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A
LETTER

To the HONOURABLE the
LORDS COMMISSIONERS
OF
Trade and Plantations.

WHEREIN
The Grand Concern of TRADE is
asserted and maintained.

With an ATTEMPT to prove,
That our *Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy*, are
more nearly concern'd in Trade, in its Success,
and Consequences, than even the MERCHANT
OR TRADER himself.

Humbly inscribed to the
Right Honourable HENRY PELHAM, Esq;

By G. COADE, jun. Merchant, at *Exeter.*

THE SECOND EDITION.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Henry Pelham, Esq;

Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of
the *Exchequer*, first Commissioner
of the Treasury, and one of His
Majesty's most Honourable Privy-
Council.

S I R,



VERY well know you are a
Man of Affairs, a first and
great Minister of State; you
have long engag'd in Publick
Life, have had long Experience
of Men, have seen far into their particular
Foibles and Inclinations, and must have been
conversant with all the Mysteries and pri-
mary Operations of Government.

All Parties, however at Variance before,
on your first Accession to the Ministerial
Power and Influence were instantly recon-
cil'd to you; and have since universally ap-
prov'd of your happy Temper and Talents, in
executing the great and most Important Trust.

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That benevolent and disinterested Spirit, that Openness and Sincerity of Heart, without the least Suspicion of Private Views, which has been very conspicuous in the preceding Part of your Life, so remarkably distinguish'd your Character, at a particular Period of Time, as made all Honest and Wise Men concur and admire that Wisdom and Policy that rais'd you to the Ministerial Honour and Dignity. High Stations, Sir, furnish great Opportunities of doing Good; and great Characters are only to be supported by a constant Series of good and worthy Actions. The Well-being of Society, and the general Good of Mankind, are the chief and ultimate Views of every truly great Man: But, in a peculiar Manner, these are what all good and wise Ministers ever did and ever will pursue; these the surest Bulwark, the only Warrant and Security for future Praise and Esteem. And here I can't omit taking Notice, that it is your singular Honour and Felicity, to be the Minister of A PRINCE that is Brave, Wise, and Benevolent; that is born to govern a People the most free upon Earth, a People always free, and that always will be free, yet ever Obedient to ROYAL AUTHORITY, and peaceable Subjects to PRINCES who govern agreeably to our Laws: But ever impatient under Incroachments and Oppression. Some of our former PRINCES wou'd not rule by Law, and therefore they fell; your ROYAL MASTER
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ever has ruled, and I dare say ever will rule, by Law, and therefore he will stand: Such is the Temper and Genius of the British People; such it has continued, and such it will remain to be.

I hope, Sir, the Liberty will not be thought too great which I have thus taken, to introduce the following Treatise to the Publick under the Shelter of your honourable Name. The Author has no private Views, or Purposes of his own to answer; he is influenc'd by no other Principle in the World then that of the pure Amor Patriæ; and as it is calculated entirely to promote the publick Good, the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as well as the Happiness and Felicity of the State, he persuades himself, it will so far comport with your own particular Designs and Intentions, as to be in some measure intitled to your Patronage and Protection. The Dignity and Importance of the Subject shall be my only Apology.

I have here asserted and maintain'd the grand Concern of Trade; and do hope I have prov'd, beyond all reasonable Contradiction, that our Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, are more nearly concern'd therein, in its Success and Consequences, than even the Merchant or Trader himself.

Trade is of a very extensive Nature; such is the Infinity of its Branches, its several and various Interests, at different Periods of Time, that it will always require and deserve the utmost Care and Protection of the
Legislature,

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Legislature, and must be attended to, with the greatest Care and Circumspection. It ever was, and ever will be, of the utmost Importance to the Wealth, Power, and Influence of his Majesty, the Security and Preservation of his Dominions, as well as the Happiness and Felicity of his Subjects. Princes, or Rulers of Kingdoms or Nations, may form to themselves whatever Notions of Grandeur they please, but all real Power, Wealth, or Strength, every new Accession of Glory and Greatness, to this or any other Kingdom under Heaven, must arise from this one Source and Foundation — A WELL REGULATED TRADE. And it is worthy also of our Notice, that the Trade of this Kingdom, and of all other Kingdoms and Nations in the World, owes its very Being and Existence, as well as its daily Progress and Support, to the prudent and seasonable Interposition of their respective Legislatures. And from hence it becomes indispensably necessary for all PRINCES and RULERS, and more especially for Ministers of State, thoroughly to understand the Foreign and Domestick Trade of their several Countries, with its various Dependancies on other Nations; and to be ready, on all Occasions, to enlarge, secure, encourage, and extend its Freedom, Liberty, and Advantages of all Kinds, and in all Places; that thereby the Strength, Power, Riches, and Reputation of their several Kingdoms, may be increas'd and preserved.

KING

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KING SOLOMON, in particular, made a great Progress in Trade, and by his Royal Example encouraged it through all his Dominions. He soon found it the weightiest Jewel in his Crown; he enter'd into the strictest Amity and Correspondence with the TYRIANS, to gain the Arts of Trade and Navigation from them; he got into all the Secrets of Merchandize, so that, by his Fleet and Land Caravans, he gain'd immense Riches, and consequently additional Strength and Power; that at last it was storied of him, That in his Days Gold and Silver were as plenty as Stones.

ALEXANDER the GREAT had always the Advantages of Trade in View, as being the only possible Means to preserve his mighty Power and Greatness.

For that Purpose, after the Destruction of TYRE, he built the famous City of ALEXANDRIA in EGYPT, by which the Goods of INDIA were convey'd into the MEDITERRANEAN, and those of EUROPE into INDIA; from whence his Successor drew a prodigious Treasure, not less than the yearly Tribute of Seven Millions and a half (as some Historians say). I could mention many other Instances to the same Purpose; but, in this important ARTICLE OF TRADE, our own Neighbours, the FRENCH, have unquestionably out-done all other NATIONS or KINGDOMS since the Creation of the World; which will demonstrably appear to any one that will take

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take a View of the amazing Value and Extent of their Trade, for Ten Years preceding the present War.

I will say no more, only, with the utmost Submission, beg Leave to submit all to your candid Perusal; and hope you'll be convinc'd, that I have treated this most important Point in such a Manner, as will not be altogether useless and unserviceable.

I persuade myself (and hope I have gone a good Way towards persuading and convincing others) that, if it be properly attended to, we may really in Time become the richest, and consequently the greatest and most powerful Nation in the World.

And now, Sir, I rely on your Goodness to pardon any Insufficiency that may appear in my Reasoning or Arguments, for the Sake of that honest Intention that visibly runs through this Undertaking. And although you may probably think I am mistaken in some Particulars, yet I believe you'll agree with me in the main. However, what I may imperfectly have treated on, I shall rejoice to see undertaken by some abler Pen: For if the Trade of GREAT BRITAIN flourish, my Ends and Purposes are answer'd; I care not who proposes the particular Methods. I beg the Honour of subscribing myself, as I most sincerely am,

S I R,

Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant.



To the HONOURABLE the
LORDS COMMISSIONERS
OF
Trade and Plantations.

MY LORDS,



IT has ever been my Opinion, that a Freedom of Speech and Writing ought always to be allow'd and encouraged, when it is exerted with an honest Design of serving our Country; and when it is employ'd, in exposing and censuring any real Mismanagement of the Publick Affairs.

The Experience of all Ages has convinc'd us, that few Corruptions, either of a Publick or Private Nature, can withstand the Power of a free Enquiry; it is therefore Right and Just for *Englishmen*, to set so great a Value on that most important Privilege, the Freedom of speaking and writing their Sentiments, upon Points of the highest Concernment. To this we owe our Refor-

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mation from *Popery*, and our happy Deliverance from the wicked Tyranny and Usurpation of the See of *Rome*. To this most inestimable Privilege are we also indebted for the present Disgrace of Superstition, Enthusiasm, Persecution, and the eternal Overthrow of those stupid and slavish Doctrines of Passive-Obedience, Non-Resistance, and the absolute indefeasible Hereditary Right of Princes.

On the other hand, I must readily acknowledge, that this Freedom, or Liberty, in whatever State or Society it prevails, will be frequently abused.

There is a natural Tendency in all Mankind to expect more Favour and Regard than they justly Merit, and Men of restless Minds, and ambitious Views, upon every suppos'd Slight, or Neglect, will presently be fill'd with Resentment against the Government, and will not fail to exercise their mischievous Talents, by endeavouring to disturb the Publick Peace, and to incense the People against the Administration, by general Accusations, not supported by any Proof, and by Assertions, which they themselves either don't believe to be true, or perhaps know to be false. Persons who are thus possess'd with a Spirit of Detraction and Calumny, are always to be dreaded and abhor'd, and justly become the Objects of Publick Indignation and Resentment. A false and malicious Representation of Publick Affairs,

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Affairs, has ever been deem'd highly Criminal; as it tends towards creating in the Minds of the People an unjust Diffidence with Regard to their Prince, which may probably produce the worst of Consequences, involve us in National Quarrels, and also expose us to the Contempt and Ill-will of Foreign States.

Opposition to the Measures of a Government, whether good or bad, is no new Thing; it ever has been, and ever will be, in all Countries where the People have any Share in the Legislature.

From this Consideration it always will become every Gentleman, in such an Administration, to Act with the utmost Caution and Circumspection, and to see that every thing within his proper Department be conducted, not only with great Honesty and Integrity, but with Wisdom, Zeal, and Activity.

In our own Country the Publick Employments are very numerous and lucrative. The Possessors of those Employments shou'd look upon themselves, not only to be Servants of the Crown (from whence they receive their Salaries) but also Servants to the Publick, and shou'd consider that the People have a Right to censure as well as examine their Conduct, and to punish any criminal Neglect or Abuse. By the People I here mean no other than the High Court of Parliament, or the Representative Body of the Nation.

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It has ever been esteem'd in *England* a Fundamental Maxim, that our KING can do no Wrong: He can do nothing amiss. And really it is one of the peculiar Excellencies of our Constitution, that if a KING shou'd command any thing amiss, the blame, if it be done, must lie at the Door of his Ministers or under Agents, who may be call'd to an Account for it, by an Enquiry or Prosecution in Parliament.

One great Part of the Business of Parliaments, is always to keep a watchful Eye over those who, under our Sovereign, are intrusted with the chief Management and Direction of Affairs, and to make an Enquiry into their Conduct, as often as they have the least Reason to suspect they have been prompted by mean and private Views, by Pride, Avarice, or Ambition, to do, or to advise their Sovereign to do, any thing Inconsistent with the Publick Welfare. This, I say, is the Business of Parliaments, it is their Duty, and this Duty they are indispensibly oblig'd to perform, when it appears our Country has suffer'd, or is likely to suffer, by the notorious Misconduct of any of the Servants of the Crown, either employ'd in the Army, or Navy, in the Cabinet, or Council.

This ancient, natural, and inherent Right in the *British* Parliament, is absolutely necessary, and essential to the very Being of our Constitution, and it were to be wish'd, that the Servants of the Crown, in all

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all their different Departments, in the present, and in all succeeding Reigns, wou'd frequently reflect on this Right, or Power in the Parliament, and be thereby induced to Act with so much Caution, and Circumspection, that if their Conduct shou'd be exhibited to Publick View, they may appear to have done nothing but what is Right and Just, and may stand entitled to the Publick Esteem and Regard.

Of all the Publick Employments in this Kingdom I know of none, that is more Honourable in itself, or of greater Importance to the Community, than that of the Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation; a Trust which his Majesty has wisely thought proper to confer upon your Lordships. The Institution of such a Society is Wise and Prudent, and may certainly be of great Service to this Kingdom. Trade is of that extensive Nature, and universal Concern, that it will always merit the Regard and Protection of the whole Legislature. The general and particular Interest of the KING, Lords, and Commons, (if properly attended to) will ever unite and concur to enlarge and secure the Grand Concern of Traffic.

It is that alone, whereby the Strength, Power, Riches, and Reputation of this Kingdom can be increas'd or preserved. But such is the infinity of its Branches, its particular Interests, its various Dependences,
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on other Nations, at different Periods of Time, that it becomes absolutely necessary, that a certain Number of Gentlemen, of distinguish'd Talents and Abilities, shou'd be nominated and appointed, to make this most important Affair the peculiar Subject of their constant Study and Attention.

The Wisdom of the Crown is also very apparent, in allowing those Gentlemen very large and noble Salaries, that thereby they may be the better enabled to support the Expence of keeping up a Correspondence with all the trading Nations of the World; that by a general Knowledge of extended Traffick, and universal Trade, they may perfectly understand the Interest of their own Trade and Navigation; and may always have a watchful Eye over it, and be ready on all Occasions to point out to the Legislature, proper Steps, whereby to secure, encourage, and extend its Freedom and Liberties at all Times, and in all Places, and also to procure, upon seasonable Conjunctions, such new and additional Advantages, as the different Circumstances of Times and Affairs may require and admit.

This, my Lords, I apprehend, is the noble Design of your Institution, from the faithful Discharge of which, many and great Advantages will redound to the Community. It is with the utmost Deference and Submission to your Lordship's high Rank and Dignity, that I presume to address
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you in this publick Manner. The extraordinary Importance of this Letter shall be my only Apology. The Contents are awful and serious, on which depend the real Honour, Power, Wealth, and Reputation of this Kingdom, for Time to come. Mankind, in all Countries and Nations under Heaven, have been extremely solicitous about this one thing— Trade; and many Instances are now to be found, of Countries that were formerly almost dispeopled, and in a wretched poor Condition, which yet, by Means of a free Trade, have become greatly Populous, Rich, and Powerful. The Ends propos'd and design'd by Trade and Commerce in all Nations are exactly the same; thereby they expect Power, Wealth, and a constant Employment for all Sorts of People, with all the other Conveniencies of Life; and in all Countries and Nations of the World, where Trade is best secur'd, best protected and encourag'd, there it will most flourish, and best answer all the Ends and Purposes intended by it.

I am sensible, my Lords, it has been the Opinion of some Persons of great Rank, that the Trade of *Great Britain* will stand, and exist of it self; and that we must always necessarily and unavoidably make a great Figure in the Trading World, having more and greater Advantages than most other Countries. To support this way of Reasoning they take Notice, that we enjoy the peaceable Practice of Religion, an Indulgence
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absolutely necessary in all trading Countries ; that, with respect to our Situation, we have the Benefit of its being an Island, surrounded with convenient Harbours ; that our Constitution is excellently adapted for the encouraging of Industry ; that we have many native Commodities for Exportation ; and that many Advantages must arise from our numerous Colonies and Plantations : And from hence they conclude, that no Nation in the World has equal Opportunity to increase in Trade. I will readily grant, that we do really stand possess'd of more and greater Advantages to improve in our Trade and Manufactures than most other Countries ; yet it can by no means be infer'd from thence, that the Trade of *Great Britain* can stand of it self, notwithstanding all the natural Advantages recited, nor even were they considerably more. It is undeniably certain, that if the Legislative Authority and Ministerial Power don't at all proper Times exert themselves, with the utmost Diligence and Wisdom, we may come to lose, or be encroach'd upon in, the most profitable Branches of our Foreign Commerce.

The Exportation of our Products is the Foundation of all our Trade ; our Manufactures and home Produce therefore will always Merit the Concern of the Government, and shou'd receive all due Encouragement.

But it is the Foreign Commerce that deserves the greatest Attention. It is by a well concerted and well regulated Foreign Trade,
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my Lords, that we can ever become Rich, Great, and Powerful. And since *France*, *Holland*, and other Countries, have in a more peculiar Manner addicted themselves to Trade, of late Years, we ought to endeavour to extend and enlarge our Foreign Trade also ; for whatever Branches we may neglect, other Countries will presently take them up, and thereby become Richer and Stronger. Our Domestick Trade depends entirely upon our Foreign Trade. The Price of Land, the Value of our Manufactures and Commodities, rise or fall, as it goes well or ill with our Foreign Commerce. Besides, the protecting and extending our Foreign Trade, is the only possible Means to preserve and encourage the Breed of Seamen, whereby only that Naval Strength can be kept up, which in Time of War is the only Security of our Trade, as well as our Defence and Protection from the Insults and Invasions of our Enemies.

Great Britain can never be safe without Strength and Power ; and these can never be obtain'd but by Riches : we have no Mines of Gold, nor many of Silver, and we can never become Rich, but by the Help of a well-manag'd and extended Foreign Trade. Shou'd it be ask'd, what makes that vast Difference between *Great Britain* now, and *Great Britain* 200 Years since ? It must be answer'd, our Foreign Trade ; to that alone we are indebted for all our Riches,
C Grandeur,

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Grandeur, Honour, and Reputation. It is that alone which has enabled us to support our selves, under the many expensive Wars we have been engag'd in since the Revolution. As Trade is of so much Importance to this Kingdom, it is really surprizing to consider, that so few Tracts have been written on this Head. It is a Subject worthy the Attention of the greatest Nobleman or Gentleman in *England*; and the Nation wou'd be highly oblig'd to the Great Men, the Men of Power and Influence, if they wou'd enter more into the great Concerns of Trade; yea, it is a Subject worthy the Regard of the greatest Monarch upon Earth.

Can Princes spend their Time or Thoughts better, than by a diligent Enquiry into the proper Ways and Means whereby the Trade and Manufactures of their respective Dominions can be promoted and encourag'd, and consequently render'd more Considerable and Extensive. In this Study, for a Prince, there is something Noble, Benevolent, and Godlike; as thereby he may find out Ways and Means to contribute to the Relief and Welfare of Millions of People.

Princes may form to themselves what Notions of Grandeur and Power they please; but all real Power, Wealth, and Strength, every new Accession of Glory and Greatness to any Kingdom under Heaven, must arise from

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from this one Source or Foundation, *a well Regulated Trade.*

The late *French* King was so far from thinking Trade beneath his Observation, that he shew'd particular Marks of Favour to many Gentlemen who had distinguish'd themselves by their Genius for Trade and Merchandize. He took that grand Fabrick of Cloths and Stuffs at *Abbeville* under his Inspection; it was by his particular Encouragement and Assistance that it became so considerable as it now is.

The late *Prime Minister* of *France* actually kept up a Correspondence with many considerable Merchants and Traders in the different Parts of the Kingdom for his own Information; all Methods or Schemes for improving their Manufactures and Commerce were chearfully received by him, and he enter'd into them with great Nicety and Attention, and gave every Thing of that kind the utmost Encouragement and Protection; he well knew that the rendring the Trade of *France* Considerable and Extensive, was the only possible Means to add new and greater Accessions to the Power and Influence of his Royal Master.

I have lately had some Opportunity of informing myself about the Trade of *Bordeaux*, *Nantz*, *Rochelle*, *St. Malo*, and some other Ports of *France*; and the Accounts of the annual Value of the Exports and Imports of those Sea-port Towns is really surprizing; it even

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exceeds all Belief; for which Reason I forbear to mention the Particulars, fearing I may be suspected to exceed the Truth. It is hard to believe, to what an amazing Extent the *French* Trade was grown before the present War.

I was lately discoursing with a Gentleman of great Fortune and Abilities, who after having lived seven Years at *Bordeaux* in *France* went beyond Sea, and return'd to *Bordeaux* again at the End of Twenty-One Years: This Gentleman, on whose Veracity I can depend, assur'd me, that never in all his Life had he been more astonish'd than at his Return to *Bordeaux*; he could scarce prevail on himself to believe it was the same Place; the Number of Ships in the River was beyond all Expectation; the Town was vastly Populous and Rich; every Thing had the Appearance of great Plenty and Magnificence: His Friends and Acquaintance, when he left *Bordeaux*, lived in a poor mean Way; now he found them in stately Houses, nobly furnish'd, possessing a great deal of Plate and Jewels, Numbers of Servants, and all the other apparent Effects of Riches. It was natural for this Gentleman to enquire by what Means all this Felicity was obtained? His Friends agreed in assuring him, that, during the Time of his Absence, the Court of *Paris* had constantly given their Trade the utmost Encouragement

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ment and Protection, and scarce omitted any one Thing that was possible to be done, to render their Commerce more Considerable and Extensive. When my Friend came to examine more minutely into this surprising Alteration, he found it was a good deal owing to a prodigious Number of *Jews*, who came there to settle; having had Assurances from the Government, that their Persons and Properties shou'd remain safe under the Protection and Security of the Laws. Whereupon those People came there frequently in Drovers and Flocks, when they had been persecuted by other blind and foolish Nations. These Refugees brought with them immense Wealth and Treasure, which in a little Time was employ'd in Business, and became a vast Addition to the Trading Stock of the Town. This one wise Step of the Court of *France* was in many Respects of great Service to the Kingdom in general, and more particularly to the City of *Bordeaux*, as it greatly increased their Shipping, rais'd their Rents, and also the Value of their Lands within 20 Miles of it: Which will always be the Case wherever Trade flourishes and increases. I could mention a Variety of other Instances, and some very extraordinary ones, of the peculiar Tendernefs and Concern the Court of *France*, for these fifty Years past, has constantly shewn to their Trade.

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Their Silk and Linnen Manufactures have been surprizingly improv'd, by a Variety of new Regulations.

Other Manufactures have been establish'd, and greatly protected and encourag'd, wherever Materials cou'd be had for carrying them on within their Dominions.

Men of the greatest Application and Abilities have been constantly sought after, and employ'd to superintend their mercantile Affairs; and scarce any thing has been omitted or neglected, whereby their Foreign Commerce might be render'd more Considerable and Extensive.

