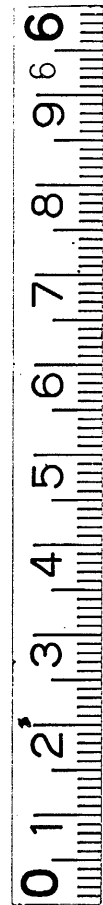


52-1



BRITAIN'S
COMMERCIAL INTEREST
EXPLAINED and IMPROVED;

In a SERIES of

DISSERTATIONS

ON

Several Important BRANCHES of her
TRADE and POLICE:

CONTAINING

A Candid ENQUIRY into the *secret Causes* of the
present Misfortunes of the Nation.

WITH

PROPOSALS for their REMEDY.

ALSO

The great Advantages which would accrue to this
Kingdom from an Union with IRELAND.

BY

MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT, Esq;

AUTHOR of the

UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY of TRADE and COMMERCE, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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T O
H I S G R A C E
T H E
Duke of RUTLAND,

Lord High Steward of His Majesty's
Houfhold, and one of His Majesty's
most honourable Privy-Council.

MY LORD,

HOWEVER parties may
differ about other things,
they seem all to agree that
the nation is, at present, re-
duced to a very melancholy fiate, and
not easily to be restored to that
A 2 splendor,

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[iv]

splendor, weight, and dignity in Europe, that she formerly maintained. Various are the sentiments of the public in relation to the cause or causes hereof. Though our national debts and taxes are a clog to our affairs; yet the people do not seem averse to any expence, provided the kingdom could be happily restored to such a prosperous condition as to make the figure she has heretofore done.

CERTAIN it is, that we are destitute, at this juncture, of all maritime allies; and therefore it seems we must stand alone, and fight our own battles by sea, whatever allies may be obtained by land.

THAT the naval power of France seems capable of coping with ours at present, is not much doubted: and if our enemy should gain over to her interest any powerful maritime ally, we may soon see our naval force humbled, and all our commercial resources cut off, and then the fate of this nation will soon be determined.

BUT

[v]

BUT if, My Lord, the court of Spain should not join France against Great Britain with that considerable maritime power she has raised, and Spain should judge a neutrality more eligible than to engage in a war against this nation; a Spanish neutrality does not seem to promise such advantages to Great Britain as to *France*. In such case, the Spaniards will uninterruptedly carry home their treasure from the Spanish Indies, and their revenues reap the same benefit as in time of peace. The active commerce into which that nation has struck, will enable them to be maritime carriers for France, and use every art to secrete French property, and supply them with contraband goods, while England seems capable of receiving little advantage by such neutrality.

THE ports of Spain being opened to Great Britain, we may indeed employ the Spaniards to bring us in their own bottoms all the produce

A 3

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[vi]

of Old and New Spain; and we may employ them also to carry such of our merchandizes in return as they shall think proper to take: but it is our misfortune, My Lord, that the increasing dearness of our commodities, compared with the price of French ones, is no temptation to the Spaniards to purchase ours for their own account, in preference to those of France. And if they carry them for British account, it is to be doubted whether they would be so solicitous to cover British as French property; whereby our Spanish exporters might be ruined by such precarious adventures, while the Spaniards would grow greater and greater gainers by our importation of their commodities.

It is well enough known, My Lord, among the mercantile world, what great gainers the French at present are by the neutrality of the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and their other carriers, while we gain little by them. These neutralities serve the
interest

[vii]

interest of France far more than their acting with them as principals in war could do; for these neutral carriers and traders extend the commerce of France in time of war, more than she herself does in times of peace; and what she loses in point of freight is amply compensated in her savings by insurance. Our enemies thus carrying on their commerce by the means of neutral states, have their mercantile shipping at leisure to be converted into private ships of war, and many of them are become a part of the royal navy of France. Thus these neutralities augment the maritime force of France, and uphold their revenues arising by trade in good plight, while they tend to reduce ours, and render us less capable of annoying the commerce of the enemy, and the enemy more capable of annoying ours, because we are chiefly our own carriers, run all risks ourselves, and our trade loaded with the heavy article

A 4 of

[viii]

of insurance, while that of France is exempt from such burthen.

It should seem, therefore, to appear, My Lord Duke, that these neutralities put it out of the power of our naval force to exert itself so much against the commerce and navigation of the enemy, as they enable the enemy to exert theirs against ours. The policy in France by increasing maritime neutralities, will, it is to be feared, supply any supposed deficiency in their maritime force when compared with ours; and, therefore, how long the enemy may, by such a system, be able to carry on the war, is not easy to say; nor what advantages they may reap, by having their naval strength at liberty to act offensively, while their trade is beneficially conducted by the arts and collusion of neutral states.

THE true *causes* of our labouring under these, and many other disadvantages with the enemy, at present, I have endeavoured to point out distinctly

[ix]

tinctly in the following discourses, and that, I am willing to hope, with all candour and impartiality; it not being my intention to inflame, but conciliate distractions, and to promote and cement union and harmony amongst our rulers, that they may be at ease to join their heads and their hearts to save the kingdom from that ruin, with which it seems to be threatened.

THAT the things which are, would come to pass, any man of plain sense, who attended to the commercial schemes of power that have been many years hatching for our destruction, might easily discern. As I have pretty vigilantly attended to such like affairs, so I have endeavoured from time to time, to communicate my fears and apprehensions of those events, which have, in a great measure, taken place.

THIS I have done, and I hope with all decency and moderation, in my Dictionary of Commerce; which

Your

[x]

Your Grace, and your noble family have done me the honour to patronize. And, however, difficult, and indeed next to impossible it may be for a public writer upon those delicate subjects to obtain the candid regard of all amidst our unhappy party divisions; yet I have the satisfaction to experience that my humble endeavours to be useful have been generally acceptable, which I can ascribe to nothing but that undisguised honest zeal that I have endeavoured to manifest throughout all my writings to promote the public prosperity and happiness.

No sooner had I finished that performance than I set about another, which Your Grace knows took its rise from some conversations that I had the honour to have with a noble Lord, very nearly allied to your Grace, my other honoured patron, and which I published the last year, under the title of Great Britain's true system; wherein I have endeavoured to shew
the

[xi]

the reasonableness, the necessity and practicability of raising *supplies* to carry on wars within the year, without further encreasing the public debts: which tract, being necessary, as I judged, to make it's appearance the last year, when the ministry were unsettled, as at present, I addressed that work to all the great men *In* and *Out* of power, thinking *That* the most inoffensive way to procure a subject of that kind a favourable attention by all parties: and if some events had not fell out, it is likely that subject might have been taken into consideration the last session of parliament. But as we soon hope for a settled and a united administration, that will exert their utmost efforts in the service of the nation, we may hope likewise that a subject of such high concernment will not be passed over in silence the next session; because measures are necessary to be changed, and among the rest, none is more needful than to put a stop to the encrease
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[xii]

of the national debts, and all *perpetual* taxes. For,

LET who will, My Lord, be ministers of state, I humbly apprehend that a step of this kind must do them honour, and convince the nation that measures as well as men will be changed. Nor can any domestic conduct contribute more than such, as will appear throughout this treatise, to give the nation that desirable weight and influence at foreign courts, which is so necessary to our affairs at this critical conjuncture.

THOUGH this will prove one good remedy for the cure of many of our political maladies; yet, My Lord, we shall be mistaken, if we flatter ourselves, that this alone will be a sovereign specific for all our national distempers. No: our state-diseases are numerous and complicated, and they cannot be eradicated by the application of any one medicine: but, perhaps, there cannot be a better general preparative, than what is humbly recom-

[xiii]

commended, to render all other political physic duly operative and efficacious.

THE skilful physician tells us, that a discovery of the true cause of our personal maladies is half the cure. It is the same by those of the state. And the humble aim of the ensuing treatise, is a candid and impartial enquiry into divers material species of distemper, wherewith the kingdom is overwhelmed; for when those are faithfully laid open, the very distempers themselves will suggest to our state physicians, the specific cure of each in their turn.

I will not presume to say, My Lord, that I have represented every national evil under which we labour. That could not be done within the limits to which I have at present, restrained myself. I have, however, brought to light some of the more material, and those chiefly of a commercial kind: for such drying up the channels of treasure, whereby the state

[xiv]

must be supported, if we open those channels, they will overflow us with wealth competent to enable us to get the better of every evil, and bring about that happy state-reformation so much desired by every true patriot, and by none more than by Your Grace, as I have had the honour to know by experience from a series of conversation.

AND here I crave leave, with all submission, to put Your Grace in mind of one of our state-maladies, which is greatly in Your Grace's power to cure: it is a very malignant one indeed; but if it is not cured, and that radically too, I am afraid, My Lord, that all other evils will become incurable. This malady is of so pernicious and so destructive a nature, that it renders us the contempt of all wise and honest men at home, and the ridicule of all foreign states abroad: it is unspeakably injurious to the peace of mind and the health of our aged sovereign; it distracts his councils, it makes our great
men

[xv]

men odious to the people in general, and renders them incapable of treating with foreign courts with any sort of weight and dignity.

HAVING described the characteristics of the destructive distemper to which I allude, it will be needless to say, that I mean our ministerial distractions; which have disturbed and distracted the whole nation, as well as quite alienated the regard of our foreign friends, and given spirit and influence to our enemies: and I should heartily rejoice with numberless sincere well-wishers to the kingdom, that Your Grace, in concert with others of the first distinction no less public-spirited, would interpose your patriot good offices to cure this destructive malady. Would Your Grace undertake the task, I could with credit undertake to prophecy, that you could not fail of success.

By declining all ministerial character, and conducting yourself with candour towards all parties, you have
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[xvi]

become beloved by all, My Lord; and they will all hear your Grace with that deference no less due to the greatness of your talents, than the goodness of your heart. What then can hinder Your Grace from becoming the happy instrument of uniting the wisest and the ablest men in the nation in the service of their king and country? If it be necessary to join the old ministry with the new, no one is more capable of reconciling past differences, and healing all personal breaches and animosities than Your Grace.

THERE never was a time, My Lord, when a happy union amongst the best and the wisest men in the nation, was more necessary than at present, because it is my humble opinion that this nation was never in more imminent danger; and why I think so, will appear in the course of this tract.

THE points taken into consideration in the ensuing treatise being of the
last

[xvii]

last consequence to the nation at all times, and the light wherein they are placed being such as is highly reasonable and interesting to our affairs at present; it is humbly hoped and presumed, that here is nothing urged but what may deserve the serious attention of any ministry. And that no disgust might be taken at the matter urged, by reason of the manner of its representation, I have studiously avoided whatever might prove disagreeable in that shape: yet I have been obliged to go to the root of our evils, or they could never be put in such a point of view as ever to become cured.

BESIDES the particulars herein nakedly exhibited, and openly animadverted on, Your Grace will please to observe, that I have a reserve of many things very imprudent to be thus publicly discussed. This I could not do without manifest injury to the nation, because it would give more advantage to the enemy than all their
VOL. I. a fleets

[xviii]

fleets and armies, by putting it in their power to defeat the execution of what would prove so detrimental to them, and so beneficial to this kingdom: and therefore I hope Your Grace will prove the happy instrument of causing all my endeavours to serve the nation to be laid properly before the administration, when the same shall be settled; humbly apprehending that they will be found, on due examination, to be calculated for the honour and interest of his majesty and his kingdoms.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Most devoted,

And obedient

Humble servant,

MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT.



C O N T E N T S

TO THE

F I R S T V O L U M E.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the LANDED INTEREST, in relation to the cultivation of waste land; with a view to prevent a future scarcity of grain and all other provisions in the kingdom; in order to render the necessaries of life, labour and manufactures cheap, the better to enable us to maintain a competition in trade and navigation with foreign nations. p. 1.

DISSERTATION II.

The Productions and trade of England compared with those of Scotland and Ireland, and the British plantations; and also with
a 2 each

CONTENTS.

each other; in order further to inforce the reasonableness and necessity of England taking the measures recommended in the First Dissertation. p. 56

DISSERTATION III.

A summary of various general principles of agriculture, founded on experience, for the improvement of lands, in order to answer that general plenty and prosperity in England aimed at by the preceding papers. p. 74

DISSERTATION IV.

Farther considerations on the establishment of public granaries, as recommended to the practice of France, by some of their ablest writers; and which may be considered as applicable to England in many respects, and consistent with the tenour of this work. p. 99

DISSERTATION V.

The preceding subject continued in other political lights. p. 126

D I S-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION VI.

Farther considerations on the connections of Trade between Great Britain and Ireland and the British plantations. p. 143

DISSERTATION VII.

