuals obedient to the Laws of
" their Country, the Laws should be calculated to make them wise and happy; and
" when Men have once seen the Rectitude
" and Utility of the Laws, they will soon
" see the Necessity of loving and obeying
" them."

I HAVE often smiled to hear ignorant and pert Declaimers harangue upon the Excellency of our L—s, the very Abridgment of which will consist of upwards of twenty Volumes. Whether one Volume, of the Size of the King of Prussia's Code, would not much better answer the End, I submit to the Judgment

ment of our Superiors. I will, however, presume to assert, that a summary and more natural Method might, with great Ease, and much to the Emolument of the Public, be taken for the Recovery of Small Debts, and the adjusting of Differences between Neighbours. Suppose Five or Six Persons of Worth and Integrity were elected out of every Hundred, and that each of the Parties at Variance should by Law be obliged to fix upon Two of these as the Patrons to whom the Decision of the Affair should be submitted. Whatever Quarrels or Disputes could not be accommodated by these Patrons should by them be referred to a Third Person, by whose Opinion the Parties contending should be determined. The Patrons, if this Opinion should not be satisfactory to them, should be at Liberty to draw up, and lay a true Representation of the Case, without Fee or Reward, Favour or Affection, before his Majesty's Justices of the Peace at the Quarter Sessions next ensuing. If the Justices should unanimously approve of the Sentence of the Umpire, all Parties should acquiesce in this Sentence. If not, there might still be an Appeal from these inferior Courts to those superior Ones, superintended by the Judges of the respective Circuit. If all litigious Cases were thus fairly represented, were they amicably ended, without the Interposition

position of those Pests of Society, the Attornies, * private Property would be secured, Peace and Harmony restored.—Numbers of Families would be preserved from Ruin; our Morals would be more correct, not to say refined,—our Religion would be revered and practiced. In former Times it was not an uncommon Thing for the General of an Army, or the Admiral of a Fleet, to consider the Praises and Acclamations, the Love and Esteem of his Fellow-Subjects, as the greatest Rewards that could be conferred upon him for the eminent Services he had done his Country. The Treasure, how considerable soever, which he acquired by the Dint of his victorious Arm, he generously gave to defray the Expences of the War, and to lessen the Weight of Taxes.—To mention but one Instance—*P. Æmilius*, out of the Spoils taken from *Perseus*, carried into the Public Treasury such immense Sums of Gold and Silver, that the *Romans* enjoyed an entire Exemption from Taxes for a long Course of Years.

* The Gentlemen of this Profession are supposed to be 40000. They do not squeeze and extort less out of their Fellow-Subjects, than 200 *l.* a Year each upon a Medium. How to save 8000,000 *l.* to the Industrious, and at the same Time, to promote greater Degrees of Good-neighbourhood and Unanimity, ought not to be considered as a trifling Inquiry. Besides, these very 40000 might then employ themselves so as to be eminently serviceable to all Ranks of People.

Years. And one of the greatest Writers of Antiquity pays him this just and fine Compliment upon the Occasion.—*But he carried nothing into his own House, except immortal Glory.**

IF our wise Laws † did not countenance and encourage a Practice diametrically opposite, we might, even in this degenerate Age, meet with some Instances of the like Disinterestedness. Nay, we have met with them; and therefore I cannot conclude this Pamphlet without expressing, with the warmest Gratitude, my high Approbation of the generous and disinterested Intention of some truly honourable Personages, who have proposed, in a very august Assembly, to discharge, during the Time of War, the Duties of their respective Appointments under the Government without any pecuniary Reward whatever. I ardently wish that our General Officers, both by Sea and Land, may be inspired with

* *At hic nihil Domum suam præter Memoriam Nominis immortalem detulit.* Tull. de Off.

† So long as all the Merchant-Ships, that our Men of War can take, are adjudged the Property of the Captors, is it ever to be expected that the Commanders of the King's Ships will exert themselves to distress the Enemy, by engaging their Ships of War? No! Whilst Laws are calculated; whilst Bounties are given to promote private and selfish Views, the Interests of the Community will ever be neglected. And tho' a few Individuals amass great Riches, and purchase to themselves whole Countries; yet the Public Credit must fail, and the Nation fall a Sacrifice.

with the same glorious Resolution. The Nobility and Gentry, who aspire after Dignities; who take upon them the Command of our Fleets and Armies, should consider that Places of Trust will never be Places of Honor, unless they are filled up by Men of Integrity and conscious Worth: They should never climb up to Posts of Eminence, to gratify the Ends of Pride, Covetousness and Ambition, but with the noble and generous Design of asserting the Rights and Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects, restoring their Country's Glory. And to excite them to heroic Actions and great Exploits, one may presume to assure them that Courage and Application, distinguished Merit and the Love of their Country, and not Parliamentary Interests or Regards that are inconsistent with the Welfare of the Public, will most effectually recommend them to the Notice and Favor of our August Sovereign and his illustrious Minister, and secure to them the Love and Gratitude, the Affection and Esteem of their Country. And if they are conscious that they have deserved these strongest and most desirable Proofs of Approbation, they will enjoy a Pleasure not to be expressed, and Sensations more exquisite, delightful and refined than what can arise from most other Considerations.

But the Counsels of the ablest Statesmen may be infatuated, and the bravest Troops fighting under the Direction of the most experienced Commanders may be defeated, unless We secure to Ourselves the Protection of Heaven.

(34)

The Aids of Providence are the most considerable Causes of Victory. But these Aids and Assistances are poured upon Mankind according to their moral Dispositions. Five, who keep the Statutes of the Lord, shall chase a Hundred; and a Hundred shall put Ten Thousand to Flight. If then we would have our Counsels directed by the Spirit of Wisdom, and our Forces, by Sea or Land, inspired with Valor, Fortitude, and Prudence, let our Conduct approve itself to him, who is the Giver of all Victory,

If we would entertain rational Hopes of the Divine Favor and Assistance, if we would be victorious over our Enemies, and would procure to ourselves the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, we must be victorious over ourselves; we must abandon our Vices; we must season our Hearts with a just Sense of religious Truths, and offer to God the Sacrifice of a good Life. This will fight more for us than all our Fleets and Armies. Let our Lives then correspond with the Faith we publickly profess, and God will save us from our Enemies, and once more, render us a flourishing, formidable and happy People.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 9, Line 3, *for unrewarded, read unwearied.*
 p. 10, l. 11, *for ferœ recusant, read ferre recusent.*
 p. 12, l. 11, *for more, read mere.*---p. 15, l. 14, *for the labour, read they labour.*---p. 19, l. 1, *for many Taxes, read many other Taxes.*---p. 23, l. 3, *for Parts, read Ports.*---p. 25, l. 4, *for Duty, read Deity.*