And here, my Lords, with a becoming Submission, I beg Leave to assert, that by these Means the Court of *France* has been enabled to raise vast Revenues; upon this Basis alone is founded the great Power and Strength of this mighty Empire, which for so long a Time has made so great a Figure in *Europe*, and now begins to strike a Terror into all the Nations around her; from hence arose that Source or Fund, whereby the late King of *France* was enabled to maintain a War for many Years against the most powerful Confederacy that ever the World saw; and kept in constant Pay above *Three Hundred Thousand Men*: An Expence so great, that, by all Accounts, the Kingdom of *France* cou'd not have supported one half of it before their Improvements in Trade.

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I have now done with the *French*; and my only Reason for dwelling so long on this Subject was, that some of our great Men, Men of Power and Influence, by the Example of the *French*, may be excited to enter into the Consideration of the many Advantages that may arise to this Kingdom, by a proper and prudent Regulation of our Trade; and may recommend the same to the Care and Protection of the Government. Shou'd it ever happen in *England*, that our Trade shou'd be disregarded or neglected, and esteem'd unworthy the Protection and Encouragement of the Legislature, it will presently sink and decline, other Nations will greedily catch at it, and we shall daily diminish in our Power, Wealth, and Strength; and then, and then only, shall we be in real Danger of becoming a Province to *France*; a State and Condition the most infamous and detestable of any in the World. Let us for a Moment cast our Eyes on the present State and Condition of the *Russian* Empire, and it will afford us an Instance greatly surpassing any thing that has ever yet happen'd in any Nation or Kingdom.

Never were such great Improvements made during the Life of a single Man, as in that of the *Czar, Peter the Great*. We see *Russia* a Kingdom, that but a Century ago was destitute of Trade and Commerce, and consequently of all Arts and Sciences, totally ignorant of military Discipline, and really but little bet-

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ter than Brutes or Savages, now making a Figure amongst the principal Nations of *Europe*, and justly esteem'd one of the most considerable Empires in the World. The *Czar Peter* had indeed a Soul as noble as his Descent, and Views far beyond what might have been expected from his Education. He was a Stranger to that Luxury and Indolence to which Men in high Stations are so apt to be inclin'd; his whole Life was spent in continual Labour and Fatigues for the Good of his Country; by his Influence and Example he encourag'd Learning and Knowledge; he sent Numbers of his Nobility and Gentry to travel into other Countries, and at the same Time invited People of all Nations to come and settle in any Part of his Dominions. In the early Stage of his Life he saw the great Want of Military Discipline in his Troops; to obtain which, he took the Post of a Drummer, forbidding his Captains to remember that he was *Czar*; he serv'd with all due Submission, lived upon his Pay, and lay in the Tent of a common Drummer, till promoted to the Degree of a Serjeant, which was not till he deserv'd it in the Opinion of his Officers, whom he wou'd punish if they judg'd too favourably of him. By this Procedure, as well as his repeated Declarations, he convinc'd his Nobility and Gentry, that, in his Dominions, Birth and Quality, alone, shou'd be treated as a most ridiculous

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culous Pretension, and that no one, of what ever Rank or Quality, shou'd be intitled to any the least Preferment in his Army, without a proper Knowledge in Military Art, and a suitable Degree of Valour and Courage. Its surprizing to consider the prodigious Improvements that Nation hereupon made in the Military Arts in a few Years: Their Troops, who had been always accusom'd to fly before inferiour Numbers, now every where became Victorious and Triumphant.

This Great Man being violently bent to render his Kingdom, and consequently himself, Rich and Powerful, to cultivate his unpolish'd People, and to introduce Arts and Sciences; the only possible Means to accomplish this grand Design, he plainly saw, was to put his People upon gaining Riches by Trade, the only Source of Wealth and Power in *England*, *France*, *Holland*, and all other Nations.

Notwithstanding he was *Czar* of *Muscovy*, a *Great* and *Absolute* Prince, he left his own Kingdom, and travell'd *incognito* like a private Man through a good Part of *Europe*, to pry into the Arts, Industry, Trade, and Manufactures of the more civiliz'd Nations: And being sensible that Navigation and a Foreign Trade were the most probable means to enrich and agrandize his People, he apply'd himself to these with a peculiar Attention; Yea, he condescended so far as to turn Mechanic, and wrought a
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considerable Time with his own Hands as a common Ship-Carpenter. He made himself a perfect Master of the Art of Ship-Building, that he might the more effectually be enabled to carry the same Home to his own Country. While he was in *Holland* he saw several *English* built Ships, whose Beauty and Proportion pleas'd him better than those of the *Dutch*; whereupon he came to *England*, on purpose to improve himself further in the Theory of Ship-Building. While he was here he wrought much himself, and made all his Servants about him work, in drawing and framing the Models and Dimensions of Ships and Boats. And when about to return Home, he spared no Cost to engage great Numbers of the best Artizans of every kind to go and settle in his Dominions.

King *William* gave him Leave to take any of his Subjects into his Service; and also made him a Present of a fine *Yacht*, call'd *The Royal Transport*, which he dispatch'd to *Archangel*, with a Number of Ship-Carpenters, and several other *Artificers*. He also took with him Mr. *Fergarson*, the famous *Mathematician*, and two other *Mathematicians* of lesser Note. I am very sensible these are all well known Facts; and my Reason for reciting them here is only to demonstrate, that it is Trade, and that only, that has cultivated and polish'd the Kingdom of *Muscovy*, and procur'd the Inhabitants that Wealth, Grandeur, and Reputation they now

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now possess; and to make good my former Assertion (*to wit*) that every new Accession of Glory, or Greatness, Wealth, or Power, to any Nation under Heaven, is to be acquir'd by Trade, and that only.

If any one shou'd want to be further convinced of this great Truth, let him but for a Moment cast his Eyes around the *Globe*, and see the mighty Difference, between those Countries that have Commerce, and those that have none; and it will presently appear, that all Kingdoms and Nations now are, and ever have been, powerful, in Proportion to their Application to Trade; 'tis that alone that gives Life and Strength to any Nation, and can only nourish and enrich it.

Since then Trade is of so great Importance to every Kingdom and Nation in the World, as it undeniably appears to be, how comes it to pass that *Great Britain* has never yet made a greater Figure in the *Trading World*, and consequently is not become more rich, great, and powerful? This probably may appear something *Wonderful*, especially when one considers, that of all People in the *World* we are the most happy in the Constitution of our Legislature, that we have the best and most excellent *Laws* for the securing our Liberties and Properties, and also considering the Commodiousness of our Harbours, the natural Fertility of our Soil,

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together with the Activity and Industry of our People; I say, considering these natural Advantages, which we enjoy beyond many other Nations, there must certainly have been some unthought-of latent Cause, why this Kingdom has never made a greater Figure in the trading World, and consequently become more Rich and Powerful than it has ever yet been. And here, with a becoming Deference and Submission, I beg leave to suggest, that the Nobility, Gentry, or Clergy of this Kingdom, have never yet at any Period of Time sufficiently understood and regarded the grand Concern of Trade, and, consequently, their own real and true Interest; *Yea*, I fear, our very *Parliaments* themselves have oftentimes been mistaken, and misled, when Matters relating to Trade have been brought under their Consideration.

I wou'd not here be understood, as if I intended any Reflection on those venerable and august Assemblies. No certainly, I most religiously profess, that no Man living has a greater Regard and Veneration for them than I have. But as those two Houses consist almost entirely of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose Education, according to the accustomed Methods in *England*, has had nothing to do with the Study of those Improvements of a Country which are to be made by Manufactures and Commerce, it is not to be expected they should always be able to form right Judgments, in
Matters

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Matters relating thereto. Besides, its a great Unhappiness to this *Nation*, that there has ever been kept up a certain Jealousy between the Merchant and the Gentleman, the Trader and the Land-holder: The Merchants and Traders are too apt to look on all Duties, on any Commodities they deal in, as meer Clogs on their Trade, and as if they proceeded from an Envy in the Gentry of their Prosperity, and a Fear of being rivalled in Fortune and Figure, by a set of People whom they regard as their Inferiors. The Gentlemen on the other hand think, they can never lay too great a Burthen on Trade; tho' if they maturely considered, they would be sensible a great part of it must be born by themselves, in every thing they eat, drink, and wear.

This Jealousy, or Envy, between the Gentleman and the Merchant, the Trader and Land-holder, is not only unreasonable, but detrimental to the Community in the highest degree. Between the Landed and Trading Interest in this Kingdom, there ever has been, and ever will be, an inseparable Affinity. They mutually furnish each other with all the Conveniences of Life, and no real Preference can be given either to the one or to the other. It is demonstrably true, that it can never go ill with Trade but Land will fall, nor ill with Land but Trade will feel it.

It was long since observed by Doctor *Davenant*, "that many great Men in their
" Debates

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“ Debates and Councils seem to have no
 “ other View and Aim, than to promote
 “ the immediate Interest of Land, and are
 “ always more warm in the Concerns of it,
 “ and more indifferent and careless in what
 “ relates to Trade, then perhaps is consistent
 “ with the Safety and Welfare of this King-
 “ dom.”

Lord *Bacon* says, “ That the only Foun-
 “ dation of a Treasury in *England* is Trade ;
 “ a Thing necessary to this Island next unto
 “ its own Being, as may appear, not only
 “ in regard of the Riches of this Nation,
 “ but in regard of the Strength, and in re-
 “ gard of the Maintenance of the Crown,
 “ the two latter of which being no other
 “ than a natural Effluence of the former.” *

It is to be wish'd that our Nobility, Gen-
 try, and Clergy, wou'd employ a little of
 their Time and Thoughts to inspect and con-
 sider the foreign Traffic of this Kingdom; they
 wou'd presently see, that the landed Interest
 depends entirely upon it, and be fully con-
 vinced, that no one thing in the World de-
 serves their Study and Attention so much as
 Trade. After a little Thought and Reflecti-
 on, Things wou'd appear to them in a clear
 Light; they'll plainly see, that the protect-
 ing, and improving our Manu-
 factures, Commerce, and Plantations, is the
 most effectual improving and enlarging their
 own

* *Bacon* on the Laws and Government of *England*,
 Part 2. pag. 39.

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own Estates: For as Commerce flourishes
 Lands will Rise in Value, and as the Inhabi-
 tants of Towns and Cities increase, the Con-
 sumption of Provisions, which is the main
 Support of the landed Interest, will do the same:
 So that the encouraging of Trade by the No-
 bleman, Gentleman, and Clergyman, is only
 the promoting their own real Interests; for
 in turning the Wheel of Commerce they
 are sure to have a large Share of the Profits.

As I am on this Subject, I beg leave to go
 one Step farther, and roundly to assert, *That*
the Nobleman, the Gentleman, and Clergy-
man, are more nearly concern'd in Trade, in
the Success of it, and in its Consequences, than
either the Merchant or Trader himself. This
 Assertion, however strange it may appear, I
 will undertake to maintain; and sure I am,
 that I have the concurrent Opinions of the
 best Writers on Trade that *England, France,*
 or *Holland,* have ever produc'd.

Whenever any *Kingdom* or *Nation* comes
 to be ruin'd and undone, the Destruction
 falls first on the Lands; the Nobleman and
 Gentleman sink first. The Merchant and
 Trader hold out to the last Moment: They
 have a thousand Ways and Expedients to
 secure their Property, by lodging it in Fo-
 reign Hands, or investing it in Merchandize
 abroad; the Banks at *Amsterdam, Ham-*
burgh, or Venice, offer themselves to View,
 as safe and secure Repositories for their Cash.
 I say, the Merchants have a thousand Ways
 to

(24)

to secure, conceal, and shift their Property, which the Gentleman knows nothing of, or, if he did, wou'd not suit his particular Circumstances.

In Support of the foregoing Assertion, I will only offer the Sentiments of that great Man, Mr. *Locke*, and which highly deserve the Consideration of every Nobleman and Gentleman of *England*. "When a Nation (says he) is running to Ruin or Decay, the Merchant and money'd Man, do what you can, will be sure to starve last of all. Observe it where you will, the Decays that come upon and bring Ruin to any Country, do constantly first fall upon Land. And tho' the Country Gentleman (who usually securely relies on so much a Year, as was given at his Marriage Settlement, and thinks his Land an immoveable Fund for such an Income) be not very forward to think so, yet this, nevertheless, is an undoubted Truth, *That he is more concern'd in Trade, and ought to take a greater Care that it be well managed and preserv'd than even the Merchant himself.* For he will certainly find, when a Decay of Trade has carry'd away one Part of our Money out of the Kingdom, and the other is kept in the Merchants and Tradesman's Hands, that no Law he can make, nor any little Arts of shifting Property among our selves, will bring it back to him again; but his Rents will fall, and

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and his Income every Day lessen, till a general Industry and Frugality, join'd to a well-order'd Trade, shall restore to the Kingdom the Riches and Wealth it formerly had." *

Were it necessary, I cou'd mention the Sentiments of some eminent Writers on Trade, in *France* and *Holland*, to the very same Purpose; but its needless, the single Opinion of *Lock* is sufficient.

I now come to the chief Thing intended in this Treatise, which is to remark to your Lordships, That the Trade of this Kingdom does not (as is generally imagin'd) arise from the Excellency of our Laws and Constitution, nor from the Commodiousness of our Harbours, the Temperature of our Climate, the Fertility of our Soil, nor from the natural Honesty and Activity of our People. I will grant, these are very great Advantages, and which we enjoy in a Degree equal, if not superior, to any other Nation in the World.

To illustrate this important Point, let us but for a Moment cast our Eyes on the State and Condition of the *United Provinces*, as far back as the Year Sixteen Hundred Eighty Eight. Sir *William Temple* tells us, in his Account of that Country, "That the *Dutch* had then more Shipping belong'd to them, then there does to all the rest of *Europe*. Their

E

" Growth

* (*Vide*) *Lock's* Considerations on the lowering of Interest, Vol. II. Page 27.

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“ Growth in Riches, and the Extent of their
 “ Commerce, was prodigious and astonish-
 “ ing; and the Number of their Inhabitants
 “ was arrived to such a Height, as made
 “ them the Envy of some, the Fear of o-
 “ thers, and the Wonder of all their Neigh-
 “ bours; they had likewise a constant Reve-
 “ nue proportion'd to all this Greatness.”
 Yet Sir *William* at the same Time re-
 marks, in *Page 209*. “ That they have no
 “ native Commodities towards Building or
 “ Rigging the smallest Vessel; their Flax,
 “ Hemp, Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming
 “ all from Abroad, as Wool does for cloth-
 “ ing their Men, and Corn for feeding
 “ them; neither have they any Thing pro-
 “ perly of their own Growth that is confide-
 “ rable, for their necessary Uses or traffick
 “ with their Neighbours, besides a little
 “ Butter, Cheese, and earthen Ware. As to
 “ Harbours, they have none good upon the
 “ Coast. The Entrance of the *Texell*, and
 “ Passage over the *Zudder-Sca*, are more dan-
 “ gerous than a Voyage from thence to
 “ *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Chan-
 “ nels. So that it easily appears, it is not
 “ a Haven that draws Trade, but Trade that
 “ fills a Haven, and brings it in Vogue; nor
 “ has *Holland* grown rich by any native
 “ Commodities whatsoever.”

Now then, as Sir *William* justly reasons,
Page 211 of his Observations, “ Since the
 “ Ground of Trade can't be deduced from
 Havens,

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“ Havens, or native Commodities, as may
 “ well be concluded from the Survey of
 “ *Holland*, which has the least and the
 “ worst, and from that of *Ireland*, which
 “ has the most and best of both,” it cannot
 be amiss to consider, from what other
 Source it may more naturally and certainly
 be derived. The Trade of *Holland*, *England*,
 and all other Nations, owes its Origin, its
 very Being and Existence, to the Care and
 Protection, to the prudent and seasonable
 Interposition of their respective Legislatures,
 at different Periods of Time. The Trade of
Holland is the meer Effect of Order, Me-
 thods, and a thousand Contrivances. No Go-
 vernment in the World has been so careful
 and tender of their Trade as the *Dutch*; and
 it will ever remain a Subject of Astonishment,
 that a Handful of Merchants, taking Shelter
 in a little Country, which scarce afforded
 any thing to subsist its new Inhabitants, shou'd,
 by the meer Force of Art and Contrivance,
 render themselves so very considerable; and
 shou'd the Affairs of *Europe* remain in the
 Situation they are a few Years longer, the
 present Generation of the *Dutch* must ac-
 complish that one grand Design, which
 their Forefathers have been aiming at, *viz.*
 the *reducing all the Trade of Europe within*
the Limits of their own little Circle. — If
 so, we may live to hear it said of *Holland*,
 as it was of *Jerusalem* in the Days of SO-

LOMON, that Gold and Silver are there as common as Stones.

To return to our own Country: I now come to demonstrate, that the Trade of England in particular owes also its Origin, its very Existence, to the Care and Protection of our Government; and that the great Progress it has made, at different Periods of Time, has been always owing to the prudent and seasonable Interposition of the Legislature.

To illustrate this Point, it will be necessary to lay before your Lordships a brief Account of the Rise and Progress of Trade, in this Kingdom, from the Time of William the Conqueror down to Edward the Third. We find in our ancient Histories nothing of Trade. It does not seem to have been at all regarded or understood, during this long Tract of Time, i. e. about three hundred Years, throughout which the Nation was overspread with Poverty and Ignorance. We had in this Period of Time Ten Kings: and a hopeful Race they were. It would be too tedious for me to enter into a particular Account of their several Reigns. Lord Bacon lumps them together, and says, "That whatever Money or Wealth they had, or could get from the People, they spent on their own Lust."* When he comes to the

* Bacon on the Laws and Government of England, Part II. page 38.

the Reign of Edward the Third, he talks in a different Manner, who, he says, "was a great and wise Prince, that encouraged Men of Parts and Abilities to be near his Person; and laid a Platform for augmenting the Treasure of the Kingdom, as well for the Benefit of the People as of the Crown. Nor can it be reconciled without Wonder, that Providence should at once bestow upon England a courageous People, brave Captains, wise Council, and a King that had the Endowments of them all. Its true, that this Edward the Third was a King of many Taxes, above all his Predecessors, yet this can't be imputed as a Blot to the Honour of the Law, or Liberty of the People; for the King was not so unwise as to desire it without evident Cause, or to spend it in Secret, or upon his own private Interest. And altho' the People parted with much, yet nothing to Prerogative, but all in a Parliamentary Way; so it was not taken but given. Thus did this King shew himself truly Royal, in demanding his Taxes upon evident Grounds of State; levying them with a tender Hand, and placing them to a right End. But that which digested all, and bred good Blood was, in that the People had quid pro quo, by the Advance of Trade, wherein the King had shew'd himself the Cape-Merchant of the World.

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(30)

“ Certainly Men’s Parts in those Days were
 “ of vast Reach, that could manage such
 “ Wars, settle such a Government, and lay
 “ such a *Foundation of a Treasury by Trade.*”
 All *Bacon’s* own Words.*

Padon me, if I am too particular in the
 Character of this Prince, for he was the first,
 from the Conquest to his Time, that took
 any Notice of Trade, or that seemed to have
 had any Design of rendering this Kingdom
 great and powerful; and he hit on the only
 possible Method to effect it.

In the Parliament held at *Westminster*, in
 1318, being the Seventh Year of his Reign,
 the *Transportation of Wool* out of the King-
 dom was prohibited, under very severe Pe-
 nalties. This Law, for many Years, had
 not the Effect intended. A foolish and per-
 nicious Fondness still prevailed, for the
 Cloths and Stuffs made in *France* and *Flan-
 ders*; whither our Wool till then had been
 exported, and brought back to us complete-
 ly manufactured; by which wretched Oeco-
 nomy our People were kept starving at
 home, and the Kingdom annually drained
 of such vast Sums of Money, as made us
 extremely poor and contemptible.

Great Complaints were made against the
 Ladies of those Days; and it was pretended,
 that by their Means the salutary Designs of
 this Law were in a great Measure defeated.

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* *Vide* his Laws and Government of *England*, Part II.
 pages 2, 38, 39.

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They could not reconcile themselves to the
 wearing our *English* Fabricks, which they
 affected to call *home-made* and *home-spun*
 Stuffs: A noted Vanity, to which the Ladies
 of this Nation have ever been but too much
 inclined, to love Things far-fetch’d and dear
 bought, even to a Proverb. And here I
 can’t omit taking Notice of the ridiculous
 Taste of our Ladies in the present Age, who,
 tho’ they can’t by Law wear *French* Stuffs,
 yet affect to call several Parts of their Dress
 by *French* Names, — yea, Names that are
 the most odious, — the *CARDINAL*, — the
CAPUCHIN; — Names that ought to be de-
 testable to every *British Lady*! They may
 with equal Reason call any Part of their
 Dress by the Names of *Belzebub*, or *Lucifer*.
 The *Cardinals* and *Capuchins* are some of
 the most industrious Agents of Satan, and
 have ever been the grand Support of his
 Empire upon Earth; for the greatest and
 most consummate Villainies of all Kinds,
 that have ever been acted on the Theatre of
 this World, have been perform’d by the
Romish Clergy.

But our glorious King *Edward the Third*,
 and the wise Men about him, were not to
 be diverted from their Design of aggrandi-
 zing this Nation by the Clamours of those
 who were for gratifying their Vanity at the
 Expence of the public Weal; and there-
 fore, to lay a Restraint on their destructive
 Pride, and prevent its evil Consequences, a
 Law

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Law was anew made, strictly forbidding all Persons, under the Degree of a Lord, from wearing any foreign Woollen Cloths or Stuffs, under any Pretence whatsoever. This Law, at once, gave Life and Spirit to our Woollen Manufactures, and the People grew daily more and more reconciled to the wearing of them.

