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ESSAYS  
ON  
TRADE  
AND  
*Navigation.*  
In FIVE PARTS.

The first Part.

By SIR FRANCIS BREWSTER, K<sup>t</sup>.

LICENSED,

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THE  
P R E F A C E.

I Know no Subject that hath been more writ on, and worse handled, than that of Trade; nor is it to be wondred at, since it is the misfortune of that Mystery not to be in the hands of Philosophers, or men bred to the Liberal Sciences; but such whose Education hath been more in the Cantore, than Schools: And when men of finer Heads and Studies engage in it, they commonly make Flights as far above the genuine Meaning and Nature of Trade, as others that are better versed in it do cover and deface it with Incoherence and Lumber.

There is also another Disadvantage that Treatises of Trade and Navigation lye under, which other Studies and Employments are not liable unto; and that is, Trade being Universal in its Nature, but Particular in the Practice, one Merchant dealing for one part of the World, and perhaps a stranger to another, yet if he writes of Trade, cannot be confined unto his own Province, for that would be too narrow for a Discourse of Trade; and if he should keep within his Bounds, he may not be a proper Judge of that where he is a Party; and in discourse of his own Trade may interfere with that of his Neighbour, either by being ignorant of another's, or partial in his own concern: But it is not thus in  
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*other Professions ; The Divine is within his limits, not intermixt with the Lawyer, nor is He with the Physician ; yet each learned and qualified to expatiate on their own Studies ; and there being no part in any of the foregoing Arts practicable in matters of Trade, it seems to me a prejudice to Commerce, that so many trouble the world with their crude and undigested Notions in that which they understand not themselves ; nor can have any other effect, but disturbing men that are in their own Track and beaten Road of Traffick ; which is better for the Nation to have followed, than any particular Model of private men : And therefore I conceive a Council of Trade absolutely needful, where every man's Observation may be brought under a thorough Scrutiny, and out of all a Body of Trade composed.*

*Having said this, I may be thought to condemn my self in what I arraign in others ; nor do I undertake to be quit of all I blame in others, my best defence being to claim the Privilege of being in the Crowd with the same Impunity others have allowed them ; and perhaps have something more to plead in my excuse than most men have, my Education and Practice in Trade having been for Thirty Years at Home and Abroad in a Universal Trade. I know of but Four Trades that I have not some way been concern'd in, the East-India, Turkey, Muscovy, and Green-land : And I must further say for my self, That in all I here treat of, it is with submission to better Judgments, not asserting my opinion in opposition to any other ; tho I confess*

*fess I cannot approve of many of those Prints on Trade which I have seen, except what Sir Josiah Child hath with great Judgment and more Perspicuity set forth, than any I ever saw.*

*What I design by the following Discourse, is not much more than an Introduction to the other Parts that shall succeed ; nor had this come forth alone, but that I have seen some things lately publish'd, that in my humble Opinion are no better than Libels on Trade ; and tho I affect not Controversies, and therefore do not name them, yet believe it may be useful to write another Sense on the same Things ; submitting both to the Censure of better Understandings.*

*I think it a mortal Distemper in Trade ( nor to be cured because in the first Concoction ), That we have so few men of University-Learning conversant in true Mercantine Employments : If there were as much care to have men of the best Heads and Education in it, as there is in the Laws, the Nation would fetch more from Abroad, and spend less in Law-Suits at Home. We have it reckoned up by the Infallible Author, as the Glory of a City, That her Merchants were Princes and Nobles ; their Business and Transactions in the world with such, is more than belongs to any other Set of men : Would it not then be the Honour of a Nation, as well as Profit, to have men of the best Sense and Learning in the Foreign Negoce of a Kingdom ? If such had been in the Trade of these Kingdoms, it seems reasonable to believe we had not lost the most considerable Navigating Trade and Employment of our Seamen.*

*It would be an astonishing Observation to men of any Countrey but our own, to see more Heads employed in Westminster-Hall to divide the Gain of the Nation, than there are Hands on the Exchange to gather it together. I have sometimes thought, that if these Kingdoms lay not under the confusion and unintelligibleness of Understanding in Trade, as the Builders of Babel did in Languages, we might without the Sin of those arrogant Architects, erect such Towers in Trade as might overtop the Universe in that Mystery. We see how all Arts and Sciences have been improved in this Kingdom within the compass of one Century, but amongst them all, the Merchants Part the least; and the reason is plain, men of small Learning and moderate Understanding, are generally put in it: For tho there are some of excellent Parts and clean Heads among them, yet the Major Part are not so polished: I speak not this to abate the Respect that I shall always think is due to the Profession, and all men in it; but we know it is the Vanity of the Nation: Scarce a Tradesman but if he have a Son that a Countrey Schoolmaster tells him would make a Scholar, because he learns his Grammar well, but immediately passes the approbation of his Kindred, who judge it pity so hopeful a Youth should be lost in Trade; the University is the only Soil fit for him to be planted in.*

*By such disposition of the Youth of our Nation, many a good Tradesman is lost, and poor Scholars in every respect made; and if this Humour prevail in Mechanicks, and men of ordinary Quality; much more, and with better Pretensions, it affects our Gentry; to be sure the Eldest Son is above Trade,*  
and

*and if the Younger be of a Quaint and Studious Temper, they are thought fit for the Law, not many for the Pulpit, which I confess I likewise think a Mistake in our Gentry: Had we more of Them in the Clergy, we should have fewer to despise, that might be better Builders of Houses than of the Church.*

*But to return to what I observe of the Improvement in all the Employments in the Kingdom, I see none that have arrived to that vast Increase as those in the Law: This perhaps is accounted an evil; but I will not quarrel with that Long-Robe; I hope it will be no offence to wish them among us, but not with their Bar-Gowns; they would in my opinion look better in a Counting-house than in the Temple; and had the Humour of our Ancestors run that way, as much as it did for the Law, there might have been as great an Enlargement in Maritime Traffick and Navigation, as there is now of the Laws: I presume none will say, that they began with equal Numbers; Trade had the Primogeniture, and set forth with the Employment of the People, before there could be work for Lawyers; and I believe those of best value amongst them do not think their Growth and Gain contributes to either in the Advantage of the Nation; tho without the Profession there can be no securing Property; but perhaps the Numbers make more work than there would be if they were less. Hamburgh, tho a Place of great Trade, allows but Two: And tho our Foreign Plantations are fill'd with men of no better Principles than they leave behind them, yet they have few among them who raise their Fortunes by the Law; for which no reason can*  
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be given, but that there is not a Foundation and Nursery for that Profession to breed up Men of Learning and Ingenuity in.

I have been the longer on this Subject, because there seems to me an Expedient in this matter; and that is, To make such Provision for Noblemen and Gentlemens Children, as may be equally reputable with the Inns of Court, for young Gentlemen to come to from the Universities, and with less Charge than their Expence in Seven Years studying the Law, become expert in Trade.

To be thus managed: In each Maritime City and considerable Port of the Kingdom, to have a College built, in which there may be some Persons of Experience in Trade, to teach and direct in the Mystery of it, to all Parts of the World: And that they may have the Practick, as well as Theory, That every Person entring himself into the Society, may be obliged to bring in a Thousand Pounds Stock, which will make a Capital perhaps of 20 or 30000 l. Sterl. to Traffick with in Thirty Cities, &c. in the Kingdom: They to be obliged to spend Five Years in this Society, and at the end of that Term to receive the Principal they brought, allowing the Casualty of Profit and Loss, as it happens: Going thus out, they will be entred in Trade, and probably have a Fund to begin with; and by this means Trade will fall into the hands of Gentlemen, Persons of Learning and Consideration in the Nation; and likewise preserve from misfortunes numbers that now miscarry in their Studies of the Law, thorough Ill Conversation, and having no Employments.

To

To this Project ( a Word now traduced to contempt, tho in its self of good signification both for Peace and War ) I foresee two Objections that will be made against it; and they are these:

First, This will make too many Merchans.

Secondly, That this will leave no room for Younger Brothers, that have nothing to prefer them in the world, but a small Sum to put them Prentice to a Merchant, by which they often raise their Fortunes in the World.

To the First I answer, That the evil of having too many Merchants, is in the Numbers that are bred up from Apprentices; many of which coming into Business without Funds, strain their Credit, which to keep above water they are forced to venture at all ways that have but a Probability of Success, to keep themselves in Business; and then to comply with their Credit often sell to loss, which in the end brings them to Misfortune, and that begets an Opinion that there are too many Traders; whereas the true reason is the Want of Stock, not Number of Merchants.

The second Objection, That this will hinder Merchants from taking Apprentices, is in part answered in the first, that their Number prejudice Trade: But there is a farther Consideration in this matter, and that is, Two sort of Youths stand Candidate for a Mercantine Education, Gentlemen with a Capital, others of less Quality with none. I think it will admit of no question which shall be preferr'd; and that the other may be more profitably employ'd for the Nation and themselves, in Trades that require more Labour and less Stock.

But

But after all I have said, my Wishes are greater than my Expectation, to see Trade thus courted in a Kingdom that treats it as some do their Wives, considering them no farther than to the Production of a Legitimate Posterity, reserving their Caresses and Delights for a Miss; so the Humour of this Age seems to incline, whilst Foreign Commerce is neglected, and mens Thoughts and Designs run after Offices and Employments in the State; to pay which, Spider-like, the Nation spins out her Bowels to catch Flies; and the Simile goes farther, such Food turns into Poison, where it feeds men faulty in their Morals; and such too often supplant better men, or find ways to be preferr'd before them: To say this, will be no Offence to deserving men; and for others, I shall only desire them to suspend their Resentments until the Second Part comes forth, and then they will have more reason, because it will come in my way to be more particular, when I come to speak of the Trade of Ireland; in which there hath of late been such Notorious Demonstrations how Ill Men in Offices and Places of Trust may ruin and destroy a Kingdom, as admits of no Defence. I have for this, the Authority of Both Houses of Parliament in their Addresses to the King: And the Infallible Author tells us, That he who saith to the wicked, Thou art righteous, the people will curse, Nations shall abhor him.

What I have said in the following Discourse, relating to Trade and Navigation we have lost, is not with prejudice to our Neighbours, who by their Industry and better Conduct have gained what we by supine Negligence and destructive Impositions on Mer-

Merchandise have lost; nor do I think it Christian or Human by Club-Law to take that from another Nation which God hath made common for every Nation to participate of, as they can entitle themselves by the most early and beneficial Methods in Commerce. The Dutch lye most in our way in this Controversy; but the Sea is wide enough for us both if we agree, but too narrow if we quarrel, for then we shall be apt to jostle. How malicious it looks, I will not say, but to me it seems scandalous, to quarrel with men for their Industry; Envy is the Offspring of Ignorance and Sloth, and is an evil quality in a people, tho it carries them not so far as to do others hurt, if it prevails with themselves to do nothing; but as I am not for beating a Traveller for being better mounted than my self, and so making his Journey easier and sooner than I can, yet I should stop his Career if he broke through my Fence, or grazed on my Ground, or made it his Road. In some cases it is so with Trade and Navigation; among others, that of New-found-land is the Property of the Imperial Crown of England; and the French have no more Right to fish there, than in the River of Thames: This Nation was the first that ever threw a Hook and Line in those Seas; and tho there is no Land-marks above Water for the Bank of New-found-land, (it lying out of sight of the shore) yet there is under Water, from the first Soundings, and so far this Nation hath a Property; and we may now, if ever, hope to have it asserted, since we have a King who hath put a stop to that Towering Monarch who knew no Bounds before: And there seems good grounds to believe,

## The Preface.

believe, That if we are not wanting to Him who exposeth His Royal Person so far for us, That the French King must soon retire into his own Limits. But upon Discourse of this nature I have been answered, When it was so, and the War over, then, and not before, was a proper time to treat of Trade: I have mentioned something of this in the following Sheets, and therefore shall say the less now; yet cannot omit that which stares us in the face, The Neglect of Trade in time of War drives many out of the Kingdom who will never return: It is observed so at this time of Ireland; Thousands are come away since the Reduction of that unfortunate Kingdom; that endured the whole brunt of the War, and are not now in fear of the Irish, but are reduced to Beggary by Idleness, for want of Trade and Employment that they formerly had; the consequence of which is easy to be read, and how it will reach us at last; but we are a People that neither Fire, Sword, Plague, or Famine can work upon. He that silently laments, doats; and he that complains of our independent Misfortunes, is mad; a Character now more in use than ever in this Nation, and found very useful for covering some mens actions: I speak not this as having a Talent for, or desire to be in Publick Employment; I never was in any: That which I believe would satisfy all men of Trade and Commerce, I am sure it would me, is the Motion of a Parliament-Man of Liverpoole, which we find in Story; That a Bill being brought into the House which bore hard on the Commons, in Trials for Life and Death of the Lords, the honest man of Liverpoole stood up and said, Since he saw the

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the House were for passing that Bill, he gave his Assent also; provided there might be this Exception in the Act, That no Lord should kill either him, his Wife Joan, Son Tom, or any of the good Town of Liverpoole for which he served. So say I, Since the Nation are contented that the Publick Treasure should be shared among Offices and Employments, Merchants and Seamen, &c. are content, so that they in the Management will give Security and Encouragement for Trade, which pays them all; but they are not wise to themselves that let Trade run from them, whilst they are warring to secure it; our Neighbours do not so.

Our improvidence in this matter is to our great Reproach, since we are under the Blessing of such a Government as this Nation never had but once before: And it is not to be forgotten, that in that Reign, tho encompassed with Wars, there was more done in the advancement of Trade and Navigation than ever was done before: We have taken care to lose much of it since; but we have now a King that denies us nothing we ask for the good of the Nation; and where any thing is entire in himself (and it is well some things are so) we find it, There never was Better or Greater Men in the Church and on the Bench; which is sufficient demonstration, that where we are unhappy, it is by our own Recommendation and Parties. The Filth of the last Reign still sticks about us; from which Time will, I hope, relieve the King and Us.

THE

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ON



ON  
Trade in General.

THESE Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, differ from most parts of the World, in that of their Strength, as they do in that of their Scituation, and Aptness for Trade.

Their Scituation gives them the Preferrance of the most Valuable Trade in the World, which must pass their Doors before it comes to their Neighbours ; and as they are happy in their Scituation, so are they as Superiour to other Countreys in their Native Growth and Production for Commerce ; as Rich Soyl is to that which is Barren ; these Kingdoms producing Trade as some Land doth Fruit , without Art or Labour, when other Countries like forced Ground raise their Trade by Assiduity in both : And such a People are more to be feared, than those that abound with the Blessings of Nature, but want that of Industry ; we need go no further than the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* for Demonstration.

The Danger that hath been impendent over us for more than Thirty Years in this of our Trade, is from the *French* ; and in Truth no Nation in the World can so well contest it with *England* as they can ;

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can; and therefore it seems reasonable to consider them in this as much as we do in that of their Armes; and perhaps they may be found laying a Foundation in War to enlarge their Trade and Navigation, and we at the same time declining in both.

That these Kingdoms cannot be safe under the Growth of *France* none will deny, and that it is safer for *England* to meet them in *Flanders* than here; but if the Advance Guards should be only consider'd, and the Main Body neglected, the consequence might be fear'd.

*Our Naval Force is thought the Main Body and Strength of the Nation:* Now though large Supplies in Parliament are absolutely necessary for that use, yet there is something else wanting to make us formidable at Sea, and that is *Marine Trade and Navigation*, which like Food to the Body must be dayly renewed, or else our Naval Strength will decay. *And although perhaps it is not consider'd, yet the want of Seamen for our Navigation and Trade in time of Naval War, Impoverisheth the Nation more than the Charge of the War.*

There goes many Threads to make up the Webb of Trade, too fine for every eye to see; and among others the Cheap Navigating Ships is one: Now our want of Seamen obligeth Merchants to advance their Wages, and that gives Advantage to our Neighbours in carrying Commodities cheaper to a Market than we can, and consequently makes them the Carriers of our Produce and Manufactory; which is the only certain Gain in Trade. Merchants often loose when a Ship Arrives safe in Port, but Seamen have their full Wages. There

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There is also another Prejudice and Loss to the Nation, and that is carrying Money out by Foreign Seamen that are imployed in our Merchant-Men,  $\frac{1}{7}$  being allowed by the Act of Navigation; which might have been thought the only mistake in that Act, if the Consideration of our not having sufficient for our Ships had not produced that Liberty.

As Naval War abates the number of our Seamen, so it increaseth those of the *French*; for that they imploy more Seamen in their Privateers, than they do in time of Peace in Merchant-Men: And as this affects us in War, so it may reasonably be fear'd it will in time of Peace; *For having so many Seamen made to their hands, will naturally put them upon enlarging their Navigation; to which they will be the more encouraged by our want of Men to supply ours, which they will soon fall into.*

And the Abating of our *Marine* Imployments hath a worse Consequence than the Loss of our Trade; for that it seems the most effectual way to lay us open to the Invasion of the *French*, which we are no longer secure from, than whilst we Command the Sea; And if we find the *French* alone able to contend with us and the *Dutch* United, what might they not do if they should be assisted with other helps, and we left single to oppose them, *There are more ways than one to bring such a Revolution in Europe:* And therefore it seems of the greatest moment for this Nation, to provide in their Naval Force, as if they were left to their own defence against the Power of more than the *French* at Sea: It is, no doubt, the Interest of *England*

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gland to support the *Dutch*, and it is hoped we shall never be divided. But that Kingdom is in an ill Condition that cannot secure its self without the Force of its Allies

Such Reflections as these may not be improper in this Age, *They were thought necessary in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when she question'd the French of Building a Ship of War but of Fourteen Guns.*

And since they are now above such Demands, and that we cannot restrain them, it seems necessary for us to increase our own; and that is not possible to be done any other way than by Improving our Navigation, and enlarging our Trade, *without which we may fight for the Sovereignty of the Sea until we have lost the use of it.* If Account were taken of those several Trades that this Nation hath in a manner totally lost since the Reign of *James the First*, it might open those Eyes that are alwayes shut to that which is the Strength and Riches of this Nation, as Navigation is.

There were many Thousand Seamen formerly employed, where for late years we have few or none, as the *Greenland*, and *Muscovy* Trade lost; that of the *North-Seas*, and *Newfound-Land*, little better; most of our *Eastland-Trades* managed by Foreign Ships; and so the Trade of *Ireland*; the neglect of which in that point, as well as some others, may be found when it is too late of pernicious Consequence to *England*.

These are Trades we lost to the *French*, and *Northern* Navigation, in time of Peace; and this War hath brought on the Stage the *Portugese*, a Nation we least fear'd; yet under this cover, we may very well loose great part of our *Southern* Trade.

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*Trade.* We formerly employed our Ships in their *Brazil* and other Trades, and now we are forced to employ theirs; not only because of their being Free Ships, *but also because we cannot get Seamen to Navigate our own Ships.*

By Accidents of War, Trade often shifts from one Nation to another, and some will stick behind after the War is ended; for that Seamen and Merchants rest where they find most Incouragement; and wherever they come they are made wellcom, and when the benefit they bring to the Countrey they Trade in is observed, they will not want Incouragement to stay there: There never was a fairer opportunity, if the *Portuguese* make use of the Introduction this War hath given them; to make *Lisbon* the Mart for Trade, and Navigation in the *Western* and *Levant* Trade: It is a mistake to think that Navigation and *Marine* Employments can have no growth where the Natives are not Numerous and Apt for the Sea.

Trade is best Improved by good Laws, and Incouragement for Strangers; where such are together with a Scituation for Trade, that place will be crowded; and so would *Lisbon* and the *Portuguese Ports* if it were not for the *Inquisition*; but it is believed the Rigour of that will be Abated now they have tasted the sweets of Trade. All these things make against us, and though little consider'd, bodes ill for these Kingdoms; if some extraordinary, and speedy Resolutions be not taken to regain our *Navigation* and *Sea-Employments*, this Nation will fall under some Foreign Power. It is easie to read our Destiny, nor will it be like a Conquest on a Continent; *One Day at Sea may determine*

determine the Fate of these Kingdoms; and if we have no Fund or Nursery for Seamen in Proportion to the French, and others about us, what can be expected.