Of such productions, manufactures, and trades, as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the British plantations should chiefly cultivate; in order to rival and compete with foreign nations, and not with each other; and some measures necessary to be taken for the prosperity of the commerce and navigation of all. p. 168

DISSERTATION VIII.

The same subject as the last continued in another light. p. 194

DISSERTATION IX.

Further motives exciting to agriculture, from the example of the Chinese; with an abstract

C O N T E N T S.

tract of some philosophic remarks, relating to the cultivation of land. p. 213

D I S S E R T A T I O N X.

The landed and trading interests connectively considered, and in what manner country gentlemen and planters may promote the benefit of their estates, in conjunction with that of the nation. p. 245.

D I S S E R T A T I O N XI.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland, considered. p. 268

D I S S E R T A T I O N XII.

The foregoing subject farther considered. p. 291

D I S S E R T A T I O N XIII.

The union of England and Ireland continued. p. 335

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

D I S S E R T A T I O N XIV.

Of the union of England and Ireland continued. p. 377

D I S S E R T A T I O N XV.

Of the union of the Isle of Man with England, from some anecdotes relating thereto, which may be depended on. p. 401

D I S S E R T A T I O N XVI.

A succinct view of the constitution of the British plantations in America; and of the state and condition wherein they have many years been: wherein is pointed out the chief causes of their becoming the present seat of war; with considerations how they may recover their strength and stability, and become a match for our enemies. p. 421

D I S S E R T A T I O N XVII.

Further considerations on the causes of the present state of our affairs in America. p. 461

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

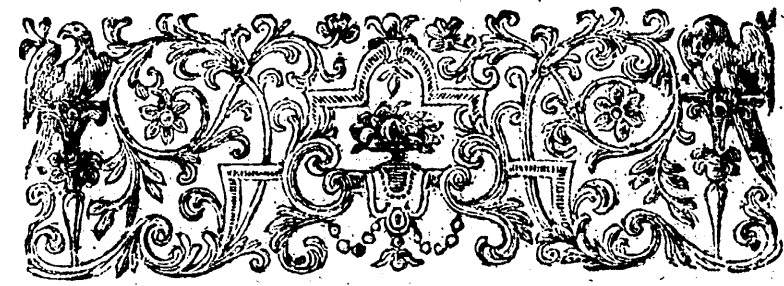
DISSERTATION XVIII.

The cause of the present state of our affairs in America farther considered. P. 481

DISSERTATION XIX.

A short review of the conduct of France, in relation to her North American colonies; with a comparison between her management of her American affairs and that of Great Britain. p. 501

P O L I-



P O L I T I C A L

DISSERTATIONS

O N T H E

British trade, and commerce, and other interesting subjects, &c.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the LANDED INTEREST, in relation to the cultivation of waste land; with a view to prevent a future scarcity of grain and all other provisions in the kingdom; in order to render the necessaries of life, labour and manufactures cheap, the better to enable us to maintain a competition in trade and navigation with foreign nations.



VERY essential object of traffic and commerce, requisite to the sustenance and convenience of human life being produced by the earth, the more our land in general shall be improved, and the greater quantity thereof shall be bene-

VOL. I.

B

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[2]

cially cultivated, the greater will be the plenty of land productions amongst the people; the greater the encrease of cattle, the more people employed in cultivation, the more populous the nation become in useful and industrious hands, and the more comfortably and happily will the whole body of the nation be subsisted: And in consequence of all, the more our internal as well as external traffic shall be promoted, the wealthier and more powerful will be the state.

As those productions in the general shall be from time to time augmented, so will the general consumption; and the greater the plenty shall be, the cheaper will every thing necessarily become, whereby money will naturally grow more universally plenty in the general circulation; for, in such case, less money will purchase every thing in proportion as the plenty of productions shall reduce the price, with respect to the demand.

If this general improvement of the old lands, and cultivation of fresh, be extended to the due political degree it will admit of in this nation, the universal plenty of all things will be so magnified, as to render the price of the necessaries of life no more than one half, or even one third what it is at present. This will inevitably reduce the general price of labour, that being regulated by the price of the necessaries of life: and will not this render all our fabrics and manufac-

[3]

nufactures cheaper, since their value is constituted according to the rate, at which labourers, artificers and manufacturers can subsist? Will not such reductions make the quantity of money at present in circulation extend farther, and consequently become more plentiful amongst the mass of the people, and this without any addition to the quantity of national specie?

THIS policy will enable us to fabricate our staple, and other new invented manufactures at lower rates. It also will abundantly extend our exportation, not only to those foreign states, and empires that are our present purchasers, but will attract us new customers; such other who are not capable of purchasing our commodities, by reason of their dearth; while they consume immense quantities of those of our rivals, because of their greater cheapness. Hereby we cannot fail being enabled continually to augment the value of our exports beyond that of our imports; this will gradually encrease the balances of our trade with many particular nations, and the general balance in the like proportion; which will be brought into the nation in hard money. From which additional plenty of money, the people in general will become greater consumers of the productions of the land, and manufactures, the state grow more and more populous, as things grow cheaper and money more plenty. And money being the sinews of commerce as well

[4]

as of war, how can it fail to flourish both at home and abroad? How, under a wise and just administration, can the people fail to be contented and happy, when they sensibly feel and experience a daily advance in their prosperity, and easement of circumstances?

IN countries, where the land cultivated does not afford an ample competency of its productions to make the whole plentiful, and therefore cheap, the people will be unavoidably distressed and miserable, and no chains can restrain them from transmigration from country to country, till they can set down with some degree of consolation under their state of continual labour. This brings depopulation upon such ill-policed states, while it peoples others with industrious inhabitants, who are the great source of wealth, and of power. But plenty of land, well and properly cultivated and improved, according to the soil and climate, will not only afford wherewith to raise and cherish plenty of useful people by natural generation within ourselves, but will draw and captivate them to such a land of Canaan, from every state, where they labour under the Egyptian bondage.

IN proportion as the rents of lands shall be raised above what the plenty of the circulating-money will enable the tenants to pay, certain it is, that the money of a nation will diminish and grow scarcer: and where there is not a quantity of land effectually cultivated to reduce the rents, in proportion to the

[5]

the money, the scarcity of money will, at length, grow to such an extreme, as to leave very little in the kingdom. For, where the rents are raised beyond the proportion of money existing to pay them, there everything will rise in its price and value; commerce grow worse and worse, relatively considered with that of other nations, its general balance turn more and more against the dearer nation; and, at length, the country become stripped of its money. And when the trade and the money are once fled to other countries, the people will follow.

THE demand for farms in greater proportion than they were to be had, first raised the rents. This hindered the people from going on in their cultivation of fresh land, as the demand for the same shows they would have done, as they increased in number. What then could the surplus people do, but throw themselves into trade and professions? And whilst the necessaries of life, the price of labour, and the rents of land have advanced greatly to what they were formerly, have not these things rendered it very difficult for the bulk in those channels to subsist?

THIS must be remedied, or more and more will be daily undone, and will take refuge in other countries. Nor can the gentleman escape injury; for if money becomes so scarce, the produce of the earth will hardly bring sufficient support to the farmer, and pay all charges exclusive of rent: numbers of the

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gentry

[6]

gentry will, at length, be obliged to turn farmers, by taking their lands into their own management, till by the greater general cheapness of all things, money becomes sufficiently plenty to answer the moderate view of an industrious and parsimonious farmer, the motives of trade, and the ends of a wise government: but this will never be the case, till the rents keep pace with the hard circulating-money; and, therefore, either the money of the nation must be increased in proportion to the rents, or the rents must fall in proportion to the money. But to increase the money, to keep up the due payments of the rents, can be no otherwise done, than by the increase of our foreign commerce; nor can this be done, but through the decrease in the price of all things; in the necessaries of life, in the price of labour, and manufactures; and this latter cannot be effected, till the price of rents are reduced in proportion to the quantity of money; and that cannot be accomplished, till a due quantity of waste land is taken into cultivation: and, therefore, to increase our trade, and thereby our money, we must increase our land-cultivation, to bring about the desirable consequences above intimated.

If all the rents of the nation were lowered at the request of the people, or by compulsory laws, this could by no means answer the end of a national prosperity, because the demand for the produce of the earth, at present

[7]

sent cultivated, will continue to be equally great, if the people be not diminished, so as to keep the price of things higher than the quantity of circulating-money will enable them to pay for 'em: and till more people are employed in land-cultivation, in order to lessen the number of poor, and occasion greater plenty, all trades, manufactures, and professions will continue so overstocked as to spoil them all, with regard to profit, which is the end of them. It should seem to follow, therefore, that the natural way to lower the rents, can only be, by putting such quantities of waste land into cultivation, as may make farms abound.

NOR does it appear that gentlemen would be sufferers by rents being lowered by the measures suggested. For let it be supposed, that all the lands should be raised 20l. per cent. per Annum; since that land cultivated would bear no more corn, grass, nor cattle, &c. than it does at present: must not the corn and cattle &c. be advanced in proportion? Will not the necessaries of life cost the labourer more; and must not his wages be raised accordingly? Will not timber for carriages, and other uses, cost more to fell, and hew; and will not horses to draw the produce of the earth to market be more valuable; and consequently carriage and every manufacture cost more? All things would certainly be raised, if money could be found to circulate trade at such an advance. And since gentlemen as well as others would buy every thing

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at such an advanced price, how would they be advantaged by receiving 20l. per cent. per Annum more, and paying that at least, if not more, for what they want?

If it should be said, that this would be the case, with regard to their expence, but not their savings, they will be deceived. For suppose a gentleman of 1000l. per Annum, now spends 500l., and lays by 500l. per Annum; if estates were raised, as supposed, he would than spend 600l., and lay by 600l. per Ann. But how would he be the richer, since the price of every thing is raised at least in the like proportion with his lands? For his 600l. would purchase no more than his 500l. did before.

As to the purchase of estates, which is always governed by the interest of money, they will be valued at as many years purchase as they would be, if rents had not fallen; and though the sums they sell for must be less, in proportion as the rent shall be lowered; yet the money will have, at least, all the same effects, apply the same how you please.

If all the lands were raised 20 per cent. per annum, this would not make them produce more; but perhaps less, than they now do, by putting it, in some degree, out of the farmers power to make use of so much skill and expence, to cultivate them, as they could do before their rents were so raised: since this advance of rent would not tend to encrease the produce, all the produce must be sold, not only for all the 20 pounds more, but
there

there must be profits likewise on all those 20 pounds, to enable the farmers to purchase whatever they want at higher prices, to which every thing must be advanced from thus raising the produce; as it passeth through every hand, and at length the manufacturing part also: this would still proportionably encrease the profits on the first raised prime costs, before it reached the consumer; who, therefore, must in the end, not only pay all the advanced 20 pounds rent, but also the necessary profits arising thereon, through all the several hands it passed: and since the labour, which adds the greatest value to every thing, will, in this case, be enhanced; it is apparent, that the same quantity of produce must be dearer by all the first advanced 20 pounds rent, and by suitable profits to all the several hands through which it must necessarily go, together with a greater charge of labour thereon: whence it appears, that if the same quantity of produce must thus cost a great deal more, than all the 20l. rent, by which it was first enhanced, the several parts thereof must cost more likewise in such proportion; so that we may not scruple to assert, that 140l. could not in this case purchase what 100l. now doth; whereby gentlemen, who are consumers in common with others, would become much the poorer for so raising their estates: and, therefore, it should seem consequently manifest, that they would be the richer for lowering their estates

[10]

20 or 30 per cent. per Annum, by the cultivation of more land, since it must be no less certain, that 70 or 80 l. would purchase more in this case, than 100 l. doth at present, as it is evident that 120 l. in the other case, would not purchase so much as 100 l. doth now: so that if rents should fall 30 per cent, by the means proposed, every thing would certainly fall in the like proportion, whereby gentlemen would lose nothing but the nominal sound of so much per Annum.

THIS may serve to evince, why gentlemen cannot live so well and hospitably on the same estates, as their ancestors did, who had considerably less nominal income than their successors. If, therefore, gentlemen find themselves streightened, by raising rents, above what the money circulating amongst the people will enable them to pay; must not this encrease the streights and difficulties of the people on whom such heavy rents are raised, and account for their arrearages, and badness of payment?

If the rents are raised so much as to carry the price of goods to the consumer, to higher rates than the money they can acquire will enable them to purchase, what they want, this makes a kind of unnatural plenty of goods, presenting themselves for buyers, who though they really want them, cannot find money to purchase them; and, therefore, are obliged to abridge their necessary wants and occasions as much as they can. This lessens the

[11]

the value of those goods (which in the end must want buyers) below the rates which the rents have made necessary. Will not this keep the produce of lands so low; that it will not answer to bring to market? whence gentlemen must find it difficult, if not impossible, to get their rents; whilst at the same time, whatever they purchase, as hath been shown, will necessarily become dearer in a greater proportion than the rents can be raised: provided such rents in general do not nearly quadrate with the quantity of circulating-money, that will always purchase the most of every thing at the cheapest rates.