But at this Time such a Degree of Ignorance and Laziness prevailed in this Kingdom, as is scarce to be conceived. Lord Bacon, speaking of those Days, says, "The Priest had a little Charity, and the Poor as little Money; so as no Penny, no Pater Noster. A sick and very crazy Time questionless it was, when the Clergy were stately, and the Poor idle."†

Things being thus situated, the Government was obliged to take another Step towards the Advancement of Trade, and sundry Laws were made to compel the poorer Sort of People to work, and to settle the Rate of their Wages, and make it as beneficial to the Poor to serve the meaner Sort of Clothiers as the richer. By these Means, in a very little Time, Labour became fashionable in all Parts of the Kingdom.

These grand and important Points being thus settled by the Care of the Legislature, it is surprizing to consider the vast Wealth that flow'd into this Kingdom in a very few Years, together

† Bacon on the Laws and Government of England, Part II. page 41.

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together with a prodigious Increase of Knowledge, Arts, Sciences, Honour, Wealth, and Strength; all which daily became more and more conspicuous.

The Government did not intend Things should rest here. They had always under their Consideration, the principal Products and Manufactures of the Kingdom, and especially that of Wooll; the working of which at Home they plainly saw, had not only saved the Nation immense Sums of Money, but also afforded a constant Employment to the Poor, whereby they were enabled, by their own Labour, to live comfortably: Therefore, this Article of increasing our Growth of Wooll, and manufacturing it at Home, seem'd all along to have engross'd their chief Care. Their Views more and more enlarged, and they went on forming noble Designs to render this Kingdom great and powerful. They now turned the Tables, and in their Turn attempted the exporting our Woollen Manufactures to *Flanders*, and other Parts Abroad; thereby to recover those prodigious Sums of Money we had formerly paid the People of those Countries for Manufacturing our Wooll. In this new and brave Attempt, it must be lamented, they met with great, and for a long Time insurmountable, Difficulties; chiefly on Account of the unexperience and unskillfulness of our Workmen, which were the Cause of our Manufactures being inferior to those

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of our Neighbours, who had been so long exercised in those Arts that were requisite to their Perfection, and consequently not likely to be so acceptable either at Home or in Foreign Markets. To Remedy this Inconvenience and push our own Improvement to the utmost, a Proclamation was issued, inviting all foreign Cloth-workers, and other Manufacturers, to come and settle in *England*: particularly Dyers, Pressmen, Sheermen, Wooll-Combers, Weavers, &c. &c. and to all that shou'd appear to have any considerable Knowledge in their respective Employments, the King himself actually engaged to allow a certain Pension, till they shou'd be fix'd in a competent Way of living. Well might Lord *Bacon* say, Men's Parts in those Times were of vast Reach, that could settle such a Polity, manage such Wars, and at the same Time lay such a Foundation of a Treasury by Trade.

Upon this Royal Invitation, great Numbers of People from *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *France*, came here to settle with their Families and Effects; and by their Means, our Woollen Fabricks were brought to such a Degree of Perfection, that the Exportation of them increas'd surprisingly, being now to be seen, in almost all the Corners of the habitable World. Besides the Improvement of our Woollen Fabricks, by Means of these Foreigners, many other Manufactories were near *London* presently establish'd, particularly that

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that of Silk in *Spittlefields*, and in *Canterbury*: Which last also in a few Years proved a vast saving to the Nation. Our Exports annually increas'd, and the Imports were in a Manner dwindled to nothing. In the 28th Year of this King's Reign, the national Trade stood thus, for that single Year,

The Value of all our Commodities Exported, on the most exact Calculation amounted to	l. s. d.
	294184 17 2
The Value of all Commodities Imported during this Year amounted to but	38970 3 6
	<hr/>
The clear Profit in one Year	255214 13 8

Which in those Days was esteem'd a monstrous Sum.

By these Means King *Edward the Third* and his wise Ministers compleated their grand Designs, and, as Lord *Bacon* calls it, laid a Platform, or Foundation, from whence arose all the future Wealth, Honour, and Grandeur of this Kingdom; and by these Means, this Prince was enabled, for a long Time, to maintain a War against *France* and *Scotland* at once. He went in Person, at the Head of a valiant Army, into the very Heart of *France*, in the Reign of *Philip*, surnamed *de Valois*, making great Devastations all along the River *Seine*, and proceeding almost

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to the Gates of *Paris*. In this Expedition were fought two famous Battles; in the last of which our King's Son, *the Black Prince*, with a small Body of *English*, defeated a numerous Army of the *French*, took the *French* King and his Son Prisoners, and brought them both to *London* at the same Time. In his War with the *Scots*, he recover'd the strong Town of *Berwick*, and took their King Prisoner, whom he sent also to *London*. In short, he rais'd the Reputation of the *English* Arms to such a Degree, as made this Kingdom the Envy, as well as the Fear and Dread, of all the Nations around us.

Thus I have exhibited to your Lordships, a very particular Account of the Rise and Progress of Trade in this Kingdom; and I persuade myself, that I have beyond all possible Contradiction establish'd these two great and important Points, first, That Trade in all Countries, and especially in our own, is the only Source and Foundation of Wealth and Power; and, secondly, That Trade, in all Kingdoms and Nations under Heaven, and particularly in *England*, owes its very Being, its daily Progress, and Increase, to the Interposition of their respective Legislatures; and that shou'd it ever happen here, that our Government shou'd imagine our Trade can stand of itself, or shou'd esteem it unworthy their Regard and Protection, it will presently sink and decline, other Nations will

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will greedily catch at it, and thereby become more rich and powerful, while we shall unavoidably become poor, weak, and contemptible. And then, and then only, shall we be in any real Danger, of becoming a Province to *France*: A Condition the most infamous and detestable of any in the World.

Is it then, my Lords, to be admitted as a demonstrated Truth, that the Trade of this Kingdom owes its very Existence, its daily Progress and Increase, to the Protection and seasonable Interposition of the Legislature; it must no less evidently appear, that there never was a Period wherein the Trade of this Nation stood in more or greater need of that Support and Protection than the present. We are now unhappily engaged in a War with *France* and *Spain*, two of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, and must singly, and unassisted by the naval Force of any other Potentate, encounter the Fleets and Privateers of both Nations; and this War may last for a much longer Time than is generally imagin'd. Your Lordships high Rank and Station must certainly afford you access to great Men, Men of Power and Influence, Ministers of State; and it wou'd be perfectly consistent with your Duty and Office to exert yourselves, on all such Opportunities, in suggesting some Means or other, to those at the Helm, whereby our Trade and Navigation may, under its present

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sent Difficulties, receive some surer Protection, some greater Encouragement than it has ever had since the Commencement of this War. Is there no new Method to be thought of, no unprecedented Ways of employing Cruizers and Convoys in a constant and regular Succession? Wou'd your Lordships enter into this grand Concern, with the Solicitude and Attention it deserves, a Variety of Ways and Means wou'd presently offer themselves to your Apprehension. The Necessity of some more effectual Regulation with regard to Cruizers and Convoys is very apparent, especially considering the prodigious Number of Ships already taken, and also, that during the Continuence of this War, we must in all Probability, as I have already said, singly, and unassisted, encounter the Fleets and Privateers of *France*, and *Spain*.

I shall press this Matter no farther, but submit all to your better Judgments; nor need I urge, that, in any Attempts of this Kind, your Lordships are sure to have the Concurrence and Approbation of every honest and wise Man in the Kingdom; and I persuade myself, your own patriotical Dispositions will sufficiently prompt you to endeavour the Advancement of your Country.

I now come then to offer a few Hints, relating to our Trade, in general. And I wou'd first Premise, that herein I am totally abstracted from all Party Considerations whatever.

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ever. I shall not Attempt to vindicate any one Minister or Ministry, or to depreciate another; I shall not have the least Regard to Persons or Parties; but speak of Things and Transactions as they really appear, without any Regard by whom they were performed. I know the Risk a private Man runs, by talking at this Rate, and that he may probably be call'd an idle or a discontented Scribler. Every Man must risque something that will defend Truth; therefore I shall give myself no Concern, about what People may term me, in Consequence of my writing this Treatise: I am not chagrind by Disappointment, I know, and solemnly profess, I am not in the least influenc'd by Ill-nature or Resentment; all I intend, or Aim at, is the Protection and Encouragement of our Trade, and consequently, that this Kingdom may encrease in Wealth and Power.

Is Trade then of so much Importance to this Nation, and to all Ranks and Degrees of Men in it, as has been here affirm'd, and is it at present, notwithstanding, subject to many Difficulties and Discouragements, then, certainly, no Time can be more proper and seasonable than this Juncture, for the Legislature to interpose for its better Security and Protection. I am afraid, it will upon Enquiry appear, that we have Laws now existing, which are so far from being favourable to Trade, that they are highly injurious to it, and have a manifest Tendency to lessen, infringe,

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infringe, and destroy it. The Law I have now chiefly in View, is that of the 9th of Queen *Anne*, wherein it is enacted, " That every Parliamentary Candidate, except the eldest Son or Heir apparent of a Peer, or such as shall be elected for either of the Universities in *England*, shall (if requir'd) make Oath, that he is possess'd of an Estate in Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, to the Value of three hundred Pounds *per Annum*, over and above all Incumbrances, that may affect the same." This Oath is so fram'd, as leaves no Possibility of an Evasion; that Juror swears " That he has such an Estate, *truly*, and *Bona Fide* in *Law* or *Equity*, to and for his own Use and Benefit."

This Law, 'tis to be fear'd, has given Birth to a good deal of Perjury, yea, wilful and corrupt Perjury, in Persons and Places where it shou'd not be so much as suspected.

The real Design of this Law was to prevent Merchants and Traders from being elected Members of Parliament, and totally to exclude them from any Share in the Legislature. The Advocates for this Bill represented, or at least insinuated, that a great Majority of the Merchants and Traders were Men of little or no Principles, and of low and desperate Fortunes, and that by this Law, Persons of such unsuitable Characters would be in a very great Measure prevented from having a Seat in that House, whereby

Bribery

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Bribery, Venality, and Corruption, which were then so much and so justly complain'd of, wou'd be much restrain'd, and in a Manner abolish'd.

These were the Reasons openly advanced by the Advocates for this Law. But when I consider, that this Bill was brought in, and carry'd, by the Influence and Authority of Queen *Anne's* last Ministry, at a very memorable Time, when the true Interest of *England* was not the Thing most valued by those Gentlemen, and when I reflect on the well known Views and Designs of that Administration, at least of some of those who were Principals therein, I am strongly tempted to believe they had some other latent Motives, not at all fit to be owned, which prompted them in this Proceeding. They knew, the Merchants and Traders were in general hearty Friends to the *Hanover Succession*, and avowed Enemies to *France* and Slavery, and that therefore they were by all Means to be disparaged, and prevented from having it in their Power to defeat the pernicious Schemes then concerting.

Amongst all Communities and Societies of Men upon Earth, there are but two necessary and essential Qualifications, that shou'd intitle one to a Part in the Legislature, *viz.* Integrity and Ability. These are indispensable Qualifications, and no one destitute of them should be entrusted with any Share of Authority or Influence; but the excluding a Man,

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merly because he has not such a determinate real Estate, in Lands, does not seem to be consistent with that natural Justice and Equity which are so conspicuous in the *English* Laws and Constitution; neither is it agreeable with that perfect Freedom which should be exercised in the Choice of a *British* Parliament. Men's Understanding, Integrity, and Abilities, don't always keep pace with their Estates. I dare say, was the Reader to look round the Circle of his own Acquaintance, he could think of many Gentlemen, who have not two hundred Pounds *per Annum* in Land, and yet, at the same Time, may be endued with more Knowledge, more real Abilities, and, in all Respects, may be better qualified to serve their Country in Parliament, than many other Gentlemen, whose Estates may be five Times as large.

I can't therefore help thinking this Law is in its own Nature unjust and irrational; sure I am it is a very great Infringement of the Freedom and Privilege of the Electors, who, by the ancient Laws and Constitution of this Realm, were to be at full Liberty, to choose such Members as they shou'd judge most proper and capable of serving them, in this great and important Trust.

Besides, this Law has in no Shape or Degree answer'd the professed Design of its Advocates; which was, to Root out all Appearance or Suspicion of Venality, Bribery, and Corruption. It is evident to all the World, that

that since the Commencement of this Law, Bribery and Corruption, amongst all Ranks and Degrees of Men, have run to a much greater and more shameful Height, than in any other Period of Time, since the *English* Monarchy was establish'd: For the Proof of which, I shall only refer the Reader, to the printed Report of the Secret Committee, appointed by Parliament, to examine the Conduct of the late Earl of *Orford*. If then it appears, that this Law has never answer'd the Design, or, at least, the pretended Design of its Advocates, I submit it to your Lordships Consideration, if the immediate Repeal of it wou'd not be perfectly right and just. It wou'd restore the Electors to their ancient, natural, and inherent Rights; and wou'd very probably be of great Service to the Kingdom: For if Trade be of such vast Importance to this Nation, as we have proved, and doth owe its very Being, as well as its Progress, to the Care and Protection of the Legislature, is it not to be wish'd, that there were a greater Number of Merchants and Traders in the House of Commons? Indeed, as this House now consists almost entirely of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose Education (as afore observ'd) has been quite different from the Study of those Improvements that are to be made by Manufactures and Commerce, it is not to be expected such an Assembly shou'd always

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form a right Judgment, in Matters relating to Trade; whereas, if there were more Merchants and Traders therein, our Representatives would acquire much clearer Ideas of these Matters, and would be inspired with a much greater Concern for their Advancement. In all Debates, relating thereto, the Trader wou'd enter into the Subject with Skill founded on Experience, wou'd discover and point out to the House the Advantages or Disadvantages that might accrue to the Publick from any Measures propos'd or taking; and all this with far more Judgment and Exactness than the meer Gentleman can be presum'd to do. *Cæteris paribus*, every Man judges best of that he is most conversant with, and can do most Service in that which is his proper Business; and therefore I am persuaded, that was there a greater Number of Merchants and Traders in the House of Commons, Trade, according to the Increase of its Friends there, would become more extensive and prosperous, to the Strength and Glory of the Community.

The Reverend Mr. *Tindal*, speaking of this Law, says, " 'Twas thought to strike
 " at an essential Part of our Constitution,
 " touching the Freedom of Elections. Our
 " Gentry was become so ignorant and corrupt,
 " that many apprehended the ill Effects of this Law,
 " and that the Interest of Trade, which indeed supports that of
 " Land,

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" Land, wou'd neither be understood nor
 " regarded."*

I don't incline to make any invidious Comparison between the Gentleman and the Merchant, or Trader; but surely I can't see, why the Merchant and Trader shou'd be presum'd to be more easily bribed or corrupted than the Gentleman; the former have generally as high a Value for the Liberties of their Country, and as great a Detestation of Slavery and arbitrary Power, as any set of Men upon Earth; neither does it appear, that the Circumstances of the Gentlemen, in general, are so very much superior to those of the Merchant or Trader, as to warrant such a degrading Treatment of the latter. Admitting the Gentleman has the real and *bona fide* Qualification that the Law requires, yea, let us suppose him to have a hundred or two hundred Pounds *per Annum* more, yet, by the Time the current Expences of the Family at Home, and the Education of his Children abroad, together with the accidental Losses by bad Tennants, are all deducted, his Situation does not seem to be so vastly preferable to the other's. Its true, the Property of the Gentleman is more durable and permanent, more out of the Power of Accidents and state Revolutions.

Sir *William Temple*, speaking of the wonderful Extent of the *Dutch* Trade, says,
 " The Government in *Holland* is managed,
 " either by Men that Trade, or whose Families
 " milies

* Continuation of *Rapin*, Number 65. page 200.

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“ milies have risen by it, or who have them-
 “ selves some Interest going on in other Mens
 “ Traffick, or who were born or bred in
 “ Towns, the Soul or Being whereof consists
 “ in Trade. This makes Trade sure of all
 “ Favour, that from Time to Time grows
 “ necessary, and can be given it by the Go-
 “ vernment.” How wou’d this great Man
 be fill’d with Surprize and Astonishment,
 cou’d he now be inform’d, that in *England*
 there are Laws existing, which were made
 with no other Design, than to exclude the
 Merchant and Trader from having any Share
 in the Government or Administration.

I shall now exhibit a short Account of the
 Completion and Disposition of that Parlia-
 ment, which passed the Law I have been
 speaking of; and shall remark a little on
 some other very extraordinary Laws, which
 they pass’d, or endeavour’d to pass, at the very
 same Time.

The Reverend Mr. *Tindal*, in his Con-
 tinuation of *Rapin*, Number 65, page 211,
 says, “ In this House of Commons there
 “ appear’d a new Combination of Torys, of
 “ the highest Form.” I hope God will ever
 more deliver this Kingdom from any other such
 Combination; for, to speak the very Truth,
 they brought us to the Brink of Ruin; and
 if the Almighty had not providentially in-
 terposed, we and our Posterity had been in-
 evitably undone, tied down in Chains of
 Slavery, Blackness, and Darkness, both of
 Body

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Body and Mind. At the same Time this
 Parliament, or rather this new Combination
 of Torys of the highest Form, (as *Tindall*
 calls them) took great Offence, at the coming
 over of the poor *Palatines* into this King-
 dom. Many Motions were made in the House
 of Commons about it, and it was pretended,
 that those unhappy Refugees were not so
 well affected to the *Church*, as could be
 wish’d, and that their coming over might
 increase the Number of Dissenters. At last
 they address’d the Queen about it, and the
 House came to the following Resolution, *viz.*
 “ That the inviting, and bringing over the
 “ *Palatines* into this Kingdom, may be of
 “ dangerous Consequence to the Constitution
 “ of Church and State,” and at the same
 Time they pass’d a Bill, to repeal the Act for
 a general Naturalization of all Protestants
 whatsoever, which the former Parliament
 had pass’d about three Years before. On the
 first reading of this Bill, in the upper House,
 it was rejected with a becoming Indignation.
 Some of the Lords inveighed against it very
 warmly, and discover’d the pernicious Ten-
 dency thereof, shou’d it pass into a Law,
 while others enter’d more particularly into
 the Views and Designs of this notable House
 of Commons in promoting it. In fine,
 their Lordships quickly rejected it, to the
 joy of every honest and wise Man in the
 Kingdom.

At

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At this Time it was become a Fashion in the House of Commons, to speak on all Occasions contemptuously of King *William*, our great and glorious Deliverer, and his Memory was treated with such Reproach, as was inconsistent with that Decency, which ought always to be observ'd in a *British* Senate. When the Enemies of this excellent Prince, and of their Country, had by this Means endeavoured to prejudice the Minds of the unwary, both within Doors and without, against his Character, they boldly then ventured to arraign his Proceedings, and they set out with an outrageous Clamour against his Grants. This was so well receiv'd by the Herd, that a Bill was brought in, to empower a certain Number of Persons, * to examine all the Grants he had ever made, to report the Value of them to the House, and the particular Considerations upon which they were made. This was done with a Design to resume and make them all void.

When this Bill was sent up to the Lords, they declared it was malicious and unjust, and that it was pass'd in the other House, with no other Design, than to blacken and throw an Odium on the Memory of King *William*, and all those who had faithfully served him and their Country. Upon the first Reading their Lordships rejected it, to the great Mortification of the lower House, or (as

Tindal

* The Commissioners Names in the rejected Bill were, Mr. *Hind Cotton*, Sir *Simeon Stuart*, Mr. *Everfield*, Mr. *Bulteel*, Mr. *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Wrightson*.

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Tindal calls them) to the new Combination of Torys of the highest Form; some of which perhaps bore the harder on the Memory of King *William*, because he had tied down the Nation, (Body, Soul, and Estate) by Oaths and Laws, firm and immutable, to defend and maintain the Succession of the Crown in the House of *Hanover*.

I could mention many other Instances of the unjustifiable Conduct of this House of Commons; I will trouble the Reader but with one more, to convince him of the Weakness and Incapacity of the then Ministry, to say the best of them. A very extraordinary Bill was brought in, went through both Houses, and pass'd into a Law, by their Procurement, to encourage and promote the Importation of *French* Wine. This Bill was laugh'd at or condemn'd by every sensible Man in the Kingdom; and nothing cou'd have carried such a Motion through the two Houses, but a very strong Inclination to oblige the *French* King, whose Alliance the Persons then in Power needed, join'd to the Luxury of those who were excessively fond of this Liquor. The *Grand Monarque*, as it was then said, made himself very merry, on the News of the passing this Bill, and ridiculed the Folly of the *English*, in exchanging their Gold, Silver, and Wooll, for his Wine: For if our Ministry at that Time had known any thing at all, they must have

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known, that the *French* had more Sense, than to take any thing in lieu of it from us, but our Coin, or our Fleece, the latter of which is of greatest Value to them, and Detriment to us in their Hands.

But it luckily happen'd, this Law was rendered more innocent than the Makers intended it: For, by a Clause thereof, the Wines of *France* were to be imported only in neutral Ships; which gave some Offence to the *French* King, who declar'd, he expected by this Law, to promote his own Navigation; and finding his Views from it defeated, he issued out an Edict, forbidding the Importation of *French* Wine to *England*, unless in *French* Vessels. By this Procedure he shewed himself a better Governor than his Dupes were here, and how little he set by their Submissions, when they did not effectually subserve his Purposes. In short, he had contracted such an Opinion of the Meanness and Folly of the then Legislature, that he was startled and chagrind at their least Incompliance with his Pleasure.