That which I humbly conceive the most visible Means to preserve these Kingdoms in their Trade and Navigation, and nothing but that can provide for their Naval Force, is the setting up a National Bank: This now on foot is too little, and yet too bigg; the first because it promotes nothing of our Navigation, but on the contrary may be fear'd to Destroy it, by that Tax on Shipping; but I have left my Bank; which as I conceive too little for the reason I mention'd, so I think it too big because it will Ingross the Money, and consequently the Trade of the Nation, into one City; and will draw from all Parts of the Kingdom those little Sums that do now in great measure support the Manufactoryes of the Nation.

When there was no place where Money could be lodg'd at Interest for a Day; it was easie for Industrious Men to borrow from their Neighbours; and by that means our Manufactoryes were made Plenty and Cheap; but now a little time will shew they can be neither: But of this I have writ my thoughts a part.

The Bank that I conceive would be useful in this Nation, must be of such Universal Extent, that every Person in the Kingdom may be concern'd in it, and that every corner in the Kingdom shall partake of the Streams that run from it: That out of this Bank there may be Provision for Ships and Seamen.

That those Trades before-mentioned, that we have

have lost may be retrieved; and such Methods laid down as may incourage that Navigation which imployes most Seamen, as the Fishing, &c.

To Establish this Bank will require great Consideration, for that as it may be Constituted, the Trade and Treasure of this Nation will be very much increas'd; all the Poor and now Uselels hands Employed, not a Beggar in the Streets: And since England wants nothing so much as People, One way to supply that defect, is to increase your work for them you have: And so one Man may be better than two, as to the Riches of the Nation.

And the full Employments of the Hands we have is the only way to get more; but to invite Strangers into a Kingdom, where the Taxes for the Poor amount to more than the Revenue of some of the Neighbouring Countreys, shews we consider Trade as wise Men do Play, for Diversion, not Business; and in that Delusion may be read the Ruine of these Nations.

Of Naturalizing and Incouraging Foreign Protestants.

IT is observed that though there is no part in the Universe so streightned, and filled with Inhabitants as the United Provinces, yet there is no Government that gives such Incouragement to Invite in more: They make their Country as God hath the Air, every Mans Property that Breathes in it; and equally in the Power of a Man to be a

*Denison*, or a *Tenant*, a Burger as a Parishioner; the good Effect it hath in that Commonwealth needs no Illustration.

It may be supposed this Provident Oeconomy happen'd in that State, above any Government in *Europe*, by reason of their being of latter Date in their Establishment, and so saw the mistakes of their Neighbours; and on the other hand our Government deriving from Antiquated Laws, and Prescriptions, which according to the Experience of those times made Bullwarks against Strangers and Foreigners; believing they could never be secure of what they had in possession, or at Liberty to enlarge their Fortunes, if Strangers were allow'd the Freedom of Natives: *But in the Reign of Hen. 3. there was large Immunities given to the Easterlins*, then so called, to settle Trade in the Kingdom, which the *Steel-Yard* yet bears the Memory of, but that was but a particular and limited thing; the Old Laws and Prohibition of Naturalization still continued, and by it this Kingdom deprived of such Numbers as might have in some proportion fill'd those wastes that this fruitful Island hath now in it, for that it cannot be said to be one half Peopled.

There now seems a greater tendency in the Nation to remove those Bars that lie in the way of New-Comers by that Charitable Law for Liberty of Conscience, and as we owe great part of our *Woollen Manufactories* to the Blessed Memory of *Queen Elizabeth* receiving in the Persecuted Protestants from *Flanders*, whose Posterity are now become Natives, so may we the Inlarging of our Navigation, Fishing, and Numbers of our Inhabitants

bitants to this Reign, if Incouragement were given to Invite Protestants of all Nations to settle here with the same Security and Priviledge as Natives I will not determine whither the Limitation of Offices and Employments of Profit, may not be necessary to such as are not born in that Kingdom, but I think that would be no obstacle to such as are worth receiving for that Trade, and purchasing in that Kingdom must be the business of those as are supposed to be invited in, and ~~there~~ Posterity will be capable of Preferments in the Common-wealth, and the fewer there is of such, (I mean Places and Offices of Profit amongst us,) the better; we see it so in the *United Provinces*, where perchance there is not by Civil Employments so many Men Inriched as we have in one Parish. Where there is most Trade there is fewest Offices.

But to return to the Advantage of bringing in Foreigners, I presume Men of Real Estates do believe that it will advance the Rates of Lands by a greater Consumption of the Native Product.

And however some of our *Artizans* may mistake it, yet the most considerable of them allow that the Increase of Hands in labour improves and increases Manufactory, even in the very Expence of them that are added; one Man that Works may have five or six that only Eats and Wears.

And it is undeniable that if the Increase of hands abates the Price of Manufactoryes, it will enlarge their Exports and Expence at home; the Cheap making of Manufactories abroad is known to be the chief Cause of abating our Rent.

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The next Consideration is that of *Seamen*, to Increase them by Foreigners admits of no Objection since we are forced to make use of them at dear Rates, and they carry out our Money for their Wages. If Merchants will not complain at the bringing in and Naturalizing Foreign Seamen, for the Reasons before; so neither will our Seamen complain, for that the Increase of them will ease ours from the Press, when Foreigners are made as liable to it as they; whereas now they do our Seamen a double Injury, take their Employment in Merchant-men, and leave them no way of getting their Bread, but by Sailing in Men of War. There remains then only to be question'd the Prejudice Foreign Merchants may do to ours; for none deny but that they are an Advantage to all other Societies and Persons in the Nation by their Trade and Expence; but to our Merchants, some may say they are a hindrance; though I do not think any Merchant, that is truly so, will say it, they are not found so in *Amsterdam*; but Merchants there are pleas'd with their Numbers, and it is alwayes accounted a Misfortune, even by them that flay, to have Merchants quitt a Place.

There might be much more said, if it were wanting, to shew, That Naturalizing Foreign Merchants can be no Prejudice to Natives; but since it concerns Men of the best Sence and Knowledge in business, it is but waste of Time: They know Foreign Merchants abate not their Trade for want of Naturalization, but it is our advantage to have them brought under the Taxes and Offices of Charge in the Nation, as well as to have their Estates fixed in it.

Upon

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Upon the whole I submit to better Judgment, Whither the Treasure of the Nation <sup>be not</sup> in the Bodies of Men, which I take to be of the greatest Value.

The Wealth of the Nation by their Estates and their Support of the Government by bearing part of the charge of it, will not be advanced by the bringing Foreign Protestants into all the Privileges and Immunity of *English* Men, which it in time will make so. If we reflect on the Numbers lost in five years past, there may seem as much reason to recruit the Nation as the Army. Laws and Property hath always been the Language of our Nation, and much talk of securing them; this ought to be done, but there is something of greater Value that ought not to be left undone, which we hear not off; and that is, Provision for the Increase of Posterity, and Wayes to Invite in present Supplies. If this came once under Consideration of Parliament, I cannot but believe it would produce the best Statute this Nation ever saw.

#### *Of Providing for Foreign Protestants.*

AS I believe an Act of Naturalization would enlarge the Trade of this Nation, so would the planting Foreign Protestants in *Ireland*: And it seems but reasonable that this Nation should make some Advantage by that sink of their Blood and Treasure, which they never yet have done, but every Forty Years at most are put to the Expence of a New War: It is astonishing to reflect

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on the Story of that Kingdom; in which it is said there hath been above Fifteen Hundred Thousand *English* murdered in Fifty Two Rebellions: It would be but a reasonable and provident Consideration how to prevent such continual bleeding in that Kingdom for the future; But Matters of State is not the design of this Discourse; only where Trade must call to it for Aid, as in this case it seems to do, for the Government to give a hand to the planting that Kingdom, by which it may be profitable to this; and it can never be by lying waste, or being kept poor, which is a general Opinion amongst us; and I fear one of our most pernicious Mistakes in Trade, as it is point of our security, we should allow some Thoughts and Value for the Bodies of Men; and if we did so, there would not be such continued Slaughter in that Kingdom without producing one good Statute to secure that Countrey, as in reason it should be intirely to the obedience and disposition of this; the greatest part of the Land of that Kingdom is, or ought to be in the hands of our Brethren, and they sure will not be unwilling to give us the priviledge of governing it, especially when by it we preserve them, as by sending Foreign Protestants among them we should do: In private management we should think him Lunatick that would pursue one Method a thousand times over, though he had as constantly miscarried in it; that seems the Case of *Ireland*; it is vain to imagine that *British*, so I think they call the *English* and *Scotch* of *Ireland*, can ever ballance the *Irish*; it is said, the *Irish* are now above twenty to one at this time, notwithstanding much more of the *Irish* perished in this last War, than of the *British*. That

That then which I conceive would be the best management this Nation ever made of *Ireland*, would be to dispose the Forfeitures of that Kingdom to Strangers of all sorts that are not of the Church of *Rome*; and having made that exception, it will be necessary to give my Reasons for it. My Principles (I must confess) are against Force in Religion; but in this Case of *Ireland* there is a necessity to exclude as much as may be, those that have any Relation or dependance on the Church of *R* because the *Irish* are a Bigotted People, and own a Foreign Jurisdiction, which is a Principle against the Government and Laws of the Land; and where those of that Opinion are superiour in Number to them that are in the Interest of Government, it seems absolutely Incumbent on the Government to provide against such Men as believe themselves under the most Sacred Tyes of Religion and Conscience, to Obey and Promote the Edicts and Injunctions of a Foreign Prince, for so the Pope is. But to return to that of bringing Protestants to *Ireland*; I conceive there must be more than making them Denizons, because at this time *Ireland* differs very little from a new Plantation, and to Plant such, there is always given larger Incouragement to New Comers, than in Settled and Planted Countreys. If therefore such Methods were thought on, as might make those that would settle in that Kingdom Freeholders of small Proportions of Lands at very easie Rents, that might be a great Inducement to Foreigners to go and fill that Countrey, and they would soon by intermixture in Marriages with the *English* and *Scotch* become *British*; and so those of the Interest of *Eng-*  
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land would be Superiour to that of the *Irish* and Interest of *Rome*; and until it be so, *England* can never be sure of *Ireland*. All that this Nation ever yet had by it, was a breathing time of thirty or Forty Years, and then had a new Conquest to make.

But such a disposition as this would prevent Future Rebellions, and also greatly Improve the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom; For it is to be Noted, that the Chief Consumption of *Ireland* is of the Product and Manufactory of this Kingdom: And by an Account I have seen, *Ireland* takes off more from us than *Virginia* and *New England*; and if we take it into our Care, would Employ more of our Ships; but of that I intend in the second part of my Essayes to treat at large, and in the mean time shall here Insert *Verbatim* part of a Discourse I find in a Pamphlet, Intituled, *The Linnen and Woollen Manufactories*: A Discourse Printed in the Year 1691: The whole was Rational; but that which I think applicable to what I am now upon, was as followeth: He begins the Paragraff thus, as I said before, *Ireland is no more than one of our Foreign Plantations, only I think it will be allowed the first Place, and more than any other in nearness of Blood; and that of our Nobles there being many Families in that Kingdom descended from the Antient Families of this; and most of the Estates in Ireland held by the decent from our Brethren, who purchas'd it with their Blood.* These Reflections may prevail for our care of them, at least to any Collony abroad; and we never think it our prejudice to have them thrive, nor would the growth of *Ireland*, if rightly disposed

posed or understood: And here give me leave to make a Digression, if it may be call'd so, but you may think it not Foreign to the Discourse.

I find it generally believed that *Ireland* is as mischievous to our Trade in time of Peace, as it is destructive to our Men and Treasure in time of War; and though this Opinion never went far with me, yet something I did doubt was in it, until I met with something that gave plain Demonstration to the contrary, and it was this:

I fell into an intire acquaintance with a Gentleman of *Ireland*, whose experience and long continuance in all the Foreign Trade of that Kingdom furnished him with Arguments I could not answer, to prove that *England* was a great Gainer by the Trade of *Ireland*. When I could not confute him, nor he prevail with me; he told me he would shew me that which carried Authority with it; and so he did, being as he assur'd me, the work of some years, as he could spare time to compose it: The whole Discourse takes up many Sheets upon the Trade of *Ireland* to all parts, and particular Remarks upon every Commodity Exported and Imported into that Kingdom; and where, and how it affects *England*. Some other things he reserv'd as Secrets from me, as he doth the rest from others; for it was never seen by any but one beside my self. Out of the whole, he hath extracted an Account of the Exports and Imports for one year in a medium out of six; and then distinguish'd what related to *England*, by what Ships brought in and out; then computed the Value of each



each Commodity, and to what they were Improved, being Manufactor'd in *England*, and then what Money in Specie, or Bills of Exchange, which is the same, was returned from Foreign Parts to *England*, out of the Proceed of Goods sent from *Ireland*; all which appear'd, (being brought up to a Sum) that *England* Gained by *Ireland* Two Millions Sterling *per Annum*: It seem'd to me an Incredible thing; but being (as he affirms) Matter of Fact, for which he hath the account of the Customs, it is not to be denyed; the breviate is drawn in so plain and intelligible a Method, as renders it easie to any Understanding, and therefore to mine: I would fain have prevailed with him to Print the whole Matter, but he thinks it may be made use of a better way; and affirms that as great as this looks, yet it might be improved to much more, if the Trade of *Ireland* were dispos'd as it might be to the Advantage of *England*: But he said that Kingdom was in no Reign since the first Conquest of *Ireland* consulted in its Trade, but left to its self, or treated like an Enemy: All the use made of it was for Courtiers, Men of Projection and Necessity to Traffick, and dispose it into Grants, Imployments, and Offices, and so made it rather a Forest for Games, than a Plantation for Trade and Commerce; and that which continued it so in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, was the Jealousies and Mistakes of *England*, believing it grew too fast, and incroached on their Trade, though it is demonstrable *Ireland* doth us no hurt, but where we by our own Laws force it; and that Act (pardon the expression) like Lunaticks, that strive to suppress their Shadows for fear they should assault them. None

None will say, *England* would be the worse if it were double the Acres it now is; And though the Sea part us from *Ireland*, may not Laws make us one in our Interest and Trade; and so that *Ireland* may be more profitable to *England* in General, than *Wales*, or any County in *England* is to the whole in its proportion. There never was so fair an opportunity for Inriching this Nation by *Ireland*, as now it is by Divine Providence once put a Blank in our hands, in which His Majesty may stamp what he pleases: And we have reason to believe, That He who ventures His Royal Person so freely for the Preservation of these Kingdoms, will not deny us any thing that can contribute to our Growth in Trade and Treasure. One thing I must not omit, which I had from this Gentleman of *Ireland*, that to me seems valid for Confirmation of all he asserts, That *Ireland* neither Interferes with, nor gains on *England*; for that in the last Twenty Years of *Ireland*s greatest Prosperity, not one Man in *England* purchased in *Ireland*; but Numbers of *Ireland* have in that time purchased in *England*, as they of that Kingdom, I mean the *English* always do, as they increase their Fortunes. This being so, *Ireland* is to *England* a Mine of Treasure, and affects us, though in a much larger Proportion; as *New-found-Land*, *Hudson's-Bay*, whatever is gained in them, terminates in *England*. Here I end with the Pamphlet, of which I shall only say, If the Matter of Fact be truly Related, as by the Authority he gives, we have reason to believe it is, then there is plain Demonstration that *Ireland* hath been, and may be made much more profitable to  
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this Kingdom, then most of our Foreign Plantations: Of them we take great care; and why not more of this, since it lies so near, and costs us so dear, seems unaccountable: The truth is, our Ancestours had never such a happy Juncture to do it, as we have now to secure it: If therefore we lay not hold on the opportunity put into our hands, we cannot answer it so well as they might.

The Numbers of Refugees here, and in other Countreys near us, are Objects in this case, both for our Charity to them, and Advantage to our selves.

There hath been for several Sessions of Parliament much talk of the Forfeitures of *Ireland*; and that it was reasonable they should be Sold, and made a Fund to raise Money towards the carrying on the present War; which might be thought reasonable for us of *England* to press, because it would ease us of so much in our Taxes: But why the Gentlemen of *Ireland* were so busie to promote it, was at first to me a question, and set me on the Inquiry; and from some of themselves I had this answer, That though they could not deny but the benefit of those Forfeitures were justly due to us of *England*, yet the Justice of the thing was not all the motive they had to promote it; but their own future security was at least as much consider'd by them, for that they hoped the Sale of those Forfeited Lands would put them in Protestant hands, and by that, strengthen the *British* Interest in *Ireland*, which could never be secure, whilst the *Irish* held so great a proportion in the Kingdom; and that whilst the Land lay undispos'd, they fear'd the *Irish* would find wayes to be restor'd,

restor'd, they having got enough by their Robberies and Plunder of the *English* to purchase them, though they cost them 1 en Years purchase: And that they were in fear also of the *Irish* buying from such as had great Grants of Forfeited Lands; but if there was a Publick Sale, they would come into so many hands, that most of them would stick with the Purchaser, and not come to the *Irish*. They further said, It was not the Interest of *England* to let the Forfeitures come again into the *Irish* hands; for that they never Improved, nor Traded, and so were no wayes profitable to *England*. If this apprehension of the Protestants be valid, either to them, or us, it seems that a disposition of these Forfeitures of *Ireland* to Protestant Strangers would answer all objections, and be a more certain way to keep such Lands of *Ireland* out of *Irish* hands, then by selling them to the *English*; for by that they would be to greater value in one Mans hand, and the *English* would for advantage sell them to the *Irish* Proprietors; for that few Purchasers would go to settle on their Lands, nor could they find Tenants in the Countrey, since there is so much Land waste; but if Foreigners had it in small Proportions, they would be able to manage it themselves, and so keep it from returning to the *Irish*. I have been longer on this of the Forfeitures, then perhaps will be thought proper, since my Subject is Trade: But since it hath relation to the Improvement of *Ireland* in the way of Trade, this Digression I hope will be excus'd.

I return then to shew, how the bringing in Refugees to *Ireland* will advance the Trade of *England*, and that may appear in three particulars.

The Increase of People in *Ireland* will occasion the Expence of Manufactories and Product of *England*; for that they have from *England*, or would, if the Laws of that Kingdom in Relation to the Customs were duely executed, <sup>more</sup> ~~most~~ of the fine Draperies, Silk, Iron Manufactory, Haberdashers-Wares, Hats, Sadlers Wares, Tapes, Pins, and other small Manufactories.

Also from *England* they have all the hoppers, white Salt, Coals, Brass Commodities, Tobacco, Sugars, and Groceries.

They also Imploy, or should so, if due care was taken in the Act of Navigation, the Ships of *England*; all which would be considerably advanced, if that Kingdom were improved by Foreigners.

2. Foreigners would Inlarge the Linnen Manufactory in *Ireland*, to which no part of *Europe* is most proper: And there is already a beginning and aptness in the *Irish* to that Manufactory; and however, it is not the Interest of *England*, that *Ireland* should grow in the Woollen Manufactory; yet it is that, that they should in the Linnen and Cordage: But of this I shall in the Second Part, when I come to Discourse at large of the Trade of *Ireland*, say more.

3. The bringing Foreign Protestants into *Ireland* will Inlarge the Fishings there: Great part of which will be to the Advantage of *England*, as would the General Improvement of *Ireland* be, if it were dispos'd to such Trade and Navigation as might be subservient and helpful to ours: But to make Laws with design to keep them Poor, is not unlike him that set his own House on Fire, that

that his Neighbours might be burnt; keeping *Ireland* Poor, and discouraging the Protestant Interest there, puts that Kingdom in the hands of the *Irish*, and that renders it not only unprofitable to *England*, but dangerous <sup>to</sup> the management of *Ireland*. Since the first Conquest will not be Credited in future Ages, and although we must own, of a Nation that hath the best Constitution in Government, we have alwayes been unhappy in the Administration; yet I think in nothing so much, as in the Neglect of Trade, and in that of *Ireland*; which any Nation but we, would make a Treasure of; and we Imploy all our skill to make it an *Aceldama*: It hath been so to this poor Kingdom; and if relation be true, is in a ready way to be so again. They in whose Province it is, will consider the Politick part, my business is Trade; and in that I will venture to say, *Ireland* might be made more profitable to *England* than all the Foreign Plantations have ever yet been. I confess *New-England*, and *Newfound-Land* may be made more than altogether; but that which makes *Ireland* of more Consideration to *England* than all the rest, is, because without keeping that, we can enjoy none of the rest. It is every days Refuge for our Merchant-Men, and not to be forgotten, how soon after this Reduction it saved our *Smirna* and *Levant* Fleet.