POLITICAL arithmeticians all allow that mankind do naturally encrease; and this nation of ours has considerably encreased in people within these two centuries; notwithstanding our civil and external wars, plagues, and those drains of people that have been made from hence to supply our plantations, since our American settlements have taken place. The city of London hath doubled itself within these fourscore years, notwithstanding the last great plague; and the country hath also encreased, though not in the like, yet in a considerable degree and proportion. If this is a truth, ought not our encrease in the general cultivation of lands to keep pace with the encrease of the inhabitants?

MEN enter the stage of life to raise a new generation, and then withdraw behind the curtain

[12]

curtain. The term of life, that men are found to enjoy the one with the other, from the time of marriage to that of death, is little more than 20 years: in which period, one marriage with another, we will suppose, does not produce above four children, who live to man's estate. If a gentleman of 1000l. per Annum, to make provision for his children, lays by one half thereof annually; this in 20 years will be 10,000; which, including the widow's share, which often happens, can not exceed 2500l. for each child. This is not only much inferior to the estate, out of which it was saved; but the interest being a scanty provision for the son of a person of 1000l. per Annum, to subsist on, most of the children will be introduced into some trade or profession; in order to improve their money, to raise new families, or they will soon annihilate their principal.

If trade be languishing and distressed, many such will sink in the general calamity. If it be said, men must retrench their expence; will not this lessen the consumption of every thing, and make so much less circulation of business among the people? Will not this occasion an increase in the number of the poor? Where the poor increase, will not the profits on trade be more and more reduced, through losses and want of trade; and through the efforts of such additional numbers of indigent people, who will struggle hard to support themselves in

[13]

in that share of business which shall remain?

INSTEAD of urging the diminution of the home-consumption of our native commodities, is it not better policy to make all things so plentiful, and so cheap, that the people in general may become greater, instead of less consumers thereof? This will increase and not lessen trade and business amongst the people, in proportion as they shall augment in numbers. Luxury will then find its natural boundaries, which if men extraordinarily transgress, they will be sufficiently whipt with their own rod.

THE lowness of our interest of money brings more people into trade, who either cannot, or do not chuse to subsist only on such small interest; and, therefore, they will engage in trade to improve their fortunes and better their income. The moneyed-interest having abundance of cash to employ, will take a great share of business out of the hands of those who are already engaged therein, by carrying it on at much less profit than it was done before; that they may employ the large sums which they are capable of throwing into trade. This makes it difficult for people of less fortune to gain subsistence; whereby many become distressed, and the number of poor multiplied; and it is no wonder that people are incapable of paying rents; that houses are emptied, and the inhabitants flock to other nations to gain bread by the arts they have

[14]

have learned in this. Thus we lose our artificers and manufacturers; foreign rivals thereby supplant us in our trade, and aggrandize themselves upon our impoverishment.

WE have before observed, that mankind naturally encrease in number; wherefore this encrease must continually be provided for in cultivating proportionably more land. If they are not, they being all consumers, there must perpetually be greater numbers subsisted on the produce of the same land, which was before cultivated: this will necessarily encrease the demand for its produce, and enhance its price, whilst the encreasing people must employ themselves solely in trade, manufactures, and other professions for subsistence. Will it not hence follow, that trades and manufactures, &c. will soon be overmultiplied, and the encreased people become indigent and distressed; seeing the necessaries of life, for which the bulk ultimately work, will all the while be growing dearer, and the inhabitants less and less able to purchase them?

THE proportion in which mankind have been computed to encrease, according to Sir Wm. Petty's is, that they will absolutely double themselves in 360 years, notwithstanding wars, and plagues, &c. Should we reason upon this foundation, the quantity of land, which should be taken every year into cultivation, must be at least $\frac{1}{360}$ part of the quantity at present in cultivation. If England be 320 miles long and 290 miles wide, it will contain

[15]

tain 92,800 square miles, supposing its length and breadth to be everywhere alike: but as England is not so regular a figure, $\frac{1}{3}$ may be deducted for its irregularity, towns and rivers; and there will remain about 62,000 square miles contained therein.

WE will suppose, that not above one half, *viz.* 31,000 square miles are cultivated; $\frac{1}{10}$ part thereof, *viz.* 86 square miles, at least, should every year be further added by cultivation, to hold proportion to the natural encrease of mankind. Provided a greater part of England be already improved than has been supposed; and mankind should encrease faster than Sir Wm. asserts, the annual addition should be greater in proportion: and if mankind do not encrease in the degree they would, by nature; it is an infallible criterion that the natural plenty is by ill policy obstructed.

BUT as nothing like this additional cultivation has hitherto taken place, it is demonstrable, that from hence all trades, occupations, manufactures and professions have been multiplied and overburthened with numbers, and embarrassed with difficulties and poverty. Yet hereby rents have been advanced by the demand for land, which the encrease of people has occasioned: whence living has become more chargeable than formerly, and the people less able to support themselves. Besides, enhancing the price of necessaries hath either advanced the price of our commodities

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in general, or tended to diminish their vent, and make them worse in quality, so that our neighbouring nations have not purchased such quantities as they would have otherwise done; though we have not taken less of foreign commodities in general.

EXPERIENCE hath sufficiently shown, that the people of any nation will diminish where the *means* of getting a livelyhood, suitable to their several ranks and stations, do so: this is a *necessary consequence*, where the balance of trade becomes considerably against any nation; it being evident, that such a nation hath amongst them just so much business less than their own several wants create, as the sum total of that balance against them happens to be. This lessening the national specie, at the same time, in the like degree also, is attended with a double inconvenience; the want of money, and the want of employment; and if things are suffered to continue in the same course, is it to be admired, that the people should forsake the kingdom? Does not experience as well as reason show, that the people will always encrease in that country in whose favour the balance of trade is?

LEST any should imagine that the laying so great stress on the cultivation of quantities of land, in proportion to the encrease of people, is any way extravagant; it should be considered, that the extent of such additional cultivation will naturally find its bounds; for that will stop of itself, when the plenty becomes

comes too great to turn to private advantage; which arises chiefly from too high rents, or the employment of too many people in husbandry and agriculture. Of the latter of these, indeed, we can scarce ever be in danger. But if this should be the case, since the people only make a miserable shift to live now, there is an evident necessity to cultivate much more land to employ them, to make trade flourish, which creates additional treasures.

MEASURES of this kind carried amply and effectually into execution, appear to be the natural means to prevent the clandestine exportation of our wool; for experience has shown that the best laws, and most rigorous penalties will not obstruct it; which, though it makes the same come considerably dearer to foreigners than to our own manufacturers; yet they find their account in its purchase. But they could not afford to purchase our wool at such rates, and under such difficulties as they now do, provided their people in general could not live considerably cheaper than ours do, and give their labour and workmanship considerably cheaper. Notwithstanding our wool costs them so much dearer than it does us; yet from the other causes before-mentioned they are capable of making manufactures cheaper for themselves than they can have them from us; and sell them cheaper to other nations.

AND if our fabrics continue to advance in price, from the greater price of victuals and drink, and the encrease of public debts and taxes, their manufactures may become so comparatively cheap, and ours, at length, so dear, as to get their woollen goods imported into this nation, and beat us out of this branch of our own trade even amongst ourselves. This will reduce us again to the state we were in, when the Flanderkins purchased our wool, and supplied us with manufactures fabricated of our own material. But if we shall be able to reduce the necessaries of life to such a degree as will enable us to sell our commodities as cheap as other nations can do, the running of wool will stop of itself; for, we shall then be able to export our manufactures so extremely cheap as to prevent them putting themselves to such extraordinary expence and difficulties to obtain our wool, as they at present do.

THIS would no less augment the consumption of our wool at home than abroad. For when the price of woollen apparel of all kinds came to be reduced, the people in general would cloathe better and oftner than they can afford to do at present. From the encrease of our domestic as well as foreign consumption, our woollen manufactures, which now rot in our warehouses, would be in as quick and as great demand as they could be fabricated; and when we had calls of our own
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for the wool, people would be under no temptation to run it.

IF so great a quantity of waste land were annually cultivated, as would hold proportion, not only to the natural encrease of mankind, but such an additional quantity besides, as would lower the price of necessaries so much as shall be effectual to enable the poor to work considerably cheaper than they can now do: When this came to be the case, there would be a proportional quantity of work created, which is now wanted to give due employment to all people, and enable the poor to subsist without being a public incumbrance; the bulk of the inhabitants would become much greater consumers of every thing, than they ever can be, till the plenty of every thing is rendered great enough to encourage a more abundant consumption.

THE effectual execution of this additional land-cultivation would prove a great encouragement to matrimony; since the means of a livelihood for families would hereby be facilitated, and the marriage state relieved from the melancholy difficulties it labours under, in making provision for families. This would cause much less fortunes to be required in marriage; since not only much less sums would transact much larger affairs, but there would arise abundant more business every way in general; whence young men would not have occasion for such precautions, as are now prudentially needful to all that will
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marry. Should we not then be far from finding near a fourth part of our traders single men, as many with some reason conjecture the case to be? To this cause, may we not attribute the great number of prostitutes of the other sex; which, perhaps, can never be so effectually remedied, as by this means making the marriage state more tolerable in point of expence?

THOUGH nothing can be more apparent than that the measures suggested, will occasion abundantly more lucrative trade and business in the nation, than, at present, exists; yet this point may be farther corroborated, from the consideration of the general condition and circumstances of people; seven eighths of whom, in much better times of trade and business, have been by good politicians reckoned to be destitute of property either in themselves, or in the chief of their families, and therefore are necessitated to labour for their daily bread.

SEVEN eighths of so large a body, as the people of this kingdom, must necessarily have a proportionate influence on the trade of it, if we consider them, as being not one half the consumers they might and ought to be. For, on an average working men are reckoned to earn, from 10 to 12 shillings per week, when all deductions are made for lost time, want of work, and sickness: This is the utmost one man with another can earn for himself and family; which being but 26 *l.*, or
30 *l.*

30 *l.* per annum, is but about one half what is necessary for the support and maintenance of a working man's family, in the meanest manner it can be done. Does not this, therefore, show the usefulness and necessity of making the general plenty so much the greater, that every thing may be thereby rendered much cheaper, that there may arise more employment for the poor, and their wants be better supplied? Will not this necessarily create so much more trade and business amongst all the classes of trading people?

THE wants of mankind, if amply and not scantily and meanly supplied, according to their various ranks and conditions in life, are sufficient to give ample employment to all that must get their living by their labour and diligence. For if seven eighths of the people were, as they might and ought to be, according to the dictates of nature and reason, double the consumers they are; it would rather be a question; whether mankind are able to supply all their wants, than whether the wants of mankind are sufficient to give full employment to those that want it?

Is not this an invincible argument in favour of mutual intercourses of commerce between distant nations? since if any nation makes goods for us, we must likewise make goods for them, or some other nation, and so reciprocally for each other; provided our goods are made sufficiently cheap to maintain such commercial dealings. If so, what a

[22]

number of people will every state and empire be able, by the means of maritime commerce, with all its appendages, to sustain more than any such state or empire could do, without such trading employment and negotiations? For, if the people had not such kind of employment, must they not fall into agriculture? In such case, would not the same number of people require a prodigious greater extent of territory to support them, than in the former way? Would not their affluence in general be likewise proportionably diminished? Nor would such a nation be near so potent and formidable.

If any certain quantity of land well cultivated and improved will produce corn and cattle, and other necessaries for the use of man, when only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the people, we will suppose, are employed this way, whilst the other part is employed in trade and maritime commerce; if the people can be subsisted, while their commerce not only employs $\frac{2}{3}$ of them, but brings them gold and silver without mines; does not this create distributive affluence, strength and power amongst the people in general? Will not all interruptions of such maritime traffic, whilst it continues gainful to the nation, lessen the general affluence, strength and power? When any branch of commerce lessens the cash of a nation, some statesmen think it right to suppress or restrain the same by high duties or prohibitions. Does not such like policy always beget high duties

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[23]

or prohibitions on our trade, so as to prevent our having a lucrative one, if such nations can prevent the same; it being a losing trade to them, in proportion as it proves otherwise to us? As maritime commerce is lessened by these mutual restraints, so many people must loose their employments in every such nation: and to what other employment can they have recourse but to husbandry and agriculture? Will not hereby their domestic trade languish as their maritime does, since the former depends on the latter? Will not this likewise decrease the maritime force of the kingdom in the like degree?