By this Time I reckon the Reader must be astonish'd, at the Behaviour of this Parliament, and begin to inquire how it was possible for such a Set of Men to get themselves elected in this Kingdom. To account for this it must be remark'd, that the Influence of the Court was all in Favour of this new Combination of Tories of the highest Form. As I have been condemn'd, tho' very

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very unjustly, for being too severe on the Clergy, in some former Tracts, what I am now to relate of them shall be in the Words of others, and particularly of such Persons as have been always presum'd to be well affected to the Holy Priesthood.

The Reverend Mr. *Tindal*, in his Continuation of *Rapin*, Number 65, page 193, says, " After the Elections were over, the
" Members of the High-Church Party far
" out-number'd those of the contrary Side,
" which, besides the Influence of the Court,
" was owing to other Causes: All the IN-
" FEROUS CLERGY, a few excepted,
" were more than ordinarily zealous, and
" diligent, in promoting the Interest of such
" whom they thought best affected to the
" Church; not only without any Regard to
" the necessary Qualifications of personal
" Merit or of Estate in the Candidates, but,
" in several Instances, in breach of the com-
" mon Duties of Gratitude, strenuously op-
" posing their very Patrons, and Benefactors.
" Besides a Course, for some Months, of
" very inflaming Sermons, they went about
" from House to House, pressing their Peo-
" ple to shew, on this Occasion, their Zeal
" for the Church, and now or never to save
" it. And by this Sort of Preachment there
" was a vast Concourse of rude Multitudes
" brought together, who behaved in so
" boistrous a Manner, that it was not safe,
" and in many Places not possible, for those
" who

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“ who had a Right, to come and
 “ give their Votes for a Whig. This was
 “ general, throughout the Kingdom, all
 “ at the same Time, that it was visible,
 “ the thing had been concerted for some
 “ Time, and that the proper Methods and
 “ Tools had been prepared for it.” Our
 other Historians agree with *Tindal*, that
 the Clergy by their inflaming Sermons, and
 other wicked Arts, were the chief Promot-
 ers of all the open Violence, Mobbing, and
 Outrage, that were every where practis'd
 at this Election. And this Method they pur-
 sued for some Time, and wou'd certainly
 have gone on, till they had brought us to
 Ruin, or into a Civil War, had they not
 been prevented by the Riot Act, soon after
 the Accession of the late King. The passing
 this Act, and the Execution soon following
 it in *Fleet-Street*, tended greatly to establish-
 ing the Government, and restoring the pub-
 lick Tranquility: For the Temper and Dis-
 position of the Clergy, at that Time, was
 pretty much akin, to those of their Prede-
 cessors in the Reign of *Charles the First*,
 who, as that great and honest Historian,
Ludlow, tells us, had always in View, the
 Moulding the Church of *England* to a
 nearer Conjunction with the See of *Rome*.

The Violence and Outrage in the Electi-
 on of this Parliament were so open and no-
 torious, that some of our greatest Lawyers
 and Politicians much question'd, if they
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were really a Parliament or not; and were
 inclin'd to think, they could not be deem'd
 a proper Representative of the *British Na-*
tion.

Thus, my Lords, I have given a brief
 Account of that Parliament, which pass'd
 the Law, the Repeal of which I now re-
 commend to your Lordships serious Consi-
 deration; I have also hinted at the critical
 Period of Time in which this Law was
 pass'd, the open Pretences and private
 Views of its chief Advocates, as also the
 several other pernicious Laws which they
 pass'd, or endeavour'd to pass, at the same
 Time; I have also laid before you the vio-
 lent and outrageous Methods practis'd all
 over the Kingdom, to procure the Election
 of this Set of Men. I shall urge the Mat-
 ter no farther, but submit the whole to your
 Lordships better Judgment, and persuade
 myself, that on mature Deliberation you'll
 all unite, and concur in Opinion, that the
 Repeal of this Law is reasonable and neces-
 sary, perfectly agreeable to our antient Laws
 and Constitution, as it will restore the E-
 lectors to their natural Rights and Privileges,
 and must unavoidably be of great Benefit to
 this Kingdom.

The next Thing I have to offer to your
 Lordships Consideration, in order to encou-
 rage and encrease the Trade of this King-
 dom, is a more general, impartial, inviola-
 ble Toleration and Liberty of Conscience to
 all

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all People upon Earth, the Papist only excepted, * together with an Act for an universal Naturalization of the whole Race of Mankind, of whatever Kingdom or Nation under Heaven, without Exception: By this I mean, that People, from all Corners of the World, the *Jew*, the *Pagan*, the *Mahometan*, the *Persian*, the *Chinese*, &c. &c. &c. may be received in *England*, with their Families and Effects, and may be permitted to settle in any of our trading Towns or Cities, to buy Land, and to pursue whatever Employment they please, without Restraint or Molestation, may be taken under the Protection of our Laws, be intitled to all the Privileges of Commerce, and in all Respects, relating to Trade, be on the same Footing with the old Inhabitants.

The Admission of Foreigners, in this open and free Manner, and the making them quite

* Of all Religions in the World, Popery is unquestionably the worst; being in its own Nature abundantly more destructive to Human Society than Mahometism or Pagan Idolatry. But tho' the Good and Well-being of Society may, therefore, render it just and reasonable to exempt the Papists from the Benefit of this extensive Toleration, yet I see no Reason why they may not be included in the general Act of Naturalization; and further, tho' I am not for enlarging their Religious Liberties in a legal Way, yet to me it appears perfectly consistent with the strictest Rules of Prudence and Policy, that they be permitted quietly to enjoy that Indulgence, or Connivance, which they have had for this 20 or 30 Years past.

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quite easy, as to their Religion, wou'd presently appear to be of unspeakable Service to this Kingdom: 'Twas by means of Foreigners, that our Silk and Woollen Fabricks were establish'd, and brought to any Degree of Perfection, in the Reign of *Edward the Third*.

Such a Toleration, and general Act of Naturalization, wou'd be of vast Consequence, and cou'd not possibly fail to increase the Trade, Riches, and Strength of this Kingdom. Were our Towns and Cities always open to receive Foreigners, and were they in all Respects relating to Trade on the same footing with the Natives, we shou'd presently find, that from those Countries where Tyranny and Superstition prevail, the oppressed Part of Mankind wou'd be induced to transport their Families and Effects hither. The Goodness of our Climate, the Mildness of our Laws, and other Advantages enjoy'd by *English* Men, wou'd be sufficient Inducements to Multitudes, which wou'd be a vast Accession to our real Power and Strength, and enable us to Balance the greatness of any other Country in *Europe*.

That ingenious *French* Gentleman, Monsieur *Huet*, in his Memoirs of the *Dutch* Trade, page 16. says, "After the Union of the seven Provinces, the World saw this new Republick defend itself with Success against *Spain*; for all those who hated the *Spanish* Government, or were

" per-

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“ persecuted under it, retired thither, as
 “ to an Asylum, from its Rigour and Seve-
 “ rity. The many Persecutions which
 “ *Spain* renew'd, with too great Severity,
 “ in several Places, against those who had
 “ embraced the new Opinions, peopled the
 “ United Provinces, with a World of ex-
 “ cellent Artizans, who set up their several
 “ new Manufactures, and brought those
 “ they had already to a greater Perfection.
 “ The Persecutions that lasted so long in
 “ *France*, then in *Germany*, and last of all
 “ in *England*, augmented considerably the
 “ Inhabitants of the United Provinces,
 “ and made likewise great Numbers of
 “ Merchants, Traders, and Workmen, go
 “ into *Holland*, which not only caused their
 “ Towns to become exceeding populous, but
 “ doubly increas'd their Trade.

“ This general Naturalization, and Li-
 “ berty of Conscience, and the making all
 “ People quite easy in Matters of Religion,
 “ has been always observ'd to be the prin-
 “ cipal Motives, which induced so many
 “ Merchants and Artizans, to go in Millions
 “ to the United Provinces; and notwith-
 “ standing they sat down in a Country pro-
 “ ducing nothing necessary to Trade or
 “ Navigation, yet, by their Means, it is
 “ become the Center of both; for the new
 “ Country they were come to inhabit, be-
 “ ing but of small Extent, and not pro-
 “ ducing near what they had Occasion for,
 “ those

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“ those great and incredible Numbers, which
 “ fled thither for Security, had no other
 “ Way to live but by Trade, for without it
 “ they cou'd never have subsisted, and paid
 “ those heavy Taxes, so often laid upon
 “ them, in Defence of their Liberties.”

Monsieur *Huet* again, speaking of the ge-
 neral Liberty all new Comers had, to pur-
 sue whatever Trade or Business they pleas'd,
 without the least Restraint, says, “ To
 “ conclude all, Trade has not any where
 “ in the World so mortal an Enemy as
 “ Constraint; and it must be ever acknow-
 “ ledged, as an incontestable Truth, that
 “ wherever Trade is clog'd or constrain'd,
 “ under any Government, it will retire to
 “ others, where it may have greater Safety
 “ and Freedom, and be more favourably
 “ used, which at this Time it cou'd no
 “ where find so well as in *Holland*. And
 “ by these Means the World saw this new
 “ Republick, in a short Time, in a Condi-
 “ tion to defend itself against the whole
 “ Power of *Spain*, and all its other Ene-
 “ mies. I am fully convinc'd, and I think
 “ it wou'd not be a hard Matter to convince
 “ others, that Commerce may be made to
 “ flourish in *France*, as well as in any Re-
 “ publick whatever. And by that Means
 “ our Monarchy may be rendered more
 “ powerful than it has ever yet been. It is
 “ certainly for the Interest of all *Princes*,
 “ that Commerce shou'd flourish in their
 “ I
 “ *Domi-*

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“ *Dominions* : For never were greater Things
 “ performed by Sovereigns, than when the
 “ Trade of their Subjects has afforded them
 “ the Means to put them in Execution ;
 “ which may easily be proved by infinite
 “ Examples, both ancient and modern. Be-
 “ sides, Trade has the only attractive Qua-
 “ lity, to draw into any State Gold and Sil-
 “ ver, which are the *Primum Mobile* of all
 “ Actions. This is so true, that *Spain*, in
 “ whose Dominions those two Mettals are
 “ produced in greatest Abundance, is very often
 “ straiten’d for the Necessaries and Con-
 “ veniences of Life ; and that, purely, for
 “ having neglected Trade and Manufactures.

I cou’d mention some other *French* Wri-
 ters on Trade to the same Purpose ; but it
 wou’d be needless, as it is all abundantly con-
 firm’d by our own Countryman, Sir *William*
Temple, who, in his Account of the Trade
 of the United Provinces, says, “ Trade
 “ can no where flourish under Arbitrary, and
 “ tyrannical Power, but must of Necessity
 “ decay and dissolve, because it empties a
 “ Country of People ; but the granting a
 “ general Liberty Freedom and Ease, not
 “ only in Matters of Conscience, but all
 “ others that serve to the commodiouness
 “ and quiet of Life, where every Man may
 “ follow his own Way, and pursue what
 “ Business he will, this fills a Country with
 “ People : And, accordingly, no other known
 “ Country in the World, of the same Ex-

“ tent

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“ tent with *Holland*, holds any Proportion
 “ with it, in Numbers of People, which is
 “ the great Foundation of Trade, and the
 “ best Account that can be given of theirs.”

Such a Toleration, and general Act of
 Naturalization, wou’d certainly be a Means of
 greatly increasing this Nation, in Power and
 Riches, by multiplying its Commerce. And
 the greatest Men in all Ages have allow’d,
 that People are the only real Strength and
 Riches of any Kingdom whatever. We see
 how weak and impotent even *Spain* is, with
 its Mines of Gold and Silver, and with the
 best Ports and Soil in the World, for want of
 Inhabitants.

I am sensible, some weak ignorant People,
 and particularly the zealous Bigots, wou’d raise
 some Objections to this unlimited Admiffion
 of Foreigners. They might pretend, that
 these Strangers wou’d underwork and under-
 sell us, and probably in Time become
 strong enough to master the old Inhabitants.
 But the grand Objection of all wou’d be,
 that the granting such a general Act of Natu-
 ralization, and the tolerating all Religions,
 wou’d endanger the *Being* and *Constitution*
 of our Church, as establish’d by *Law*. This
 was the grand Argument urg’d by Queen
ANNE’s famous Parliament, for the re-
 pealing the present Act of Naturalization ;
 but this was above thirty Years ago ; and
 Thanks be to Almighty God, the Principles
 of Truth and Liberty are now better and
 I 2 more

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more universally understood, and Blindness, Bigotry, and Superstition, with all their horrid and gloomy Attendants, are in a Manner fled from our happy Isle; so that this Argument, of the Danger of the Church, which was then urg'd in so furious a Manner, as to disturb the publick Tranquility, wou'd now be deem'd below the Notice of any Man, who bears the Character of great or wise, religious or good. Our Church is establish'd by Laws and Oaths, firm and immutable; the King, the Nobility, and Gentry of the Kingdom, are of the establish'd Church, and we have all reasonable, nay possible Security, that they will continue and remain so; and to pretend, that the Admission of Foreigners, in this unrestrained Way, wou'd endanger the Church, proceeds from narrowness of Mind, and blind Superstition. These Foreigners, soon after their Settlement here, wou'd look upon themselves to have in all Respects the same Interest as the old Inhabitants; and the great Number of Sectaries wou'd only give our Clergy a more ample Field, for displaying their Learning and Piety, and excite them to greater Industry; which wou'd bring more true Glory and Wealth to the Church, than can possibly accrue to it by Fines, Imprisonments, or Penal Laws.

Sir *William Temple*, in his Account of the Religion of the United Provinces, says,
 " It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the

" Vio-

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" Violence and Bitterness, which accompany
 " Religion in other Countries, seem to be
 " appeas'd and soften'd here, by the general
 " Freedom which all Men enjoy. No Man
 " here complains of Pressure in his Con-
 " science, or of being forced to any publick
 " Profession of his Faith, or of being re-
 " strain'd from his own Manner of Wor-
 " ship in his House, or obliged to any other
 " Abroad; and whoever asks more in Point
 " of Religion, without the indisputed Evi-
 " dence of a particular Mission from Hea-
 " ven, may justly be suspected, not to ask
 " for God's Sake, but his own."

Its true, Sir *William Temple* offers some particular Reasons, why that Bitterness and Violence, which accompany Religion in other Countries, is quite soften'd and appeas'd in *Holland*, and why no Disturbance to the State has ever been occasioned by that general Freedom which all Men there enjoy'd; for, says he, " Here all the Rights and Jurisdiction of the Clergy, or Hierarchy, are suppress'd; there is no *Ecclesiastical* Authority left, to rise up and trouble, or to fetter the Civil Power. All the Goods and Possessions of the Church are wholly in the Hands of the State; which makes a great Increase of the publick Revenue: a Thing the most necessary for the Support of the Government. The Order of the Clergy makes no Part of the States of *Holland*, nor have they any Vote in their
 " Assem-

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“Assemblies”. These are the principal Reasons this great Man renders, for that general Peace and Tranquility which has ever prevail'd in *Holland*, in Matters of Religion.

Indeed our Ecclesiastical Constitution is of a different Kind; neither do I urge or solicit any the least Alteration in it. Thanks be to God, we have Numbers of our Clergy that are Men of Knowledge, Learning, and Piety, and who assert no Claim or Pretensions but what are perfectly consistent with our Laws, and who from their Hearts do acknowledge our most Gracious Sovereign KING GEORGE to be the only supreme Head of the Church: Those of this Character wou'd not open their Mouths against a further Extension of the Toleration and Naturalization Acts, when it appear'd to them to be so highly conducive to the Power, Strength, and Wealth of the Kingdom.

About seven Years since, the Clergy of *Bordeaux* in *France* began to grow uneasy, at the great Increase of the Protestants and Jews in that Town, and were often insinuating to the People, that those Jews and Hereticks, unless restrain'd by some new Laws, wou'd not only engross the largest Share of the Trade of that Place, but also, that the Church was thereby in the utmost Peril. The People at *Bordeaux*, after having been properly heated by these Suggestions, drew up a long Representation of this Matter, and Deputies

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were appointed to wait on Cardinal *Fleury* with it. Before the Deputies arrival, the Cardinal had Notice of the Affair, and declar'd to Mr. *Amelot* his very great dislike of their Errand, and assured him he wou'd not see them. When the Deputies applied to Mr. *Amelot*, desiring to be introduced to his Eminence, he signified to them, that the Cardinal was highly displeas'd with their Business; and had directed him to tell them, that in his Judgment he was so far from encouraging any new Impositions or Restraints on the Jews and Protestants, then in the Kingdom, that he rather wish'd they were indulg'd with more and larger Privileges, that thereby greater Numbers of both might be invited to leave other Countries, and settle in *France* with their Families and Effects. Mr. *Amelot* debated the Matter for some Time with the Deputies, and assured them, that vast Numbers of the Jews, then in *France*, had been induced to settle there, under a Promise, or at least a strong Intimation from the Ministry, that their Persons and Properties shou'd be perfectly secure, and that, consequently, an attack on them wou'd be a notorious Breach of national Faith and Justice. Mr. *Amelot* further observ'd, that shou'd any new Restraint be laid upon them, they wou'd instantly be all alarm'd, and many Millions of Money, then usefully employ'd in Trade, wou'd be instantly call'd in, and remitted into other Countries, and both

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both Jews and Protestants be all preparing to follow, to the very great Detriment of the *French* Nation. He farther remark'd, that by the late Indulgence of the Jews and Protestants, the Kingdom of *France* had reap'd unspeakable Advantages, by a vast Increase of Inhabitants, and consequently of Trade and Wealth.

The poor ignorant bigotted Deputies were amaz'd to hear Mr. *Amelot* talk in this Manner, and began to urge very strongly the Danger of the Church, by this Encouragement of the Jews and Hereticks; at which Mr. *Amelot* laughing heartily, desired them to return Home, and to rest satisfied, that the King and the Ministry wou'd take all needful Care of the *Gallican* Church. The Clergy at *Bourdeaux* were not a little disgusted at the Reception their Tools met with at *Paris*, and never afterwards spoke of the Cardinal or Mr. *Amelot*, without a sensible Disgust, and wou'd often insinuate, they were a Sort of Hugonots or Presbyterians, not sound for the Church. This Story I know to be true, and I only mention it here, that the Reader may see the Opinion of two very great Men on this Head.

In all Countries People die every Day, but this Loss is again repair'd by the succeeding Generation. The landed Interest is insensible of any Loss, while as one goes off another succeeds in his Room, and pays as much yearly Rent for his Lodging and Consumption;

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sumption; but when a Nation comes to loose a great Number of People at once, by Pestilence or War, this Loss can't presently be recover'd, otherways than by an Invitation of Foreigners to come and settle in the Room of the deceased: Which can only be effected by a general Naturalization and Liberty of Conscience. And with regard to *England* no Time can be more proper or seasonable than the present; especially considering the great Numbers of Men lost in the *West-Indies*, in our late unfortunate Expedition at *Carthagena*, under *Vernon* and *Wentworth*; the many Men lost in Sea Fights, on board our Men of War, Privateers, and Merchant-Ships; and the much greater Numbers that have died in *French* and *Spanish* Prisons, or at the Battles of *Detingen*, *Fontenoy*, &c. However trifling each of these Numbers may appear, in Comparison of a Nation, yet when taken all together, they will prove a very considerable Diminution of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom within these few Years. This Loss wou'd in all Probability be repair'd in a very short Time, by the Toleration and general Naturalization here propos'd; and thereby such manifest Advantages wou'd accrue to us, in Trade Riches and Strength, the good Effects thereof would be so quickly visible, so sensibly experienced, as must certainly reconcile all thereunto, excepting a few, who are under
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the Dominion of Party-Zeal, and whose Principles are built on a narrow Foundation: Such as never did, nor ever will, understand the real Interest of their Country.

Sir *William Petty* computes, that we are about seven Millions of People, and that, take us all together, from the Prince on the Throne to the Beggar in the Street, we pay the Lands and Manufactures seven Pounds *per Annum, per Head*, for Food, Apparel, and Lodging. Its also allowed on all Hands, that *Great Britain* cou'd feed and maintain full one Third more of Inhabitants than it has ever yet done. Let us suppose, that by the Toleration and general Naturalization here propos'd, we shou'd increase in a few Years but one Million of People, this additional Number only wou'd pay the Manufactures and Land of *England* an additional Income of at least Seven Millions of Money, *per Annum*. Nay, were the Increase but half a Million, the additional Payment to the Lands and Manufacturers, wou'd amount to three Millions and a half, *per Annum*. Besides, as the Number of our Inhabitants wou'd go on increasing, so, in like Proportion, the Value of Lands and Rents in *England* wou'd go on advancing. Does not all Lands let better in or near a populous Town or City than at a Distance from it. In all Countries where there are few Inhabitants to a large Tract of Land, nothing is to be seen but Sloth and Poverty; but

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but when great Numbers come to be confin'd to a narrow Compass of Ground, necessity forces them upon Invention, Frugality, and Industry; which, in a Nation, are always attended with Wealth and Power.