*Of the Manufactory and Dispose of Sheeps-  
Wooll.*

**T**HIS is the great Staple of the Kingdom, and in truth, of the World; which by Divine Providence is so put into our hands, as that without a turn in Nature, we cannot totally loose it; yet all that is possible for an unthinking People, (as we are call'd abroad,) we have done to the prejudice of those Commodities, by which means we have transferr'd great part of our Woollen Manufactoryes to other Countreys, to *Germany*, and *Venice* our Coarse Draperies, to *Holland* and *France* our fine and New Draperies; and that which is remarkable, is, that we laid the foundation for loosing them, the same way by which we first got them; that is, by persecuting Men for their Religion. *Abel's* acceptable Sacrifice seems still to follow the Fleece: No Society of Men in the Kingdom are so generally affected with the strictest Injunctions of our Religion, as our People bred up in the *Woollen Manufactoryes*; and these Men first fell under the Rod after the Restoration; an excellent Reform to drive Men out of the Kingdom for having too much Religion, but not question such as had none at all.

This driving our Clothiers into *Germany* and *Holland*, put them and their Friends upon Inventions to send our *Wooll* after them; and in that their Friends that stay'd behind were, and still are assisting them, though to the prejudice of the Trades they are in themselves; there being no-  
thing

thing that draws compassion more from one Man to another, than seeing Men of honest and unblameable Conversation us'd worse than Thieves and Robbers for serving God according to their Conscience. This severity banish'd many thousands out of *England* soon after the Restauration of *Charles* the Second: One *Tilham* carried in the Year 1665, Three Thousand into the *Prince Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and divers others did the same into other parts; insomuch, that Account was taken of Twenty Thousand Sacks of *Wooll* carried into one Port of *France* in less than Two Years from *England*, and more went from *Ireland*; and besides, the Quantities that went for *Holland* is Incredible: All this is evidently fallen upon the Nation by the fury of those that would make a Trade of Religion, and banish those that had Religion with their Trades: But blessed be God we have now a King of a more comprehensive Perswasion, and our Church better supply'd with Men of Learning and Charity, which the Infallible Authour tells us, is above all the Arts, Sciences, and Acts of Devotion whatsoever.

Such Numbers of Men being gone out of the Kingdom for want of that Liberty they may now enjoy, it is a wonder they do not return; and a greater, that they are not sent for, and Invited back: We do not consider what the loss of a Man is in a Kingdom not half Peopled: We want nothing so much as Bodies of Men; and it is said, we have above Thirty Thousand in Foreign Countreys, and they are not of the raff, but sober, Industrious People; such as these should not be lost.

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But from the hands to Work *Wooll*, I come to the *Wooll* it self; how useful, and in some cases of such absolute use in their Manufactories, that they can make none of their best without our *Wooll*: This is no Secret, nor the Severe Laws that are made to prevent Escapes of *Wooll*, but none have proved effectual; some of them being too easie, and others severe to loss of Life to them all. I have seen a Proposal of a Gentleman that hath been a great Dealer in that Commodity to Foreign Parts, which he affirms would be Infallible to prevent Exports of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts, From *England*, it seems probable enough; but he is positive, and reserves part of the Secret; which he saith, when told, will make every one that hears it as positive as himself. I would have persuaded him to offer it to the House, but he expects a great Gratification, and that he thinks at this time will not be given; though I am of another mind, and believe he deserves more than he can either ask or expect, if his Project takes. It is indeed to be lamented, that solid Proposals for the Trade and Manufactory of the Nation should not meet with so much Incouragement as a Lottery; but to the contrary should be suppressed: And I know a great Minister, who once disputed on that with warmth against a care for *Wooll*, and that it was a burthen to the Nation; It may not be Foreign to this Discourse to give the heads of the Dispute, which I the rather do, that so it may shew the need there is for the Great Council of the Nation to take it under their Consideration.

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The Discourse rose on a Proposition that was brought to him, for stopping a vast Quantity of *Wooll* that was then going to *France*; it was brought him in Writing, and demonstrated, That that very *Wooll* was enough to work up all the Coarse *Wooll* of *France* for Seven Years; and that the consequence would be the loss of great part of our Manufactories to *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The Minister made little return to that, but brought his Discourse to the great Loss it was to Men of Estates; that there was not a way for Selling twice the *Wooll* that now they did; That there was three Years *Wooll* then in *England*, and what should Men do upon this Topick of the want of a Consumption for the *Wooll* of *England*, the Gentleman laid down these Positions.

*First*, That the War was one Reason of the Decay of the *Woollen Manufactories*.

*Secondly*, That the extraordinary Escapes of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts, put them upon making more *Woollen Manufactories* than ever they did before, and that abated our Trade abroad.

*Thirdly*, That our *Wooll* going to Foreign Parts made it so cheap at home; This I remember put the Minister into a Laughter; and laying the two first aside, he desir'd him to make out the last Position, That the Escapes of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts made the *Wooll* fall in Price: That the sending so great Quantities of *Wooll* out of the Kingdom should fall the Price of that which

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which was left, was a Mystery he could not understand, but seem'd to him, the only way to make it rise : But the Gentleman undertook to make out his Assertion, that every Pound of *English Wooll* worked up Three Pound of Foreign *Wooll*; and that as much as they Manufactur'd, so much was Abated in our Exports; for that they made such Manufactoryes with our *Wooll*, as they could not make without it; and consequently by that means, one pound of our *Wooll* with theirs, made four times as much Cloaths and Stuffs as we could have made with it, if we had kept it at home : From which he Inferred, That if one fourth of the *Wooll* of *England* went to Foreign Parts, there would be as much Manufactoryes made Abroad for Foreign Markets, as we could make, if we had wrought all our own *Wooll*; and so much being made Abroad, we could not have use for half our own *Wooll* that was left : This he affirmed was the reason that there lay so much *Wooll* unwrought in *England*; and he being brought for Proof of what he said, That which was Matter of Fact I thought undeniable, though it would not be allowed so by the Minister : The thing was this, The Year after the Restauration, there was a Gentleman that got a Grant from the King, with a *Non obstante* to any Statute, for Liberty to Export a certain Quantity of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts from *Ireland*; upon which, some Merchants in *London* buying the Grant, sent over to *Ireland*, and bought most of the *Wooll*, and sent it to Foreign Parts; this at first rais'd the Price of *Wooll* both

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both there and in *England*; but in so short a time as Five Moneths, it fell Fifty *per Cent*. And though not one fourth of what formerly came from *Ireland* into *England*, came then to *England*, yet there was no Vent for the *Wooll* of *England*; and in *Ireland* it fell from Seven Shillings to Three Shillings and Six Pence, their Stone of Sixteen pounds all the time they shipped it for Foreign Parts. This he affirm'd he could prove by the Merchants Books that were concern'd, to be literally true; and that the Year after the Shipping for Foreign Parts was over, that *Wooll* rise to its former Price both here and in *Ireland*. And he farther added, that the great Quantities which by stealth go from *England* and *Ireland*, makes *Wooll* in both Kingdoms fall in Price, according to the Quantities that are sent out. This part of the Dispute being over, the next Question was, Whither the *Wooll* of *Ireland* did not Abate the Price of the *Wooll* in *England*, and hinder Sheep Masters from Inlarging their Flocks, and consequently keep down the Rents of Land. This was answered in the Negative to all the three, that it did not Abate the Price of *English Wooll*, nor hinder the Increase of Sheep, or Abate the Rents of Land : That the *Irish Wooll* coming into *England* helped the working up of some *Wooll* that could not be made the most of without it. That the *Wooll* of *Ireland* was a larger Staple than that of *England*, and most proper for *Bayes* and *Serges* : That it was not the *Wooll* of *Ireland* that came to *England* that made the Price fall, but it was

was that which went to Foreign Parts that did the Mischief; and for the reasons before given, he concluded, that if there went no *Wool* from *England* or *Ireland* to Foreign Parts, all the *Wool* of both Kingdoms would not be half enough to supply the Manufactories that *England* would have Markets for Abroad; for that there is now made twice as much Manufactories with the help of our *Wool* Abroad, as is made in *England*; so that if there were an effectual stop upon the *Wool* of both Kingdoms, the Flocks of both might be trebled, and yet not be sufficient for the Manufactories *England* might vent. This in few words was the best account I ever heard of the Nature and Improvement of the *Wool* of these Kingdoms, and is such demonstration of the Mischief the Exports of *Wool* doth to the Nation, that I cannot but think him a worse Enemy to his Country than a Common Pyrate; for that he robs but a small Number, but he that sends out *Wool*, destroys Thousands, weakens the Strength of the Nation both at Land and Sea; and if we believe the Lord *Coke's* Assertion, That Nine parts of the Trade of *England* comes from the Sheeps Back, there cannot be enough done to secure it; but it hath ever been the misfortune of our Nation, neither to punish or reward Impunity in the first, makes us abound in Criminals; and the neglect in the latter makes us barren of great Actions for our Countrey; I mean, in that which makes a Nation Rich and Wise: Our Ancestours shewed more of their good will to it in the Dark of Trade and Navigation, than we do at Noon-day. I have

have often thought that it was possible for a Monarch of these Kingdoms to make all *Europe* Tributaries to him in Trade, by a true Management of the Natural and Artificial Product and Navigation of these Kingdoms; without being oblig'd to any help, but what ariseth from his own Dominions, of which *Wool* is the Chief.

### Of Free Ports.

There is nothing more talked of, and yet in my Opinion less understood than the use of *Free Ports*.

The great Success that of *Leghorn* hath met with, giving the Name a greater Reputation in the World than perhaps the thing in it self deserves, for that it seems the Effect of a bad cause; and though it is a good Expedient that hath neither Natural or Artificial Provision for Trade and Navigation, yet it may be prejudicial to a Nation that hath both: To make this Intelligible, give me leave to say something of the first Establishing *Leghorn* a Free Port; because I take that in all its Circumstances to be the first Compleat President in *Europe*.

The Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* Territories are not of Extent to produce Natural or Artificial Commodities for the Loading Ten Ships of Burthen a Year; nor is his Countrey able to Consume, except it be of Fish, half the Loading of that Number; and having not room for Trade of  
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his own, it was no doubt his Interest to Incourage that of Strangers; which the Ignorance of all his Neighbours in Trade gave him opportunity to do: So stupid was the *Genoese*, as to believe, because they had then the Money-Trade and Navigation of the *Levant*, that therefore they could set Laws and Bounds to other Nations, and make them pay Customs as they saw fit; this Exaction on Trade had the same effect as oppression in Government, and drove Merchants to seek out better Entertainment, and the Duke had early provided for all that would come.

He was Desporick, and wherever that is, a general Excise raises the surest Revenue; and Freedom of Importation advanceth it, by the Expence of those that Commerce brings into the Country; but these Reasons hold not in all places, particularly in *England*: And though perchance no part of the World in general speaking, is thought better placed for Free Ports; and no doubt it is so, if the Consideration be had on Foreigners; but I cannot think it so, for either King or People. I expect but few with me in this, therefore ~~fore~~ must not pass it over without giving those Inducements that prevail with me to this belief: I begin with that relating to the Crown, *Free Ports* will give opportunity for running Goods, nor is it possible to prevent the Arts of Merchants when they have such a handle as *Free Ports* will give them.

There is no one Kingdom, not *France* it self, that Consumes so much of Foreign Commodities as *England*; the Duties on which are very considerable;

considerable; but if these Foreign Commodities were lodg'd in *Free Ports*, the Customs would sink, and the Expence of them Increase; which is a double Mischief, the Loss of the Revenue on one hand, wasting the Treasure of the Nation upon Foreign Commodities on the other.

There is another Prejudice which *Free Ports* would bring to the Nation in general; and that is, they would lessen and discourage our own Navigation, which by all means we have reason to promote.

Now if there was *Free Ports* in *England* which lyes in the Center of the Trade of *Europe*, all Nations would make our Harbours their Docks and Harbours for Wintering and Laying up their Ships; and this they might do with Advantage, by Selling part of their Cargoes, which Variety and Choice will tempt so Luxurious and Expensive a People as we are to Consume; and allowing that, which perhaps will seldom be, That they carry off our Commodities, yet that is no Compensation for these Reasons.

First, It is no Gain to the Nation to eat up their own Product, as that would be, if Foreign Commodities was spent in Return of our own.

Then Foreign Ships carrying of the Product of the Nation, will Abate the Employment of our own Ships and Men, and Insensibly Introduce them into our Carriage, which is the certain Profit of Trade.

And that which may not be less considerable than all before mentioned, *Free Ports* would make our Loss of the *Northern* and *Sound* Trade Irrecoverable,



coverable, by Transferring it unto the *French* and *Portuguese*, as well as the *Dutch*; for that out of our *Free Ports* they will be supply'd with sorts of Commodities besides their own, which is the Advantage the *Dutch* now have over us in that Trade.

Upon the whole it appears to me, That *Free Ports* would only be an Improvement for Foreigners in their Trade, without the least Advantage to us, not so much as the Increasing the Revenue, as it doth where there is a General Excise; which I think is an Inseparable Companion of *Free Ports*, and they of Countreys that cannot of themselves make a Trade.

I presume none believes the *Dutch* to be properly *Free Ports*; or if they were, Can they be a President for us? Greatest part of their Consumption being in *Germany* and *Flanders*, &c. which is within themselves, and no other Nation can interfere with them.

I have done with *Free Ports*, and shall come in the next Chapter to that which I think the Interest of the Nation, to Establish in room of them.

#### Of Exports of Foreign Importations.

HAVING said so much against *Free Ports*, which is with good reason, accounted to be the only way those Countreys have to make a Trade that want Funds, Men, and Ships of their own.

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I now come to that which I conceive may supply the want of *Free Ports* in these Kingdoms; and that is, Liberty for Exports of such Commodities as have payd Customs Inwards: That I call Liberty, is to have all the Duty repay'd upon such Exports.

This at first sight may be thought making the whole Kingdom a *Free Port*, after I have been declaiming against having any; I confess that I shall here propose, will do the Work of a *Free Port* for the benefit of our own Trade, but not for those that have too much Advantage of us already.

That then I humbly offer in this matter is, That whereas now there is by Law Repayments of part of Customs upon Exporting of Commodities that payd Inwards; that for the future, the whole Money payd Inwards be Repayd upon Exporting, without any defalcation upon these Terms following.

1. That no Repayments shall be made, but on such Goods as were Imported in *English* Ships and Men.

2. That no Repayments be made, but on such Goods as shall be Exported by *English* Ships and Men.

3. That no Repayments be made, but on such Goods that have been more than Twelve Moneths landed

4. That no Repayments be made on any Goods damnified, or decayed. With these Reservations, I think it is the Interest of the Nation to admit

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any Foreigners the same Priviledge, so that our own Ships have the Carriage in and out.

To this I foresee the Common Custom-House-Objections, What will become of the Kings Customs? Merchants will find ways to make their Exports pay for most of their Imports.

To this I Answer, No doubt there will be Arts used by some; but it is as certain, that ways may be laid down to prevent them, and much easier on the Exports, than was at first upon the Importation: Let that be well looked to, and Frauds upon Exports cannot easily be Committed; for the Trick will lye as it doth in some Cafes at this time: The Merchant saves suppose one third of his Duty, and then Ships out one third of what he payd Duty for, and by that means payes but half Dutyes, two thirds being Sold; and he paying Duty but for one, and to drive this Trade, it may be worth a Merchants while to Import, with design at least, one third more than he Intends to sell in the Kingdom: But though this is an Inconveniency, and may be some Prejudice to the Revenue, yet I do not think it is of that Value, as to obstruct a much greater Advantage to the Publick: But it will be further objected, that to Repay all the Duty payd Inwards upon the Exports, is unreasonable; something at least to defray the Charge of the Officers should be allow'd, and that is allowed where there is the greatest Freedom: To this I Answer, That the Design here is to Encourage our own Navigation, and to retrieve our lost Trades in *Russia* and the

*Sound:*

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*Sound:* To effect which, there may perhaps be more Incouragement than this given. The Parliament upon other occasions have thought fit to give Money to Incourage the Exports of the Kingdom, as that of *Corn*: And though I shall not presume to direct, yet perhaps there may be found necessity to do something of that Nature, to lay hold of Trades we have lost: I have often thought there was the same reason for a Nation to lay out a Stock of Money to Introduce some Trades, as there is for a particular Person; and though that Objection which some make, That Publick Funds are alwayes Imbezled, be true; and that no Private Person will receive any Return for what he pays towards a Publick Benefit; Yet if the Money be Employed in Manufactoryes, or Navigation, though the Original Money be sunk, yet every Individual Man in the Nation is the better for it, even to the *Cobler* in his Stall. I might Inlarge on the many Advantages these Repayments on Exports would bring to the Nation, but I shall summe them all up in,

1. It will Increase the Customs, if that be a Profit to the Nation in General, which to me is a Question; but however, it is that which is acceptable to the Government; and that a Liberty of Exporting, without any Charge, what Merchants cannot dispose of, will certainly Incourage to greater Imports, than when Men are liable to loose both Goods and Customs, as now they in many Cafes are.

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2. It will bring a very considerable Advance to our Ships and Seamen ; and in this there is more than at first sight appears.

By the Act of Navigation, it is wisely provided, That every Nation might Import into *England* the Commodities of their own Countrey in their own Ships : This Liberty was fair and equal Dealing in matter of Trade ; That every Countrey should have the Command of their own Trade, and so gave no Offence ; nor could we advance our own Navigation by it more, than what each Countrey had not Ships of their own to carry their Commodities ; but this Liberty of Foreigners bringing their Commodities to seek a Market, and if they do not meet it, may Ship out what they cannot sell, and have all the Duty Repayd, so it be Imported and Exported in *English* Ships ; this will put them upon Employing our Ships, that so they may be Intitled to make our Harbours *Free Ports*, and it will be a very great Incouragement to them in their Trade, and as great to us to have the Carriage there, being more clear and certain Gain by the Navigation part of Trade, than by the Merchantine part of it.

These Bill Repayments upon Exports, will not only supply us with all forts of Foreign Commodities on easie Terms to compleat Cargoes for the Northern Trades we have now lost, but also be a means to Increase the Exports of our Woollen Manufactoryes ; of which we shall send Quantities abroad to places we cannot now, for want of other Commodities, to make up Cargoes for several Markets. Upon

Upon the whole, I conceive this Freedom will in all respects <sup>answer</sup> the Benefit of *Free Ports*, with this Advantage of terminating in the Increase of our Ships and Seamen.

*Of a Counsell of Trade.*

THIS hath been the common Theam of Men of all Understandings, on which so much is said and writ, that it looks like remonstrating against the Government, to print more on that Subject, since there seem'd not a tendency towards it : For this reason I thought to have pass'd it by, but hearing such a thing is now under Consideration, and having lately seen a Print Prescribing the *Modus* of a Counsel of Trade, I venture to put my Oar in the Boat, though I cannot keep stroak with any I ever yet met in this matter, differing both in the Men and Numbers of a Counsel of Trade.

1. As to the Qualification of the Men that is generally thought proper, some there be that would have a Counsel of Trade compos'd of Men of all Qualities in Trade and Manufactoryes, such as was in the Reign of K. *James* the First, that sat in *Haberdashers-Hall*, and were more like a Parliament than Counsel of Trade.

Others there are that are not for such a promiscuous multitude, but yet would have a great Number of Merchants, as believing them the best Judges of Trade, and so I think them to be ; yet whilst they are in Trade, not the properest Directors of it : Against both these Qualifications

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tions of Men for composing a Counsel of Trade, I submit these reasons:

*First*, That *Mechanicks* are generally Strangers to any Trades but their own, and consequently can be no Judges and Advisers in other Mens.