If every nation, instead of having occasion for such restraints or prohibitions would make their produce, &c. cheap enough; which, by the means suggested, is always in their power to answer to the real benefit of every part of the community; their good and cheap commodities will force themselves by these commanding qualities, on some other nations at least; and in some degree on those too, perhaps, who shall endeavour to restrain them. Does not this seem to be the more natural, and, therefore, the more effectual way to preserve and advance our maritime commerce? Do not these obvious reflections indicate the folly of restraining trade this way, and discover plain and easy methods to make our people happy in trade without such restraint, or indeed without ever

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[24]

going to war about it? for war is no less destructive of trade than it is of the peace and felicity of human nature.

If the produce of our lands were doubled, it would certainly be consumed, since the wages of the labouring people, who are the bulk of mankind, are not sufficient to purchase above one half the necessaries such a family requires. But the produce of the earth cannot be doubled, unless the quantity be so likewise; for the quantity in cultivation produces as much as it well can. It follows, therefore, there must be double the quantity of land to yield double the quantity of produce; which would be consumed without altering the several conditions of men in any respect, but that of being as duly and comfortably supported as they have a right to be by nature. And is it not the duty of the state to see that they have the full enjoyment and fruition of all that the great author of their being has entitled them to from the immutable laws he has established for their subsistence, preservation, and increase?

To double the produce there requires double the number of people to be employed in land-cultivation: but it is evident that trade and manufactures, could not spare half such a number, without making commerce much too profitable to traders to suffer half so many people to employ themselves upon land. As it is the demand that fixes the price of things, if so many persons were taken

[25]

taken out of trade, as only half the additional quantity of land in cultivation would require to improve it, traders and manufacturers, &c. would be able to exact what price they pleased for their labour and business. Whence, may we not discern, that all the produce of land and manufactures would be wanted and used, if things were put on the happy footing we have supposed? Are not the wants of mankind as great as their abilities, and the earth capable of supplying them? Does it not hence appear, that want of trade and employment amongst the people, is solely owing to there not being land enough in cultivation to support and employ them?

If the present quantity of land productions were to be augmented one fourth only (and perhaps people enough might be spared out of trade, and manufactures, &c. to accomplish this) it would fall the price of the produce one half. For since farmers must, in this case, be one fourth more numerous than at present, the rents of lands would necessarily be lowered; and if the produce is augmented one fourth; these things considered together, could hardly fail to lower the produce one half: this would lower labour also, the working people being under no less necessity than they are now, to work as cheap as they can. For, if the produce cannot be doubled, to make the working people consume double what they do, if they could get it;

[26]

it ; if the produce cannot be encreased one half, nor, perhaps, hardly one fourth, would not absolute necessity oblige the working class to give their labour as cheap as possible, that they may supply their wants as far as they can, which must be considerably abridged notwithstanding the additional plenty, of a fourth in land-productions ; and notwithstanding too, that there would, in this case, be so much more employment for the working people, as would fill up the whole time they have to labour in ?

IN order to reduce labour, the necessaries of life should be lowered about one half, that 5 or 6 shillings might purchase as much as 10 or 12 will now do ; and then labour might be reduced at least one fourth, and the labouring people be enabled, notwithstanding, to purchase near half as many more necessaries as their present wages of 10 or 12 shillings per week will do, at the rates these things now go : which would occasion half as much more trade and business amongst the people in general as there now is, or can be till this is done ; and be productive of the other great national advantages, therewith inseparably connected : of which, the removal of many temptations, which tend to destroy the poor, is no inconsiderable one ; for if such additional employment was procured for the working people in general, would they not have less time for tippling, and holy-day making,

[27]

ing, especially if proper measures were taken to encourage industry in their respective occupations ?

If we would reduce labour only one fourth part lower than it now goes, there will be a necessity to lower the price of the necessaries of life to about one half the present price ; for as it is the demand alone, which gives the value, and fixes the price to every thing, any slender attempts to employ the poor, and make more business this way arise to others, would, by encreasing the demand for labour, rather tend to raise the wages of labouring people, than to lower them. To set this matter in the light intended ; it should be observed, that it is the *present rate* of labour only that will be reduced, according to the hypothesis laid down ; but *its value*, according to the above maxim will be greater, when the necessaries of life are rendered so much cheaper, that a fourth part less wages will purchase near half as many more necessaries as the *present rates* of labour will admit of. As this is all the reduction of labour hereby aimed at and intended, or which in the nature of the thing is possible ; so that this matter may be clearly understood ; let it be supposed, that a labouring man's family can be decently maintained, as it may, with about sixteen shillings per week ; and that the necessaries of life were lowered to half their present price : as eight shillings would then purchase as much as sixteen will do
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now; which is at least a third more than their present wages (as supposed of 10 or 12 shillings per week) will now purchase; so then labour would really be about $\frac{1}{3}$ part more valuable than it now is, though its rate at the same time be lowered about $\frac{1}{3}$ part also.

If the wisdom of the legislature should ever in earnest think of this matter; (which, if they will save their trade and the nation effectually from ruin and destruction, I am inclined to think they one day will) we must as fast as possible, improve such large tracks of waste-land, as will employ all the hands, we can possibly suffer to be employed this way; for this nation is a great body of people; and if we would do things, which they may all sensibly feel the effects of, we must do great things, and strike notable strokes of domestic policy: and will it not be a glorious thing for this kingdom to be able, upon wise and solid principles of government, to reduce the price of necessaries one half? which we have seen, is absolutely requisite to reduce the present rates of labour, and at the same time supply the labouring people with all things needful and necessary to that station of life, and thereby create so much more business amongst them? For, without this, trade in general cannot flourish, because all trade depends solely on the consumption; and yet, from what has been urged, it should seem to appear, that trade will flourish, before the
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poor will find it in their power to attain the supplies, we could wish them; since the labour of the poor constitutes the wealth and splendor of the rich: and if it was unreasonable to muzzle the ox that trod out the corn, what name shall we give the measures that render it so difficult for the bulk of mankind, to answer the great end of their own life; and that of raising families to stand in their stead when they are removed, as all soon must be, to give place to succeeding generations of the human species?

THE rule whereby to judge when the necessaries of life should be denominated cheap or dear, is that of the general earning or wages of the labouring people; which cannot be less than such as will procure them a quantity of those essential necessaries of life as will support them to subsist, and go through the labour in which they are engaged with strength and vigor, without injury to their progeny; and to maintain their rising generation comfortably. Whence we may discern when there is, or is not circulating-money sufficient among the people: or, which is equivalent thereto, when there is, or is not land sufficient in cultivation to support them happily; for hence only can these things be principally brought, which are absolutely necessary for their subsistence and the continuance of their species.

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WHILST a mechanic, or any labouring person, cannot earn so much as will provide comfortably for a middling family of that class; it is apparent, that money is so much too scarce amongst seven-eighths of the people at least; or that the land in use is incompetent to sustain them; and consequently, there will be so much less business and employment amongst the people in general, than is required: whence the distress of numbers will be inevitable.

LAND proprietors would do well to consider, that if seven-eighths of the people must sustain unnatural want and penury, if these consequences are not duly guarded against; many of their own offspring, in a generation or two, if not sooner, will find themselves in no better situation.

WORKING people being reduced to such distress and difficulties, we say, is unnatural: the great author of our being has made ample provision against them, by affording a full competency of Land to guard against them; and it is our own fault, our own weakness and folly, and bad policy, not to guard against such evils, when we have it so manifestly in our power.

If it should be objected, that if all things our gentry consume were of our own produce, they would be the richer for executing this proposal; yet since they consume so many foreign goods, the prices of which depend on what they cost at the place they are bought;

bought; they can receive but little alteration by the execution of the design here recommended; that the gentry, therefore, will not be the richer for such a reduction of labour, and of the price of our natural productions and manufactures, as would hereby be effected: if this should be said, it may be replied; that most nations have some commodities peculiar to them; which seem designed by nature to be the foundation of reciprocal commerce between them and some others, who need them, and thereby afford great employment by maritime traffic, and no less communication of general knowledge; which has been, and will be productive of new arts and new trades: and which would not probably have been the case, if those peculiarities in different countries and climates had not existed throughout the world: in this respect, our nation is distinguished as well as others—And, if one nation be distinguished by nature more than another herein; as they will by that means gain more money than such other nation, which is not; so the price of their commodities and labour will be higher in such proportion as one nation shall naturally exceed another in the superior quality of its commodities; and consequently they will not be the richer or more powerful for having more money than their neighbours.

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[32]

BUT if we import any kind of goods cheaper than we can now raise them, which otherwise might be as well raised at home; in this case, it becomes indispensably necessary to fall into the practice proposed, in regard to the raising and manufacturing on as good terms ourselves all things, which we stand in need of, or chuse to enjoy. As this should be done to prevent other nations from advantaging themselves by us more than we can sustain; so it would probably more effectually exclude all such foreign goods than the most rigorous laws and prohibitions can do.

IF this method of restraint on foreign trade should be perpetually observed by Great Britain as it ought, our gentry would experience themselves the richer; notwithstanding the consumption of such other foreign goods, as being the peculiarities of other nations, we may be obliged to import, for the sake of maintaining the requisite commercial intercourse. For, when by the means proposed, we have increased our produce to so great a degree as to reduce the rates of labour considerably, and have thereby enabled ourselves to raise many kinds of goods, which we now import, cheaper than we can receive them: when thus our trade is put into such a flourishing condition, the commodities we shall import after this is done, being cheaper than we can raise such goods within ourselves; it is plain the consumption of any such goods cannot

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[33]

occasion so great an expence, as they would do to raise them ourselves, if we really could exclude them by acts of parliament. If, therefore, it would be true, as the objection itself allows, that the gentry would be the richer for executing this proposal: if all the goods they consumed and used were the produce of our own country: they must be gainers also, notwithstanding their consumption of any quantity of foreign goods, which we can import and sell at cheaper rates, than we can possibly raise them ourselves; for none but such cheaper foreign goods can ever find vent in any such nation, except they be the peculiarities of other foreign nations; to which an answer has been before given.

THE full execution of this design should seem to be the only means, by which property can be so duely diffused amongst all ranks of people, as the more effectually to promote the general interest of the whole community: For while the working people have not full employment, their labour will be disposed of below its just value; which ought to be a comfortable subsistence for a family suitable to their station—So long as these people in general work so considerably below the point, that their wages are insufficient to support their family, property is not so diffused as it ought to be. This will be attended with many evils, in proportion as the wages of the working people fall short of the point above intimated. For the general consump-

VOL. I.

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tion can not be so great in the community. Others hereby will accumulate that wealth which by right belongs to the bulk of those people. And these gainers, who are conversant with practical trade, are enabled by their extra-gains to trade on terms too low to admit the middling traders to get a livelihood, according to their rank of life.

SUPPOSE a man, for instance, in trade with 10,000 £., and the reduction of interest has brought many such into several retail trades: suppose such a one, in order to turn his stock once in the year, will vend his goods at 10 per cent. profit; this will produce 1000 £. per Annum: let another in the same trade worth 1000 £. only, sell at the same rate, (as he must, or have little business) and let him be supposed to turn such a lesser stock twice a year; which, since giving credit is become so general, is as often as such a stock in retail trade can be generally turned; and this, though it may produce 200 £. per Annum, is very insufficient to bear all the charges of trade, and support and provide for such a family as it is reasonable they should live; whilst the other trader, making 10 per cent. on his 10,000 £. trading-stock, may still more and more encrease it, at the same time that he is bringing on the ruin of many that have but middling capitals. Whence not only the labouring mechanics, but numbers of the other middling people in general, must with them be dispossessed of that share of property,

perty, to which their condition and the good of the community entitle them; for that community will be more powerful, and most happy, that abounds most with people of those middling fortunes. As there do not appear any other more simple and effectual means, whereby property can be diffused amongst the people in general as those submitted; so whenever property shall become thus diffused, it will be sufficiently so, and administer to mankind all the terrestrial felicity their natures seem capable of: whatever there shall then be in the conditions and circumstances of men, they will be such only as the author of nature intended; such as are inseparably connected with civil government, wherein there must be high and low, as long as it shall subsist.

IT may also deserve consideration, whether it will not follow from such like policy, that luxury, so far as it is shall be judged detrimental to society, may not be removed. We would not call that state equipage, or way of living, which is suitable to the rank and condition of men, luxury, injurious to society, how pompous soever; if it be restrained within the limits of his estate, to a degree, as will admit of his making provision for his family, according to his rank and dignity; for such splendid living is useful to the community, especially while so prudentially circumscribed. As that man only can be said to be luxurious, in a sense hurtful to society, who

[36]

exceeds those bounds; so that nation only can be said to be luxurious, when the people too generally exceed in this respect. That this may be the case of a nation; we may take for granted, and admit, that the one must be reduced to distress, as sure as the other.