Of all the different Manufactures in *England*, none has been so considerably increas'd and improv'd, within the Compass of twenty Years, as that of *Birmingham*. This, as I have been inform'd, is in a great Measure owing to their having had two or three leading Men, that have been Persons of good Sense and Discernment, and who were always for permitting Strangers, from any Part of *England*, or Foreigners, from any Part of the World, to come and settle amongst them, without the least Molestation or Restraint. By this wise Indulgence, great Numbers of People, from different Parts of the Kingdom, and even from *Holland* and *France*, were induced to settle there. These Strangers and Foreigners brought with them many new Arts and Improvements, by Means whereof this Town is arriv'd to a great Height of Wealth and Splendor, and its Manufacture is become one of the most considerable in *England*. I have often reflected with Grief and Astonishment, on that monstrous Ignorance and Stupidity that narrow mean and selfish Spirit that even yet prevail in many Corporations in *England*. No sooner is a Stranger come amongst them, but their

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Parish Officers are directed to plague and hunt him daily, and never let him rest, till they have driven him away; even tho' it appear that he had brought with him some new Arts and Manufactures, or is capable of considerably improving those already establish'd, whereby the Wealth of that Country or Place might be very much increased.

Its ridiculous to imagine, that any Town or City can be too populous. Besides, it ought to be consider'd, that in all Kingdoms and Nations, the Price of Labour will always be more or less in Proportion to the Number of Labourers. One Reason why the *French* have made that amazing Progress in their Trade and Navigation, for this fifty Years pass'd, has been the Cheapness of Labour among them. In *England*, the Price of Labour can never be reduced, without increasing the Number of Labourers.

Let us but for a Moment consider the Advantages other Nations have over us in this Point, with regard to Navigation only. And really it deserves the utmost Attention. The Merchant at *London* is now obliged to give fifty five Shillings or three Pounds *per* Month to a common Sailor, at *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and other Ports, they pay forty five or fifty Shillings *per* Month; at the same Time the Merchant in *Holland* pays his Sailors but from twenty to twenty five Shillings

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lings *per* Month: A mighty Difference certainly, and such a Difference, as must unavoidably produce an Increase of their Navigation, and a Diminution of ours. I could mention also some of our particular Fabricks, wherein the Price of Labour might be reduced, without any real Injury to the Labourer, or his Family, who, by such a Reduction, wou'd be only necessitated to a Life of more Sobriety, Frugality, and Industry, and in which he wou'd enjoy more Health and Ease, and his Family more Pleasure and Satisfaction.

These great and important Points are only to be obtain'd by the Toleration and general Naturalization here propos'd; whereby the *Jew*, the *Pagan*, the *Mahometan*, the *Chinese*, *Persian*, and People from all Corners of the World, may be invited and permitted to come hither, with their Families and Effects, to settle in any of our trading Towns and Cities, to buy Land, and to pursue whatever Employments they please, under the Protection of the Laws, intitled to all the Privileges of Commerce, and in all Respects relating to Trade on the same footing with the old Inhabitants.

The next Things I have to offer to your Lordships Consideration, in order to encourage and promote the Trade of this Kingdom, are our Specie, or Coin, and the Interest of Money: Two Things of great
Impor-

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Importance to the Publick, and of such Consequence to our Traffic, that they ought to be examin'd with the utmost Attention. I don't pretend to treat those weighty Subjects with that Exactness and Accuracy they deserve, that must be the work of an abler Pen: However, what I here suggest will I hope be intelligible, and not altogether unserviceable, if properly regarded.

Every one knows, that Mines alone furnish Gold and Silver; but it has been always observed, that those Countries that are best stored with Silver and Gold Mines, are generally Poor; the digging and refining those Metals, employing and destroying a prodigious Number of their People. In *China* they have Gold and Silver Mines, but the Wisdom and Policy of the State absolutely forbid them to be wrought. Indeed, when Things come to be rightly consider'd and understood, Gold and Silver, drawn out of the Mines, don't equally enrich with what is gotten by Trade.

In Countries where Trade is daily improving by the Art and Industry of the People, and where it is properly encouraged and supported by the Legislature, it affords more real Wealth to a Country, than even the Possession of Mines of Gold and Silver. Those Nations that have the Means of bringing in Gold and Silver, for the Commodities they carry out, are unquestionably upon a better footing, than those that contain

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tain the Mines from whence those Metals are extracted; for the Quantity of them dug out of the Mine, will not bear any Proportion with what may be made to arise from the Labour of an industrious, frugal, trading Nation. For tho' in such a one the Stock of Silver and Gold be at first very small, yet still rolling on in Trade, it receives a perpetual Addition; and this both the greater and speedier, the better Trade is understood, and the more it is respected and cherished by those in Authority.

In Countries where there are Mines, the People are generally lazy and poor, they entirely rely on that Store, which in reality they dig for others, that is, the Industrious, and become Beggars themselves, notwithstanding their's is the first Property of all the Gold and Silver that enriches and adorns the rest of Mankind.

Monfieur *Huet* (afore quoted) in his Survey of the *Dutch Trade*, page 6, says,
 " I shall only give one Instance more, to
 " prove that nothing but Commerce can
 " enrich a Kingdom. Let us for this turn
 " our Eyes to *Spain*, and it is certain no
 " People in the World have so little Gold
 " and Silver as the *Spaniards*, tho' these
 " two Metals grow in such prodigious
 " Quantities in their Dominions: Other
 " Nations, notwithstanding, are far better
 " provided therewith, on Account of the
 " great

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“ great Vent their Commodities and Pro-
 “ ducts have in *Spain*, and its dependent
 “ Territories, which have occasion for
 “ them; and, in short, that great Monar-
 “ chy has fallen into Decay, purely through
 “ its neglect of Commerce, and not esta-
 “ blishing sufficient Manufactures in Do-
 “ minions of so large Extent. It has been
 “ the Negligence of the *Spaniards* in these
 “ Respects, which has been one of the
 “ principal Springs of the Riches of
 “ *France*.”

In *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, we have no Mines of Gold or Silver, and no other Kingdoms or Nations, that have, will give us the Produce thereof for nothing. Trade and Commerce are the only Ways left to us for obtaining Riches, and it is also by Commerce alone that these can be retain'd or increas'd. Let us suppose the Gold, Silver, and all the current Coin, now in the Kingdom, to amount to a certain Sum, say two Millions, and that we export annually to the Value of eleven hundred thousand Pounds, of our Woollen Manufactures, Tin, Corn, Lead, Fish, Iron Ware, &c. and that at the same Time our Imports amount to but a Million; in this Case our National Stock increases one hundred thousand Pounds a Year, and, consequently, in the Space of twenty Years is doubled. It will be ridiculous to say, this Balance is paid us in Bills of Exchange,
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seeing this cannot be, unless you suppose that Scrips of Paper can have a real and intrinsic Value; nothing will pay Debts but Money, or Money's Worth; all that a Bill of Exchange can do, is only to direct, where, when, and by whom, Money is to be paid; if I draw a Bill on *Hamburg* or *Amsterdam*, let it be shifted from one Hand to another as it will, yet, at last, if we trace it to the End, we shall find it must be paid, either in Money, or Goods carried from hence; Credit is not Money, but only a temporary Expedient to supply an immediate Want, and the Lender advances his Money, from an Expectation, or Assurance, of being repaid when he demands it. Let us suppose again on the other Hand, that our National Stock of Gold, Silver, and current Coin, be exactly two Millions, and that we annually import, of consumable Commodities, to the Amount of eleven hundred thousand Pounds, but that we export, of our own, only one Million; in that Case, a hundred thousand Pounds a Year wou'd constantly go out of the Kingdom in Specie, which, in ten Years Time, wou'd amount to one half the current Coin, on the supposition of that being two Millions.

Let the current Coin of the Kingdom be what it will, if the Balance of Trade goes constantly against us, in the abovesaid Ratio, we shall, in a certain Number of Years, be
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annual Increase of Money has proportionably advanced the Price of the Land. If a Tenement or Farm is to be sold, a Number of Bidders appear at once; the Land now sells currently at forty Years Value; the Increase of Money having been so great, by this Balance of Trade, that very few People find themselves under any Necessity of selling their Lands, and great Numbers want to Purchase; Interest of Money is naturally low, to the vast Emolument of the Publick; by Reason of the Plenty of Cash, in the Hands of many of the People, it is fallen from five to two and a half *per Cent*. This lowness of Interest, and easiness of obtaining Money, gives Birth to several new Manufactures, by the Exportation of which much Wealth is brought in, as by the daily Labour of the Manufacturers, it is continually circulated, to the enriching the whole Community. Besides, the lowness of Interest invites many Gentlemen and Farmers to borrow great Sums, and to lay them out in the improving of their Lands; by which Means the natural Products of them are considerably multiplied, and the National Stock for trading greatly enlarged.

As I am on the Article of Interest, I can't omit taking Notice, that in *Holland* there is not, nor ever was, any Law to limit the Rate of Interest; and the present Lowness thereof in that Country is not the
Effect

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Effect of a Law, or the politick Contrivance of the Government, to promote Trade, but it is the meer Effect of the Plenty of Money brought in there, by the great Balance of Trade. Silver and Gold are in this Respect like other Commodities, and will always bear a Price in Proportion to the Plenty or Scarcity of either. Whenever any Government borrows Money, it should be particularly careful to obtain it at as low a Rate as is possible, because the Interest between private Men will in some Measure be regulated by that of the State. *John De Witt*, when he was at the Head of the *Dutch* Affairs, was thought to do a very acceptable Service to the Commonwealth, by reducing the Price of Interest one *per Cent*. He wrote to all the Creditors of the Republick, that unless they would consent to that Abatement of the Interest of their several Debts, they should be all paid off, on a certain Day, when Money would be provided for that Purpose. Not one in fifty of the Creditors came to be paid off, and those that did, return'd their Money again at the Interest proposed. A Government may amuse itself with Schemes of raising Money, this or the other Way, and imagine this or that to be best; but all Governments will be obliged to pay an Interest for whatever is advanced, in Proportion to the Plenty or Scarcity of Money in their respective Dominions.

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But let us return to our little Island, and cast our Eyes around, amongst all Ranks and Degrees of Men, and nothing will appear, but Ease Plenty and Chearfulness; the Prince, the Nobleman, the Gentleman, the Merchant, the Manufacturer, the Farmer, and the Labourer, all, in their several Stations, live and enjoy as much Plenty and Felicity as can be imagined; no Complaints or Murmurings to be heard, but all as happy, as is consistent with the State and Circumstances of Men upon Earth; and all this, the natural Consequence of their Virtue, Sobriety, and a well regulated Trade: And what is more, their Honour, Wealth, and Reputation, still increasing, by the annual Balance of Trade, enables them to go on proportionally enlarging that Commerce, which, in its turn, perpetually adds to the publick Grandeur and Felicity. Methinks, I now see the Prince, or Ruler, contemplating the State and Condition of his little happy Island, with that unexpressible Delight, of which only generous and benevolent Minds are conscious. Methinks I hear him cry out with our late illustrious Bard,

“ Remember Man! the universal Cause
 “ Acts not by Partial but by general Laws,
 “ And makes, what Happiness we justly call,
 “ Subsist, not in the good of one but all.

POPE'S Essay on Man.

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All Governments are in their Nature invariable, as they depend on the various Humours and Passions of Men. Therefore, let us now suppose a new Scene of Affairs. The Prince or Ruler of this Island, his prudent Ministry, together with the whole Body of the People, are no more; the succeeding Generation have greatly departed from the wise Maxims of their Forefathers; all Ranks and Degrees upon the Island, from the highest to the lowest, are fallen into a most extravagant Way of Life, their Dress, Furniture, Equipage, Attendants, Entertainments, and Diversions, being all excessively luxurious and expensive, to such a Height, that the Dress and Appearance even of a Journeyman or Chambermaid exceeds those of the Quality in preceeding Ages; nothing in the Island is now treated with greater Ridicule, and more open Contempt, than the sober Deportment of their Ancestors, the regular Methods of living, practised by their Forefathers; the common Conversation in private Families, especially in the Metropolis of the Island, runs chiefly on Plays, Musick, Gardens, Balls, Routs, Assemblies, Operas, Masquerades, &c. the Nobility and Gentry set the Example of this Sort of Life, which was soon followed by the inferior Ranks of the People; yea, the very lowest Class of the Inhabitants have their particular Times of Diversions; so that nothing is to be seen but a

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continued round of Idleness, Gaiety, and Voluptuousness. What are we now to expect from this inverted State of Things? Why, that by these Diversions the Populace is enervated, rendered impatient of Labour, extravagant, and of Course poor; that Trade is obstructed by their Idleness, and Taxes increas'd; that the Grandees and Gentlemen have their Thoughts and Time so engaged by these effeminating Pastimes, that they have no Concern, either for the Community or for their own Posterity and Families; the Morals of the whole Society are thus vitiated; the Merchant and Dealer no less than the rest are infected, the Counting-House and Shop are disregarded; Wickedness, Infidelity, a Contempt of God and Religious Institutions every where prevail; Poverty rushes in as an armed Man; Virtue is no more; Courage gives Place to Cowardice; and our once happy Island falls an easy Prey to some powerful insolent Invader.

Solomon was certainly in the Right, when he said that Righteousness and Virtue alone exalt a Nation, and that Sin, or in other Words, Idleness, Vice, and Luxury, will certainly terminate in the Shame and Reproach of any People. Profane History abundantly confirms the same, and evinces, that no Degree of Wealth or Trade has ever been sufficient to support a Nation, where Luxury and Vice have become
general;

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general; but, on the contrary, the greatest Empires, in different Ages, have sunk under them. And here, my Lords, I solicit your particular Attention, while we trace this Matter in all its Consequences, and see what Effect they had upon our little Island and all its Concerns.

Its true, the Exports continu'd the same as formerly, *viz.* twenty thousand Pounds a Year; but the Luxury and Extravagance of the People occasioned a much greater Demand for Wine, Fruit, Spice, Sugar, Silks, Lace, and other consumable Commodities, that must come from Abroad. This made a vast Alteration in their Imports from *England* and *Holland*, which formerly amounted to only fifteen thousand Pounds, but now were risen to eighteen thousand yearly; besides which, the Nobility and Gentry of the Island were so far infatuated, that to satisfy their ridiculous Vanity, they remitted two thousand Pounds annually to *France*. And what render'd this Conduct the more foolish and unaccountable was, a certain Knowledge, that the *French* wou'd take off none of their Commodities which they could be without, would ease them of nothing but their Gold and Silver; and, also, that they had many Times endeavour'd, by Violence and Treachery, to conquer and enslave this their little happy Country.

So that now the State of our Island was upon a Parr, the Exports and Imports just

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balancing. But Things did not remain long in this Situation. As Vice and Extravagance continu'd increasing amongst all Degrees of People, their Manufactures began to decline, their Lands were not cultivated with that Husbandry and Industry as formerly, that now their Exports daily diminish'd, so as quickly to be reduced to eighteen thousand Pounds a Year; their Imports as soon mounted to twenty thousand Pounds a Year, and went on increasing. When the Affairs of this little Island were in such a disadvantageous Posture, the People took it in their Heads to be exceeding busy with the Affairs of their Neighbours, and preposterously fond of intruding themselves into the Pretensions and Quarrels of the contending Powers on the Continent; notwithstanding they themselves were surrounded with the Sea, and cou'd not extend their Frontiers, and it was manifestly against their Interest to acquire any new Possessions, but such as might serve to increase or secure their Commerce, and might be defended by their own Navy. However, a great Part of the People of this Island were wild enough to think it good Policy to secure and defend, at a prodigious Expence of Blood and Treasure, all the Frontier and Barrier Towns of their good Allies the *Dutch*; and two hundred Men were sent thither for that very Purpose; the Subsistence of which Corps stood the Island in fifteen hundred Pounds a Year, besides

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besides five hundred Pounds a Year more, paid to other Princes, for the hired Troops. So that now the State of our Island stood thus,

Imported from <i>England</i> and <i>Holland</i> , in Goods and Merchandizes, to the Amount of	l.	s.	d.
	18000	0	0
Imported from <i>France</i> , in Wine only,	2000	0	0
Subsistence Money remitted Monthly for the two hundred Men in <i>Flanders</i> , for one Year,	1500	0	0
Remitted also for the hired Troops,	500	0	0
	<hr/>		
	22000	0	0
Exported from <i>Guernsey</i> , in Goods and Merchandizes, for one Year,	18000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Deficiency	4000	0	0

Four thousand Pounds a Year, in Money, must go out of the Island, therefore, to make good this Deficiency; for twenty two thousand Pounds worth of Commodities, having been imported from *England*, *Holland*, and *France*, as abovesaid, they must be paid for in Money, or Goods; and as the Exports of Goods and Merchandize did not

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exceed eighteen thousand Pounds, so four thousand Pounds, of the National Stock of Specie, must every Year be remitted to make it up.

Let us go on supposing Things continued in this Situation for ten Years, the Balance of Trade always against the Island, as above. Its true, there were some Men that were for regulating these Matters; openly alledging, and strenuously urging, their utter Inability to assist the *Dutch* in this Manner, and more especially, considering the present Luxury and Extravagance of the People, and that the Balance of Trade was greatly against them; and further, that the *Dutch* would not move one Step themselves towards their own Security, but continued in a State of Ease and Quiet, every Day extending their own Commerce, to a Degree beyond Conception, using all possible Methods to confine the whole Trade of *Europe* within the Limits of their own little Circle.

It was not only the fifteen hundred Pounds a Year, that was remitted to maintain the two hundred Auxiliaries granted the *Dutch*, that our Island suffered by in its Wealth, but by the Want of their Labour; it appearing, upon Enquiry, that one hundred and seventy of those Men were taken from the Loom. The lessening the Number of Labourers increas'd the Rate of Labour, which raised the Price of their Manufactures, so that others could undersell them at all foreign Markets,

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Markets, which of Course lessened the Vent of theirs.

But none of these Considerations could prevail with those, who had the chief Direction and Management of the Island, to promote or come into any Methods for remedying these manifest Evils; they still opposed every frugal Scheme, alledging, two thousand Pounds a Year was but a Trifle, and below the Regard of the Legislature. These People, I would believe, were equally honest with their Opponents, but they went all along upon a mistaken Notion, *that the Wealth of their little Island was inexhaustible.*

Things went on in this Manner for ten Years successively; at the End of which the National Stock of Wealth was reduced from eighty to forty thousand Pounds, and the State of the Island was quite alter'd; Lands that formerly sold at forty Years Value, now would not fetch twenty; the Interest of Money, by the gradual Reduction of the National Stock, was advanced from two and a half *per Cent.* to six; Numbers of Houses, in all the great Towns, were void and unoccupied, to the very great Loss of the landed Interest. During the Course of this ten Years, the Trade of the Island was neither understood nor regarded, nor were any Attempts made to restore or recover it, whereby alone the Credit and Wealth of the Island might have been preserved; but, instead
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of this, a thousand Shifts and temporary Expedients were daily contrived, to raise Money, as often as the Exigencies of the Island requir'd it; and the few overgrown monied Men took all Advantages of the Necessities of the State, to exact higher Interest for whatsoever they lent it. This, together with the constant Reduction of the National Stock, by the great Balance of Trade against them, made the Affairs of the Island grow daily worse and worse, till at last they became so reduced, that they were not able to raise Money enough for paying even the annual Interest of what they owed: Whereupon, they were at once necessitated to sink under the monstrous Load of Debts, and a general Bankruptcy prevailed throughout the Island, from the Prince to the meanest Peasant.

Thus I have exhibited to your Lordships the Rise and Fall of this little Empire, describing the particular Methods whereby those great Events were effected. The same Causes will ever produce the same Effects. There is no manner of Difference between the Government of a little Island and of a great one; their Rise or Fall will be always effected by the same general and invariable Rules. If the Estate of a private Gentleman produces exactly two thousand Pounds a Year, clear Money, its an Alternative of the utmost Consequence to that Gentleman, whether he spends nineteen hundred Pounds *per Annum,*

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Annum, or twenty one hundred *per Annum*: If the former, he lives always in Ease and Plenty; if the latter, let him change, shift and contrive as he will, let his Steward be ever so well skilled in all the little Arts of borrowing and raising Money, Ruin and Destruction must attend him, sooner or later. Its the same with a Kingdom as with a private Family, they differ only as greater or less. Nature has bestowed Mines on several Parts of the World, but real Riches are for the industrious and frugal. Whomsoever else they visit, it is with the diligent and sober only they stay. Spending less than their own Commodities will pay for, is the only Way for *England* and all other Nations to grow rich, and, consequently, great and powerful. Wou'd our Nobility and Gentry return to the sober and frugal living of their Ancestors, and be content with our native Conveniencies, without coveting the costly Materials of Pride and Luxury from Abroad, this provident Way of Life wou'd in a little Time be brought in Fashion again among us; and this alone wou'd contribute to keep and increase our Wealth, and greatly to enrich our Land; but if our Nobility and Gentry will have more Claret, Spices, Sugar, and other foreign consumable Wares, and by their Example make it fashionable for others to have them also, than our Exportation of Commodities will pay for, our Specie must unavoidably go out of the Land,

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Land, to balance the Account, and pay for the Overplus. In *Spain* it is Death to export Money, and yet they, who furnish all the World with Gold and Silver, have the least of it amongst themselves. Trade fetches it away from that indolent People, notwithstanding all their Contrivances to keep it. It follows Trade, against the Rigour of the Laws, and their want of foreign Commodities makes it to be carried away openly at Noon-day. In *England*, the falling of Rents is the most certain Sign of a Decay of Trade and Wealth, and that the National Treasure annually decreases; which I fear, therefore, is our Case at present. And I cannot help being of this Opinion, when I consider the great Difficulties our Trade has now labour'd under for many Years, the abounding of Vice and Luxury, together with the monstrous Sums of Money remitted abroad for Subsidies, and for maintaining our own and hired Troops, in the late and present Troubles on the Continent.