*Secondly*, Bringing *Artizans* and *Mechanicks* into a Counsel of Trade would raise Discontents thorough the Kingdom among them of differing Trades; nothing being more Common than Men of one Trade to Interfere with another: And where any such Complaint shall come to the Counsel of Trade, as they being in it, will encourage them to bring, they will be Judges of their own Complaints; for that many Trades have dependence one upon another, and so these Men will naturally have Parties, as Interest leads them; which they acquainting their Friends and Brethren of in their Respective Countreys, will create Dissentions among *Artizans*, who are good Judges among themselves in their respective Companies of one another in their own Trades, but seldom determine Disputes in other Mens Trades, but with a Club and broken Head: Now as for the foregoing Reasons, I think *Mechanicks* not proper for a Counsel of Trade; to neither do I believe Merchants in Trade proper; for though they are Superiour to understanding and Conversation with the former, yet they are under the same Temptations and Difficulties of making Parties, and Interfering with one another in their Trades; and therefore not proper Judges whilst they are Parties, though they may be the best when they are

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are not. A Counsel of Trade, if rightly Established, will be a Member in the Government; and in such the *Venetian* Policy, which seems a good Constitution, allows none that are Merchants, that hath not been at least Seven Years out of all Trade and Commerce: I have been Educated a Merchant, and therefore cannot be thought to lessen the Profession, though I believe no Man in the Actual Part and Converse of Trade can be equal and different in the Determination of Controverted Matters in Traffick: I have often had the like Reflections on our Publick Justice, in which, at this time, I believe we are the most happy People in the World, with Great and Just Men on the Bench; yet there hath been times when they were fill'd with Men that smelt too much of Barr; might it not then add to the Honour of that Robe, if there was another step besides that from the Bar to the Bench? But this is not my Province: I return to the Second Consideration, that of the Number in which most agree; one of a County, and one of every City in the Kingdom; besides some of the Ministry: This would be a huddle in my Opinion of no signification, unless they had Competent Salaries: For Men would not loose their time, and spend their Money for nothing; and the Charge would be too great for the King to pay without a Fund given by Parliament, so then I apprehend this large Committee is lodged here.

It may now be expected that I should propose, and that I think a better part than Controversies, though as I alwayes use them where there is least offence;

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offence; for I do not pretend to more than giving my Opinion to be determined by better Judgments, and so I shall offer my Thoughts, how a Counsel of Trade may be Established for the benefit of the Nation.

The Number not to exceed Nine; of which Three to be such as have been bread Merchants formerly, and of the most Universal Trades used in these Kingdoms, and the rest of the Counsel to be compos'd of the Ministry, Admiralty, and Customs; the whole Counsel to sit three times a Week, and three of them every day, to Receive, Examine, and Prepare Matters for the General Meeting.

And because no Man will spend his time for nothing; and time so dispos'd, is generally valued as nothing; that therefore such Salleryes be given them, as may pay for their whole time, and give a Reputation to the Commission equal to the Great work to be done by it; for so it is, if it be rightly understood; it is a wonder that in a Kingdom so Fruitful in Offices, that which payes them all (as Trade doth) should be allowed none; but it is an untoward Reason that is given for it, which therefore I omit; and shall only say that by such Men set apart for the Care of Trade. *France* and *Sweedland* have to a Wonder Inlarged their Trade and Navigation; and it is apparent, that for want of such a Counsel, we have lost great part of ours.

The several Parts, Uses, and Manage, I shall at large set forth in the Second Part.

Of

### Of Prohibiting Foreign Commodities.

**I**T is the Policy of all Civilized and Trading Countreys to make such Goods counterband as are thought Unnecessary and Expensive to the Inhabitants, or hinder their own Manufactories or Native Growth; but in doing this, they sometimes bring a worse Mischief on themselves than that they design to remove; for as soon as a Government find any of their Growth or Manufactory Prohibited by any other, they return it with laying a greater Duty or Prohibition on some Commodity that Countrey supplied them with before.

To prevent this, Consideration should be first had of all their Exports to that Countrey they Intend any Prohibition against; and if they find that Countrey can any other wayes be supply'd with the same Commodities they us'd to send them, then they should forbear any Prohibition, because it is more prejudicial to lessen their own Product and Labour, than to Consume that of their Neighbours; for that time may abate, but the loss of their own Trade and Manufactoryes may never be recovered, if the place that us'd them be either fallen into a Trade with another People for that Commodity, or the want of them brings them out of use; and they are never retrieved: I think therefore, Prohibition ought never to be made, but on some extraordinary occasion, or where there cannot be the like done

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to them: I will Instance but one for all in this Kingdom, and that is *Flanders-Lace*; though this Prohibition be of Absolute Necessity, because of the great Value this Kingdom spends in that Commodity; yet if a due Estimate was made of what this Extravagancy carries out of the Kingdom, it would appear, that the Prohibition is the Original and Present Cause of our Excess in that Commodity: There is indeed another accidental help to it, and that is our Army in *Flanders*, the continual Passing and Repassing of our Men gives opportunity of smuggling the Duty, and they also coming over with the Fashion about their Necks, our Apish Humours soon follows it; but yet the Prohibition is that which first Established the Fashion among our <sup>Beaus</sup> *Boas* and *Boasses*; for it is not Persons of the first Magnitude, as in former Ages that now Introduce a Fashion, but such who carry their Fortunes about them, and are always in the midst of their Estates, these have no wayes to distinguish themselves, but by despising our own Manufactory, and the Nasty Dress, as they term it, of a Countrey Lady or a Citizen; though the latter is too apt to follow them in Expence; and because they can better pay for Extravagancies, therefore they believe themselves equally Intituled to them: And thus the Vanity runs round to the great Loss of the Nation.

Now that which to me seems the most Effectual way to Prohibit a Commodity that the Nation finds so Injurious, as to make a Law against, as in this of *Flanders-Lace*, or any other: For I name that Commodity, because it stands most in the

the way: I say then, to make that, or any other Prohibition effectual, would be, to lay an Imposition on any that uses them: If that were done, the Mischief would be at an end. But to make it forfeiture of them, to bring them, or placing a high Duty, which some think the best Expedient, is all Allurements, and Periwasive to those whose Vanity, and (in some cases) unhappy way of Living, cannot be without them, to Covet and Purchase them, because they believe Difficulty, and hazard the Merchant runs in bringing them, will make them too dear for Common Wear: But to this it may be objected, That in many Cases Prohibitions are made to the end some Commodity of our own of the same Nature might be used; and then the laying a Duty on the Consumer would be Troublesome or Impracticable, since perchance the Commodities might not be distinguish'd, as it is in this of *Flanders-Lace*; which cannot be distinguish'd, but in some of the highest Prizes.

This Objection must be allowed good in some cases, and may be answer'd in others; where it is the first placing a high Duty upon the Importation, is a better way than an Absolute Prohibition, but in the latter, where it may be answer'd, as in the case of *Flanders-Lace*, that the Commodities cannot be distinguish'd, there appears a difficulty; and that will oblige the Government to some other Expedient, and I see none, but to consider whether a Total Abolishing the use of *Lace* may be enjoyn'd: And here two things are to be inquired into.

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1. Whether such a Law might not produce from those abroad some such effect on some of our Commodities ?

2. Whether it will not be Injurious to our selves in turning a Number of our own People out of their Trades and way of Living ?

To the first, that of Provoking our Neighbours, I think it can do us no hurt, because there is no Trade in the World (as I take it) that we use, which vends less of our Commodities than *Flanders* doth; but such as they cannot be without; so that if we did abate the use of more of their Product and Manufactoryes, it were but just, and the Interest of the Nation; nor can they do us more hurt than they do. But to the second Objection,

2. That of hindring our own People, that looks ill; and therefore, as well as I can, shall answer it; and to that end think it necessary to Inquire first, into the hands that are Employed in this Work, and then whether they are capable of any other Employment that they may get their Living by: For the first, Those that make *Lace*, are of the Female Sex, Women and Children; and such I think can turn their hands to another Work that would be profitable to the Nation, and save Money from going out; whereas this of making *Lace* is the occasion of carrying Money out two ways; one for fine Thread to make it, and the other by Importing *Flanders Lace* of greater Value, and finer then can be made here.

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That which our People might be employed in, is spinning fine Thread; which may be done, though not the finest sort, yet to Eight Shillings a pound, which would hinder the Importation of many sorts of Thread to a considerable Value in the Year: This I presume cannot be denied; but then it may be said, this will require time to bring them that are bred up to other Work before they can Earn their Bread; so that these People must be provided for, until they are brought into the Methods of Spinning finer Thread than is now made for Linnen; which in another place I shall shew is not for the Interest of the Nation to promote.

The way then that I conceive Provision may be made to maintain these People for one year, which will be time sufficient for their learning to Spin, is to place a small Mulct by the Quarter on all such as wear any sort of *Thread Lace*, and that there will be enough rais'd on such, to me seems reasonable to believe, because that the Poorer sort of People that now wear *Lace*, to avoid the Tax, will leave it off; and that will make it look like a Discriminating Character of Poverty and Meanness in such as formerly wore it, and upon this Tax to leave it off; and those that have *Points* and *Lace* of Value, will not for a small matter throw them away, as they must do, if they wear them not; for that Year there will be Liberty: But supposing, which there seems no reason to believe, that there should be no Money rais'd this way, is there not as much reason to find out some other way on the Excise

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or Customs for one Year, as there is for Incouragement of the Exports of Corn? The *French King* payes Money to Incourage the Exports of Provisions, and some other things; and there seems as much reason for this, which hath a greater prospect of Improvement, than what he aims at in Exports of Provisions, which is neither proper, nor possible for this Kingdom to do, whilst *Ireland* is above Water; nor if he had all that Export which *Ireland* had in the best Condition of that Countrey, which was in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, would it amount to that Yearly Value as our Vanity of *Lace* amounts to in the Imports from *Flanders*?

It is not possible to give a certain Estimate of it, because it comes not through the Custom-House; nor can there be a near Estimate by the Quantities Sold, since there is such Numbers that bring it from *Flanders* and *Holland*; not a Ship, or scarce a Man, but brings over some in his Pocket, or about his Neck; and there are those that tell us of some Thousands in the Year, that do thus: But giving all this into the account, I will only mention what I have pick't up from Observations made in *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, and *London*: In *Yarmouth* it is said there are Five Persons that get near a Thousand Pounds a Year apiece by what they Import and send to *Normich*; from *Hull* as much; at *Newcastle* more: In *London* it is said, one Man hath in few Years got Forty Thousand Pounds; and above Eight more that altogether get twice his Sum; all these may make up at a Moderate Computation

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Forty Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; that is, so much got by what they Import, allowing the Total to arise by Twenty *per Cent.* gain, which is an Extravagant Profit, when Merchants deal for Five *per Cent.* Profit in other Commodities; but allowing at Twenty, the Import is Two Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, besides smaller Men and Passengers, which is believed to be as much: This is a Computation at random, yet with as much probability as it can bear; and in the whole, cannot be less than Four Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; they that see our Churches, where perchance there may be of Men, Women, and Children, Five Hundred in a Church, that have less or more of this Finery about them, will not think Four Hundred Thousand Pounds worth more than is wore in this Kingdom in a Day: Now though this be a guess, yet what I bring against it in the Exports of Provisions from *Ireland* is a certainty from Account of the Entries at the Custom-House; and there was never Shipped out in one Year to the Value of Three Hundred Thousand Pound *Sterling*: I mention this, to shew how little we consider the Interest and Trade of the Nation, and how mistaken in our Account when we quarrel at a part of our selves, for so we ought to make it, for living on their Product; and at the same time see not a far greater Value than all that poor Countrey produceth, carried away in *Specie* from us by Foreigners, so is this Commodity purchas'd, or with Bills of Exchange, which is the same thing, and so allowed by all that understand Trade.

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I have been the longer on this Commodity, because I name it for all that come under the head of Prohibitions; which I think not to be sufficiently consider'd or understood, were it so, but in this one trifle; it deserves no better a Name, if relation be had to the use of it: There is plain demonstration, that what with the turn of our hands to a Commodity, as we now Purchase with Money from abroad, and with the preventing the Imports of Lace, the whole would add more than Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum* to the Treasure of the Nation; and this might in my humble Opinion be easier done, than regulating the *East-India-Company*: I will not make comparisons as to the Gain, but wish I knew any one Trade, though that of the Foreign Plantations were one, that brings in Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling* clear Gain to the Nation, as this might do, if the Old Proverb be allowed, that a Penny sav'd, is a Penny got.

But that I might not lye under a Vulgar censure in this matter, though I take it to be as much an Error (that Extravagancies in Cloaths is an Advantage to the Artizans, Manufactoryes, and Poor of the Nation) what is here propos'd doth not bar the Gayety and Expence of such as delight in fine Cloaths, for that there may be other inventions found out for Ornament as Costly as *Lace*: I remember when Band-strings were come to such Curiosity in Work, that they were wore from Five Shillings to Five Pound a Pair, and made in *England*; and have my self, when I could not write Man, had Ribbons to one Suit to more than

than Fifteen Pounds Value: If these Extravagancies must be used, were it not better to have them of our own Fabrick, than from them that eat not our Bread, nor wear our Wooll, though they work too much of it?

I have done on this head, when I say, That as the Wisdom of the Nation makes Laws of Prohibition, I wish there was effectual means to have them observ'd.

#### Of Sumptuary Lawes.

I Think Laws to Restrain Excess in Apparel and Food, may properly be brought into a Treatise of Trade; and that *Sumptuary Lawes* are, or should be, a Guide in it.

That before I Engage in this Matter, there is a Receiv'd Opinion to be removed; and that is, that Expence of the Labour and Product of a Countrey, is the support of the Artizans, and brings Riches to Men of Real Estates: If this was in Truth so, then there is not only an end of *Sumptuary Lawes*, but some other Statutes and Customs that yet hinder Abuses, which perchance might otherwise grow amongst us as Artizans and Tradesmen wearing Swords, that would Increase that Manufactory; yet in well-Governed Places, the Justices and Magistrates of Towns would bind to the good behaviour such as did, if Servants and Apprentices were allowed

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playing at Cards and Dice, it would occasion the Consumption of great Quantities, and so Inlarge those Manufactories; yet the Laws and Custom of the Nation Prohibits it; and it is a Covenant in the Indentures of Apprentices to this day, that they Forfeit their Indentures, if they do use them in Play.

If then there be reason for these smaller Expences, there seems reason for Care in greater.

How the Old *Sumptuary Laws* of the Nation comes to be out of use, I could never understand; nor can I think that it is that, because they were found Injurious to our Tradesmen and Manufactories, but rather the Vanity and Levity of the Nation in following the Modes of *France*; which taking first in our Courts, descended to Lower Ranks of People; and Merchants and Tradesmen making a Gain by Curiosities in Apparel, that soon begat a Party to support them, until the Livelyhood of Numbers depended on the Manufactories of them: And that brings me to Inquire into the Opinion, that it is a benefit of the Nation to be Expensive in Diet and Apparel.

The Reason that is given for it is, because it Implies the Poor, and supports the Farmer to pay greater Rents.

To this I Answer,

*First*, That whatever Artizans and Farmers get by Consumption in the Kingdom, is no profit to the Nation.

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No Private Gentleman is accounted Rich, if he spends all his Rents in Cloaths and House-keeping, though it be all layd out among his own Tenants; but he is accounted Rich, in that he saves over above his Expence: And it holds so in a Kingdom, the Riches of a Countrey is accounted and made out of nothing, but their Exports that is common to every Understanding, and needs no Explanation; and being allowed, what a Miserable People should we be, if we supported the Common People by our home Consumption; It would terminate in paying Rents, as they do in *Scotland*, in kind, that is, as they call it, Victual, Corn, &c. For if we spend all in the Countrey, we shall have no Exports, and consequently no Money.

2. What is spent in the Kingdom lessens the Gain of the Artizan and Country-Man, for that Exports would raise the Price of our Native Commodities, by Increasing Chapmen, and bringing Strangers and Trade into the Kingdom.

We need not go farther than the *Ile of Man* for Demonstration; Perchance those People Eat and Drink better, Wear as Warm and Decent Cloths as our Yeomen in *Kent*, and yet One Thousand of them make not so great a Purse as One of our Yeomen before-mentioned; and the reason is, because they live upon their own Product.

If what is here said be sufficient to prove that the Nation is no Gainer by what is spent, if we then come to that of *Sumptuary Laws*, how the

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observance of them would Increase the Trade and Treasure of the Nation.

I begin with that of Apparel, and that I must crave leave to differ with a Fam'd Authour, *Montaigne*; who gave his Opinion on this Subject, that it would be for the Profit of the Kingdom, and take off all from Wearing Rich Cloaths, if the King and Court did not wear such; though no doubt it would have that effect of taking off the People from Sumptuous Cloaths, if the Court wore plain, and so far do good as it reached the Common People; yet it would have an ill consequence where it effected the Court and Nobility, for that their Expence is a Gain to the Nation, and Incouragement to Industry: Not that I think it imployes the Poor more than they would be, if they worked for Exportation; but that I conceive in this matter, is that Frugality in the Court and Nobility, would bring all the Money of the Nation into their Coffers; for they seldom Trade; and so there would want Running Cash to drive the Trade of the Nation, and then there would need no Laws to restrain the middle People in their Cloths, for they would soon come to Raggs: I think it therefore destructive to the Nation for Men of great Estates to be Parsimonious, as I do for others to be Extravagant, *Montaigne* writ his Opinion as a Lord, and I as a Commoner: If Lords lived as Commoners, Commoners would never be Lords: And perhaps if there was no room for Ambition, there might not be so much Industry.

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Having past the Throne, and such as attend it, among which I account Gentlemen of Real Estates, I come to those which I think *Sumptuary Laws* should reach, and they are Merchants, Artizans and Countrey-Men. I leave out Divines and Lawyers; the first I ye under no Temptation, the latter I hope they will pardon me, if I say it is the best return they could make to disperse their great Gains among the Poor. But to return to those, I think properly under *Sumptuary Laws*, Merchants, Traders, &c. And for them there seems a double reason, one because they know how to Imploy their Money in Trade and Manufactories; and therefore should as much as is practicable, be kept from wasting their Stock on unnecessary Expences; for that their Stock is the Seed Corn of Trade; and all Men are careful that they want not Seed for their Ground, because it is common, therefore not regarded; but it is certainly true, that the endless Expence of our Artizans and Poor is the Greatest Cause of the Decay of our Manufactories: There is a Train of Mischiefs that attend one another in the Excess of People that depend on Labour; Twenty Shillings may find Materials to keep a Family a Moneth at Work; and the want of it not only hinders them, but puts them upon farther Expence, and perhaps Gaming or Debauchery.

Shop-keepers arrive to a higher Excess before it Effects them, but yet they are often dip'd before they see their Danger; and so it is with Merchants that are a Degree above them, usually so in every respect, by means of their Education

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and Converse; yet these Men are oftner undone by an Insensible way of Expence, than by Losses at Sea; no Men know how to live better than they; I mean, that we call fine Eating, and good Equipage; and there are those among our Merchants can afford it; but then it is such as are come into Estates that were not got by Men that understood fine Living.

I have often reflected on the Gain of Countrey-Farmers that may have a Free-hold of Forty or Fifty Pounds *per Annum*: These Men we see, out of their small Income, with their Industry in Rural Matters, shall be able to give good Portions to their Children, have Money alwayes at Command; when a Merchant of Ten times his Fund and Appearance of Gain shall hardly be able to keep afloat; and for this I can assign no Cause but the difference in Expence; and yet the Merchant not accounted Extravagant; but the difference lyes in this, The Custom of the Countrey where the Countrey-Man lives is to wear plain warm Cloaths; his Wife perhaps with good Searge, himself with Kersey; Twice or Thrice a Week the Pot boyls, and the Spit us'd on Sundays.