THE cause of such national luxury, is owing to too great an inequality of property; whereby too many are enabled to live excessively sumptuous and splendid; whilst the rest, having far less than they really want, are too much depressed: the one side is idolized for their wealth, the other contemned for their poverty. Between these extremes, the chasm seems to be too wide; whence the opulent are imitated, beyond proper limits, by most of those circumstanced within the extremes; which begets luxury detrimental to themselves and families, and not so beneficial to the community as their well regulated luxury might prove.

BUT were property to be diffused, as has been shown it may and ought to be, the labour &c. of people would not come so unreasonably low, as to support such excess on the one hand, or depress the rest to such degree on the other. The natural and just diffusion of property will not only eradicate the luxury injurious to the state and to individuals, but extinguish vice and immorality therewith. For the too great inequality of property, is the source of depravity, and general poverty;

[37.]

poverty; and vice will ever be connected therewith.

INCREASING the produce of the land, will naturally diffuse such increase amongst the lower and the middling people who alone want it: this will remove the pernicious luxury, that being founded on the too great inequality of property: hence it seems to appear that luxury is not the cause, but the effect of a decay of trade, since such decay is nothing else but the mass of the people wanting many things, which they have a natural right to: and which, for want of employment it is out of their power to procure.

AMIDST the various public benefits attending the effectual execution of this measure, it will not prove the least to many, by preventing the too great a reduction of the interest of money; because the continual inclosing and cultivating so much waste land, as will be needful to the universal diffusion of the plenty hereby recommended, will not only make abundance of estates to be purchased, that are now not worth one fourth, perhaps, of what they will be when improved: but such policy will raise vast quantities of produce and manufactures, to invest that money in; whereby the government may, by wise management, be able to discharge a considerable part of the public debts; which money, if not this way employed and realized, will come again to mar-

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[38]

ket to seek interest: this will fall the interest; or, which is equivalent, the premiums on money at interest will advance, in such proportion, as the plenty of such money shall encrease; which premiums, with the interest thereof, must in the end be lost, in consideration of receiving three or two per cent. for a time, instead of such interest, as the plenty of money, seeking interest, would naturally bear.

NOR will the nation be able to discharge its public debts, without great public injury, unless the price of all things can be lowered in such proportion as the public securities shall be paid off: for such securities having the operation of money, will keep up the price of all things, in proportion to the quantity. Ought not this to allarm us more if the destructive system of encreasing the public debts shall be still prosecuted? Can any measures prove more effectual to the ruin of our trade, and the introduction of universal poverty, distress and calamity? Will not these things prove unequal to plague, pestilence and famine?

BUT the executing of what is contended for will enable the government gradually to reduce the national debts, and the taxes, without injury, either to the moneyed or trading interest. For, as the produce of the earth, and the consumption thereof, will certainly be greatly encreased, those things always going together, the revenue will encrease likewise: since the malt tax, excise on beer, duty

[39]

duty on leather, and tallow, and whatever other articles of the natural produce are taxed would be augmented as the produce and the consumption should be augmented: if at the same time also the circumstances of the people in general shall become amended, as seems apparent they cannot fail; so every thing being made considerably cheaper, the government will be able to effect all their dealings and negotiations with as much less money as the prices of labour, and goods of all kinds shall hence be reduced: and, therefore, will have an additional revenue, not only by the augmentations, but by being enabled to purchase every thing, that they may require, with much less sums than now: and this difference being considerable may gradually constitute a new *Debt-Paying-Fund*, to reduce the public incumbrances, since the old *Sinking fund* is likely to be always otherwise appropriated.

IF it should be objected, that, to effect this intention, the land tax will lessen with the rents of lands; whence the revenue in this branch will diminish—To this, it may be replied, that if we add the land tax, which may be further raised on so great an addition of land, as must every year be put into cultivation, to hold the needful proportion to the natural encrease of mankind; this additional land tax, will contribute so much to prevent any diminution in this part of the revenue. And, if the people encrease, as trade becomes

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[40]

relieved and extended, which is a truth known that they always will, even to a maxim; there can be no doubt that the revenue will soon be augmented in this branch of it.

THIS design seeming to have a natural and practicable tendency to enable the nation to pay its debts, it will enable the government, to ease the people greatly of taxes. And if every thing will always find its true value, which is an axiom in trade, land, which is the most certainly valuable of all things, must do so too: wherefore, if these taxes appropriated for the payment of interest of the public debts, were all taken off our native commodities, the land would necessarily bear as much higher price, as the present taxes now subtract from the price of our commodities—For, if taxes were taken off the native commodities, they would come cheaper: this would encrease the consumption. Now, since every thing absolutely necessary is the produce of the land, the encrease of the demand for that produce, will encrease the demand for land; and that will necessarily raise the rents, even till all the money now paid for taxes, together with the charges of their collection, will come to the landholder's share. Nor can this be otherwise, unless the money circulating be insufficient to augment the rents so much; and though it may not be so much; yet if the taxes were taken off native commodities, the money would be found sufficient to augment the rents, equal
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[41]

to the taxes that it would be needful to lay on the land: or, at least, it would prevent any considerable fall of the present rents of lands in general; even though so much land were to be added in cultivation, as would be needful to answer the end proposed.

THE taking off the taxes on goods alone will not sufficiently in the end lower their price to the consumer, without the effectual execution of the land-cultivation co-operating therewith; because the price of commodities in general depends on the quantity of money circulating, and its representative paper-credit. What advantage then, it may be asked, will the taking off taxes on native goods be to trade? To which it may naturally enough be answered; That the hands now employed in raising the taxes on commodities, would be gained to contribute their quota of skill and labour to encrease the public stock; who now, by living on the public, eat up so much of its stock as their whole support amounts to, and are thereby a double loss to the nation of so much. Besides, the benefits that will arise to trade, by taking the taxes off our native goods, must be measured by the general burthen that attends taxes on those commodities: and are they not sensibly felt by all to be a great clog and incumbrance to our commerce? Will not the advantages thereto arising by taking them off commodities, be as sensibly experienced by all, since they are opposites which equal each other.

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[42]

THAT as little inconveniency may arise as the nature of things will admit, in carrying a matter of this kind into execution, the taxes should be as gradually taken off our native commodities, as the proposal can be gradually executed; that the officers in the revenue, who may be gradually discharged, may get their livelihood in such a way as will encrease the public stock of plenty; and that we may, at length, have none to succeed to live on the labour of the industrious, as multitudes always must *, so long as any taxes are raised on our native commodities especially.

BUT if, after all, it should be found true, that we cannot throw hands enough into

* Amongst the mass of people, there is not above one half labouring or manufacturing. For suppose we have 8 millions of people, and that the limits of the age of labour be placed between 13 and 63, and that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the people are between these ages; from these we must deduct at least $\frac{1}{6}$; under the following classes; females, sequestrated from labour by the condition of their sex; the idle, by rank or choice; men of professions, such as vend the manufactures of others, the sick and impotent. By this computation, there only remains one half labouring and manufacturing: but we can hardly believe there are above 3 million of working people. The price of labours rises in proportion to the scarcity of labourers; they being somewhat like their commodities, dear in proportion to their scarcity. Any number of labouring people setting idle increaseth the price of labour, double to the proportion which that number bears to the whole. Suppose, for example, 3 millions of labouring people, and 30,000 men carrying arms, or levying taxes; 30,000 is one per cent. on 3 millions, and these living on the labour of the rest, makes another one per cent, in all two per cent, or double the proportion.

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[43]

tillage, &c. to carry this proposal into execution to the full end aimed at; must not this be a cogent reason for carrying the same as far as it may be? Since it is so much more for the happiness of mankind, rather to want hands to do all work that may be required in a state than to have a great number of hands to spare, as are now degenerated into vagabonds; relieved by the public, or perishing for want of work enough to render labour so valuable, as to be a sufficient motive to render them industrious.

HOWEVER idle our working people may be; that is for want of being rightly governed; and this is nothing criminal on their part; for the working people would work far more than they do, if they were sufficiently encouraged. For I take it for a maxim, that no class of people will ever want industry, if they do not want encouraging motives thereto. The truth of which is no less undeniable, than that the consumer, if he had money to pay, and was willing to purchase, never yet went without any staple commodity whatever; or indeed, without any other common thing he wanted.

THAT our working people are well disposed to labour, when duely encouraged, is plain from hence: that in a time of general mourning for a prince, when abundance of goods are required to be made in a short time, we know the weavers, dyers, taylors, &c. do, at such times, work almost night and day,
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[44]

only for the encouragement of better temporary wages, which an extraordinary demand for any goods is necessarily connected with: if this is done to cloathe so great a part of the people in the kingdom in so short a time, as we usually see on such occasions; is it not apparent, that the working people not only can, but would do a great deal more work than they do, if they were encouraged in a proper and effectual manner, by prevailing motives to industry and sobriety? And such may be easily suggested upon the principles whereon we have reasoned.

THE execution of this proposal should seem to be the natural way to extend dominion, and introduce liberty amongst mankind. For, wherever so much land is continually put to use, which shall call for all the hands, which trade and manufactures will suffer to employ themselves this way: and as this will necessarily give full employment to all the people, and create such plenty of every thing, that the meanest of the people will certainly find a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families; so it will infallibly draw the industrious labouring people to forsake every arbitrary and oppressive government, to find such a settlement, as the business which so much land continually added and improved will certainly provide for them.

THE government finding difficulties enough to raise men at a great expence in
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time of war, for the military and naval services, might it not be a prevailing and effectual inducement to numbers to enter into the service chearfully; if, when they had been engaged, and behaved well therein so many years, they should be entitled, by act of parliament, to such a quantity of land, to cultivate, and such an allowance to enable them to cultivate the same? Would not the idea of their being landholders towards the end of their days, make many of them frugal, and industrious, in order to save something the better to enable them to maintain themselves comfortably; afterwards, with the governments assistance, to marry, and bring up their families to honest labour and husbandry also? Do not such-like measure seem the natural and easy ways of rendering these kingdoms more and more powerful; since it is probable that in no less than a century there would be double the number of people found in them? Nor could this well fail being the consequence, unless the neighbouring countries should follow the same measures: and then the encrease of each nation would be only such as the natural encrease of mankind will produce. But a great advantage would arise to mankind in general by this means; for happiness and liberty would become as general and as extensive, as the methods proposed should be universally practiced.

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[46]

IF it should be objected against these measures, that although we have had a late great dearth and scarcity, and consequently temporary dearth in general of the necessaries of life amongst the poor; yet this may not happen again in several years: that as things have been in the general circumstanced, we have for many years enjoyed so great a plenty of the produce of the earth, and the price has been reduced so low, and may be again, that the farmers will not be able to pay their rents; which seems to be owing to our having already broke up and improved too much land; since such plenty can arise only from having too much land in cultivation already:--If, we say, any thing in this strain should be urged, it may be observed; that the produce of the land may in some years be so plenty, and therefore so low in price as not to answer and turn to account; and that not only from the plenty of those things considered in themselves, but from the inability of the people in general to purchase them, in such quantities as their wants may require, notwithstanding their temporary cheapness; since a considerable abatement in the consumption of any thing, will operate to the reduction of its price, more than even plenty of any thing, considered with due regard to the wants of the people, will do: But if by a constant general plenty the people in general grow prosperous, they may become able to purchase double the
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quantity, which will ever keep up the price suitably to the circulating money: and the price of rents, to be raised higher will be hurtful.

MOREOVER, this objection is contrary to the nature of the thing itself; it suggesting that plenty is so enormous an evil, as in the general to ruin the farmers and gentlemen. But since a general plenty is in its own nature a general blessing; the constant promotion and encrease of the consumption thereof, should co-operate therewith, and not render that any evil which is manifestly intended otherwise: and therefore the fault must lye in our policy, not in the nature and reason of things.

IF it be true, as the objections takes for granted; that we have already so much land in use, as makes the plenty in general so great, as to reduce the price of its produce too low for the landlord to get rent for his land; yet, since it has been made appear, that more land is required in cultivation to give full employment, and a reasonable supply to all the necessary wants of the people; it will follow, whether gentlemen can, or cannot get any rents for their lands for a time, that the people in general have a just right to have so much more land cultivated, as shall be amply sufficient to give them full employment, and subsist them comfortably, not scantily and starvingly; because every person is, by nature, as much entitled to all the land he can
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cultivate, for his sustenance and use, as he is to the air, in which he breathes; for he can no more live without the one than the other. Wherefore, since mankind are all by nature born equal in this respect, it is contrary to the great law of nature to abridge any part of the human species of this their natural right; unless it can be proved, that it is for the good of individuals to be thus abridged; and that they ought either to purchase, or pay rent for the lands, whose produce their industry shall entitle them to: and this I believe no man will easily prove.