I would to God I were mistaken, but I am greatly afraid, my Apprehensions are but too well founded, and that the general Balance of Trade now is, and has been for some Years past, very much in our Disfavour.

This is an important Point, and highly deserves the Consideration of the Legislature, and particularly of all the landed Gentlemen in the Kingdom. If this Nation shou'd
happen

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happen to be ruin'd, either by Male-Administration, or by Neglect, or want of Knowledge and Judgment in our Governors, or shou'd we gradually decline, till we are brought into a State of general Bankruptcy, merely from the Load of publick Debt, and the annual Balance of Trade against us; I say, shou'd we happen, by any of these Means, to be undone, this Ruin will fall first, and chiefly, on the landed Men; for the Merchant, Trader, and monied Men, do what you will, (as Mr. *Lock* rightly observes) will be sure to sink or starve last of all.

There is no one Point that more deserves the Attention of the Legislature, than whether the Balance of Trade be for or against us. I won't pretend to determine this Point absolutely, but from the best Judgment I am capable of forming, it is vastly against us. What confirms me in this Opinion, is, as afore taken Notice of, the prodigious Sums that have been remitted on the Continent for these seven Years past, as Subsidies to foreign Princes, and to pay our own and hired Troops abroad; the monstrous Quantities of foreign consumable Commodities that are daily made use of, to gratify our present Pride and Luxury; and also the very great Difficulties and Distresses that have attended our Trade for some Time past. These Reasons induce me to believe, that our National Wealth has been annually diminishing, and that in a very great Degree.

N

Silver

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Silver and Gold, or Money, is absolutely necessary to the carrying on of Trade; for, where that fails, Men cannot buy, and Trade immediately stops. The Sum of Money requisite to Trade is also in Proportion to the Number of People and the Extent of the Traffic. Shou'd the annual Balance of Trade (now supposed to be against us) be so considerable, as that, in twenty Years, one half of the present current Specie of the Kingdom be absolutely expended, shou'd we not then be absolutely undone? Admitting we were not, we shou'd certainly be reduced to such a Poverty and Distress, as is hardly to be conceived.

Those who have wrote on the Subject of our Coin, or Specie, seem to be very much divided in their Sentiments on this great Point. Some argue very strongly, that Gold, Silver, or Bullion, when once brought into this Kingdom, ought not to be deem'd as an Article of Commerce; or allow'd to be a Commodity or Merchandize, and that it shou'd never be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom, under any Pretence whatsoever. Others, who are presum'd to have a more extensive Knowledge, pretend, that our Coin shou'd be allow'd to be a mere Commodity, or Merchandize; and that it should be suffer'd to have a free Exportation, without any Restriction whatsoever. Both these Notions appear to me to be wrong, and each to be attended with its particular Difficulty; and its of the

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the utmost Consequence, that this Point be thoroughly understood.

In our Trade to *Norway*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the Balance is greatly against us; but then it is for Commodities that are of real Use, and which we can't be without. *Sweden* alone (if we may believe the ingenious Mr. *Joshua Gee*) draws from us in Specie near three hundred thousand Pounds a Year; besides the Freight of their Product, which we pay them for likewise. Goods bought with our Specie, and imported, and afterwards re-exported, are a National Benefit. This I take to be the Case of the *East-India* Trade. I know it has been often insinuated, that this Trade drains us annually of great Sums of our Specie, and that, in Time, our National Stock will thereby be greatly diminish'd: But this is certainly wrong, if my Information is right, that the Goods purchas'd in the *East Indies*, with our Coin, are chiefly re-exported to *Holland*, *Germany*, and the *Streights*, from whence we recover the Money again, with a considerable Addition of Profit. Now, in these Cases, it is undeniably for the Interest of the Nation to allow Gold and Silver a free Exportation. But it is certainly as right, that our Coin shou'd never be permitted to go out of the Kingdom, to purchase Commodities of any Kind whatever that are consum'd amongst us, as *Flanders* Lace, Wine, Brandy, Spices, and all those

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smuggled in upon us by *France*. For we very well know, the Wisdom of that Nation won't permit the Smugglers to purchase those Things which they so villainously intrude upon us, but with our Gold and Silver.

This seems to be the real State of the Controversy, relating to our Coin: That it shou'd have a free Exportation to purchase such Commodities as are absolutely necessary or useful, and that we can't do without, and also to purchase such other Commodities as may be re-exported; because, in these Cases, we have the Money back again, with a considerable Addition of Profit.

But after all that has been or can be said on the Subject of our Coin, the only possible Way to keep and increase it, is, carefully to attend the grand Balance of Trade, whether it be for or against us; for 'tis that alone whereby our National Stock of Coin, Wealth, or Treasure, can be increased or diminish'd.

For Example, if we export annually of our Commodities to the Value of twenty Millions Sterling, and import only to the Value of eighteen Millions, our National Stock of Silver and Gold must unavoidably increase two Millions a Year. The People abroad, at the end of the Year, will owe us that Money, and as they have not paid us in Goods, they must in Money; as nothing but Money will pay the Debts due to a Nation

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tion or a private Man. On the contrary, if we import consumable Commodities, to the amount of twenty Millions a Year, and export to the Value of only eighteen Millions, in this Case two Millions of our Specie will every Year go out of the Kingdom, to pay this Debt: And it will go, in spite of all Laws and Arts that human Wisdom can contrive; as has been the Case of the Kingdom of *Spain* for many Years.

And here, certainly, the grand Concern and Importance of Trade must appear to all Men, as being the only possible Means whereby our National Stock of Wealth can be increas'd or diminish'd. This is the ordinary Course of Things in all Kingdoms and Nations in the World, where there are no Mines; but in extraordinary Cases, when any Kingdom or Nation shall undertake to maintain great Armies and Alliances abroad, this must be done by Supplies of Money, sent out in a constant regular manner; and this beyond all others is the most expeditious Way of diminishing the Wealth of any Nation: Its a doing it by Wholesale, as nothing can have so great Influence on the Riches or Poverty of any Kingdom, as the maintaining great Armies abroad; especially for Countries that have no Mines, and can procure little or no Gold or Silver, but by Trade only.

Mr.

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Mr. *Joshua Gee* and others seem to think, that taking in all the Trade between *England* and the whole *Germanick* Empire, the two Countries are pretty nearly on a Par, and that there is little or no Balance on either Side. Admitting this to have been true, in respect of Commerce, yet what immense Sums of our Money must *Germany* have drawn from us, for these seven Years past, in maintaining our own and hired Troops, and for Subsidies, &c. This must unavoidably make the Balance against us amount to a monstrous Sum. And what makes the Case still worse on our Side is, that of all those vast Sums remitted into *Germany*, not one Shilling in twenty, yea, not one Shilling in twenty thousand, ever comes back again. 'Tis so much of our National Treasure sunk, and for ever lost.

The Conduct and Administration of the late Earl of *Orford* was openly censured, in innumerable Books, Papers, and Pamphlets, written on purpose to expose his Conduct; and in these the Authors never fail'd to ridicule and inveigh against *Spithead* Expeditions, pacifick Squadrons, and his monstrous Profusion of the publick Treasure, in fitting out Fleets that never appear'd to be of any real Service. This Minister doubtless knew the naturally active Spirit of this Nation, that they must always be doing something; and it was impossible for him to dispose of the publick Money, in
any

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any Manner more advantageous to the Nation. It was only a Rotation of Property from one Man to another; the Kingdom lost little or nothing by it. In the fitting out a Fleet of Ships, the Provision is a very great Article; the Lands receive the Money for that instantly; the Wages of the Officers and Crew, the Expences in building and repairing the Ships, the Guns, Powder and Ball, Sailcloth, &c. yea, the whole Expence, in a very little Time, reverts all back again amongst the People; so that the Kingdom loses nothing by it, it being in reality nothing more than the taking Money out of one Pocket and putting it into another. But had this Minister, during his long Administration, taken it in his Head, instead of *Spithead* Expeditions, and pacifick Squadrons, constantly to have maintain'd great Armies, either of our own or hired Troops, on the Continent, he wou'd very probably have brought us to Ruin and Destruction; for of all the immense Sums, that must have been remitted for their Maintenance, not a Shilling wou'd ever have reverted to *England*.

If the present Load of Debts this Nation groans under be examin'd with Care, it will appear, that great Part of it has been borrow'd from Time to Time to remit on the Continent.

Whoever

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Whoever will be at the Pains to examine into the Condition of this Island, with Impartiality, must be sensible, that the enlarging our Power by Sea, and the securing, protecting, and encouraging our Trade and Navigation, is abundantly more for the publick Interest, than any Wars or Conquest on the Continent ever have been, or ever can be.

Soon after the Death of the late Emperor it became visible, that the *French* wou'd be so perfidious as not to fulfill the *Pragmatick Sanction*. Whereupon, a Sort of enthusiastick Inclination ran through the Kingdom, to send our Money to the Queen of *Hungary*. Great Sums were voted by Parliament for that Purpose. Nay, the Spirit ran so high, that even private Gentlemen cou'd hardly be restrain'd from sending their Money to that Princess. I make no question, but all these Zealots both in and out of Parliament were sincere, and in the Integrity of their Hearts concluded, that this Money was for the Support of the Common Cause.

It is with the utmost Deference and Submission, my Lords, I beg Leave, to presume, that Money, in its Consequences and Operations, had a natural Tendency to defeat and subvert that very Interest it was intended to subserve. By the Common Cause I mean, and suppose it is generally understood to mean, nothing more, then to keep *France* within its proper Limits, and preventing
her

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her making any unjust Incroachments on her Neighbours.

That those great Remittances to the Queen of *Hungary* were a real Diminution of our National Wealth, no body will deny. But let us pursue our Enquiry further. How do we know but that this very numerical Money was spent in the extravagant Expences of her Coronation? How do we know it was not spent in Balls, Masquerades, and other such kind of Extravagancies. But admitting that every Shilling was spent in raising Men, furnishing necessary Magazines, and the like, this made the Matter still worse; for thereby she was the better enabled to hold out against *Prussia*, and all her other Enemies. What *England* wanted, was only to reduce *France*, and maintain the Queen of *Hungary* in her equitable Claim to the Imperial Diadem; but by Means of our Assistances, she was enabled to hold out a long Time, as I have said, against the King of *Prussia*; to fight with him several great and bloody Battles, whereby vast Numbers of her brave Officers and Soldiers were slain, and some of her best Troops reduced to great Distress, besides frequent little Bickerings and Skermishes, in which Numbers of Men were lost on both Sides. And what was the Consequence of all this? The *Germanick* Empire was left naked and expos'd; the *French* had Opportunity given them for marching
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two great Armies into it, headed by two Marshals of *France*, in a triumphant Manner, spreading Terror and Desolation through all the interior Parts of it; they enter'd the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, laid Siege to that ancient and noble City of *Prague*, took it, enter'd it with Fire and Sword, and reduced the Inhabitants to a Degree of Misery that is not to be express'd. * If the Queen of *Hungary* had not been thus assisted by *English* Money, probably her Necessities wou'd have forced her to comply with the King of *Prussia*, and then her whole Forces wou'd have been turn'd against the *French*, and not have suffer'd them to have enter'd *Germany* in so triumphant a Manner. I very well know it was urg'd by many, that without our pecuniary Relief the Queen of *Hungary* wou'd probably have fallen a Sacrifice to *France*; but this was absolutely a Chimera, and of which there was never the least real Probability.

The Demands and Views of *France* and *Prussia* on the Queen of *Hungary* were of very different Natures. *Prussia* only demanded the single Province of *Silesia*, or perhaps a Part of it; whereas nothing wou'd content the *French*, less than stripping her of her hereditary Dominions, and even of that Imperial Crown and Dignity to which she was born. The Queen of *Hungary*

* *Vide* Siege of *Prague*, written at the *Hague*, by a *French* Engineer in the Year 1743.

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gary cou'd not but know, that she was at any Time able to drive the *French* out of *Germany*, whenever she had a Mind to make up the Affair with *Prussia*; to which she long testified an inflexible Reluctance; and the more so, on Account of his being a Protestant.

The Queen of *Hungary*, and all the World besides, cou'd not but know, that the King of *Prussia* is a young, bold, and absolute Prince, who fights in Person at the Head of his Troops: Troops that are victorious and brave, and, as some report, the most sober and best disciplin'd in the World. Wou'd not *England* then have acted prudently to have kept every Shilling of their Money at Home, or, at least, till an Accommodation was concluded with *Prussia*?

Had not our great Remittances to the Queen of *Hungary* a natural Tendency to prolong the Difference between the Courts of *Berlin* and *Vienna*, whereby these two Powers contributed to weaken each other? Had not the *English* Money given the Queen of *Hungary* a natural Tendency to inflate and maintain that hereditary Haughtiness, which we ought by all possible Means to have abated? Wou'd it not have been agreeable with our Honour and Interest, to have insisted absolutely on the Queen of *Hungary* giving immediate Satisfaction to *Prussia*? Did not the then Situation

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tuation of her Affairs make such a Procedure absolutely necessary? Shou'd not *England* the more peremptorily have insisted on this Point, because he was a Protestant Prince, and because he was the most able to assist her against the Encroachments of *France*, which was what we chiefly ought to have regarded?

Had the Queen of *Hungary* enter'd freely and sincerely into such an Accommodation, the Empire had never felt those terrible Slaughters and Devastations it suffer'd.

Were there then any Treaties subsisting between us and the Queen of *Hungary*, that oblig'd us to assist her against *Prussia*?

If we set up as professed Arbitrators, to determine all the Disputes that will frequently and unavoidably arise between the different Princes of the Empire, we shall have enough upon our Hands; we may lay aside all Concern about our own Interests and Affairs, and be engag'd in an endless Round of fruitless Negotiations.

'Tis not on one Prince or Power in *Germany* that *England* can depend to oppose and restrain the Power of *France*. No certainly; our Interest most manifestly is, to endeavour, by all possible Means, to unite all the Powers and Princes of the Empire, that *France* may at once be attack'd by the combin'd and entire Strength of the *Germanick* Body: A Force, that is in it self sufficient,

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sufficient, without any Men or Money from *England*, to drive that turbulent Crew out of the World, or oblige them to live honestly and quietly in it.

But the Truth of the Matter was, the Queen of *Hungary's* Confessor, and other Priests and Jesuits at the Court of *Vienna*, had so great an Influence in the then Councils, that, by their Means, it was so ordered, that the best veteran Troops were employ'd against *Prussia*, while the new undisciplin'd ones were sent against *France*. The Priests at the Court of *Vienna* very well knew, that every Increase of Power or Dominion to the King of *Prussia*, wou'd be an Accession to the Protestant Interest in the Empire, and therefore they took all possible Opportunities to raise the Passion and Resentment of the Queen of *Hungary* against his *Prussian* Majesty. At last, by the Fate of War, that brave Prince conquer'd the whole Electorate of *Saxony* in little more than a Fortnight, and took Possession of *Dresden*, the Capital City, the Elector having retir'd. Things being in this Situation, the Queen of *Hungary* was forced to satisfy the Demands of *Prussia*. And observe the Event: She presently hereupon found herself in a Condition, not only to drive the *French* out of *Germany*, but to send such effectual Succours to the King of *Sardinia*, as soon alter'd the Face of Affairs in *Italy* in a surprising Manner.

Thus

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Thus I apprehend it appears, beyond all possible Contradiction, that those vast Remittances to the Queen of *Hungary*, were not only a great Diminution of our National Wealth, but also in their Effects had a manifest Tendency to defeat and subvert that common Cause they were intended to Support.

I presume it will appear no less true, upon Enquiry, that our National Treasure has been greatly diminish'd, at different Times, by assisting the *Dutch*, and particularly in securing their Frontier-Towns against the Attacks of *France*.

Indeed I am not insensible, that a numerous Party among us have all along pretended, that we were obliged to these expensive Assurances, by the strictest Laws of Policy, and that our acting thus was requisite to our own Security: For, say they, shou'd *France* conquer the United Provinces, it wou'd be such a vast Accession of Power to that Crown, as wou'd soon enable her to conquer and enslave all *Europe*, and particularly *Great Britain*. I beg leave to offer a few Remarks, to shew the Fallacy of this Reasoning, notwithstanding it may be the generally received Opinion.

If I knew that a Thief or Robber had form'd a Design to rob and plunder my Neighbour's House, I wou'd immediately communicate it to him, and offer him all the Assistance I was capable to afford. But
if,

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if, at the same Time, I saw he wou'd not take one single Step himself towards his own Security, I shou'd then even sit down content, and conclude, that he was on good Terms with the Robber, and had received some secret Assurances that he shou'd not be attack'd. There are no People upon Earth that are more tenacious of their Properties than the *Dutch*, or that have a greater Aversion to Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power, together with all the Tricks and Rogueries of the *Romish* Clergy; which cannot be more odious to any People than they are to those of the United Provinces, who will, whenever their Liberties and Properties are in real and imminent Danger, make as bold and brave a Defence, and sell their Lives and Fortunes as dear, as any have ever done in the like Circumstances. This, I say, they will do, when in a State of real and imminent Danger, of which they themselves are unquestionably the best Judges. But till this Time of real Danger comes, all the Rhetorick in the World, and all the Memorials into the Bargain, will prove fruitless. The Situation of their Country, the Genius of their People, the Nature of their Government, their violent Attachment to Trade and Commerce, all these concur in restraining them absolutely from engaging in any War whatever, unless it be entirely to secure their own Dominions at Home,
or

or to protect their Trade and Navigation Abroad.

Whenever *England* has the Misfortune to be engag'd in a War with two such Powers as *France* and *Spain*, and must singly encounter the Fleets and Privateers of both Nations, in this Case it is certainly prudent to get the Assistance of the *Dutch*, and to oblige them to declare for us heartily, and act with us *totis Viribus*. But how is this grand Point to be effected? by Oratory, Rhetorick, or Memorials? No certainly. How then? Is it by our undertaking to secure their Frontier-Towns, at a monstrous Expence? Certainly no; for this must have a natural Tendency to screen them from any real Danger; and by that only they can be excited. Why then, the only Method to rouze, and force them to engage, is, instead of securing their Frontiers, to leave them all exposed, that so the *French* may enter their very Dominions, and begin to plunder, lay waste, and destroy. And when this is the Case, the *Dutch* will instantly rouze, and make a brave Defence. And then it will become the real Interest of both *England* and *Holland* mutually to assist each other; and by their united Force they must soon and easily bring the *French* to sue for Peace, and oblige them to remain quietly within their own Boundaries.

It

It gives me a secret and noble Pleasure, when I consider, in what Manner we have bore up against those two mighty Nations, with whom we are now disputing; and that, meerly by our Men of War, and the Bravery of our Privateers, we have distressed them in the most tender Part, their mercantile Interest, whereby all their other Affairs have suffered greatly: And at this Moment, the native Commodities of *France* can't be convey'd from thence to the *West Indies* (the grand Center of all their Trade and Wealth) without paying a monstrous Freight, besides from thirty to forty *per Cent.* Insurance, if without Convoy, or from twenty to twenty-five, if with Convoy: The Returns from the *West Indies* to *France*, must all be subject to the same Incumbrances.

If we have done such mighty Things, and have brought so much Distress on our Enemies, meerly by our own maritime Force, what cou'd we not have done, had we been properly assisted by the whole maritime Force of the United Provinces? I can't help thinking, that we must have brought inevitable Destruction both on *France* and *Spain*. The Sea-Ports of both those Kingdoms wou'd then in a Manner have been block'd up, their Islands in *America* must have starved for want of Provisions, and a universal Bankruptcy have been the Fate of both Nations; as their constant Supplies of

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Money

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Money from the *West Indies* wou'd in a Manner have been totally cut off. In these Circumstances they must soon have comply'd, and the *French* Court have been forced to accept of such Terms, as *England* and her Allies shou'd think proper to grant.

These are no Chimeras or romantick Conjectures, but must have been the natural Result, of such a Procedure as I have suggested. And what I ground my Judgment upon is, the Observation I have made, on the late vast Increase of the *Dutch* Navigation, their prodigious Wealth, and, what crowns all, their immense Numbers of brave and hardy Sailors. The great Treasure, continually floating to *France* and *Spain* from the *West Indies*, wou'd have encourag'd the *Dutch* Merchants, as well as the Republick, to have fitted out a multitude of Ships of War, to cruize on the Enemies: For it must be acknowledg'd, that no People in the World will undergo more and greater Dangers and Fatigues than the *Dutch*; especially, when they are like to be well paid for it: Witness the Whale-Fishery, and many other Things I cou'd mention.

I hope by this Time the Reader is fully satisfied, that securing the *Dutch* Frontier-Towns, at an immense Expence of the Blood and Treasure of this Nation, (and when they themselves shall refuse to engage in the War as Principals) is not only a great

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great and manifest Diminution of our National Stock of Wealth, but also, in its Consequences, must have a natural Tendency to defeat that common Cause it is intended to support.

What I have now urg'd may probably be contrary to the commonly received Opinion, therefore I offer it with the utmost Submission, declaring my Intentions to be perfectly upright, and that I shall be always ready to change my Mind, and to acknowledge it, whenever better Reasons shall be proposed.