The *Merchant* he lives in a City, where Rich Cloaths, Lace, &c. is Common Wear, and a Sett Table every day, and to be but in the common Road with his Neighbours, he spends Five times as much as the Countrey-man; this at a moderate Computation amounts to a great Sum in Twenty or Thirty Years. I might Inlarge on this Subject, but I submit to better Understandings

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things what I have said; and my Opinion that *Sumptuary Laws* duely Executed would Enrich and Strengthen these Kingdoms: We see it doth so among our Neighbours, the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers*; where you seldom hear of a middle sort of Dealer, and perhaps never of a Handicraft Man to fail: It is certain they sell for less Profit than we do; that they loose more in proportion at Sea than we do, occasioned by the under-Manning their Ships: Yet notwithstanding these disadvantages, their Merchants, and all sorts of Tradesmen are much Richer than ours; for which no reason can be given, but their Frugal Living, which to me is an undeniable Confirmation of the Opinion, that the larger our Expence in Cloaths and Food is, the better our Artizans and Poor are maintained.

The true way for Increasing the Riches of the Nation in General, and the Artizan in Particular, is to Imploy them in Commodities Exported, not consumed in the Kingdom.

If what I have said gain any Acceptation, the *Modus* for putting something in Practice like *Sumptuary-Laws* may be admitted, and it shall be in few words.

*First*, Negatively, I do not think making Laws to Prohibit or Limit any sort of People in their Diet or Apparel practicable, it would set the Nation in a Ferment, and Heralds must become Judges of others Food and Rayment; as Lawyers are of their Freeholds and Properties: Those were happy times, when pulling off a Shoe was a good Conveyance, and a Prince was his own

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Caterour, His Lady the Cook: We have an Infallible Authour for it. But to return the Method for bringing what hath been discours'd on this Head into Practice, I conceive may be to lay a Mulct by the Quarter on all Persons that are Artizans, Handicrafts-Men, Farmers, Victuallers, Inn Keepers, that shall wear any Silk, Gold, or Silver: This would restrain the Extravagancy of such as Expencc doth most hurt unto; and be a means to Enable them to Enlarge their Trades and Manufactoryes: As I have said before, their Money is the Seed of Trade; and if we suppose there may be but Five Hundred Thousand such Families in the Kingdom, and that by Frugal Living they may lay up but Forty Skillings a Year of their needless Expencc in Cloaths, it would put a Million a Year more in the Trade and Manufactory of the Nation; which besides other Advantages, in Humane Probability might save Parishes from the Charge of many Poor: But of that the next Chapter will Treat.

*Of Working-Schools and Hospitals.*

There seems nothing that would be a more Universal Good, than a Provision for the Infant Poor of the Nation; whose Misfortunes seems not greater in their Being, than in the Provision that is made for them by the Parishes where they were born. The common Practice in the dispose of them, is to pay a Poor Woman by the Year for keeping a Child; and as soon, or before they are capable of the meanest Service, they are turn'd off, and seldom put to a Trade; by which means, as their Entrance into the World is a Charge to the Parish, so is their going out in Old Age, if they come not to a worse end; it being observed that most of the Pilfering and Vagrant People that fill the Streets, are such that are not bred to Trades in their Youth: This Evil, like Original Sin, comes into the World with these Miserable People: I mean, when they are sent out of the Parish, without Education, in a habit of Idleness, which produceth every day worse Conversation, and less Shame.

And if from these Slips comes the greatest part of the most Unfortunate Poor, (such I mean as come to untimely ends;) may not this then deserve the Consideration of the most Pious and Politique Heads in the Nation? It is strange to see how provident we are to keep off little troubles when they are near, and how careless we are of greater Mischiefs if they be at a distance; We  
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hunt a Strange Beggar out of our Parishes; and if in time of Scarcity Numbers come into a City from the Country, A Common-Council is call'd, and their Grave Wisdom set at Work, how to get rid of their New Comers; and yet at the same time, perhaps, that very City is breeding up a greater Number of Poor Children than they hunt out, to Act the same part in the Common-Wealth; that is, of Stealing, Begging, and Idleness, as Mankind Naturally would do, if Education Improved not Nature. The worst of Men would keep, if they could, that part of Primitive Innocence, Eating without Labour; and are True Believers of that part in Divine Writ, That it is a Curse to eat their Bread by the Sweat of their Brow: There needs no other Evidence of this Truth, than that of the *Old Bayly*, where Numbers are every Sessions of both Sexes made Victims for the Sins of the Parish where they were Born: Had they been bred up in Trades, they might probably not come to Untimely Ends. There is no Nation I ever read of, who by a Compulsary Law, raiseth so much Money for the Poor as *England* doth: That of *Holland* is Voluntary, and turns to a Revenue to the Common-Wealth, as they manage it; but our Charity is become a Nuisance, and may be thought the greatest Mistake of that Blessed Reign, in which that Law passed, which is the Idle and Improvident Mans Charter; for if Shame or Fear of Punishment makes him Earn his Dayly Bread, he will do no more; his Children are the Charge of the Parish, and his  
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Old Age his Recess from Labour or Care; he makes no Provision for it in the time of his Youth and Strength, because he hath better Security for his Maintenance than Money of his own Laying up: But of this sort of Poor, I design a Discourse in the Second Part of *Essays on Trade, &c.* I am now on that of Infant-Poor; and besides, that of the Parish there is another Provision; which for as much as it takes up, makes a fine Shew; but yet in my Opinion that Charity might be better disposed, than to keep Children till they are Thirteen or Fourteen Years of Age without any Labour; and then often taken away by Gentlemen, that perhaps keep them to wait on them; or some other Employment that is more proper for one that hath been by Misfortune fallen from a Competency, and is too far grown to beg in a Manual Education: For this reason I think there should not be one taken out of an Hospital, but to some Mechanick Art, or Navigation. I know there are some that tell us, It is pity, where an Ingenious Boy shall be found, but that he should be advanced according to his Genius in Learning. If our Nation did want such Men, there might be some pretence for this Opinion, though perhaps I should be still against it; But when we see such Excess of Students, that there is not Preferment for them; we have not to the Degree of Clerks for some, that perhaps, if they had according to their Learning and Parts might deserve Preferment in Church and State; but the Stock is too many for the Pasture, and that  
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brings many Young Gentlemen to Misfortune, who have been well Educated, That being all their Fathers could give them; and being born Gentlemen, not so agreeable to set to Mechanical Labour, as it is for the most Ingenious Boy an *Hospital* can produce, his Original must be derived from thence: And so a Handicraft Trade cannot be too mean for him; and if he be of Extraordinary Understanding, let him lay it out in Curious Arts and Manufactoryes; such would be of more use to the Nation; and of such we cannot have too many: And if there were the same Conduct in the Great Community of a Nation, as there is in Private Families: (And I see no reason why there may not) there would not be so many Thousands in this Kingdom sent out of their Hives without a Sting, and so become Drones, Living on the Labour of the Industrious *Bee*, so I think them that are not bred up in some Employment. Now to make a lasting Reformation in this thing, I conceive it must be to begin at the Root; Manure and Improve the first Sprouts as they come into the World: And that brings me to a Proposition that was brought to some of the greatest Ministers in Church and State, where it met with so good a Reception, that some of them were pleased to say, That though they had for several Years been labouring for such a thing, and had made some Progress in it, yet they could never frame a Scheme, but there was some objection to it; but in this they saw none; and therefore Resolved upon the Kings  
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Return from *Flanders*, to lay it before His Majesty. The Late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* few Dayes before his Death expressed his Earnest Desires and Intentions to promote so good a Work, as he was pleased to call it, and said, he would loose no time, for fear it might be lost, if he that was Master of it should die before it was Established; there being some things reserved by the Proposer, until he had Assurance of His Majesties Approbation. As far as I have Liberty to make it Publick, I shall here set down the Proposition; That so if better Heads can Correct or Improve it, the Nation may have the Advantage, by Inlarging a thing which may be of so Publick a Benefit.

The Proposition was as followeth,

*That a Charter be Granted to such as shall be willing to Erect Hospitals and Working-Schools through the Kingdom for Poor Children, on the Terms following.*

1. That they shall be obliged to Receive from all the Parishes in *England*, if the Parish think fit, such Children as they have at the Charge of the Parish: The Parish paying Ten Pound, and sending them with Two Suits of Cloaths.
2. The *Schools* and *Hospitals* taking them in at Seven Years of Age, and to teach them to Read and Write; and Imploy them chiefly in the Linnen Manufactory and Cordage; The Boys  
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to be discharg'd at the Years of Twenty One, and the Girls at Eighteen; by which time they may be made perfect in the Art of Spinning and Weaving Linnen; neither of which are improved to the height in this Nation.

3. That forasmuch as it is hoped many Charitable and Well-disposed People will Extend their Bounty to the Poor this way; if they might set out a Poor Child, so as it may be put in a good way of Subsistence for its whole Life.

4. That these *Hospitals* and *Schools* be obliged to take in from all Persons, Children upon Reasonable Terms.

And forasmuch as it may be of a more Universal Benefit to the Kingdom to leave a Latitude to the Governours of these Working Schools, to breed up such of the Boys as shall have a Genius to any other Mechanical Art, that then they may be so Instructed.

And also for the better Incouragement of Youth, and such as may be the Children of Parents, by Misfortune brought to Decay, that they may be so at the Liberty of the Governours to dispose of, as shall be found capable, and desir'd by Merchants, Navigators, or others, to take Apprentice, and breed them up in some Trade, so that it be for their Preferment, and at the Desire of the Youth.

5. That

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5. That who'ere shall be put out to Apprentice, shall notwithstanding Receive the Sum paid with them, when he comes to Age of Twenty One Years, provided he faithfully serves his Time.

6. That there be a Liberty for the Governours, &c. to receive the Charity of all such as shall at any time Give, or Bequeath Money or Land to this Good Work.

7. That they may have Power to Purchase Lands in every County of *England* and *Wales*, which may be a Fund for Payment of the Sum that was payd in with each Child to such as behave themselves well, and go out at the Years before-mentioned.

8. That these *Schools* shall be alwayes Free from any Tax, either for their Land or Stock that must be Employed in the Work.

9. That there be in each *Hospital* a Minister to Instruct the Children, and Officiate in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

10. That for the better Government of these *Hospitals*, and to the Intent that the Work proposed be duely pursu'd, That all Bishops and Peers, and Members of the House of Commons in their Respective Countys for the time being, and so for ever, succeed Visitors of those *Hospitals*;



*Hospitals*; and that they may have Power upon just Complaint to Remove and Displace any Inferiour Officer or Overseers that shall misbehave themselves.

11. To Compleat the whole Design, and make these *Hospitals* and *Schools* the greatest Work of Charity and Universal Good that ever was bestowed on this Nation, is to Establish a Fund for Stock and Portions of such as go out of these *Hospitals*; that is, to pay as much as is paid in with the Child, and that they shall be free to set up the Linnen Manufactory in any Corporation of the Kingdom.

This will require an Act of Parliament, and the Fund for Portions and Stock may be Rais'd out of that which no one will Refuse, nor yet shall any be obliged to pay.

*Reasons*

*Reasons humbly offered for Establishing by Charter, Hospitals and Working-Schools.*

1. **T**hey will ease the Nation of a Charge and Burthen: The Charge is upon the Parish in breeding up the Children, and the Burthen is having Streets fill'd with Beggars in their Old Age; for such usually are so, that are bred to no Trades in their Youth.

2. These Schools will add to the Nation in their Trade and Manufactories, more than Twenty thousand Persons a Year, allowing but Two out of a Parish, with such as may be supposed will be put in by particular persons, that may think a Child well disposed of, for a small Sum to be taught a Trade, and have a Stock at going out to set up with.

They will not only add to the Nation so many as come from the Parishes, but they will produce another Generation by Marriages: Whereas the Poor bred to no Employment, seldom do more than waste away their Life in a single condition.

3. These Hospitals and Schools breeding up Numbers in the Linnen-Manufactory, will invite over Foreigners to settle in the same Employment; for that it is a Maxim in Trade and Manufactory, *That where there are but few employ'd, they will be found too many; and where there are great numbers, they may be thought too few.*

4. These Hospitals and Schools for Linnen will by themselves and their Increase settle such a Manufactory of Linnen as will not on-

ly prevent the great Sums of Money that go out of the Nation, but also bring in Money for several sorts of Linnen; they will soon arrive to that Perfection which can never be introduc'd by the Methods now taken.

5. There seems not a more certain way for raising the Rents of Lands and Houses, than advancing the Poor, and increasing of People and Trade; both which will certainly arise from these Schools and Hospitals.

6. These Hospitals and Working-Schools will exceed not only all the Charitable Works of this Kingdom, but may be thought above any in *Europe*. Former Charities seldom exceed present Provision for the Poor, and that only to keep them so; but by this there will be raised of them which are now the Disease of the Nation, a Useful and Industrious People: It is reasonable to believe they will be in their spreading forth in the Kingdom, Examples of Sobriety and Industry; for that they will be strangers to the common Vices of this Age, and know nothing but what they are bred up to in their Schools.

And that this Great Work may not miscarry, as Publick Stocks and Manufactories always do,

It is humbly propos'd, That a Charter may be given to such as will undertake so good a Work; and that they may have such Encouragement as may give them a Prospect of Advantage, without which the Undertaking cannot succeed; for that it is a mixt Undertaking, a Manufactory and an Hospital; the first

first to support the latter, and that with such Benefit to the Nation as might be wish'd, tho' at the Purchase of a National Fund: But here is nothing desired for the Maintenance of all the Poor Children of the Nation, for that the Ten Pounds to be paid by the Parish will not answer the Charge of Building and Furnishing the Houses; and that for a Fund to raise so much apiece when they go out, will not come to any Proportion of what must be paid in Fourteen Years. So that in truth the entire Success of this Affair rests on the Management and Stock of the Undertakers.

Thus far went the Propositions and Reasons for it, which to me appear'd without exception, tho' perhaps according to the unhappy humour of this Age some may be against it, if there appears any Advantage to the Undertakers; which is in my opinion a pernicious Principle, that hath been no small prejudice to our Trade and Manufactories, discourages Ingenuity, and hath driven many profitable Inventions out of the Kingdom into other Countries, where they meet with better Entertainment: But of this I shall at large discourse in the Second Part, and here only say, That I conceive one of the greatest Mistakes in our Provision for the Poor, is, That they are not put under the Charge of some that may be Gainers by their Work.

I never saw Publick Undertakings in Labour and Manufactory turn to any Advantage; nor do I see any reason to expect it,

whilst it is so difficult for Private Undertakers to defend themselves against the Frauds of Artisans and Labourers in Employments their Masters are bred in; and if it be so where men have both Understanding and Self-Interest united for their own Advantage, the Success cannot reasonably be so great. Suppose Managers ever so honest, there are some Difficulties that Publick Ministers lye under, which men in their own Concerns are free from; that is, Set Rules and Methods which they must observe, and by that means lose some Advantages which private men can take or leave, as they find them for their purpose. But that which seems unanswerable in this Undertaking, is, That the Proposition is to breed up Children in Manufactories, so as to ease the Nation of a Charge, and replenish the Countrey with People; and this cannot be done without great Expence of Money, and Industry of the Undertakers.

And why they should not have the Benefit of both, since it is not at the Publick Charge, none I believe can give a reason, but those wise men that would have no good done that any man gets by.

#### *Of the New-found-land Fishing.*

THE Name of a Joint-Stock and Company in Trade, is in general terms thought injurious to the several Interests of the Nation, but in some Cases it is allowed by all,

all, That Companies are absolutely necessary; and if in any, it seems to be so for the Fishing of *New-found-land*, which was once the most considerable Trade and Nursery for Seamen of this Nation.

How it came to be lost by us, and taken up by the *French*, is visible, and chiefly since the Restoration of *Charles the Second*, in whose Reign it was complained of, and Petitions from the *West-Countrey-men* to retrieve it, and secure them from the growing Encroachments of the *French*, daily made upon the Fishing of this Nation; but no Care was taken, the *French* Interest being then prevalent at Court.

The Island of *New-found-land* is as much the Right of the Crown, as any Foreign Plantation; nor have the *French* the least pretence to it.

But since they have got footing in it, no Private Undertakers are able to contest it with them; nor if the Government should dispossess them, would Private Undertakers be able to secure and maintain the Place and Trade.

The *French* have now Forts there, and send such Numbers of Ships Yearly, as is little less than a Warlike Effort added to their Trade; and by the Fishing they have raised their Seamen, and so became formidable at Sea, all their other Navigation not employing one fourth of the Seamen their Fishing of *New-found-land* and *Canady* doth.

And as the *French* have grown great in their Trade and Navigation by this Fishing. so hath

*England* by the Loss of it abated in both, to the weakning and Poverty of the Nation.

If the Strength and Security of this Nation lies in the Naval Force, it may be thought that which makes and employs Seamen cannot be bought too dear, but deserves the greatest Encouragement; and then the Fishing of *New-found-land* would be as much consider'd, and as well preserved from Foreign Encroachment as our other Plantations, where none are admitted to Trade but the Subjects of *England*.

It cannot be denied, however some may apprehend, but the Foreign Plantations add to the Strength and Treasure of the Nation, even in that of People, which is generally thought our Plantations abroad consume; but if it were considered, That by taking off one useless person, for such generally go abroad, we add Twenty *Blacks* in the Labour and Manufactories of this Nation, that Mistake would be removed.

But whatever the Advantages of our Foreign Plantations are to *England*, this of *New-found-land* Fishing will be much more, for that by it there will be Riches gain'd out of the Sea, without the Expence of any Foreign Commodities; but it is not so in the Foreign Plantations.

By this Fishing there will be no person, only some few to keep the Forts, taken out of the Kingdom; nor any fed or cloathed with the Product of other Parts, but all they consume will be of the Growth and Manufactory

And this Fishing of *New-found-land* will be supported entirely with the Product of the Nation, which no other Trade is; so will the Product of this Fishing bring in more Bullion than any other Trade can: Whereas the Product of our Foreign Plantations is greatest part consumed in the Kingdom, and that adds nothing to the Riches of the Nation.

And that which is not the least considerable in this Undertaking, is, That whereas in all our other Plantations abroad our men are employed in labour on shore, and so of no use in time of Naval War, this Plantation of *New-found-land* will be all Seamen, and most of them at home once a year, and may soon be to the Number of 10000 Men; which may be thought a greater Strength to the Nation than a Land-Army of thrice the number; with this advantage, that Seamen are always readier for Service, and yet of no Charge to the Government until they are in it.

And to sum up all in that which is the Security as well as Treasure of *England*, by this Fishing there may be added Thirty Sail of Men of War always ready for the Service of the Nation.

It may perhaps be expected, That after telling what mighty things may be done by this Fishing, I should lay down a Scheme how it may be made practicable: But as what I have here said is no more than Hints, on which better Heads may enlarge, so I must own my want of Assurance to prescribe Rules and Methods for so great an Undertaking, especially

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cially at a Time when the Supreme Council of the Nation are sitting, before whom I lay these *Essays*, as Suppliants do their Petitions, to be consider'd of. In that nature I shall also further submit some Particulars, which I humbly conceive necessary for the Establiſhing this Fiſhery.

I conceive that out of the National Bank before propos'd, muſt ariſe a Fund for this Undertaking, and ſuch as to Build and Purchase a Hundred Sail of Ships, from 100 to 300 Tun, and to carry Guns according to their Burthen, for every Ten Tun a Gun.

That there be at the Company's Charge Ten Third Rates, Ten Fourth Rates, Five Fifth Rates, and Five Sixth Rates, Mann'd and Gunn'd as Ships of War. The Uſe of theſe Ships, and Charge of maintaining them to the Advantage of the Company, ſhall be made out, if demanded.

That tho' theſe Ships ſhall be built by *Engliſh* Carpenters, yet not by *Engliſh* Timber; it being too evident that there will be want of that for the Navy.

That there be Forts and Plantations eſta- bliſhed in *New-found-land*, for Defence and Security of the Place.

That no *Spaniſh* or *French* Salt be uſed in ſaving their Fiſh, there being a way to ſave that Expence.