BUT we may with truth deny, that there ever was such a superabundant plenty as the objection implies, (especially if right measures are used in times of plenty to preserve against those of scarcity); but waving the latter for the present; we will only observe, that the produce of the land, when brought to market by the farmers, is always sold for ready money. Now, it is scarce possible, that any thing can be properly said to be too plentiful, for which the demand is, or may be always so great, as to make it a ready money commodity. For, if the plenty were really too great for the demand, it would, as we know many sorts of goods and manufactures are, be sold for time: and a greater plenty, than the demand requires, is the foundation of selling on credit: it follows, therefore that the produce is not too plentiful, when it can be sold in the general for ready money.

money. Victuals and drink, the only thing here concerned in the objection, are so far from being too plentiful, that they also are generally sold for ready money, even to the meanest consumer. The number of those who do not pay present money for their immediate necessaries of life, are few in comparison to others; and even these, in general pay for such necessaries in short time, unless these who never pay.

IF, therefore, it is not the general plenty of the produce, which is the occasional cause of cheapness, that disables the farmer from paying his rent, as it appears it is not; yet supposing the matter to be otherwise, it follows that gentlemen, if they would have their rents constantly paid, are under a necessity, as fast as possible, to cause so much waste land to be inclosed and improved, as shall actually reduce the present rate of labour, and encrease the consumption of the people in general to such degree, that the price which the produce of the earth will fetch at market, may always be sufficient to bear all charges, and leave an overplus to pay such rents as the land will then be found to bear. For while the necessary charges of the labour, &c. and the subsistence of the farmers continue so great, as to equal the price, the produce of the ground fetches at market; it is scarce possible that the gentlemen should have their rents duly paid; and a less rent certainly paid is preferable to one that is

[50]

uncertain, and therefore often never paid at all.

THAT the necessary charges of the labour, and the subsistence of the farmers may be so much lowered, as to leave an overplus out of the price which the produce fetches at market, sufficient to pay some rent, is certain; because, when the produce did hardly fetch $\frac{1}{10}$ part of its present rate, some rent was as certainly paid, as that we had always gentlemen, who lived on their estates. And if the lowering the rate of labour, &c. will make every thing fall, in much greater proportion than the rents, it will be evident, that an overplus must, in this case, remain to pay rent; and the gentlemen will be the richer too, for encouraging such measures, as shall be effectual to reduce the present rate of labour, &c.—And without the improvement of so much land, they are likely in a few years to get no rent at all; nor will they be in a better condition than the moneyed interest, when our public debts shall be doubled, or tripled, and our taxes so heavy as to drive our merchants into other nations—The taking off the taxes on commodities will facilitate this matter; it being certain, that those, together with their charge of collection, and also the advance on the price of goods they occasion, do at present absorb a great proportion of the rents of the whole kingdom. Nay, the gradual taking off taxes entirely from the necessaries of life, which
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[51]

the working people consume, is so absolutely needful, to co-operate with the encrease of land-cultivation, that the latter will not have the effect desired by many years so soon, as if it is gradually aided and assisted by the other measure, as the debts shall become discharged, by an effectual fund established for that purpose.

THAT which may convince every man of the truth of the prodigious augmentation of the price of goods by taxes laid thereon, is the mention only of one single instance, as a fact; which is, that when the duty on salt was taken off, it was cried about the streets at the rate of three pounds for five farthings; and, no sooner was the duty laid on again; but the price became to the consumer, (as it was before the duty was taken off) five farthings for one pound. This single instance shews the necessity of taking off gradually taxes on the necessaries of life, and that this must come in aid of the great cultivation of land, to produce the public blessings of universal plenty and prosperity hereby intended in this nation; and the execution of both in conjunction, cannot fail to answer the end.

THERE remains a difficulty or two, which, perhaps, it may be necessary to remove: it may be said, that since many estates are mortgaged, if the rents, should be considerably lowered, many of them will hardly be worth more than they are mortgaged for;
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[52]

which may prove a great hardship to such. This difficulty may be obviated, we apprehend, if the wisdom of parliament should ever take this matter into their consideration, and make an act for the enclosing of such large quantities of land, &c.; for a clause might be added thereto, that all mortgagees shall be obliged annually, or in any other manner that may seem meet, to remit or strike off such sums from the principal money lent on such estates, as may hold proportion to the fall of the rents of lands. Nor will this be any hardship to the mortgagees, since the residue of their money and interest will do, at least, all the same things which their whole sums, with the interest would have done, if no such alteration had been made, as the proposed measures are conceived to effect.

THIS also will not only prove the case of mortgagees, but of tradesmen, whose stock in hand being of our own produce, or native manufactures of any kind, will be continually falling, as fast as such produce or manufactures shall, from time to time, by their plenty, become cheaper. Nor will this be any prejudice to tradesmen, since every time they purchase in this case, such goods will be as much cheaper than when they bought last, as those commodities have fallen on their hands; and the remaining sum every way as powerful in purchasing what they may have occasion for, as the whole sums would

[53]

would have been, if no such alteration had happened in the fall of prices.

WITH relation to foreign commodities, their price depending on the markets from whence they are brought, will not for some time be affected by this measure: and as to book-debts and notes, the credit of this kind being never intended to be of any long duration, there will be no necessity of any change with respect to these things. A hardship, indeed, will fall on many, who have leases on lands; unless a clause be likewise made in the act, to give tenants the option to surrender; or make other conditions.

SINCE all trade and commerce is founded on the wants of mankind, and that these are supplied only by cultivation and tillage, and other things depending thereon; it appears to what essential causes we may attribute the decay of trade and scarcity of the necessaries of life; for such decay, and scarcity will inevitably arise from the course of things, where such an addition of land is not duey cultivated, as shall at least hold proportion to the natural encrease of mankind; and such decay is likewise the necessary consequence of taxes on native commodities, and the decrease of the national cash; since the consumption of every thing must lessen to such degree, as the circulating-money does, if the price of things in general be not reduced in the like proportions by the means we have submitted. For, if every

[54]

thing bears the same price, and the number of consumers is not lessened, it is plain, they having so much less money amongst them, they will be obliged to purchase as much fewer things, as the want of so much money will necessarily prevent them from purchasing. This will encrease the number of the poor, and make them miserable; as the want of the proportion of the cash-decrease cuts off more or less business from amongst the people: The consequence will be the same, if the people encrease, and money does not in the like degree.

THE great encrease of our paper-effects has not less contributed to the decay of trade than any thing that has been mentioned, their circulation enhancing the price of every thing amongst us above the rates our real specie would have supported them at; and that in such proportion as these paper-effects are greater than the hard money we have in circulation; this being the natural effect of any thing operating as money itself.

As an effectual beginning to a matter of this concernment, I have, in my other labours endeavoured to shew the necessity of reducing, instead of enlarging the public debts, and taxes: to which may be here further submitted to consideration: whether his Majesty might not, by giving a proportion annually of his crown lands, in proper parcels or in quit rents, or under any proper acknowledgements for a term of years, begin this good work

[55]

work of land-cultivation in England; to such persons who have behaved gallantly in the defence of their country in time of war, or have any other way promoted the public interest, as a royal reward and encouragement for such services? And whether such to whom those land-donations were made should not possess and enjoy them on such conditions only as shall tend to the cultivation of every acre within such a time, or the same shall be forfeited, and given to those, who will undertake to do it, within a reasonable time limited for that purpose?

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DISSERTATION II.

The Productions and trade of England compared with those of Scotland and Ireland, and the British plantations; and also with each other; in order further to enforce the reasonableness and necessity of England taking the measures recommended in the First Dissertation.

HOWEVER great some may conceive the advantages to be that England has over its other territories, wherewith it is united and connected; yet when duly considered, they will be found to be less considerable than what may be too generally apprehended. For Scotland as well as Ireland, and the British Northern colonies do all, more or less interfere with England in her native produce, and in some of her staple manufactures; and these distinct parts of the British empire do also greatly interfere in their produce and fabrics with each other; which can be no such advantage to either, nor to the whole kingdom, as if the commercial circumstances of the several parts of the kingdom did in no respect clash and interfere with

with each other: it would certainly prove more for the general interest of the State, that the constituent territories of the British nation, should interfere in their trade only with foreign rivals, and not with that of England, or with that of each other.

It is true, the soil of Scotland, in the general, has hitherto fallen short of that of England in fruitfulness, it being more fit for pasture than corn. They have, however, in some of the inland counties, no inconsiderable store of grain, wherewith they trade to Spain, Holland, or Norway: and this they selling cheaper than the English can afford, interferes with her grain-trade in general.

SCOTLAND also produces a great number of black cattle, as well as sheep more than can be consumed within themselves; and therefore they send considerable herds into England; to the amount of about 80,000 head of black cattle, and 150,000 sheep annually. The Scots likewise send their wool into England, a great part of which is used in making of the coarse cloths of Yorkshire and Lancashire. They do, indeed, receive a large quantity thereof again, when manufactured into cloth, as well for their own consumption as for exportation, especially to the British plantations in America: and this they can do at a cheaper rate than England can afford.

ON the North-East parts of Scotland, the wool is finer, and of a longer staple than that

[58]

that in the Southern; and the manufactures of worsted stockings made there are very fine, and employ great number of hands. Their other chief woollen manufactures are of serges, stuffs and shalloons. They have a manufacture of muslin, which employs abundance of poor in the spinning, bleaching and dressing it; and great quantities thereof are brought to England cheaper than the English can make it. The manufacture of plaiding also is no inconsiderable article, and is becomes pretty general in England, from its cheap and durable ware. The mines of lead in this kingdom are very valuable to the inhabitants, as likewise is the abundance of fine coal produced here; both which articles do not a little interfere with the like in England, because they, upon the whole, come much cheaper to both foreign and domestic purchasers than those of England. They have salt pans for the making of salt, which they do in large quantities; and this does no service to the same trade in England.

THE great support of the Scots are their linnen manufactures, and their fisheries; the former of which, since the union, has been greatly encouraged; and great quantities are consumed in England, as well as in the British plantations in America: this has damped that branch of manufacture in England, as well as interfered with that of Ireland; they both manufacturing much cheaper than can be done in England.

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[59]

THEIR fishery in Scotland in herring, salmon, cod, and white fish have greatly increased of late, and are likely to do so much more considerably. And the salt of Scotland may again be properly enough mentioned as a produce no less than a manufacture, as it is in England: we speak of it again, as it is esteemed stronger and better than that of Newcastle, so it cures their fish better, and is more desired abroad; and great quantities thereof are exported every year to Germany, Norway, and to the Baltic.

IN fine, Scotland is increased many ways in their trade, within a few years past, as well in their domestic manufactures, as in their foreign exports. And although some portion of the gains of this kingdom centers in England, from the occasional resort thither of people of distinction; yet the greater cheapness of the Scot's produce and fabrics, which have, do, and may further interfere with the like in England, or in Ireland, shows, that if England would preserve any share of these trades, they must be able to sell as cheap as the Irish and Scots can afford, or England will lose that proportion thereof, which they enjoy; because what her foreign rivals cannot supplant them in, Scotland and Ireland will.

THE balance of pure trade between Scotland and England is much to the advantage of the former; the value of the goods they receive from the latter bearing no proportion to

[60]

to that they send from the former; the one consisting chiefly in woollen manufactures, of the fine sorts only, and some silk; in the room of which England takes off their wool, their cattle, their linnen, their muslin, their corn, and great quantities of almost every species of their produce, except their fish and their salt. By this encrease of commerce, the Scots are much encreased in shipping; and they not only purchase but build ships of their own continually, especially for the West India trade, and the Southern commerce; an article, which is necessarily followed by an encrease of seamen, and all business thereon depending. By this means, Scotland must encrease daily in wealth, and in a great measure, as we have seen, at the expence of England, unless that general plenty and cheapness is introduced into England, by means of the measures urged in the first Dissertation; and then England will be upon an equality in this essential point with Scotland; and the wealth of the Scots will encrease only by the share of foreign commerce it shall maintain in conjunction with England: and will it not be better for Scotland as well as England, for the former to grow rich and powerful at the expence of other nations, not at the expence of their brethren subjects? For that ought to be considered as no benefit to the united kingdom in general; the one's gain being the other's

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[61]

loss, and of no advantage to the whole state.

THE next point that falls under view, consistent with the track of animadversion into which we have fallen, is a consideration, with regard to the trade and commerce of Ireland, as that kingdom also stands connected with England, under the same sovereign power and authority. And the whole face of this country, as well as that of Scotland, is certainly greatly changed for the better within some few years. It may be said of this country in general, that it has as good pasture as any in England, and abundance of good corn. Their cattle are very good and very plentiful. Their chief commodities for export are cattle, hides, tallow, butter, cheese, honey, wax, hemp, timber, pipe-staves, coarse rugs, shag-mantles, freezes, ratteens, camblets, with wool and woollen cloth, and also variety of fish, as salmon, herring, &c. and lead, tin and iron.