If Gentlemen wou'd but consider the present State of the *Dutch*, their prodigious Increase in Trade and Wealth, together with other vast Advantages they reap, by not entering into the War as Principals; I say, if Gentlemen wou'd but consider this, it cou'd never enter into the Head of a reasonable Man, once to imagine, the *Dutch* will engage in the War, in that Character, unless driven to it by mere Compulsion. The marine Treaties between *England*, *Holland*, and *France*, are of unspeakable Advantage to them; and, during the present War, they have thereby been enabled, to make a Market of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*. *

And

* See, the Marine Treaty, concluded between *England* and *Holland*, at *London*, the first of *December* 1647. That concluded between *England* and *Holland*, at the *Hague*, the seventh of
P 2 February

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Whoever will be at the Pains to peruse those Treaties carefully, must concur in Opinion with Sir *William Temple*, that the *Dutch* conclude no Treaties, without some very peculiar Advantages to themselves. If ever we were a Match for the *Dutch* in Treaty-making, it was in that made with *Oliver Cromwell*. He drew some particular Articles of that Treaty himself; and, notwithstanding the earnest Remonstrances of the *Dutch* Ministers, he wou'd not admit of the least Alteration. Particularly, they struggled against the twenty-fifth Article; to which however he oblig'd them to agree. The Words of the said Article are, " It is likewise agreed, that the *Dutch* shall do Justice to all those concern'd in the Slaughter of the *English* at *Amboyna*, if any of them are yet remaining, and ever to be found." *Cromwell* pretended, that notwithstanding this Slaughter at *Amboyna* was above 30 Years past, yet the Honour of, the Respect and Justice due to, the *English* Nation, made such an Article necessary, and therefore it shou'd stand.

And shou'd Things remain in their present Situation seven Years longer, we may live to see the present Generation of the *Dutch*

February 1668. That between *England* and *France*, concluded at *St. Germain*, the twenty fourth of *February* 1676. And that between *Holland* and *Denmark*, negotiated at the *Hague*, the twelfth of *February* 1647.

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Dutch accomplish, that one grand Design, which Sir *William Temple* says, their Forefathers had always in View; namely, to reduce all the Trade and Navigation of *Europe* within the Limits of their own little Circle. In his *Miscellanea*, publish'd fifty Years ago, page 26, that excellent Politician thus expressed himself: " The State of *Holland*, in Point of both Riches and Strength, is the most prodigious Growth that has been seen in the World. The Conduct of their Ministers, driving on steady, and pursuing the publick Interest, the Art, Industry, and Parsimony of the People, all conspiring to drive almost all the Trade of the World into their own Circle. While their Neighbours have been taken up, either in civil or foreign Wars, they have grown so considerably in the World, that for many Years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without Advantage. And in the last Wars with us and *Munster*, they were able, at the same Time, to bring above a hundred Men of War to Sea, and maintain seventy thousand Men at Land; besides their Conquests in the *East Indies*, where they have in a Manner erected another subordinate Commonwealth, and where, upon Occasion, they have, equipp'd, five and forty Men of War, and thirty thou-

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“ thousand Land-men, by the most modest
“ Computation.

What our *William Temple* here asserts, is abundantly confirm'd by Monsieur *Huet*, who wrote thirty Years after him. He says,
“ The *Dutch* sell every Year three hundred
“ thousand Tun of Fish; which, at but
“ two hundred Florins *per* Tun, brings in
“ every Year seventy-five Millions of Livres;
“ of which fifty two Millions turn (as
“ they say) to the Country's Profit, the re-
“ maining twenty-three Millions being suf-
“ ficient to defray all the Charge of such
“ Fishery. So that, if one considers, that
“ all the Ships employ'd in this Fishing are
“ built in *Holland*, and that all the Cor-
“ dage, Sails, Nets, and Barrels, are made
“ there, and that they find their own Salt
“ and Provision for this great Number of
“ Fishermen, one may easily comprehend,
“ that this Employment maintains incredi-
“ ble Numbers of Men and Families, besides
“ all those that are employ'd to transport
“ this Fish to almost all the Kingdoms and
“ Countries of the World. The Manu-
“ factures in the United Provinces employ
“ as many People as the Fishery. It is in-
“ credible, how many get their Livelihood
“ by both. Upon the whole it is certain,
“ that in no Kingdom, State, or Country in
“ the World, they are so numerous and
“ flourishing as in *Holland*. *

In

* *Huet's* Memoirs of the *Dutch* Trade, Page 25,
26, 27.

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In short, all who have wrote of the Trade and Policy of the United Provinces, agree with the Authors I have now quoted, that, from the very Foundation of their Government, it has been their invariable Maxim, “ That, whenever their Neigh-
“ bours are involy'd, either in civil or fo-
“ reign Wars, it becomes proper for them,
“ in a peculiar Manner, to endeavour the
“ extending of their Trade, and to labour,
“ by all possible Methods, for turning the
“ Distress and Difficulties of other Nations
“ to their own Advantage.”

And is not this the Case at present? Is not that vast Trade, which is carried on from *London* to *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, navigated in *Dutch* Bottoms? Are not *Dutch* Ships now to be seen in almost all the Sea-Ports in *England*, particularly *London*, *Bristol*, *Exon*, *Falmouth*, &c? And, whenever a Peace comes, it will be more difficult to drive them out than is generally apprehended. The Advantages they have gain'd thereby are so great, that they won't easily be given up.

If this Account of the Policy, Power, Trade, and Wealth of the United Provinces be true, as it most certainly is, what a surprizing Infatuation must have befallen Numbers of People in *England*, who, of late, have taken it in their Heads to represent the *Dutch* as weak, foolish, and pusillanimous, as a People that will do nothing

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nothing to secure their Religion, Estates, and Liberties, but disposed to surrender all up to the *French*, at the Word of Command, and that, consequently, it becomes us, in Prudence, to protect their Dominions, with our Men and Money, notwithstanding they will not strike a Stroke themselves, or, which is the same Thing, will do nothing in good Earnest? A most fallacious Reasoning, and founded on a real or affected Mistake of the Policy of that State; no People under Heaven, having a greater Regard for their Properties, or being more dispos'd to protect and defend them, when in truth they look upon them as in Danger.

In the Year 1665, being the first Year of the Wars between *England* and *Holland*, the latter rais'd forty-two Millions of Guilders, which is four Millions Sterling to a very Trifle: A vast Sum indeed, considering with what great Frugality and Parsimony their publick Money must be laid out. This Money was rais'd without the least Difficulty; and much more wou'd have been rais'd, had their Necessities requir'd it.

In the Year 1666, they had near seventy thousand Land-Men in Pay, besides above a hundred Men of War at Sea, all well mann'd with brave and hardy Sailors.

On the 9th of *June*, 1677, their Admiral, *de Ruyter*, sail'd directly up the *Thames*, drove all the Ships before him as far as the *Hope*, and wou'd have taken, burnt, or sunk

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sunk them all, had he not been stopp'd in his Career by a sudden Calm. Next Day, thirteen stout *English* Ships were sunk in the River, to prevent his Proceeding any farther towards *London*. Whereupon *De Ruyter* steered to *Sheerness*, took the Castle, as also a Man of War lying there to guard it, and sent the Guns, Powder and Ammunition Home to *Holland*. He then sail'd up *Chatham* River, burnt the *Royal Charles*, the *Royal James*, the *Royal Oak*, the *Royal London*, the *Unity*, the *Mary*, and many other Ships of War.

The King being then at *Chatham*, stood on the Shore, saw the Royal Navy of *England* in Flames, and a foreign Enemy roaring from their Cannon within the Hearing of *London*, making the Citizens of that Metropolis tremble in their very Houses. Bishop *Burnet* says, "Upon *De Ruyter's* coming up the River *Thames*, the City was thrown into the utmost Consternation; yet it was observ'd, the King supp'd with his Mistresses that very Night, and was chearful; which drew many Libels upon him, and brought him under a general Contempt." And when he comes to the Business of *Chatham*, he says, "It was a terrible Blow, the Loss was great, yet the Infamy was much greater. The King was compar'd to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was burning.

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I suppose the Bishop refers to some very remarkable Verses, made at that Time by Sir *John Denham*, on burning the Royal Navy at *Chatbam*: I will transcribe the four last Lines:

*As Nero once, with Harp in Hand, survey'd
His burning Rome, and as that burnt he play'd,
So our great Charles, when the Dutch Fleet arriv'd,
Saw his Ships burn, and as they burnt he sw—v'd.*

Its true, at that Time the poor People of *England* were in the Hands of the *Stuart's* Family: A Race! who never had the least Regard to the real Glory, Liberty, Religion, or Trade of this Kingdom.

All this was perform'd by the *Dutch* singly, unassisted by any other Power, and yet, according to some modern Politicians, this Nation must be represented as weak foolish and pusillanimous.

Sir William Temple says, That he had several Times hinted to the Ministers of State in *Holland*, That their Neglect of their Marine Force, and the great Reduction of their Army, in Time of Peace, was wrong Policy; and that thereby they wou'd certainly, one Time or other, be conquer'd and enslav'd by the mighty Power of *France*. But *Sir William* is forced to acknowledge, that the *Dutch* Ministers treated the Supposition with the utmost Ridicule, and remark'd, "That an Army, sufficient to con-

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quer and enslave their Commonwealth, could not be rais'd, and enter their Dominions Sword in Hand, in a Day; and that the Republick cou'd, at any Time, in Case their own Dominions were actually invaded, raise three Armies, each of fifty or sixty thousand Men; which, when properly disposed of, wou'd secure all their Dominions, till such Time as they could have Relief from Abroad. They farther remark'd to *Sir William*, that the *Swiss Cantons* wou'd furnish them with incredible Numbers of brave Soldiers, as long as they could find Money to pay them. And, shou'd that Assistance be thought too remote, many of the *German* Princes wou'd be always ready to let out the Lives of their Subjects to Hire, for a proper Equivalent of *Dutch* Money. And that in such Extremity, the Inhabitants of their Commonwealth had such an Aversion to Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, that every Man wou'd then become a Soldier, and sacrifice his private Fortune for the Service of the Publick. Besides, they further observed, that it wou'd ever be good Policy in *England* and the whole *Germanick* Empire, effectually to assist and succour them, when in real and imminent Danger."

These were the deliberate Sentiments of the *Dutch* Ministry fifty Years ago; and I

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dare say, the same System of Policy prevails at this Day.

If we trace the Conduct of these People, even back to the Origin of their State, it will be difficult to discover any Period, when they were so much afraid, or so much under the Direction of the *French*, as some wou'd insinuate.

In 1709, about two Years before the *English* Ministry (or at least some of the Ministers) had put themselves under the Direction of the *French* King, and before our Army on the Continent had betray'd the Confederates, the *French* Ministers at the *Hague*, Monsieur *Rouille* and the Marquis *De Torcy*, made several private Overtures to the States General; but to prevent all Jealousy, the Grand Pensionary was directed to declare, in a solemn Manner, to those Ministers, "That no private Considerations shou'd ever prevail on the State to separate from the general Interest of the grand Alliance."

Let us see how they behaved about two Years afterwards, when, with the utmost Astonishment, they saw themselves betray'd by the *English*.

The Duke of *Ormond* on a sudden withdrew his Troops from the Siege of *Quesnoy*, which but two Days before he had undertaken to Cover. He told Prince *Eugene* and the State's Field-Deputies to their Faces, that he had received Instructions from *England* to

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to publish a Suspension of Arms, within three Days, between the *British* Forces and those of *France*. When this News reached *Amsterdam*, the City was in a perfect Up-roar; every Body was struck with Amazement. That great Emporium contributes most to the publick Expences, and so has the greatest Sway in all the publick Councils. At this most critical Juncture they sent an extraordinary and unprecedented Deputation to the *Hague*, consisting of three Burgomasters and as many principal Magistrates. But, before their Departure, the Regent Burgomaster held a grand Assembly, to which all Persons of the first Rank were summoned. Mynheer *Corver*, their Senior, was desired to open the Convention with a suitable Speech. He was a Gentleman of great Fortune, Integrity, and Wisdom, and in high Reputation with the People. I will recite a Part of his memorable Oration; a bolder and nobler never was deliver'd in the *Roman* Senate; and it was said to contain the Sentiments of the whole Nation.

"I am an old Man, upwards of fourscore, and have seen far more difficult Times, even the *French* at our very Gates; but, by the Blessing of God on our Firmness and Resolution, we have hitherto preserved our Liberties. I have no private Interest in Trade, and am only concern'd for the Good of my Country, and the common Cause; yet I wou'd give half

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“ of what I have in the World, nay all,
 “ (and you know I have something to
 “ lose) rather than suffer the Loss of our Li-
 “ berties. But if, at last, we shou’d be over-
 “ power’d, let us then lay our Cities under
 “ Water, betake ourselves to our Ships, and
 “ sail to the *East Indies*; and let those who
 “ see our Country laid waste, say, *there once*
 “ *lived a People*, who chose to lose their
 “ Country rather than their Liberties.”

This Speech had a mighty Effect on the grand Assembly. They all declared, they wou’d stand out to the last Penny they had in the World, rather than be conquer’d and enslaved by *France*.

Such was their Conduct, when in great and imminent Danger. And, whenever they apprehend themselves in the same really dangerous Circumstances, depend on it, the same Spirit will presently again discover itself; as no People have a greater Detestation of Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power.

But I would confirm all I have said relating to the *Dutch*, by the declared Judgment of one of the greatest and wisest Men in *Europe*, I mean Monsieur COLBERT, Secretary of State to the late *French* King. He was esteem’d as able a Man as ever that Prince employed; and indeed his Master had such an Opinion of his Integrity and Abilities, that for many Years he engaged in nothing, without first consulting him. What follows is taken from the Memoirs of this illustrious

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strious Minister. “ On a certain Day the
 “ King sent for Monsieur *Colbert* in a great
 “ Hurry; when he came, he found the King
 “ in a violent Passion, raving and railing
 “ against the United Provinces, and speak-
 “ ing of them in Language the most con-
 “ temptible and opprobrious. The King re-
 “ mark’d, that, considering the Extent of
 “ his Dominions, the Number of his Sub-
 “ jects, his great Power and Wealth, he
 “ must unquestionably be allow’d to be the
 “ greatest Prince in *Europe*; and that he
 “ esteem’d it as a Brand of Infamy, that so
 “ great a Monarch, as he really was, shou’d
 “ not have been able to conquer and reduce
 “ so small a State as the United Provinces;
 “ and that he was now determined to collect
 “ all his Troops together for that Purpose;
 “ and if they shou’d appear to be insuffici-
 “ ent, he wou’d arm one half of his Sub-
 “ jects throughout all his Dominions, and
 “ go himself in Person, to render the Con-
 “ quest absolute and compleat.

“ The King went on a long Time, speak-
 “ ing of the *Dutch* in a most diminutive
 “ contemptuous Manner, and declaring his
 “ Resolution to conquer and subdue them,
 “ cost what it wou’d. The King, having
 “ done, sat down calmly, expecting to hear
 “ *Colbert’s* Reply: Who presently told his
 “ Majesty, these were great and extraordinary
 “ Resolutions indeed; and that he wou’d
 “ give his Sentiments with that Freedom
 “ which

" which becomes a faithful Servant ; having
 " nothing so much at Heart, as his Ma-
 " jesty's Glory, and the real Good of his
 " People. After this Preface he proceeded,
 " I must now, Sir, presume upon your
 " Indulgence, when I say, you are vastly
 " mistaken, in Relation to the Power and
 " Wealth of the United Provinces. They
 " are not that mean diminutive State you re-
 " present them, neither is there that mighty
 " Difference between their Power and that of
 " your Majesty. Its true, your Dominions
 " are vastly greater ; but, Sir, it is not Land
 " that fights against Land, but the Strength
 " and Riches of one against those of a-
 " nother. I shou'd have said only Riches,
 " because 'tis Money only that feeds
 " and cloaths the Soldier, furnishes the
 " Magazines, provides the Train of Ar-
 " tillery, and answers the Charge of all
 " other military Preparations. Now the
 " Riches of a Prince or State are, just so
 " much as they can levy upon their Subjects,
 " still leaving them sufficient for their own
 " Subsistence. If this is not left, they will
 " desert to other Countries for better Usage.
 " I am sorry to say, too many of your Ma-
 " jesty's Subjects are already amongst your
 " Neighbours, in the Condition of Foot-
 " men and Valets, for their daily Bread ;
 " many of your Artizans are fled from the
 " Severity of your Collectors, and are at
 " this Moment improving the Manufactures
 " of your Enemies. *France* has lost the
 " Benefit

" Benefit of their Hands for ever, and your
 " Majesty all Hopes of any future Excises
 " by their Consumption. I lay down this,
 " therefore, as my first Principle, that your
 " Taxes upon your Subjects must still leave
 " them sufficient for their Subsistence, at least
 " as comfortable a Subsistence as they will
 " find amongst your Neighbours. Upon
 " this Principle I shall be able to make some
 " Comparison between the Revenues of your
 " Majesty and those of the States General.
 " Your Territories, 'tis true, are thirty
 " Times as great, and your People four Times
 " as many ; yet your Revenues are not
 " thirty Times, no, nor four Times, as great,
 " nor indeed as great again, as those of
 " the United Provinces. In what one Ar-
 " ticle are you able to raise twice as much
 " from your Subjects, as the States can do
 " from theirs ? Can you take twice as much
 " from the Rents of the Lands and Houses ?
 " What are the yearly Rents of your whole
 " Kingdom ? How much of these will
 " your Majesty be able to take, without
 " ruining the Landed Interest ? You have,
 " Sir, above a hundred Millions of Acres,
 " and not above thirteen Millions of Sub-
 " jects ; that is, eight Acres to every Sub-
 " ject. How inconsiderable must be the Va-
 " lue of Land, where so many Acres are to
 " provide for a single Person, where a single
 " Person is the whole Market for so much
 " Land ? What sort of Customers are your
 " Subjects to these Lands ? What Clothes do
 " they

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“ they wear? What Provisions do they con-
 “ sume? Black Bread, Onions, and other
 “ Roots, are the usual Diet of the Generality
 “ of the poor People; their common Drink
 “ is the pure Element; they are dress'd in
 “ Canvas, and walk in wooden Shoes, (I
 “ mean such of them as are not half naked
 “ and bare-footed.) What vast Numbers of
 “ your thirteen Millions of Subjects are beg-
 “ ging their Bread throughout the Kingdom!
 “ If your Majesty was to walk *incognito*
 “ about the Streets of your Capital, and
 “ wou'd give a Farthing to every Beggar that
 “ asks your Alms, in a Walk of an Hour,
 “ you wou'd have nothing left of a Pistole!
 “ How miserable then must be the Lodging
 “ of these poor Wretches? Besides, those of
 “ a higher Class, who don't ask your Cha-
 “ rity, are huddled together, four or five Fa-
 “ milies in a House; such is the Lodging of
 “ your Capital. That of your other Towns
 “ is yet of less Value. But nothing can be
 “ more ruinous and wretched than the
 “ Living and Lodging of your Subjects in
 “ the little Cottages and Villages. Six Shil-
 “ lings a Year, for the Lodging of every one
 “ of your thirteen Millions of People, at a
 “ Medium, must be the full yearly Value of
 “ all the Houses: So that, at four Shillings
 “ for every Acre, and six Shillings for the
 “ Lodging of every Subject, the Rents of your
 “ whole Kingdom will be a little less than
 “ twenty Millions; and yet, that's a great
 “ deal

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“ deal more than they were ever yet found
 “ to be, by the most exact Survey that has
 “ been taken.
 “ The next Question then is, How much
 “ of these Rents your Majesty will think fit
 “ to take to your Use? Six of the twenty
 “ Millions are actually in the Hands of the
 “ Clergy. These, Sir, are your best Guards.
 “ They keep your Subjects loyal in the midst
 “ of their Misery. Your Majesty will not
 “ think it therefore your Interest to take
 “ any thing from them. From that which
 “ remains in the Hands of your Lay-Sub-
 “ jects, your Majesty can't take more than
 “ five Millions to your own Use. This comes
 “ to eleven Shillings in the Pound; and
 “ then, after the necessary Reparations, toge-
 “ ther with Losses by the Failure of Tenants,
 “ and other Accidents, how very little will
 “ be left, for the Subsistence of the Gentle-
 “ men and Land-holders; who, having ne-
 “ ver been bred either to Trade or Manu-
 “ factures, have no other Way of living than
 “ by their Rents; and when these shall be
 “ taken from them, they must fly to your
 “ Armies, as to an Hospital, for their daily
 “ Bread.
 “ Now, Sir, your Majesty will give me
 “ Leave to examine, what are the Rents of
 “ the United Provinces, and how great a
 “ Part their Governors may take from them,
 “ without Oppression of the Owners.

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“ There are in those Provinces three Mil-
 “ lions of People, and three Millions of
 “ Acres, a Subject for every Acre; why
 “ shou’d not then a single Acre, there, be as
 “ valuable as eight Acres, in *France*, since
 “ it provides for as many Mouths? I have
 “ often heard, and believe it to be true, that
 “ thirty Shillings, one with another, is
 “ less than the yearly Value of every Acre in
 “ those Provinces. How much less will be
 “ the yearly Value of the Lodging of every
 “ one of their Subjects? There are no Beg-
 “ gars in their Streets; not one scarcely to be
 “ found in a whole Province. Their Fami-
 “ lies in great Towns are lodg’d in Palaces.
 “ Even the Houses in their Villages are
 “ more costly than in many of your Cities.
 “ Such is the Value of their three Millions
 “ of Acres, and lodging their three Millions
 “ of Subjects, that the yearly Rent of Lands
 “ and Houses is above nine Millions in those
 “ Provinces.”