The Deſign and Advantage of this Trade being ſingular from any Trade yet in this Nation, That there ſhall be no Uſe or Con- ſumption of any thing, but the Product and Manufactory of the Nation. That

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That in regard there will be 20000 Perſons one way or other Employed in this Trade, and conſidering the want of People already in this Kingdom; That a Statute may be made to take out of Priſons ſuch Perſons as are kept for ſmall Debts, Fees, &c. of which ſort Thousands Periſh in Goals.

And that the ſame Proviſion be made for Criminals not guilty of Murther.

A Shaved Head and a Chain would be a greater Terror than a Gallows, and be a more laſting Example than the Execution of an Hour.

It ſeems alſo a Punishment to the innocent for the nocent, that a man ſhould be loſt to the Nation for an Offence done to a private Perſon, and the Sufferer have no Reparation for what he hath loſt; whereas if the Offender were kept to Work during his Life, ſome Re- paration might be made to the Perſon Injured, and a certain Gain made to the Nation by the Work of a man; and this way of Punish- ing Felons would bring more to Punishment than Death doth, for that many chuſe ra- ther to let Felons eſcape, than Proſecute where their Life is in danger.

That all ſuch Offenders as are now Tran- ſported, or have Liſenſe to go for Foreign Parts from *Ireland*, of the *Irish* Nation, be ſent to *New-found-land*, by which means they would be made uſeful and of profit to this Nation; whereas by their going to Foreign Parts they are enabled to do miſchief, and ſo it hath been found in all Rebellions of that People, they

returning back Experienced Commanders and Soldiers, which hath not been the least encouragement to them in all their Rebellions.

This Disposition of the faulty *Irish*, will not only be a Gain to this Nation, but also a Security in taking away one handle for future Rebellions, and make them, in some measure, Hostages for their Brethren in *Ireland*.

It may be thought a mistake in those who think it a good expedient to send the *Irish* to serve Foreign Princes, rather than venture them at Home; great part of the Common People are said to be Peaceable and easily led into Discipline, and nothing but want forceth them to Disorder; such are to be valued as a Stock in a Kingdom, where the Country is almost waste for want of Inhabitants; and for such as are faulty, they being sent where Labourers are wanting, and methods taken to keep them at work, they will be of good use; the Banishing of the *Moors* out of *Spain* is a lasting monument of ill Conduct, sufficient to warn us of the like mistake; if *a living Dog be better than a dead Lyon*, it may be thought the worst of Men are better than none; good Laws and Discipline may make Bad men useful in a Commonwealth, but no Human Law can Create them. There are many other things that attend this Undertaking, which in Time and Place may be offered.

Of

### Of Navigation and Seamen.

I Find more difficulty to say any thing on this Subject, than on any thing relating to Trade; because it is a common Theme on which men of divers Understandings have Wrote, and few conversant in Business, but cry it up as the *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, *England's Guardian Angel*, and needs no Advocate; but yet though all agree in Adoration, yet some differ in the form, and others believe we are safe enough in the Possession of it, when more fear we were never so near losing it; among the Crowd I shall bring in my Observations, and leave to better Judgments the determination.

That our Shipping and Navigation hath been declining for many years, is evident by the loss of that part of our Navigation which employed most of our Seamen; so it appears if we look into the Account that was taken of all the Seamen and Ships in *England* in the year 1615; the Navigation of *Europe* was not then one third of what it is now; the number of Seamen then taken, that were employed in the Ships of Trade, were but 11000, and of them 3000 in the *Newcastle* and *Coal* Trade; 1900 in the *Streights*, *Portugal*, and *Southern* Trade; 800 in the *French* Trade; 4400 in the *Greenland*, *Iceland*, and *Newfoundland* Fishing; 400 in the *Sound*; and 500 in the *Muscovy* Trade; this is demonstration how we have declined the most laborious part of

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our Navigation, since near one half of the employment of our Seamen in that Age, were in those Trades and Navigation which we have now in a manner lost, as that of the *New-found-land*, *Greenland*, *Muscovy*, and the *Sound*; this shews the want of a Council of Trade, not only of Merchants, but of the greatest Ministers of State.

Had our Forefathers understood Foreign Trade as well as they did their Native, it is probable they would have made as good Laws for the first, as they did for the latter: They did consider and provide, as far as the Experience of the Age allowed, for the improvement of Trade and employment of the People; we see what care they took against Monopolizers and Forestallers, what exactness in Provision for the Poor, the Assize of their Bread; and at the same time care taken that they should not exact in their Wages; what Penalties they laid on such as did vend or make defective Manufactories; and had they known the much greater Mischiefs that attend the Foreign Trade of the Nation, they would have provided against them.

For as Merchants are above the Rank of of Artizans, so is their Skill and opportunity to do good or harm in their Negotiations: There can be no Assize set upon their Commodities, nor Essay to the Curiosity of the *Indies*, or Luxury of the *Levant*, but they may be Limited and Prescribed in their Trade, and it seems of the greatest consequence that they should be so; for they often gain by that

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which is the Nation's greatest Loss; and not only Merchants, but Seamen will chuse, as all men naturally do, that Employment which brings Profit with least Toil and Labour; and that is one cause of the loss of the *New-found-land* Fishing, and *Northern* Trades; they were Laborious and of small Gain; and therefore as soon as we found out the *Southern*, and Plantation-Trades, we left them; and the *French*, who followed us in Trade, began where we left off, and by that means have made themselves so considerable at Sea; and although their Navigation hath not hitherto been so profitable as ours to the Merchant, yet is more considerable to their Monarchy, than the Effeminate Navigation of the *East* and *Southern* Trades; for that 1000 *l.* in the *Northern* and Fishing Trade employs more men than 20000 *l.* in the *Eastern* and *Southern* Trades. This consideration may be thought to affect *England* more than any part of the World; for that we are nothing on Shore longer than we Command the Seas; and our neglect and loss of the rougher part of the Navigation in the Fishing and *Northern* Trades, abates near one half of the Seamen that might be Employed in these Kingdoms; and nothing but the hand of the Government can retrieve this loss by encouraging the poorest part of Navigation, though most considerable as to increase of Seamen, which is the Strength of the Nation; and this cannot be done but by such Banks as will Interest all the men of Estates in the Kingdom one way or other in the Navigation and Trade of the Nation. But

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But of Banks I shall say something apart, and therefore now return to that of our Navigation and Seamen, in which, I believe, we cannot exceed, though upon occasion of proposing a way to increase the number of Seamen it was said, and for that reason rejected, That the methods proposed would make too many Seamen; that which then, and still prevails with me to believe that we cannot have too many Seamen, though that should happen which was objected, and to me seems very remote, that there would be want of Labouring men for Rural Employments, is, because that if we had more than our own Navigation could Employ, yet they would not want Employment in Foreign Ships, and what they get Abroad would be most of it brought Home, as now what Foreign Seamen get here, they carry Home into their own Country, and our *Englishmen* are not so apt to quit their own Country as Foreigners are, who change for the better, and ours must for a worse, if they did at all: But to answer what was said, That we must hire Plowmen from Abroad, if we take up our Countrymen for the Sea; allowing the assertion (which perchance few will) yet I conceive it were the Interest of the Nation to make the change, for that every Seaman Abroad might reasonably be supposed to return 10 *l. Sterling* of his Wages *per Ann.* into his own Country; for home, generally speaking, they will come, and the Plowmen we fetch from other Countries whatever they get must be spent where they Earn it, their Wages

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ges being seldom more than Feeds and Cloaths them, whereas a Seaman's is more than double, for he spends nothing at Sea.

If what I have said be allowed Answer sufficient to the Objection, That we may have too many Seamen, I shall proceed to shew, that we now want at least as many more as we have. The measure I make for our Seamen is in Two particulars.

The first is the Numbers we Employ in the Navy.

The other is in those Employed in our Merchantmen.

For the First; It is too evident that there is great part in the Fleet are Land-men, and others that have nothing more to nominate them Seamen, than the Rowing in a Wherry; and however shift is made with them, yet I presume it would be more pleasing to any Commander to have Men that could Top and Yard, and able to take his Trick at Helm, and perchance there may not be above one half in most Ships.

For Merchantmen there need no greater demonstration of their want, than the lying of so many Ships by the Walls, and such difficulty to keep men from Press that go to Sea, and so many *Portugal*, *Genoese*, and other Free Ships Employed by our Merchants; which is not only occasioned by the advantage of their being Free Ships, but also by the want of Seamen to Sail our own Ships.

Now there is a Third inducement for the increase of the Numbers of Seamen we want,

or



or at least Navigation and Trade to Employ them, and in this we have different reasons from any part of *Europe*; other Countries may encourage Seamen for their advantage in Traffick, but we must enlarge and encourage Numbers for our Security, and should seek out Places for Trade and Navigation that might give constant Employment for as many Seamen as might at least Balance the Numbers of the *French*, if we cannot arrive to that of the *Dutch*; it will be no offence to walk with as good a Sword by my Side as my Neighbour.

To clear this matter, let us look into a Calculation that was as exactly made as private Correspondency with Merchants could do it, in the year 1687. of the Numbers of Seamen then in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, and it was thus:

That in *England* there were not more than Forty thousand Able Foremast men; in *France* more than Sixty thousand; in the *United Provinces* more than One hundred and twenty thousand.

If this compute be true, as we may suppose it near the matter, it may be thought there hath been no Consideration of late years of the most important Affair of the Nation, and therefore the more reason to mind it now; and if the *French* were then Superiour to us in their Numbers of Seamen, they are much more now, for that Naval War increaseth their Numbers by Privateers, and abates ours who depend only on Trade, and that fails in time  
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of War; Privateers we have not many, and those few we had, it is said, have met with great discouragements, of which there are many Instances given, which I dare not presume to mention, since that matter hath been under the Consideration of the Parliament; but the blame hath been laid on the Commissioners of the Prizes, who, if we believe those concerned in Privateers, and others conversant in Maritime Affairs, are no great Masters in that of Trade and Navigation. If then what is here said be *tanto*, may it not deserve a thought how to enlarge, or at least retrieve that part of the Navigation we have lost in the Trades beforementioned, which if regained will Employ Twenty thousand Seamen, and beside the Profit they may bring to the Nation, would be a Sea-Militia for the security of these Kingdoms, beyond any we can have on Land.

And one man Employed at Sea adds more to the Treasure and Employments of the Poor, than five on Shore, besides replenishing the Kingdom, Seamen being like Decoy-Ducks, going abroad in better circumstances than most People in other Parts of the World do, invite others to return with them to a Place where they are better Fed and Cloathed than they are in their own Countries; and it is reasonable to believe, were our Laws for Naturalization and Freedom for Strangers but correspondent to the other advantages this Kingdom allows to any that are  
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Industrious, we should soon increase our Numbers.

It now remains I should say something of ways and methods how to make Seamen; for I think it presumption to propose encouragement for them we have, since His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to recommend that to the Parliament.

But how to encrease our Numbers may not be Offensive or Officious, if Reflections on the Pains some have taken to publish their Prescriptions in that matter renders not this impertinent; but its not being so Voluminous may, 'tis hoped, prevail for its excuse.

What I shall then offer is :

*First*; Agreeable to what I have said before, that our lost Fishings and *Northern* Trade be resumed, and that being National will have such encouragement as shall in some measure force men to come into it, I mean by the advantage of Gain and Profit to Seamen; for that no human Policy and Law can bring men into Arts with Success, and the increase of them, but by Gain, and security of enjoying it; and therefore I cannot understand how pulling men out of their dwellings to bring them into the Fleet can make Seamen; I would gladly hear a reason why we may not with as much ease Man our Fleet without Force, as the *Dutch*? or whether ever they used such methods as these Gentlemen propose for getting Seamen? It is true we cannot expect men to  
come

come in voluntary for the King's Pay, whilst the scarcity of Seamen obligeth Merchants to give double the Wages of the King's Pay; but if we had double the Seamen, that would abate; and the way to have them, I conceive, is to put in practice something like that proposed three years since, which was, That there should be publickly assurance given, that whoever entred himself into Sea-service, that was never at Sea before, should be free from Press for Three years, by which means there would be Numbers of lusty Young men that want Employment, enter themselves in Merchantmen, and Bind themselves to Masters of Ships, who would soon make them Foremast-men for their own Profit: and more would come in time of War, when they want Work at many Trades, than in time of Peace; it being great encouragement for them to be secure from Press for Three years, in which time they might hope for a Peace.

Nor would this obstruct Manning the Fleet, for that it exempts none that are now Seamen, nor would be if this encouragement made them not so; and this bringing in New Men would daily add to the Fleet; for that as New Men increased, those that were Seamen before Employed in Merchantmen, might be spared out of Merchant Ships, who with one fourth Foreigners, as the Act allows, and these New Men, might with one third of Old Seamen be Navigated.

And the way to prevent Collering Old Seamen under the notion of New, is ealie and infallible, as was beyond Objection, even to them that encouraged not this Proposal, demonstrated.

If this expedient be not approv'd, it may perchance set better heads on more proper means, for that there seems a necessity to provide for Trade against times of Peace, as well as now for the Navy in time of War; and in my humble Opinion, there can be no encouragement so effectual to make Seamen, as exemption from Men of War for some Time.

Inventions to find out concealed Seamen, seems to me an antidote against making New; Force and Projects may be useful to make an ignorant servile People Slaves, but can have no good effect with those that know better, and will not be so; there needs no trick to promote the true Interest of a Nation, every man will run into it; and he would be a States-man worthy of Honour that did advance the Interest of his Country above that of their Neighbours.

Of Building Ships.

Having in few words, for so they are if regard be had to the Subject, done with Navigation and Seamen, I come to that of Building Ships; and some think we are in danger of wanting them for Merchantmen. For

For the Fleet none doubts but to an extremity we do, and that lies before those who can only supply it; but that we want Merchant Ships sufficient for our Trade, I am afraid we don't, I wish we did; but whilst so many Ships lye by the Walls, it is no great sign we do; and this was our case before the War, more than now, which may be answered by the loss of our Ships this War; but that seems not sufficient, there being allowance for all, and yet too plain that we want not Ships for the Trade of *England* if we had a Peace to morrow, which is a misfortune that the Nation hath not so much Trade left them as to Employ one half the Seamen their Neighbours do; and until we have at least always in Employment as many as the *French*, there seems no security to these Kingdoms; but it is hoped there will be ways found to Employ them, as there soon will be when those Trades we have lost are retrieved; and if the Great Council of the Nation thinks it necessary, no human Hand or Policy can hinder them, either in that, or any other Trade of the Nation, if it be taken in hand in time. What can withstand a People that outdoth all Kingdoms in *Europe* in Taxes, without Complaints and Famine, as they have in other Countries? A Fifth part of one years Tax might be so laid out, as to conquer and secure that we most want: But to come to the Proposition of Building Ships, there are two difficulties started in this matter; one is, that the Timber of the Kingdom is much

much wasted, and cannot hold out long. The other is, that Timber from *Norway* is not to be purchased by us at such easy rates as the *Dutch* have, and consequently cannot Build so Cheap as they do; now though there is truth in both these Objections, yet are raised on another occasion, that of the Act of Navigation; yet I see no great weight in it as to the use they would make of it, that is to shew the necessity for the Nation to buy Ships of the *Dutch*; I confess to my Understanding the reasons they give, turn upon them; and were there nothing more but what they offer against the Act of Navigation in that point, it is enough to shew the good of that Act; but of this I shall speak apart, and return to the Building of Ships.

That there is nothing of greater consequence to a people that live by Trade, than to be makers of their own Tools by which they work, none will deny; now Shipping are the Tools and Utensils of the Nation; to fetch them from abroad is to Trade by Licence; whenever our *Northern* Neighbours please, we must lye still, or pay such rates as they please, that shall be equal to a Tax on our Trade; for this reason I conceive it worth a consideration how to find out an expedient; and that, with submission to better Judgments, I shall propose, is either or both of these ways.

i. That the Act of Navigation, for that part of it relating to Timber and Naval Stores, be dispenced with for three years, and that all Customs,

Customs, Port and Town Duties be taken off for that time on Timber, &c. relating to Building and Fitting Ships to Sea; this will tumble in Materials fast enough, perchance to a glut, if the following proposition be effectually pursued; that is,

2. To give such Encouragement for raising Naval Commodities, as Pitch, Tar, Hemp, &c. in our Foreign Plantations, as may advance that Trade to more than our own Consumption; if this were done, it would make the *Northern* Princes abate their Impositions they have lately laid on their Commodities, and set them upon all ways of furnishing us so cheap, as might render our attempts of raising them our selves unprofitable; and let it succeed to their expectation or not, the effect would be to our advantage; and the success to either, time will shew.

The next thing then that is to be enquired into, in this matter, is, How our Plantations stand as to the natural Product of these Commodities, and how provided with hands to Manufacture them.

As to the first, I can say something upon my own Observations in *America*, That *New England* is Superior to any of the *Northern* Crowns for Timber and Mafts, Pines and Firr, to make Pitch and Tarr, for Soil to raise Hemp, and well enough for making Iron.

But there seems some difficulties in the want of hands to work and supply, that is the

only Objection I see in this Affair ; and altho that hath been too great for particular men to undertake, yet may not, tho if undertook by a publick Fund ; which perchance upon a thorough consideration may be found necessary to be done upon some such Inducements as these.

It would make *New England*, of the most usefess and unprofitable Plantation of this Nation, the best and most advantageous to this Nation. I might enumerate many particulars, but I presume this will come into hands that need no more than to put them in mind of the Place and Product.

That *New England* lies better for a Market to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Levant*, than the *Northern Crowns*, who now furnish that part of *Europe* with those Commodities *New England* can furnish.

That establishing this Trade will Employ many Ship-Carpenters and Seamen, which I cannot omit, wherever it comes in my way, to say, is the Treasure and Strength of these Kingdoms.

That this Trade will occasion the Consumption of more Woollen Manufactories than all our Foreign Plantations, it being a Cold Climate, and Men with hard Labour wear out much Cloaths.

That there will be room and reason to give great encouragement for Foreigners to settle in this Plantation and Undertaking, which next to our Seamen, seems of moment to advance,

vance, which even those that are against at home, will not be when they are abroad.

And to sum up all : As this Plantation may save the Nation the Expence they are now at in purchasing Naval Stores, so it will bring in considerable returns in Bullion for what they send into the *Levant*, *Spain*, &c.

And that this may not appear as a *Chimera*, it is to be noted, That there hath been many years since several Ships loaden in *New-England*, with Masts, &c. for the *Streights* ; but for the Reasons before given, ( the want of Hands, and Publick Encouragement ) that Trade did not prosper. Merchants do not affect a Trade that takes up much Time and little Stock, as the *Lumber-Trade* doth ; which is more profitable to the Ship and Men than the Merchant ; and it is a mistake in those that think Merchants are always Owners ; perhaps they have least share in the Ships of *England*. Having thus given some few Hints, for they are no more, if compar'd with what is to be said on this Copious Subject, it may be expected that I should say something of the *Modus* for setting up this Manufactory, and building Ships in *New-England* : To set down an Exact Scheme, would take up more Sheets than I design Lines in this Place ; but something I shall mention.

1. To carry on this Work, it will be necessary that extraordinary Privileges be given to Foreign Protestants that will inhabit there, as having Land given them, free Liberty of Conscience,

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science, greater Wages than they can have in their own Countries, Houses for some time Rent-free from all manner of Impositions, &c.

2. That such Encouragement be given, as may invite the Natives to work: They are very ingenious and docible, but naturally averse to Labour; yet I have seen some of them take great pains in working Curiosities; and that which induceth me to believe they would work if they were sure of good Wages, is the great labour they take in making their *Wampompeeg*, of which the most skilful and laborious amongst them cannot make above Two Shillings a day: Now if these men could have so much a day for any other work, it is reasonable to believe they might be brought to it, and by that means they would be better cloath'd than those that are idle, and that would tempt them in also. But to this may be objected, That this dear Wages would make those Commodities dear: To which I answer, That there is some works in Falling, Floating, and Drawing Timber, that cannot be had cheaper; and that there are no men will sooner learn the best labour than they; and as the Countrey fills, and the *Indians* are brought to work, Wages will fall.