THE Irish have not only wool, fuller's earth, and numerous other of the productions of the same kind with England, and to as great perfection; but they, like Scotland, have abundantly the advantage of England in their manufacturing, by reason of their greater cheapness both of the material, and the labour of the people; which is owing to the greater cheapness of the common necessaries of life, and the greater cheapness of their rents.

IRELAND

IRELAND not being united with England as Scotland is, but governed by a parliament of their own, the English have judged it good policy to restrain, by act of parliament, the inhabitants of Ireland from exporting any woollen manufactures to any part of the world, except to England; lest, by their superior cheapness they should supplant the English at foreign markets, as much as the French, and other states have already done: so that although England cannot supply other nations so cheap as Ireland can, with woollen manufactures; and although Ireland should, by their greater general cheapness, be capable of supplying all parts of the world as cheap or cheaper, perhaps, than France; yet the English seem to think it better policy to suffer France to supplant them in the woollen trade, and that by the means of manufacturing Irish wool, than to suffer the Irish to rival the English in the woollen manufacture, although they are subjects of the same prince.

To make the Irish some return and compensation for the restriction under which they labour, in regard to their woollen fabric-exportation, the English have admitted them, not only to bring their wool to England, but also to manufacture the same in part; that is, to spin it; and quantities of their yarn are imported into Great Britain annually, and there wrought up and manufactured.

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THOUGH this policy may take off some quantity of the Irish wool; yet the British consumption of the Irish wool not taking off the whole superfluous quantity remaining in that kingdom, the Irish are still under the temptation from necessity, of clandestinely exporting their unwrought wool to France in quantities: whence it should seem to arise as a matter of doubt; whether this practice, has not proved more prejudicial to England, than if the Irish wool had been permitted to have been manufactured in Ireland? It may be said, indeed, that if the Irish were permitted to manufacture the whole of their present quantity of wool, they would establish themselves, in opposition to the interest of England in particular, as well as that of France, by dint of their greater cheapness in the sale of woollen goods at all foreign markets: and when they had once got a footing therein, they could easily supply wool enough, and manufacture the same cheap enough to ruin the whole woollen trade of England; and be capable of furnishing England herself with their manufactures cheaper than she can do.

THIS brings us home to the important point considered in the foregoing Dissertation; which is plainly this: (1) Whether, if England will retain and retrieve her woollen manufactures, by preventing Irish and English wool from going to France, and by preventing her being supplanted in the woollen trade in Europe

[64]

Europe and elsewhere ; the most natural, and the most effectual way, is not to resolve to render all her productions and her labour as cheap as the French or the Irish have them? And (2) whether any measures can more naturally and effectually answer this great national end, than those of augmenting the cultivation of fresh quantities of land ; together with the taking off gradually all taxes upon the necessaries of life, as have been submitted to consideration? For if, by these measures, England shall become capable of selling her woollen fabrics, as cheap as France, she will not only be able to work up her own wool, but the whole of the Irish. In such case, France could not purchase it, nor Ireland be under any temptation to let any other nation have it but England.

THIS would not only prove the means of England's regaining the whole woollen trade that she has lost by French policy, but she might, by continuance of the same measures, retain and preserve the same, when she had once full possession thereof ; for as this would encrease the general balance of trade in her favour, it would supply a sufficiency of cash to extend her trade as she pleased, by dint of the cheapness of the necessaries of life, and the cheapness of labour : and whenever it was found that either grew so dear as to give foreign rivals the opportunity to supplant her ; she would know, from experience, how she might prevent the evil. For when the wealth
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[65]

of the nation encreased too much, and the price of commodities encreased as the money did, she must have recourse to the cultivation of more land, as the people and the trade encreased : and would not England, and Wales, Scotland and Ireland afford as much land as the British empire should ever stand in need off in Europe? But if we should want more, would not our dominion in trade and in navigation afford us territorial dominions sufficient in other parts of the world, whither we could transplant our people ; if we should ever stand in need of occupying more lands than we already have for their sustenance as they shall multiply, according to the course of nature and a continued prosperity?

By thus rendring all things, and all labour cheap and plentiful in England, she would be, in those respects, upon a par and equality with Scotland and Ireland ; and those parts of the British empire will be roused and animated to trade with other nations, and grow wealthy and powerful by commerce with them, instead of preying at all upon England, or interfering with her in their productions or in their arts and manufactures.

THE three kingdoms being reduced to a level, in relation to the general price of the necessaries of life, and of all labour and ingenious arts ; it may, perhaps, be then the happy point of time for the wise statesmen of both countries to think of the union of Ireland with Great Britain, and take off all
VOL. I. F restric-

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restrictions upon the trade of the former; but if England does this before she is capable of selling her commodities as cheap as the Irish can do theirs, it will be in the power of Ireland, in conjunction with Scotland, to ruin the commerce and navigation of England, more than it is in that of France.

NOR can any other measures, perchance, so naturally pave the way to such a desirable union, without England's becoming an inferior and dependent province to Ireland, and to Scotland likewise; for as England, by this means, will be able to sell her commodities as cheap as either Ireland or Scotland, she will thereby maintain her superiority of commerce and navigation over the other two in her staple manufactures, she having already obtained so much the start of them therein: but while the price of those merchandises continues so considerably lower in Scotland and Ireland than they are in England, the trade of the latter must inevitably decline, and that of the former inevitably advance: and if they do not advance so rapidly in the woollen manufactory, and others whereon England has laid restrictions, in regard to that of Ireland; they will advance in all other branches that shall be left open to them, while England will dwindle therein; and in consequence of their daily declension in their greatest staple, their other branches cannot fail to dwindle away likewise; for such are the connections, and dependency of
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[67]

one branch of commerce upon another; and so greatly does one capital staple tend to promote the sale of other inferior ones, that if a nation loses a principal branch, it cannot be long before she shares the same fate, in regard to many others; for the same cause will be productive of the same effect, as well in one as in another branch of trade.

IF Ireland or Scotland shall not be suffered to embrace the trade that England cannot be able to keep and preserve, foreign nations will run away with it. That England must lose her woollen and other chief branches of her trade, if she continues in her old tract of policy is certain; for the encrease of public debts and public taxes can never tend to render her commodities cheaper: as such measures, on the contrary, must render them dearer and dearer, England must remain in the infallible road to ruin, unless she falls upon effectual means to prevent the same, by lowering the price of her commodities to the standard of that of France, and other rival nations: and if any measures can more naturally tend to that end, than those that have been suggested, I will most cheerfully give up my own sentiments, adopt the better, and endeavour to support and defend them; for the great end I would aim at is to reduce the prices of English commodities as low as those of any rival nation.

So peculiarly circumstanced are the commercial affairs of England at present, that it

is not only Scotland and Ireland that are gaining daily a part of her trade, by reason of their greater cheapness of commodities, wherein the trade of England principally consists; but her own plantations in America likewise have been making inroads upon her trade; and especially in the article of grain from the Northern colonies; which have interfered with various branches of our corn trade to the streights, as well as to Spain and Portugal. Do not all these trades of Great Britain in general, therefore, conspire to the destruction of that of England in particular? And if the Northern colonies are permitted to go on advancing in those branches, which shall interfere with many of those of Great Britain, Scotland and Ireland too; these colonies will, in length of time, become detrimental instead of beneficial to their mother-country. And so illy regulated have been the productions of those colonies, that many of them do not less interfere in their commodities with each other, than they do with those of their parent state; which, I humbly conceive, has proved an egregious mistake in our plantation politics, and an effectual remedy ought to be seriously thought of.

BUT how comes it to pass that our plantation trade has interfered with the grain trade of England in particular? Is it not by reason that they can afford to sell cheaper than she can do? Is not this the fundamental source of all our evils, proceeding as well from those limbs of our own nation, as from the ability
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of foreign competitors to undersell and undernavigate us in every branch of traffic?

DOES not here open to England a very melancholy and destructive scene to her trading interest? Do we not see, that England and Scotland, and England and Ireland, and Ireland and Scotland are in some measure competing with each other in their general commerce? And have we not experienced that our Northern plantations are likely in many essentials to rival them all, and even one another to the great detriment of each, and the no less injury of the whole?

CERTAIN it is far better for the nation in general, that Scotland and Ireland, and her British plantations should possess such share of trade that England loses, than that foreign nations should engross it; because a great proportion of their gains centers in England, she holding the seat of legislation, which draws spending money from all parts of her dependent territories. This may enable England, for some time, to hold up her head, and appear of a gay and florid complexion; while she is going into a galloping consumption; for if her solid trade and navigation decline, the seat of her treasure will be transferred elsewhere; she may have the external, and transitory appearance of riches and splendor, while her inferior and dependant states shall enjoy the substantial and permanent.

INSTEAD of suffering the commerce of England to be transferred to any of her de-
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[70]

pendent dominions at her expence, would it not prove the more eligible policy for Great Britain and Ireland to strive to grow wealthy and powerful at the expence of foreign rivals; at the expence of those, who are struggling not only to deprive them all of their trade and navigation, but what is still more invaluable; of their constitutional liberties? This is the great point that I would labour. I would not be misunderstood, by any means, to contend for the encrease of the trade of England at the expence of those of Scotland or of Ireland, or of the British plantations: no, but we would desire that Great Britain and Ireland would so wisely regulate their respective trades as to interfere as little as possible with each other, and as much as may be with those foreign nations that are arduously striving to ruin the commerce and navigation of them all.

If this shall be thought sound policy, the next point that will naturally fall under consideration will be, what measures may be necessary for Great Britain and Ireland to take to prevent their interfering so greatly as they do with each other in their produce and fabrics: and how, and by what means they may all act in concert to interfere as much as may be with the commerce of those who are labouring to ruin them all? The answer to these questions, we apprehend, is plain and obvious: let England, Scotland and Ireland, endeavour gradually as much as possible, by
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[71]

wise laws and regulations, that the produce of their lands and their manufactures interfere as little as possible with each other, unless for their own domestic sustenance and support: and let their agriculture, and their arts be levelled as much as possible against those of rival trading nations, according to the demand, and to afford those materials that we are obliged to take from other nations: and let also the British plantations follow the same maxims: let them gradually strive to interfere as little as possible in their productions and manufactures with those of their mother country, or with those of each other; and let their agriculture and their arts be levelled as much as possible against those of rival trading nations, and not against these of their brethren colonies in particular— These are the general principles, which I would labour to establish: but policy of this kind has its limits and restrictions from a well known and allowed maxim in trading states *viz.* that no trading nation can maintain an intercourse of commerce with others, if they expect to sell all, and to purchase no commodities in return: our general principles, wisely restrained and regulated by this latter general maxim, we are willing to believe, will be found to be good policy in a trading state, so circumstanced in its territories as England is, and as its present connections with other nations are.

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[72]

WHAT the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British plantations in America, may produce, is not easy to say: but I am inclined to believe, that there are few productions in nature, but may be discovered or produced, in the territories belonging to the crown of England; or, in such as she might possess herself of at small expence: and what productions there might be raised in her European dominions alone, by the arts of cultivation, no one can peremptorily affirm; being of opinion that the arts of husbandry and agriculture are very far from being brought to their ultimate perfection.

Do we not well know, that the bulk of the productions of England have sprung from exotic transplantations? We are very superficial yet in the manuring of lands; and far more ignorant in the principles of nature, which are the efficient causes of vegetation. And, if we are so greatly unacquainted with nature's principles, it is no wonder that we should be unknowing in their application, the better to aid her prolific operations. I have known farmers to send all the year round above ten west country miles for manure, when they have had under their very nose that which was far preferable, but were quite blind and ignorant of the valuable treasure that daily presented itself to their view.

HOWEVER, it may be useful to many gentlemen, who may take pleasure as well as find benefit and advantage in giving admonitions

[73]

to some of their tenants, to throw before them an abstract of the general and essential principles of the known husbandry, as it is practised in several counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to their various soils and circumstances. This I am the rather induced to, as it may tend to the improvement of waste lands, in order to afford that general plenty and prosperity we have endeavoured to introduce.

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DISSERTATION III.

A summary of various general principles of agriculture, founded on experience, for the improvement of lands, in order to answer that general plenty and prosperity in England aimed at by the preceding papers.

I. **W**ET lands; of which three sorts are cultivated. Such as lye on a slope are drained by cutting trenches. If the water proceeds from a spring they turn it's course, by making a bank of the earth that is dug out of the trenches.