Monsieur *Colbert* went on, and compared,
 with great Exactness, the Revenues and Ex-
 cises of the United Provinces with those of
France; and demonstrated, that the United
 Provinces could easily raise, from the Lands
 and Excises, nine Millions Sterling annually,
 if Occasion requir’d. He computed the
 Charge of their Clergy, the Expence of their
 Civil List, and the maintaining of their
 Dykes, at but one Million a Year: So that
 eight Millions remain’d, to be employ’d for
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their Security and Defence; and even then
 their Subjects would be left in a Condition
 much superiour to the Subjects of *France*.

Colbert, having enlarged on these Topicks,
 proceeded thus: “ Your Majesty will now
 “ no longer wonder, that you have not been
 “ able to reduce and conquer those Provinces.
 “ Besides, in such an extraordinary Attempt
 “ you must consider, the *Germanick* Empire
 “ will always be ready to espouse their Quar-
 “ rel, and the Forces of that potent Ally
 “ alone will cut out Work for a great Part
 “ of your Troops. And, furthermore, in the
 “ Execution of such a Design, you can never
 “ expect to be quiet, on the Side of *England*
 “ or *Italy*.

“ The Advice therefore I would presume
 “ to offer your Majesty is, to disband the
 “ greatest Part of your Forces, and save so
 “ many Taxes to your poor People. Your
 “ very Dominions make you too powerful
 “ to fear any Insult from your Neighbours.
 “ Turn your Thoughts, Sir, I intreat you,
 “ from War; cultivate the Arts of Peace,
 “ the Trade and Manufacture of your Sub-
 “ jects: This will make you the most pow-
 “ erful Prince, and your People, at the same
 “ Time, the richest of all Nations. In the
 “ Space of twenty Years they will be able
 “ to give your Majesty greater Sums with
 “ Ease, then you can now draw from them
 “ with the utmost Difficulty. You have a-
 “ bundant Materials in your Kingdom
 “ for

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“ for employing your People; and they
 “ don't want Capacity. Peace and Trade
 “ shall carry out their Labour to all Parts
 “ of *Europe*, and bring back yearly Trea-
 “ sure to your Subjects. There will be always
 “ Fools enough to purchase the Manu-
 “ factures of *France*, tho' at the same Time
 “ *France* shou'd be strictly prohibited to buy
 “ those of other Countries. In the mean
 “ while your Majesty will never want suffi-
 “ cient Sums to buy now and then an im-
 “ portant Fortrefs, from one or other of
 “ your indigent Neighbours. But, above all,
 “ Peace will ingratiate your Majesty with
 “ the *Spanish* Nation, during the Life of
 “ their crazy King; and, after his Death,
 “ a few seasonable Presents amongst his
 “ Courtiers shall purchase the Reversion of
 “ his Crowns, with all the Treasures of
 “ the *Indies*; and then the World is your
 “ own.”

This was the Substance of what was then
 said by Monsieur *Colbert*. The King was ob-
 served to look grave and sullen for several
 Days after, but he was not at all offended
 with the Liberty of his Minister. He knew
 the Value of the Man, and soon after made
 him Superintendant, or chief Director, of the
 Trade and Manufactures, throughout all his
 Dominions. The late Cardinal *Fleury*, for a
 long Time, punctually adher'd to this System
 of Policy, and lived to see the natural Effects
 of

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of it: A vast Accession of Wealth and
 Power to the *French* Nation.

I was willing the Reader shou'd know the
 Opinion of so great a Man as Secretary *Col-
 bert*, relating to the *Dutch*, and to the great
 Difficulty *France* must unavoidably encoun-
 ter, whenever she attempts to conquer and
 enslave them. From thence also it undeniably
 appears, that the general Sentiments of the
English, relating to this wise Nation, are ri-
 diculous and absurd. Don't we every where
 hear them represented as a weak imprudent
 trifling People; a People influenced by no-
 thing but the Dread of the mighty Power of
France, ready to submit and give up all,
 when the haughty Monarch demands it?
 And, further, is it not urged, that we are
 bound, by our own immediate Interest, and
 for our own Safety, to secure their Frontiers at
 a monstrous Expence of Blood and Treasure,
 and altho' they obstinately persist in refusing to
 take any Measures for their own Safety; or,
 at least, any that may be efficacious?

This has been the prevailing System of
 Politicks with Numbers of People in *En-
 gland* of late Years. Yet this System, and
 the Principles upon which it is founded, must
 appear to every considering Man, to be as
 inconsistent with Truth and the real State of
 Things, as Transubstantiation itself. Believe
 me, the *Dutch* are no way resembling the
 Portrait our weak Politicians have drawn of
 them; they are in Truth a rich and power-

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ful Nation, steddily pursuing the only possible Means of rendring them more so. They have as implacable an Aversion to Popery Slavery and Arbitrary Power, together with all the Tricks and Rogueries of the *Romish* Priests, as can be. They are brave and wise, and no People will struggle more to preserve and maintain their Liberties and Properties, whenever they shall be in any real and imminent Danger, of which they themselves are unquestionably the best Judges. Above fifty Years since, they raised about four Millions Sterling *per Annum*; since which Time, by their vast Accession of Wealth, they can raise seven or eight Millions Sterling *per Annum*, without the least Distress, and leave the Inhabitants in a State of Wealth and Grandeur, equal, if not superiour, to any People in *Europe*. Three Millions of People, living within so small a Compass of Land, as three Millions of Acres, in such oppulent and happy Circumstances, won't easily be conquer'd and become Slaves.

The true Reason of the Inactivity of the *Dutch*, during the present War, is not so much the Fear of *France*, as the unspeakable Advantages they receive, by the vast Increase of their Trade, their daily Encroachments on that of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, whilst the other Powers at War are groaning under the heavy Load of publick Debts, whilst their Trade and Navigation is greatly interrupted, subjected to high Freights and mon-

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strous Insurances, and vast Numbers of their Sailors are starving and rotting in Prisons; I say, whilst they are suffering these and other Calamities, that unavoidably attend a State of War, the *Dutch* live quite at their Ease, and, by all possible Means and Contrivances, are daily extending their Traffick, in all the Corners of the habitable World. Wou'd it not then be agreeable with the strictest Rules of Justice and Policy, not only to permit the *French* taking their Frontiers, but even entering and laying waste their very Dominions? And when this happens to be the Case, they will presently awake, rouze, and declare War with a Vengeance; and their vast maritime Force, join'd to that of *England*, (if honestly and properly conducted, as Sir *William Temple* observes) will be found sufficient to reduce the Power of *France*, and oblige her to live upon equitable Terms with all her Neighbours: Which is all that is, or at least ought to be, understood by the common Cause. Whereas, on the contrary, it must appear, upon a strict and impartial Inquiry, that our maintaining great Armies on the Continent, has a natural Tendency to subvert and defeat that common Cause it is intended to support; and, also, to drain us of immense Sums of Money, all which are totally lost, to the great Diminution of Trade: It being an undoubted Truth, that, in all trading Countries, Commerce will

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decay or flourish, according to the Plenty or Scarcity of Coin or Specie.

I am sensible, 'tis not the Business of a private Man to direct when and how far it may be expedient to interfere in the Quarrels of the Continent. All I wou'd be thought to mean is, that our hiring Troops, or maintaining great Armies there, shou'd not be undertaken on every trivial Occasion. This Point ever was and ever will be a Matter of the utmost Consequence to this Nation, as the Increase or Decrease of our Wealth and Treasure, and, consequently, the like Increase or Decrease of our Trade, depends so much upon it.

I presume no one will pretend to say, that what I have offer'd on this Head is an unnecessary Digression. As the Design of this Treatise was the suggesting proper Measures for the Security and Advancement of our Trade, so it was highly requisite I should take Notice of those Things which had a more peculiar Tendency either to impede or promote it.

I hope nothing I have said will be understood to indicate any particular Disgust to the *Dutch* Republick. I solemnly declare the contrary. I look on it as our best and most natural Ally, and have as great a Regard for it's Preservation and Security, as any *English* Man can have, or, at least, ought to have. Yet I shall always think, that our own Safety, and the Security of our Trade,
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demand our first Regard; and that the defending or recovering the *Dutch* Frontiers, at an immense Expence of the Blood and Treasure of this Nation, when those more immediately interested refuse to declare openly, in good earnest, reciprocally, to assist us with their maritime Force, is a System of Policy, that does not seem to be calculated for the real Good of this Island. Had the *Hollanders* declared openly, and engaged in the War, *totis Viribus*, their vast maritime Force, added to ours, must have brought inevitable Ruin both on *France* and *Spain*; or at least have reduced them to such a Distress, as wou'd have forced them to comply on our own Terms. They wou'd, in that Case, have had neither Leisure nor Inclination, to attempt that most infamous Project, of fixing an abjur'd Pretender on the Throne of these Realms. The vast Supply of Men Money and Arms, exported from *Ostend* and *Dunkirk*, to aid the unnatural Rebels, must, a great Part of it, have fallen a Prey to the *Dutch* Men of War and Privateers; whose own Interest wou'd have obliged them constantly to hover both on the *Flandrian* and *Scottish* Coast; by which Means, the Rebellion had either been entirely prevented, or, if it had been undertaken, cou'd never have proceeded to so dangerous a Height as it did.

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I'll say no more on this Subject; in regard to which I desire the Concurrence of no Person, any farther than my Sentiments thereupon appear reasonable and just. This is agreeable to true *English* Liberty, to persuade by Argument, and to use no other Force, to proselite any Man to our Opinions.

I now begin to fear that I shall become too tedious to your Lordships; and wou'd very willingly conclude, but that I have one Thing more to offer, in which the Wealth and Trade of this Kingdom is deeply concern'd, and therefore highly deserves your Lordships Attention: I mean, the pernicious Practice of Smuggling; which, for a long Train of Years, has been gathering to a Head, and, through our inexcusable Supineness, now seems to hang over us, like an impending Cloud, threatening grievous Disaster.

The neglecting to suppress, or rather conniving at, this wicked Practice, has produced such Consequences, as I dare say at first were never dreamt of. It has not only interrupted, but almost destroy'd, the Course of the fair Trading. It has not only lessen'd but even sunk our Revenues, in an astonishing Manner. It has not only turn'd our labouring People into Thieves and Vagabonds, but it has (as might well have been expected) made them Spies to our Enemies, and Rebels to our Constitution; ready on
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any Opportunity to take up Arms against their Country, and to sacrifice our Religion, Liberties, Peace, and Happiness to the tyrannical Views of *France* and *Rome*. That these Things are true, is beyond all Contradiction. And yet these Miscreants have been suffer'd, Times without Number, to appear openly along the Sea-Coasts, equip'd like Banditti or Invaders, to the utter Disgrace of all Government, the Subversion of legal Authority, defeating of Justice, and the Destruction of common Honesty. And if these Things be so, and so they certainly are, I hope your Lordships will excuse the Freedom of the Expression, when I say, that the Duty you owe to your Sovereign, as well as the Regard of your Country, demands, that you set these Matters in a proper Light, before those that are intrusted with the Guardianship of our Liberties and Properties; who, when thoroughly appriz'd of the scandalous Nature of the Thing, and the mischievous Consequences thereof, will unite, as one Man, to put a final Period to it. Their Country, their Honour, and their Interest, all concur, in demanding their strictest Attention to this important Point. This horrid Enormity, by Negligence or Connivance, is grown to such an audacious Height, that nothing but a steady Resolution, in the Legislative and executive Powers, will be sufficient to give it the finishing Stroke. If it
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be the Interest of all trading Countries (as it most assuredly is) not to suffer the Exportation of their Corn, for consumable Commodities, it is abundantly more so, to prevent such Commodities from being smuggled in upon us, by our avowed Enemies, as have a manifest Tendency to vitiate and corrupt our People, and for which they take none of our Manufactures in Return; only our Coin, and, what is still more valuable, our Wooll.

It was formerly my Lot to travel much on the Sea Coast, and particularly that of *Kent* and *Suffex*; where, in conversing with different sorts of People, I have heard a great deal of this Matter; and, by what has occurred to me on these Occasions, I am strongly persuaded, that this Business of Smuggling is abundantly more considerable than is generally imagined, and so, of far greater Detriment to the Kingdom than is commonly suspected. About twelve Months since, in one Week, arrived at *Bologne* in *France*, from *Kent* and *Suffex*, three small smuggling Vessels, about thirty Tuns each; one of which, to my certain Knowledge, carried over twelve hundred Pounds in Specie, and I have good Reason to believe the other two Ships had not a Penny less in each of them.

I am no Smuggler, nor ever was in the least concerned that Way. I doubt not but many of these Nests of Villains are passing
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over frequently with no less Sums; besides which there are no small Number of Boats, from fifteen to twenty Tuns, that Weekly run over with three or four hundred Pounds at a Time. Considering the Extent of our Coast, from the Land's End in *Cornwall*, to the other Extremity on the Southern Side, and that more or less of this vile Practice is carried, on almost in every Town and Village thereof, the Mischief to the Nation must presently appear to be intolerable, by the Sums of Money of which it must be thereby annually drain'd; all which, moreover, is added to the Scale of our inveterate Enemies Wealth, by which they are enabled to outweigh us in Opulence and Strength. The direct Tendency of this accursed Practice to debauch the Morals of all engaged any how therein, to make them Enemies to our Religion, Laws, and Government, is evident from the Nature of the Thing, as well as from many Examples of several Families resident in those Parts of the Country, where it is carried on; who, before they fell into the Way of it, lived in a sober virtuous Manner, supporting themselves decently by an honest Industry, but being allured to this Course, all that was commendable vanished; instead of which succeeded Riot, Drunkenness, Defiance of Authority, and all manner of Wickedness. One would think, the Abhorrence every honest Man must have of their Employment, with t.
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Contempt and Odium they must suffer on account thereof, would restrain all, but the most abandoned, from entering thereinto, and keep even the worst, from daring those Heights of Impiety and Audaciousness to which they usually arrive: But such are the Opportunities, such the Incentives to Villany, that continually present in that Way, such an Influence has the Example of one to corrupt another, such Temptations are the Prospect of Gain, the Flatteries and Caresses of their *French* Correspondents, (when they have them on their Side of the Water) that the Considerations of Conscience, Honour, Love of their Country, or any thing Praise-worthy, are utterly silenced, and all Reflections on the Consequences of their Actions, either to themselves or others, absolutely stifled. By conversing and transacting with our worst Enemies, they contract an Enmity to their native Soil, and their honest Fellow-Subjects, nay, to our most gracious Sovereign, and most excellent Constitution: All which they hear so often vilified by their *French* Brethren in Iniquity. But besides their being inured to Jacobite Principles, and disposed to seditious and traitorous Practices, the Public is greatly damaged another Way, I mean by the Smugglers furnishing the *French* with a more expeditious certain constant Intelligence of our Designs and Transactions, than they could

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could else obtain; which, at some Times, may be extremely prejudicial to the Nation.

I am assur'd by a Gentleman, who was a Prisoner of War at *Havre de Grace*, during the Pretender's being here, that Expresses went constantly, two or three times a Week, from *Havre de Grace* *Dieppe* and *Bologne* to *Paris*, with Intelligence, brought by our Smugglers, of the Progress of the Rebels, the exact Number of Ships of War that then lay in the *Downs* and at *Spithead*, and their Force, with many other Particulars, at that Time of the utmost Importance.

No wonder therefore this Smuggling Trade is so highly encouraged in *France*? No sooner did the War break out between the two Kingdoms, but our Smugglers were inform'd by their *French* Correspondents, that, notwithstanding the Quarrel, his most Christian Majesty had very favourable Dispositions towards them, that their Trade might be carried on with the same Security as in Times of Peace, and that all Commanders of Men of War and Privateers shou'd be directed, in no Shape to molest them. And fully to convince the Smugglers of the Reality of these Assurances, Passports were regularly issued and distributed to them, that they might lose no Opportunity of prosecuting the Business.

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About twelve Months since, a Smuggling Vessel was brought to, on the Coast of *France*, by a little Privateer of *Bologne*; the Captain of the Privateer, perceiving his Mistake, ordered her to be discharged; but a good Number of his Men, being got on board her, began to make free with the Loading, which was Brandy, and drank, wasted, and carried off, thirty or forty Gallons of it, and, moreover, detain'd the Ship six or seven Hours. About two Days after, the same Smuggler, in Company with two or three more, return'd to *Bologne*, where they all complained to the Merchants they dealt with against the abovesaid Privateer; not so much for drinking and carrying off such a Quantity of Brandy, which they remark'd was a meer Trifle, but for the Detention of the Vessel, which was a Matter of the utmost Consequence to the Owner, as thereby he was prevented reaching the *English* Shore on the Night he was expected, and, so, very narrowly escaped a Seizure. The Smugglers unanimously represented, that they must instantly drop the Trade, unless they could be effectually secured from any Detention or Obstruction whatsoever, by the *French* Privateers. This Affair made a great Noise at *Bologne*; every body condemn'd the Conduct of the Privateer; the Owners themselves, to testify their Dislike, instantly discharged the Captain from their Service, and the

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the Merchants, on their Parts, gave their trusty well-beloved Customers the strongest Assurances, that they should never have the like Cause of complaining. 'Twas now supposed this Affair was at an End: But, trifling as it may seem, it did not escape the Cognisance of the Court; for, a few Weeks afterwards, an order came from *Paris*, to commit the Captain of the Privateer to Prison: Nor could all the Captain was able to alledge in his own Excuse, or the Interposition of all the Friends he could make, avail to prevent its Execution: His Crime was deemed of a most heinous Nature; it having been signify'd to all Commanders of Men of War and Privateers in *France*, "that they should not only permit the *English* Smugglers to pass unmolested, but also be ready, on all Occasions, to do them any act of Service or Friendship." Nay, an Account of the Proceedings against this Captain, was, by the Governments Command, sent to Saint *Malo* and other Sea Ports, that all Captains, whether in the King's Service or that of the Merchants, might be fully informed of the Disposition of his most Christian Majesty, relating to his good Allies the *English* Smugglers.

During the late War between *England* and *France*, there were few or no Privateers fitted out here; but a great Number of

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Small ones were equipp'd from *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, whereby both those Islands were considerably enrich'd. It has been said, that, during the Course of that War, one half of the Male Inhabitants of these two Islands had been Prisoners in *France*, by which Means they acquir'd an exact Knowledge of the Coast, and contracted a numerous and beneficial Acquaintance there. One Branch of Business they enter'd upon at the End of the War, was the buying great Quantities of *English* Woollens, and smuggling them on the Coast of *Britany* and *Normandy*, for which they brought back *French* Pistoles, Crowns, and Half Crowns. This Trade was continued for some Time, and was like to become very considerable, for the *French* Woollen Fabricks were not then brought to that Degree of Perfection they are now. But at length this Affair came to be known at *Paris*. The Ministry resent'd it greatly, and declared they wou'd soon put an End to it; as the smuggling *English* Woollens in upon them, and taking nothing in Exchange but Silver and Gold, was a Thing intolerable. Accordingly, some severe Laws were instantly made, to prevent a Practice which they deemed so pernicious. But fearing those Laws shou'd be insufficient, particular Orders were soon after sent from the Court, to all the Superintendants on the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Britany*.

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Britany, that whoever shou'd be found aiding or assisting, in the smuggling *English* Woollens, shou'd suffer very severe corporal Punishment, and then be sent to the Gallies for Life. These vigorous Measures, to be commended, tho' they happened to be against ourselves, put an End to this illicit Traffic, within three Months after it came to the Knowledge of the *French* Court.

This Account was affirm'd to me, by some eminent Merchants of *St. Malo* and *Rennes*, several Years since, when I was at those Places, together with many other Stories of the like kind: And this, in order to convince me, that no Government in the World more regarded or protected their Trade and Manufactures than that of *France*: And I only mention this particular Instance here, that our great Men, Men of Power and Influence, may be excited, by the Example of the *French*, to enter more into the Consideration of Trade, and that they may be fully convinc'd, that thereby alone, the Glory Wealth and Honour of this Kingdom can be preserv'd and maintain'd.

If what I have said on the Article of Smuggling be all true, as I verily believe it is, then I must take the Liberty to say, that if our great Men have any real Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty, if they have any Design to preserve and maintain that Reverence, that is due to the Legislative Authority,

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Authority, if they have any Love to the Bodies or Souls of many thousands of their Fellow-Subjects, or, if they have any Regard to the Welfare and Prosperity of this Kingdom, they will all unite, to put a final Period, to this scandalous wicked and pernicious Practice of Smuggling.

I have now gone through what I first intended, and have only to add, that if my Notions are wrong, my Intentions however, I am sure, are right; and what I have now offer'd does not proceed from a vain Itch of Writing, but purely from the Love I bear my native Country, in whose Glory and Happiness I shall always delight. And I here most solemnly declare, that this Treatise was not written at the Desire or Request of any Man, or Body or Party of Men; so far from it, that it was begun and ended, without the Desire, Advice, Knowledge, or Privity of any Man living; and I aver, that my only Inducement to be at all this Pains and Trouble, (amidst a Variety of other Engagements) was merely from a sincere Regard to the Welfare and Prosperity of *Great Britain*, the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty, the Support of his Government, and the Stability of the Crown of these Realms in his most illustrious Family. And tho', perhaps, I may be thought mistaken in some Particulars, yet I dare say, few will disagree with me in the main Foundation, *viz.*

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“ That the Interest of *England* does consist in improving its Products, Trade, and Manufactures.” I submit all to your Lordships better Judgment, and persuade myself, that the Love and Concern, you also bear your Country, will not permit you, to omit any Opportunity of serving it, nor suffer you, to overlook any Method of so doing, that will be of the least Use or Benefit, tho' offer'd you by the private Hand of,

My Lords,

Your Lordships most humble

and most obedient Servant,

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