3. There may be *Negroes* brought, whose labour will come cheap; and their very little Children will be very useful in peeling Hemp, picking *Oacum*, and other things about Pitch and Tar.

This

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This Undertaking being thoroughly managed, will be such a Staple for Shipping and Naval Stores, as no part of *Europe* can exceed, and put these Kingdoms out of the Power of their Neighbours, in that of their Naval Provisions; and our Ships may be cheaper built than in any part of *Europe*, with the advantage of preserving the Timber of *England* for the Royal Fleet.

I have often wondred that such a disposition as this hath not been thought on for that unprofitable Plantation, which now brings nothing to this Nation, but to the contrary buries Numbers of Industrious People in a Wilderness, that produceth nothing but Provisions to feed them; and yet the most useful Commodities in it for the Nation, being that which makes our Walls and Bulwarks. This neglect is such as was in this Kingdom in exporting our Wool; which was consider'd by that Wise Prince *Edward* the Third, who thereupon pass'd a Law for encouraging Foreign Clothiers, and that they should settle in what part of the Kingdom they pleas'd: A good President for giving all the Encouragement and Immunities imaginable, to invite Foreign Carpenters and others into a Plantation, that might raise such Commodities as are the Foundation of our Wealth and Security.

Of

*Of the Act of Navigation.*

TO write upon this, is to enter upon Controversy in Trade, which I think doth as little good as that in Religion, and is commonly undertook, or at least started by those that have least share in the Practice. I have never been so attacked to my own Understanding, as to conclude those in the wrong that differ with me; but I must own my self a great Votary to the Act of Navigation, believing it the *Sea Magna Charta*, and the only Law that ever past in *England* for the securing our Trade and Navigation; and I had like to have said, with it our Religion, Laws, and Properties too; for that no men in the Government are more averse to Popery and Arbitrary Power than they are: And altho I believe we can never add too many to our Number on Shore, yet perhaps it may be the Interest of the Nation to keep as many *English* in our Sea-Employments as we can; for that they are in truth our Guards; and tho when Naturaliz'd, and Inhabitants, Foreign Seamen may be useful, yet so as that they may be but a small Proportion to the whole Number of Seamen in our Trade and Navigation. It is observable, that notwithstanding the States in *Italy* are inseparably united in their Force at Sea against the *Turks*, yet they are so jealous of each others Growth in that Strength, that they are oblig'd to each other not to exceed the

the Number of Gallies they are by Compact allowed to have. This provident care of theirs might put us in mind of our Neighbours, and that we have no reason to declaim against the Act of Navigation, that doth only encourage our own Seamen, and that we have reason to do, since we have no Compact with those about us to restrain their Growth at Sea, but every Government enlarge as much as they can.

And whatever reason they have for it, we have more both as to our Trade and Safety. One reason that is given why there are no Beggars in the *United Provinces*, is because of the Multitude of Seamen; none gives more Employment to the Poor than Seamen, their own Consumption of the ordinary Manufactory, besides the small Adventures of them they carry abroad; but I think it needless to enter upon the Benefits we receive by the Act of Navigation; we are in possession of it, and therefore have only to answer the Charge laid against it, and I take them all to be comprehended under Four Heads.

1. That by the Act of Navigation we have lost several Trades, as the *Muscovy*, *Greenland*, *Norway*, and in great measure the Trade into the *Sound*.

2. That the Act of Navigation hath raised the Wages of Seamen to the great Discouragement of all Merchants.

3. That by the Act of Navigation we have very much lessened the Building of Ships.

4. That

4. That by the Act of Navigation we have totally lost some Trades, because they of that Countrey have no Shipping, and Strangers of other Countries cannot bring their Commodities. These are the several Topicks upon which all is said that I can find against the Act of Navigation. I shall begin with the first:

That by it we have lost the *Muscovy* Trade. This is said, but no Reason or Instance given to evince how, as there is for some of the following; and since they can give no reason, I can find none out of the Act of Navigation; but other Reasons there are how we come to lose that Trade.

One is the heavy Customs plac'd on Commodities brought from Foreign Parts, which is in consequence a Prohibition to their Exports from us to any other Countrey: The *Dutch*, who court Trade as their Mistress, lay their Customs so that they can export them again with little Charge; and the *Muscovite* Trade requires variety of Commodities in a Cargo which we have not proper for that Countrey of our own Product, and our Customs hinder shipping out any: This put that Trade with Advantage into the hands of the *Dutch* in the Reign of *Charles* the First, and they taking the Advantage of the Civil Wars in *England*, represented us under such Characters to that Court, that no *English* for some time durst appear there. These are the true Causes of our Loss of the *Muscovy* Trade, not the Act

Act of Navigation, which was made some years after.

It is further said, By it we have lost the *Greenland* Trade, but appears not by any thing that is offered, but that the *Dutch*-built Ships are cheaper, and sail'd with fewer men: It is true, *Dutch*-built Ships are cheaper, but as true that an *English*-built ship will last twice as long. So then I cannot find the odds, but that the sailing with fewer Men is an Argument for the *Greenland* Trade, shews their being Strangers to that Trade, who bring it for a reason, because the *Greenland* Fishing obligeth the Ships to carry Five times the number that would sail her, to be employed in their Shalops when they come to the Fishing. So then there is no advantage by the Number of Seamen to sail a Ship to *Greenland*, when they are forc'd to carry so many for their Fishing.

But for discourse sake, to see if any thing could be made of this Argument, allowing it was as they mistake, that a *Dutch* Ship and Men can fish cheaper than we; yet where is the Argument, That therefore *Englishmen* go not at all? It is equally alike to the *English*, whether they manage it dearer or no; for they set their Rates accordingly; since by the Act of Navigation the *Dutch* nor any other Nation can bring into *England* the Product of that Fishing, but upon paying double, Aliens Duty. So that I can see nothing in this matter; but believe we have lost that, with other *Northern* Navigations, by our *Southern* and *Levant*



*vant* Trade, being more pleasant and profitable Voyages for Seamen, and so wanted Men for our less profitable Trade; and we should for some other Trades we yet hold, as that of *Virginia*, and the little we have left of the *New-found-land* Fishing, if the Act of Navigation did not secure them. There seem'd for these Reasons, no doubt, grounds for the Act of Navigation, to confine this Trade to our Ships and Seamen, as much as they could; otherwise it would certainly have fallen into Foreign hands: And according to my sense of Trade, it were better for the Nation to have neither Whale, nor Oyl, nor Whalefin, than to have them by Purchase from Foreigners.

I make this distinction, That there is no Gain to the Nation by what is consumed in it; and neither of these Commodities are exported.

The next Objection is, The Loss of the *Norway* Trade; and in this there is something; but I cannot see so great a mischief in it, as is represented, but that which may be remedied by a dispensation for employing *Dutch* Ships in that Trade, so they be sail'd by *English* men; for that I conceive is the great design, and of more value than all the rest in the Act of Navigation; for that in most of our Trades, *English*-built Ships are used, and *Dutch* not proper; so there needs no force when it is done of choice: But that which may put an end to this Exception in the Act of Navigation, and most of the *Northern* Trade,

Trade is propos'd in the foregoing Essay of Building Ships.

That which is objected of hindring our Trade in the *Sound*, hath nothing in it, when at the same time it appears, that of Seven Ships a year sent there, Five goes in there Ballast.

That we have lost our Trade into the *Sound*, is plain from the variety of Commodities the *Dutch* carry in one Ship; and we commonly carry the Product of *England*, which is one of our Mistakes in Trade, that for fear of a small loss in the Customs, we lose so considerable a Trade as we do in the *Sound*, and *Northern* Kingdoms: But of this, something shall be said apart. And so I have done with the first Head in relation to the Act of Navigation, which better Judgments may determine, but in mine there is nothing appears to the prejudice of the Act.

The second Objection against the Act is, That it hath raised Sea-mens Wages, so that Merchants are now at the Mercy of Seamen, who raise their Wages at pleasure, and so impose upon Trade, to the discouragement of Merchants: All this I know to be literally true; and allowing the Matter of Fact, we will see what Inferences are made from it: They that are against the Act of Navigation, bring it for demonstration, and it is so, That Seamen have since raised their Wages, and that is a Prejudice to Trade: Now to make this matter clear to every Understanding, it may be needful to shew, that in this there is two handles,

handles, both to be laid hold on in Argument, one is the Profit of the Merchant, the other is that of the Publick and National Interest.

The Complaint lies thus ; Before the Act of Navigation, Merchants had Seamen at easy and low Wages ; this was their Gain, and the Foreign Seamens Profit, who carried their Wages out of the Kingdom, and most commonly in Money.

The Act of Navigation bars these Foreign Seamen from sailing entirely in our Ships, that is, from being the whole Crew ; for one fourth of Foreign Seamen the Act allows ; which I think is the only mistake in that Statute, to give Foreign Seamen any room in our Ships : But thus it stands, By excluding Foreign Seamen, ours have rais'd their Wages, and that is a loss to the Merchants, I mean it is said so ; but that is equally a mistake with the rest ; for Merchants will rate their Goods according to their Charge ; and it is the Consumer, not Importer, that pays it : But allowing the matter as it is said, the Merchant he gets by having Foreign Seamen, the Nation gets by employing our own Seamen ; which of those is to be encouraged, I think can be no question among *English-men*.

I confess, amongst all the Arguments that I have heard made use of, this of Seamen was most surprizing, because I always thought it the greatest Authority, and invincible Argument for the Act of Navigation. It shews the Necessity for a Law to make Seamen, when

when you have not Three fourths to sail your Merchant-men ; for as before is said, the Act allows of making use of one fourth Foreigners ; and yet we see the Merchants complain for want of more. If these Gentlemen that are displeas'd with the Act of Navigation, would but consider the Condition of the Nation in all parts of its Trade and Navigation, I persuade my self they would be Advocates on the other side, for their Discourse shews them men of Ingenuity, and well-affected to their Countrey ; and tho I will not pretend to convince them by dint of words, yet I do not despair of doing it, by laying before them the State of the Nation in this Particular, when this Act was, and was first thought on, in the time of the *Rump-Parliament*, thus, as I find it by Story and Relation of some that were Merchants and Commanders at Sea in that time : The *Rump-Parliament* quarrelling with the *Dutch*, took the opportunity of making Trade the chiefest pretence for it, believing that would be Popular, and affect *England* ; and the truth is, there was ground enough for Quarrel in matters of Trade ; the *Dutch* grew very fast upon us all the Reign of *Charles the First* ; and it is a mistake to say that we lost our Trade into the *Sound* and *Muscovy* since the Act of Navigation ; for it was stealing from us the year 1634, and was in a manner quite lost by the year 1652 : But that which most affected, and gave offence to the Nation, was, the *Dutch* had got such a Trade to our

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Plantations in the *West-Indies*, that we could scarce get so much Sugars home, as the Nation consum'd; they supplied our Plantations with Wines and Brandies, Linnen, and almost every thing they spent in the Islands. This being so notorious, the then Government thought upon the Act of Navigation, which had good effect in preserving that part of our Trade and Navigation that was left; and perhaps we owe at this day the Preservation of these Kingdoms to it; for that upon the Restoration of *Charles* the Second, had not this Act lain in the way, there might not have been such course taken as there was in our Trade and Navigation: The disposition of those times seem'd to tend another way, for Pleasure more than Trade; but this Act stood as a Centinel for the Traffick of the Nation, and put them in mind of other things.

I have now brought this Act to the year 1660. and let us see how the Trade of the Nation stood then.

Upon the Restoration of *Charles* II. there was a Set of People in Trade, that had been bred up in it in the time of the Parliament, and these Men having the Money, as well as the Trade of the Kingdom in their hands, were at that time easier heard than they have been since. They not knowing what force Foreign Money might have at Court, thought themselves never safe until they got the Act of Navigation confirm'd; and being early in their Application, they succeeded to their own Satisfaction,

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with some Advantages more than was in the former Act. For it is to be observed, That under *Oliver's* Government, the Act of Navigation had little force; both the Government, and the Merchants, were willing to let it sleep; for that during the War with *Spain*, to avoid their Privateers, which were so numerous, that scarce a Ship could stir without a Convoy, most of our Trade was managed in *Dutch* bottoms, they being at Peace with *Spain*; this Management had almost stifled the Act of Navigation, and Merchants finding their present Gain by the cheapness of *Dutch*-Sailing, did not consider the future Consequence, immediate Gain was what they minded: But upon the Restoration, the same men that under the Usurp'd Government were content with the General Scramble of the Nation, and to come in for a Share, were now for securing Trade to Posterity, which they were careless of, whilst they had no Foundation of Law or Government.

I have been the larger in this Account, because I find it generally believ'd, That this Act of Navigation was originally brought forth in prejudice to the *Dutch*, and for the same reason renew'd in the Reign of *Charles* the II. whereas in truth it was at first made with as much reason and necessity as our Laws against Exportation of Wooll; for neither that nor any thing else can with reason be thought our own, longer than our Ships and Seamen have

the Guard of it, and that they cannot have, unless they have the Carriage; and if that be allow'd, which I submit, then the *Second* Objection against this Act, That it raises the Wages of Seamen, will not be found material, but rather be, as indeed I think it, the best Argument that can be given for the Act of Navigation; if Seamen be our Guards, as well as Labourers; and Foreign Seamen by their cheap Sailing have so beaten out ours, that we have not  $\frac{3}{4}$  to sail our Ships in time of Peace, sure it was time to consider of a way to increase and encourage our Seamen.

The *Third* Objection made against the Act of Navigation, is, That it hinders the Building of Ships; this I confess would have weight in it, if it were possible to be true, which to me it doth not appear, no more than because I cannot get brown Bread, I will starve rather than eat white: *Dutch* Ships are cheaper, and sail'd with fewer Men, and consequently can bring Lumber for building Ships cheaper than *Englishmen* can; and because we cannot fetch these Materials at so easy rates, therefore we will be fullen, and neither fetch nor buy of the *Danes* or *Sweeds*, who by the way, methinks, should be able to bring their own Commodities as cheap as the *Dutch*, and so leave off building Ships, Trade, and Navigation. This would be a surly dogged Humour indeed, exceeding any thing in story, that a Nation should make a Law that should be so injurious

injurious to their own Trade, as that with one consent they would set down and Starve; for so it must be, if we build not Ships since we cannot use Foreigners; it seems more reasonable to believe, let the Charge be what it will, Ships would be built the faster. For that, in short, then there would be no Trade, nor will the raising price of Ships or Freight be a loss to Merchants or Owners, because it will be charged on the Commodities, and that is paid by the Consumers. But to make it yet more plain, that after all this pretence, there can be no prejudice either to the Merchant or Consumer by employing our own Ships; We will examine further, what Trade requires our own built Ships and Seamen, and then how much our Ships will be the dearer, by buying Naval Provisions from the *Danes* or *Sweeds*, or by fetching them in our Ships, than if we bought them from the *Dutch*; for it is they that are pretended to bring Materials cheapest.

For the first part of the Enquiry, What Trade requires our own Ships and Men?

There remains then nothing but some part of the *European* Trade, and greatest part of that before the Act of Navigation was manag'd by our own Ships; and all that Foreign Ships were employ'd in, was the *Northern* Trade; the consequence of which was, the *Dutch* by degrees taking it all out of our hands.

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The second Inquiry is, How much our Building will be dearer by the *Sweeds* and *Danes*, and our own fetching of Materials?

I cannot find either by my own Experience, (and I have traded considerably in all three) or any others, That the *Dutch* could bring Timber, &c. cheaper than the *Danes* or *Sweeds*; and all the difference I could ever find betwixt our Ships and theirs, was not above 5 s. in a Tun, tho we loaded *English*-built Ships; and how that affects our Building, is easily computed, when in building a Ship of 200 Tun, all that is needful to import for her Building and Rigging, will be little more than 50 Tun Stowidge; for it is to be noted, we use most of our own Timber and Plank for every part of the Ship, but her Decks and finishing within board, with some other slight Ornamental part of the Ship; but this difference in the Carriage is so inconsiderable, that it will not serve for a dispute. I shall therefore allow the difference of Freight to be 10 s. per Tun, which no man that is conversant in that Trade will say; and the *Quantum* to be double, that is, 100 Tun, which would make the difference 50 l. in Building a Ship, that fitted to Sea might cost 2000 l. This being a large Calculation for them that bring in the Objection, yet makes the difference so small, that it is of little consideration among Private Men, and will be of less to the Publick, especially where our own Ships are employed; and it is also to be remembred, that we make not

Building

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Building of a Ship as a Manufactory for Sale, but for our own use; and whether it would be more Profit for the Nation to Buy Ships, though they could be had 30 per Cent. Cheaper than we could Build for, I leave to Judgment: I know the common Topick, Cheapness of Carriage will be brought, as often it is, where it is foreign to the thing controverted, as it is here; *Dutch* Ships being Cheaper Built then ours, can afford Cheaper Freight than we; and so we lose the profitable part of Trade, as Carriage no doubt is: This at first sight looks formidable, as if it would stand its ground; but enquiring into the matter, we shall find nothing in it; I have before shewed that to more than three parts of the world, our Ships are allowed, more desirable than any Foreign Ships, especially than such as are slight and cheaper Built; so then there is three parts in four that we stand at least on the level with other Ships.

That which remains is part of the *European* and Home-Trade; let us see how we could get a share of that Carriage, if we had as Cheap Sea-Waggens as our Neighbours; for no better are most of the Ships us'd in the Lumber-Trade. For that part relating to the *Dutch* Importation into their Country and Rivers, none will pretend unto; and for that of the *Northern* Crowns, I mean their Importations, the *Dutch* will have the Advantage, until we can perswade them to two things.

First,

First, That they will Eat no Bread, and then follow our example, place such Duties on all Goods Imported into *Holland*, that there may be no possibility of Shipping them out again; until these two particulars happen, we roul a stone up hill, to imagine we can upon equal terms deal with them in the *Northern* Trade; for that they can send Ships laden with Commodities of all Countries, where we must send them light; and they can bring back Corn in Barter, and returns for what they carry there; but we have seldom need of Corn in this *Northern* Trade; we can then at most aim at no more than Navigating our own expence in it; so here is no Freight for us.

We then come to the *French* Trade; and they are wiser than to let any Carry for them, but from them you may; they wisely laid 5 s. per Tun upon Foreign Ships, but none upon their own, as we have done: All this being matter of Fact, I cannot find if we had Ships as cheap as Eggshells, where we should Employ one more on Freight to Foreigners than we do, and they are very few to the *Southward*, and in the *Levant*, in neither of which Cheap Sailing is in demand, but Ships of Strength and Force; and for that reason the *English* have been in most esteem there.

I think there needs no more to answer the Objection, that the Act of Navigation hinders the Building of Ships, or that we want slight Ships, since we have little use for them, and none

none at all if they any ways interfere with the Act of Navigation.

We now come to the last exception against the Act: That by it we have totally lost several Trades; for that by the Act none but *English*-built Ships can Import the Commodities of any Foreign Country, or the Ships and Men of that Country, and perhaps they have none; and we Trading not there at all, the Trade is lost. This had I only heard in Discourse, and not seen in Print, I should not have mentioned it, lest it might have been thought a Wisp of Straw of my own lighting; but I place it as I find it; for I leave nothing out of all I could ever hear Objected against the Act, and therefore bring in this, though, I think, there needs no Answer more than to say, There are no Ships to bring away the Product of a Country, and we send none to fetch them; it is a strange Indication that we have no use of their Commodities, or our Ships are better employed, and that we want Ships and Men for such poor Trades, which nothing will force us to increase, but the Act of Navigation; it being a certain Maxim in Trade and Navigation, *That whilst there is room in the easie and most profitable Part, none will run into the poor and more Laborious.* And we not having Seamen enough to manage our profitable and easie Navigation, as I have before mentioned, is one reason of the decay of our rougher and poor Navigation; which was wisely provided for in this Act, *That all Foreign Import,*

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*Import, of Fish, Oyl, Whale, Finn, &c. should pay double Alliance Duty.* This was intended to give us advantage above Foreigners; and would, no doubt, be a good encouragement, if we had our other Trades supplied, to bring Seamen into the Fishing Trade; but having lost the Trades for want of Ships and Seamen, that therefore we should sit down with the loss, and take no course to retrieve it, because at first we cannot bring in these Commodities as Cheap as Foreigners can, is with the Sloathful to say, *A Lyon is in the way.*

But we had, when this Act was made, better Resolutions, and knew then, and so may now, That it is better for the Kingdom to Pay twenty Shillings to their own Men, than Fifteen to Strangers; and by doing that for a time, we may regain those Trades, and manage them on as good terms as any other.

This I believe will be thought sufficient cause for the supporting the Act, as it was for making it.

I shall add no more, but set down in few words the Tenor and Force of the Act of Navigation, and leave every man to his own Judgment of it.

The Act in the Preamble tells us, the necessity for Increase of our Ships and Seamen.

That for Encouragement to so good a Work, that after a time limited, no Foreign-built Ship, or men, shall Import any Commodities,

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modities, but of the Product of their own Country.

The Consequence of which is, That no other Nation should have the benefit of Carriage to us, but each Country their own; and if they could not do it so Cheap as we, then our Ships would have the Carriage, and not Foreigners; by which our Ships and Seamen would be Increased.

The other part of the Act is for encouraging our Fishing, and that is by placing double Alliance-duty upon all Fish, Oyl, &c. Caught and Imported by Foreigners.

This sure cannot be a fault, to give our own Men encouragement above Strangers; since the Navigation and Trade of the Kingdom gives them better Livelihood than the Fishing would; if Foreigners, who live hardly, might import Fish as free from Duty as they, the consequence of which would be, that we should lose the Fishing, as we have some other Employments of our Seamen.

#### Of Banks and Lumbers.

Presuming the usefulness of Banks in *England* is not now controverted, I submit to better Judgments how Banks and Lumbers may be set up in all Parts of this Kingdom for the Encouragement of the Manufactories and Navigation thereof. I conceive there is nothing so destructive to the Trade and Employment,

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ments of the Nation, as engrossing the Money and Business of the Kingdom in great and few hands; that would bring the Kingdom into the Rickets, draw all the Nourishment to the Head, *London* would swell beyond its natural growth, and the other parts of the Kingdom waste and dwindle to nothing.

The Banks then that I should humbly Propose, may be thus established;

1. That in every Shire there be a Bank erected by Act of Parliament.

2. That the Fund for these Banks be Land and Money: And because there may be no difficulty in point of Title of such Lands as shall be put in Bank, that a Law may pass in Parliament, That whoever is in quiet Possession of an Estate, and shall place it in the Bank as part of the Original Fund, that Land shall be perpetually in the Bank, whatever Title may afterwards appear; and shall only be transferr'd to him that shall recover the same: For it is to be understood, that whoever puts Land in Bank, is never to receive more out than his proportionable part of the Gain arising from the General Stock: So that Land remains the same, whoever makes a Title to it.

But for the better Credit of Land in the Bank, a Proviso may be in the Act, That no Title of Land put into the Bank shall be question'd after      years: This will give a Reputation to any particular person's Title of  
Lands

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Lands in the Bank, if he should have occasion to sell his Interest, which otherwise will not be of equal Value with those that put their Original Fund into the Bank in Money.

The Fund of Banks being thus established by Land and Money in each County, the next thing will be to appoint the *Quantum*, and who shall come in; for it is not to be doubted, but there will be more than enough, and every Shire will strive to bring in as much as they will be permitted.

For the General Fund of the whole Kingdom, I suppose Four Millions may be sufficient to begin with, half Land, and half Money; and for the particular Proportions of each Shire, their Proportion in the Land-Tax may be a good Rule. The Manage of these Banks in each Shire may be by men chosen among themselves.

That twice a year a General Meeting may be in *London*, two being sent out of every Shire, there to settle Accounts, and make Dividends of the Profit; which would be great satisfaction to all persons concerned, and would quicken the Trade and Business of the Nation.

For the dispose, putting out, and receiving Money in Bank, there can be no set Rules, and therefore will depend upon the Accidents of War and Trade; but some standing Rules may be thought on for the Rates of Exchange through the Kingdom; upon which there will arise great part of the Gain, and will be considerable in the Advantage and Ease of the Nation,  
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tion, in quick circulating of the Money, and the most effectual way for suppressing Highway-men, for that no man need travel with more than Pocket-Money for his Expence, when he may have Bank-Tickets to any part of the Kingdom where he goes.

There seems a difficulty, Whether these Banks should pay any Interest-Money, having so great a Fund, with which, and their Credit, they may supply all the Wants and Employments of the Nation, for that it will be impossible to hinder these Banks from having an Unlimited Credit; so that perchance Two Millions of Ready Money may answer Ten Millions in the Currant Payment of the Nation; for that few will take Money out, but transfer from one account to another.

And it is reasonable to suppose, that most men will lodge their Money in Bank, for the greatness of Security, and saving the trouble and hazard of telling Money.

For these Reasons it may be thought a Bank will pay no Interest; and that may be injurious to the Nation in two respects: First, It may necessitate many people to carry their Money out of the Kingdom, where they may make some Benefit by it, when they are debarr'd from any Advantage at home. The other mischief it may do, reaches Widows and Orphans, whose Support often depends upon the Interest of their Money; and if Banks pay none, they will be able to set out at very low Interest, more than the wants of the Kingdom will require.

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But that which I conceive may be an expedient in this case, may be a Proviso in the Act of Parliament, That these Banks shall set out no Money at Interest upon Real Estates; by which means there will be room for private persons to set out Money upon Mortgages.

These Banks being National, may be so constituted as to retrieve that most considerable part of the Navigation of the *Greenland* and *New-found-land* Fishing: But because that may be discouraging to some persons that understand not Trade, and only depend on their Money at Interest, it will be necessary to shew, That notwithstanding the Trade propos'd, there shall be a certain Fund or Dividend of at least *Five per cent. per Ann.* besides the Profit of Trade, and that may be done thus; Supposing the Fund of Land to be valued at 20 years Purchase, the Rent will be *Five per Cent.* for Two Millions; then for the other Two Millions in Cash, allowing but *Five per Cent.* more for the Gain of Exchange, that compleats the *Five per Cent.* upon the whole Fund. This is a Certainty, without reckoning any Advantage to be made by the Credit of the Bank, and putting out Money to Interest.

There will not be here room to mention the *Modus* or Advantages that will attend that most important Undertaking of the *New-found-land* Fishing: I shall only say, it would employ all the loose and unprofitable hands in the Nation;

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tion; it would add Ten thousand Seamen to the Strength of it; it would bring a Treasure into the Nation taken out of the Sea; it would occasion the Consumption of great Quantities of Manufactories; it would advance the Price, and consume great Quantities of Provisions of this Kingdom; for that *New-found-land* is no place for either Tillage or Cattel, and we shall employ many Foreign Hands in that Trade.

The Advantages that will arise to the Nation by these Banks, need no explanation, for that they are easy to every Understanding; among the rest, that of supplying the King with Money upon any Publick Funds, as shall be appointed by Parliament, is not the least.

Lumbers for poor Artizans and others, is an Appendix to Banks, and may by Funds out of them in each County be supplied so, as that the Poor may have Money to carry on their Trades and Employments on Pawns, that may be so easy, and with the advantage of selling in Publick Sales what they leave in Pledge, and that what they borrow shall be of more advantage and ease to them than if the Money were lent them *gratis*; and may be of great use in the improvement and enlarging the Manufactories of the Nation, which are much discouraged by the necessities and hardships that are put on the poor for want of Sales, which these Lumbers will supply, and the best and readiest means for the poor to sell their Goods every Month; whereas now they are often

often forced to sell their Labour to Shopkeepers at such rates, as gives them little more than what their Materials cost them; which hath the worse effect, in that it encourages a set of Idle men in the Kingdom, with folded Arms in a Shop, to live upon the Ruins of Handicrafts-men; their Numbers are increased even to a Nufance, by their easy way of living on the Oppression of the Poor.

If we took Presidents from abroad, this evil would not have grown thus amongst us. It is observed, That there is not so many Retailers in *Amsterdam*, as there is in some Market-Towns in *England*; and this evil is the more to be condemn'd, since we want not a Statute to prevent it; for in the 5th. year of Queen *Elizabeth* a Statute pass'd, That Artizans Sons should not be Apprentices to Shopkeepers; There was then none turn'd from Mechanical Arts to be Retailers, as now there are Numbers that do, and greatest part *Quakers*, a People that for many reasons may be thought as unprofitable to the Nation as *Jews*; and so I take the greatest part of Retailers and Hawkers to be; they ought as much to be restrained and kept to a *Quantum*, as Hackney-Coachmen and Coffee-Houses; for tho both, if confin'd to Numbers, are useful, yet in their excess are Nurseries of Idleness, and such as I am of opinion would have been provided against by our Ancestors, had they sprung up in their days: But on this Subject, among other Enormities, I have writ at large in another Discourse,

course, which when the disposition of the Times will admit, may come forth.

*Of Agriculture and Rural Employments.*

**B**Efore I enter upon the Subject, I must Apologize for my self, that I am to the last degree ignorant of the Practick part of Husbandry; the whole Course of my Life having been spent in Maritime-Towns, or on the Sea.

I beg pardon, contrary to Custom, before I commit the Error, giving an instance of my ignorance in Country Matters; which I should not trouble the *Reader* with, if I did not think it divertive.

It was in the 32 year of my Age, that I first had a thought of Acres; and being importun'd by Friends to fix something on the Land, and not have all on the Sea, I made a Purchase before I saw it, for that I might do with as much Judgment, as if I had; some time after I went to see the Purchase I had made, and on the Road gave as much Diversion to my Friends, in declaring my want of Understanding the Distinction and Names of every thing the Field produced, as I did trouble to them to inform me; tho it was near Harvest, I knew not Barly from Wheat in the Ear; and when I came to the Estate, and riding thorow the Woods (of which there were

were great Quantities on the Land); I was yet more troublesome in asking the Names of Trees, not being able to distinguish an *Oak* from an *Ash*, or that from *Wich-Hazel*, which made a merry Fellow, a Ranger in the Woods, say, *He had a Master he was sure would not question his Care or Honesty, since he knew not a Tree from a Weed.* After this Account of my self, I hope to be excused, if I mistake in any Point of Country and Land-Improvement; nor shall I attempt to prescribe Rules, or give my Opinion in these matters, as I may venture to do in that of Trade; and therefore as Rural Matters have relation to that, so I shall here treat of the *Plow*, and of the *Pruning-Hook*; the *Field*, and the *Orchard*.

How Land may be improved, there cannot be a truer or greater President, than that of the Land of *Canaan*, a spot of Ground not so large, as one third part of *England*, yet maintained double the People *England* doth. That the Fertility of the Soil did not make the difference in their great increase above ours, is observed by such as Travel there; that at this time under the manage of the *Lazy Turk*, that Land is much worse, and brings forth less increase than ours. So then it is apparent, Labour and Industry makes the difference. Now, if the foregoing Computation be right, that there were near double the People in that little Spot than there are in *England*, (as there is reason to believe) for that in *David's* Reign the Number of Fighting-men was 1510000,

besides the Two Tribes not brought into the Account; this being allowed, it will follow, that there is not one Sixth part made of the Land of *England*, as might be: But to this, might be said, the want of Hands is the cause of our scant Production; and that nothing but Crouds forceth Labour; this is true as to matter of fact, but not so as to be without a Remedy: Nmbers of People make Laws for Industry out of necessity, and good Laws may do the same with this Advantage, that enlarging the Labour in *Rural* Affairs, will produce more than is consumed in the Nation; and that adds to the Treasure of it: Whereas Numbers of Hands that only work to feed themselves, adds nothing to the Riches of the Kingdom. Now as Riches increase, so will the Bodies of Men (which is indeed the best Treasure); we see this in the *United Provinces*, where all Nations flock as Fowl where they find best feeding; Money is so to Men, and where that abounds, Labour and Industry is encouraged; but to sit down with an Opinion, that *England* cannot be improved for want of People, is too mean and abject for *Englishmen*.

There is a visible Prospect how great Improvements may be made in this Kingdom by the Hands we have; and if that were done, we should soon have more.

There are thousands of Persons in this Kingdom that beg, who might be serviceable in many things relating to the Plow; if lame in

in their Feet, yet they may weed Corn, that perchance now takes up the time of a lusty Man.

A Blind man may carry Burthens in company with other; a Man without Hands may look to Cattle, &c.

There are numbers of Men of no Employment, that we have Laws that might oblige to Work, and if they are not full enough to reach them, they may be made to do it.

There is also another Set of Men that are lost in the Nation under the Cover of being Serving-men and Footmen. Now this might be restrained, and Men confined to the Numbers they keep according to their Quality, which if done, might add to the Plow, and other Country Employments, many thousands in this Nation.

I differ with them, who complain of our Gentries humour of taking *French Valets de Chambres*. I wish there were a Law that none but such should be taken into such Employments, or at least that no Gentleman should have above one *Englishman* in his Family in Service, as a Waiter or Foot-man; this would drive Young men into the Country to Labour, when they had no expectation of a Lazy Life and Maintenance, as now they have.

Tho this is a General Complaint thorow the Kingdom, of the want of Men for the Plow, and that the Wages of a Plow-man is

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rifen from 5 to 10 *l. per Annum*, no man will fay, it is becaufe there are not Men in the Kingdom, but it is becaufe there are eafier ways to get a Living; tho at the fame time, if thofe that chufe that idle Life of waiting on Gentlemen, did but confider their hazard of begging their Bread in their Old Age, or fooner, if Sicknefs, or any other Accident befall them: Whereas there are few instances of Labouring-men in the Country that come to fuch misfortunes; many from the Plow or Orchard, arrive to a decent Living and Competency, but few from holding a Plate.

I have often lamented the fight of Four or five lufly young Fellows hanging at the Tail of a Coach, when they are wanted at the Plow; and fince it is not practicable to get Plow-men from *France*, but is to get Foot-men and *Valets de Chambres*, to me it would feem a good Law to prohibit *Englishmen* from fuch Employments, and that would bring in *French* and other Foreigners enough to fupply their places.

Thus I have laid down my thoughts of adding hands to our Country Employments, which may be improved by better Judgments. All I fhall further fay, is, That to me it feems plain, that there might be 40000 Perfons added to thofe we now have in Country Employments, and they would fo advance, and enlarge *Rural Production*, as would invite

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vite Numbers, both at home and from abroad, into the Country, which hath been for fome Ages fo much neglected; the humor of this Nation running too much after the *French*, I mean thofe of them that come abroad; for their Peafantry never do; thofe we have from them are Artizans or Lacquies, and fuch too many of our Nation affect to be, and fo quit their Country Employments; I mean not by this, any difcouragement to Manufactories, they cannot exceed; but fome have too many that attend them, efpecially fuch as are confumed in the Kingdom, which advanceth the Vanity of the Nation, whilft the moft folid Improvements and Employments of it are neglected for want of hands; and if what is here propofed may produce and bring Numbers into Country Labours, the next enquiry will be, how to Employ them, fo as to make Plowing and Land-Improvements as much a Trade and Manufactory as other Manual Arts; for that which hath always difcouraged Tillage in this Kingdom, hath been the practice of making Provision for no more than the Expence of the Nation; whereas if fuch quantities of Grain was Sowed as might make it a Commodity for Exports, that would foon invite Merchants to Exportation.

The Statute which was made for encouragement of Tillage, was for that part of allowance,

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lowance at the Custom-House of good use; but something more must be done to make Corn a Commodity for Exportation, and that must be to have quantities yearly Sowed beyond the Expence of the Nation, that so Merchants may be sure of a constant Trade, as they have in the *Sound*; where the Country depend as much on their Harvest, as *France* doth on its Vintage; and Merchants being sure of a constant supply, make Provision for the Trade; whereas ours is only a chance Market, when the Harvest proves beyond expectation, and often failing, puts us upon Importing Corn from other parts: This in a Country so natural for Grain, and that lies so near *Holland*, which fetcheth such quantities from abroad, may be thought not the least of our mistakes in Trade and Commerce: To me, I confess, it seems a great neglect, to see so many Acres set for Five or Ten Shillings an Acre, and the Tenants scarce able to pay that, which under Corn might yeild to the Farmer Five Pounds; and though part of that goes in Labour, yet the whole is so much added to the Treasure of the Nation; and would be the greatest advantage to the Rent of Lands that ever was, or can be by any other means raised in the Kingdom.

Now that what I here propose may appear practicable, something shall be offer'd that, I conceive may shew what I here set down to be more than merely Notional.

1. First

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1. First then as to the Grain, which is most in demand in Foreign Markets, and they are Rye for *Holland*, Horse-Beans for *Bilboa*, and Barly for *Portugal*; I mention not Wheat, because that we have most of, but the other three is least propagated in *England*, though the most proper for Exportation, and seems possible, considering how much nearer we lye to a Market than *Dantzick*, to be exported from *England* as Cheap as from any Part; and as Quantities in other Commodities enables the Seller of them to abate in Price of what they can when they are scarce; so it would be in this of Corn; when a Farmer is more sure of a Market for Twenty Acres of Corn, than he is now of Five; he may abate of his Price, and yet be a greater Gainer than when he hath but a little, and a greater Price; we account it so in all other Commodities.

2. For Encouragement of making Corn an Export, it is to be remembred, That we send most of our Ships light to *Bilboa* and *Lisbon*; so that will help our Navigation that loads our Ships; then it is to be considered, that our Exports to *Lisbon*, do not answer our Imports from thence, since we fetch so much Wine from *Portugal*; and it is hoped since we have fallen into it, we shall never exceed in *French* Wine: They neither can, nor will take off our Commodities; Corn they never did, as *Portugal* will.

The difficulty that appears to the introduction of this so profitable a disposition of the Lands

Lands of *England*, is how to bring the Nation to it; for all new things are hardly propagated.

Three things I submit, that to me seem of strength to bring the Nation into it: And they are these,

1. That a Statute be made to oblige all persons to a certain Proportion of Plowing, according to what they keep in Grazing.
2. That all Land under Tillage shall be free from any manner of Tax.
3. That some ease may be given as to the Tythe for what is Exported; it is a heavy load and discouragement, one tenth for that which goes out; care should be taken to make what goes out as Cheap as possible, that so no other Country might Underfel us; I would not be thought to lessen the Income of the Clergy; to the contrary, I think, they ought to partake of all the Increase of the Kingdom; and what I here propose, would be for their advantage, by encouraging the greater Exports; and ways might be found to give some encouragement from them to the Plowman, that might be easy to both. But to all that hath been said for encouragement of Tillage, there appears a seeming Objection, and that is, We often see Corn so Cheap, that the Farmers are broke by it, and what would they do with double the Quantities, as it is hoped this Law and Encouragement might produce? This is partly answered before,  
That

That the reason why we want a Market for our Corn, is because we have not always Store, and so Merchants make no Provision for the Trade, nor will quit a place where they are sure of Supply; so if once it were known that *England* set upon the Trade of Corn, there would not be want of Buyers; it is not to be imagined how soon the Plenty of a Commodity makes a Trade; I remember when we imported quantities of Silk Stockins from the *Levant*, but as soon as we had the Invention of Looms, the stream turned, and we send them there. Plenty makes Cheapness, and that increaseth Trade.

But there is another Answer to be given for the want of a Market for our Corn, and that is, We run most on Wheat, and neglect those sorts before-mentioned, which are most in demand abroad, and of which we could never exceed, but the more we provide, the greater will the Price be; for Quantities, as is before said, brings numbers of Buyers; whereas where there are not Stores of a Commodity, Buyers are but few, and then they set the Market, and have the Commodity at their own Rate.

I shall end this First Part of my Essays as I began them, Truth may be allowed repetition; That as this Nation never more wanted Thoughts and Endeavours to enlarge and improve their Navigation and Commerce than now (having so Potent a Neighbour as the  
*French,*

*French* that grow upon us) so, Blessed be God, *England* never had a greater Monarch that lays out himself to make us a great and flourishing People: If we are wanting to our selves, it is our fault, and will be our misfortune; Measures for Trade must arise from the Subject, Grants and Concessions from the King.

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**F I N I S.**

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