LANDS bordering upon rivers, never produce so much as after the winter floods, because they generally leave a fat slime behind them. Those lands are, therefore, always ready to produce, as it were, without the help of art. But that advantage is sometimes overbalanced by the mischief occasioned by the summer floods. To guard against them, as much as possible, such lands are surrounded with hedges and deep ditches.

THE best of all lands are the marshes near the sea. These are very proper to fatten cattle in a short time. Experience shews that

that sheep never got the rot there. When a flock begins to be infected with that distemper, it is immediately driven down to the marshes, and if it be not too late, recovers. So at least it has been judged, by the opening of several of those creatures who had been visibly ill of that distemper, and in whom that part of the liver that had begun to rot, was found dry: an indisputable proof of the necessity of mixing a great deal of salt with the food of cattle. Those marshy lands require a great expence in banks and deep ditches to prevent the water's lodging upon them; and especially the sea water. They are likewise apt to want fresh water, which in this case must be carried thither. Care is likewise taken to plant them with trees and high hedges, to shelter the flocks from the summer's heat and winter's cold.

II. Chalky, or marley land, of which there are five sorts, is frequently of a fat and cold nature.

THE first sort, which is brown with bluish veins and mixed with little heaps of lime stones, is called *Cowshult-marle*.

THE second is called *Slate-marle*; it is of a bluish cast and dissolved in water.

THE third kind is called *Delving-marle*, a word used in mining, and is close, strong, and very fat.

THE fourth is the *Clay-marle*: it is much of the nature of pipe maker's clay, but fatter, and is sometimes mixed with chalk stones.

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[76]

THE fifth and last, is known by the name of *Steel-marle*. It divides spontaneously into square pieces, and is commonly found in digging of wells. The good, or bad quality of that marle is not so easily known by its colour as its pureness; that is to say the least mixed, is the best. It ought to break into little square pieces, and be quite smooth and soft without any mixture of sand or gravel. If it scales off like a slate, and after being wet, dries again in the sun and crumbles into dust, it is a sure sign of its being good. No judgment can be formed of its goodness by its feeling slippery, oily, or glutinous; for the mines afford enough which is pure, dry, easily broke in pieces, and is clammy when wet.

WHAT is called chalkey or marley land, is very common with us, where they distinguish between that which is hard, dry, stiff, and therefore fittest to burn; and that which is soft and fat, easily dissolved by water, or a thaw after frost. This last is fit for tillage, and for manuring almost all other lands, but more especially those which are of a cold sharp nature. To that end a load of it is mixed with two or three loads of dung, mud, or mould, and that mixture is afterwards spread over the fields or meadows.

THOSE lands are naturally full of poppies, and all other sorts of weeds that grow in hot and dry soils. They are fit for sain-foin, or clover, and, when a little fattened, do very well

[77]

well for lucerne. They are generally sowed with wheat, barley, and oats.

THE proper manure for such lands is sheep's dung, common dung, old rags, pairings of cloth cut into little bits and thrown over the land just after sowing.

If it happens to rain immediately after sowing, before the corn has sprouted, that kind of land is apt to bind so hard that the shoot cannot pierce through it. The farmers, in Hertfordshire, remedy that inconvenience by dunging that kind of land with dung half rotten, with which some mix a certain quantity of sand. They are generally sowed with wheat, meslin corn or barley. Only after the wheat is off the ground, a crop of pease or tares succeeds.

A THIRD quality is *clay-lands*, of which we distinguish five sorts. The first, called pure clay, feels as soft and smooth as butter, without mixture of sand or gravel; and the purer it is the more perfect it is reckoned: it divides of itself into several qualities, some fit for fuller's earth, and others for manure. The Northampton fuller's earth is yellowish, that of Hallifax brown, and in the lead mines in Derbyshire it is whitish. That sort is thought the best.

PURE clay is likewise found in marle pits, and is of a pale yellow.

ANOTHER kind called *soap-scales* is found in coal pits.

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[78]

AND lastly, there is a bluish brown kind of clay, by some called indifferently clay and marle. It is of great service in manuring poor light and sandy soils. That custom was first introduced, or rather revived in Yorkshire. It is commonly found on the sides of hills, under a layer of sand about four or five feet deep. The clay being found, a well is dug about eight or ten feet deep, and fifteen or twenty feet square. Good clay is bluish without any mixture of sand, close, fat, and very weighty; that kind is fittest to make bricks. It is dug about midsummer, when the weather is dry. A field well manured produces plenty of barley the first year, of a bad colour but large grain, which the following years is full and round like wheat. Experience shews that this manure lasts many years. When the land begins to grow poor and hungry, the same manure must be repeated. Sandy lands, for which clay is proper, will never produce any thing but rye, whatever other manure be given them, even though it be chalk: but when once properly clayed, they are fit for oats, barley, pease, &c.

THE Second kind is a rough clay that crumbles into dust when dry. It is properly chalk. This kind comprehends other qualities of clay used by potters, which are of a deeper or paler yellow, blue, or red, and more or less fat.

THE

[79]

THE third is a stone when dry; it is white, blue, and red.

THE fourth contains a mixture of sand or round gravel.

THE fifth kind is known by a mixture of fat, or very fine sand, and shining talc. A white clay of that kind is found in Derbyshire. The Nottingham ware is made of it. There is likewise another sort, which is grey or bluish, and is used at Halifax to make tobacco pipes. The exportation of this last, as well as of the first kind is forbid under pain of death.

ARABLE clay lands are black, blue, yellow, or white. The black and yellow are thought best for corn; some of them are fatter, and some more glutinous than others; but they are all in general apt to hold water, by which quantities of bad weeds are produced, poisonous to cattle, and especially sheep. Those lands shrink in dry weather, are hardened by the sun and wind, and at last split and crack, whereby they are impregnated with the nitrous particles of the air. Most of them are fit for wheat, barley, peas, and beans; and especially, if they contain a mixture of chalk stones. The best are proper for lucerne, and that kind of artificial meadow called rye-Grass. They bear their manure better than any other; and that generally is horse, pidgeon's and sheep's-dung, hot marle, malt-dust, ashes, lime, chalk, and foot. Ashes
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[80]

are esteemed and found by experience to be one of the best manures for land, if judiciously applied. Ashes of heath, fern, broom, rushes, reeds, and in short, of all kinds of vegetables are good; but nothing is better, nor more lasting than coal-ashes, especially for cold lands. Care must be taken to preserve them from rain, which, by washing would carry off their salts: when that accident does happen, the remedy is to water them with urine or soap-suds. This preparation is very good in all cases; for two loads of ashes so prepared, will have a greater effect on an acre of land than six loads of common ashes unprepared.

A FOURTH quality is gravelly and sandy lands. But little can be made of them, because most of them are barren and liable to be parched up by heat, or to suck in too much wet when it rains. They then produce nothing but moss, or are covered with a kind of crust. Those that have a little mould at top, or a gravelly bottom, sometimes produce very good grass and are used for grazing; because, if on one hand they are soon parched, on the other the least shower of rain revives them. Lands that are a pure sand, are white, black, bluish, red, yellow, and some harder than others. Some too are of a grey colour, and they are generally covered with heath, and are used for feeding cattle. Gravelly lands are of much the same nature: the most stony, mixed with a rough sand, are the most barren,

[81]

ren. The best of those lands are sowed with rye, black corn, and turnips to feed cattle. The best manure for them is a kind of clay, which dissolves when wet, mud, cow-dung, and old thatch half rotted on the dunghill.

THE way of manuring mossy grounds in Hertfordshire, is to burn, and then plow them. They yield one or two good crops of rye, and afterwards make excellent pasture lands.

BEFORE we leave these arid soils, it may not be improper to observe, that sand is by no means useless in the cultivation of cold lands, nor strong clay to prevent their binding. River sand, or that which rain washes down from hills, is generally thought the best. Some stall their sheep in winter, but that custom is far from being common: some loads of sand are put into those stalls twice a week, and when mixed with the urine and dung of the cattle, is an excellent manure.

SEA SAND is likewise made great use of near the coasts. It is generally red, blue, grey, or white: the two first sorts are best. When spread upon the land it is ploughed in, and serves for four succeeding crops; after which the ground lies fallow, and serves for pasture, six or seven years; at the end of which it is manured and ploughed again. It is observed, that the grass that grows in those fields fattens cattle very soon, and gives them a great quantity of excellent milk. The corn that

VOL. I. G grows

[82]

grows upon them is short stalked, but the ears are very long and big.

A FIFTH quality is brick-lands: they differ from clay lands in this, that the water filtrates easily through them, and they are not stoney. Their natural productions are broom heath and all sorts of weeds. The best, when well dunged, are sowed with barley, oats, wheat, buck-wheat, turnips and pease. Some are sowed with clover or lucerne, but in general that does not last: they are turned into artificial meadows, to which end rye grass is best; the fittest manure for such lands is marl and coal ashes.

BUT a mixture of those Brick earths with others, is thought a very good manure, as being the medium between two extremes, binding such lands as are too friable, and cooling such as are too hot.

STONEY lands are a sixth quality: they are generally a mixture of several sorts of earth; their fruitfulness and culture depend on the nature of that mixture. If those stones are of a cold quality, the farmer endeavours to clear his land of them; except in dry and light grounds, where they are left.

WHEN the land is poor and mixed with small stones of the nature of free stone, or when the soil is stoney and mixed with a four earth, as in Oxfordshire, it is cultivated according as it bears more or less weeds. If there be a great many weeds, the land is burnt towards July or August. Such is the method

[83]

method practised in all barren, sour, heathy and rusty lands, whether hot or cold, wet or dry: and they produce in two or three crops, all expences deducted, more than they would have sold for.

WHEN the land we are speaking of is not very much covered with weeds, it is ploughed early in the year, that it may afterwards be covered with young weeds to shelter it from the summer's heat; others pen their sheep upon it during winter, and sow a little grass; or only strew dung over it and leave the stubble standing. In the months of september, october, or november, which ever it has most weeds in, the land is prepared. That method has been found to succeed better in such lands than regular tillage does.

THE stoney lands in England being generally of a clayey nature, are best managed nearly in the same manner.

THE artificial meadows beforementioned, are one of the great sources of the riches of our agriculture. The feeding of cattle on them is no detriment to tillage; either because grazing is in itself a sufficient profit, or because it is a real addition to the fruitfulness of the lands. So that part of the corn lands of a farm, is alternately ploughed and sowed with great or small lucerne, clover, sain-foin, turnips, or rye grass; which last, we may observe, is so little known in France, that they have not even a word to express it by. Nor do the

[84]

French at all equal the English in their other meadows: for which reason they are greatly inferior to them in flocks and herds of cattle of all kinds. For that very reason, supposing all other things equal, their harvests must be less plentiful, their agriculture less profitable, and their people not so well fed. Rye-grass is one of the best and richest kinds of artificial meadow, because it grows in all sorts of cold, sharp, clayey and moist lands, as well as in the driest, poorest, stoniest, lightest and most sandy soils, where even sain-foin would not thrive. It bears heat extremely well, and is the first provender that is mowed, for it may be cut in spring. It grows mild with keeping; horses can have no better food, and it is of wondrous efficacy for sheep when disordered. Three bushels generally sow a statute acre of 160 square perches, at 16 feet and a half to the perch. The best way is to mix with it a little lucerne or non-pareil seed, commonly called Constantinople or Bristol flower. The reason of that mixture is, because the blade of rye grass is naturally very weak and thin, and if not helped with something else, will not cut through the first year. Four acres sowed in that manner, have produced 40 quarters of seed, and fourteen loads of hay, besides the fatening of seven or eight cows in spring, and as many in autumn.

EXPERIENCE is the best of teachers in all things, especially so in agriculture. It were

[85]

were greatly to be wished that those, who have the happiness of living on their own estates, would take that method of recreating themselves, and of encreasing their incomes. Great experiments are always imprudent; but to make small trials, would be attended with a very trifling expence. The only way to have a complete body of agriculture would certainly be, to collect together the several observations made in every county, on every kind of soil. But little instruction can be expected from those only who have the guidance of the plough.

THESE are the general principles of agriculture as practised in many parts of this kingdom; and if judiciously applied, may improve variety of soils both for pasture and arable occasions. Some who have been enriched by a clay, have been undone by following the same rules upon a sand. Thus it appears, that an art is only the true knowledge of nature, and that those who do not know the natural foundation of what they profess are no artists.

THE extraordinary improvements that have been made in Great Britain and Ireland, in the tillage and cultivation, should encourage our attempts in the raising, within ourselves, and in our plantations, many kinds of materials that we are under the necessity of importing from other nations, in order to carry on commerce and navigation.

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As every distinct animal has its climate and food natural to it, so has every vegetable production; and thus in all plantations we make, we ought to observe what element, situation and soil relates to each, if we would be sure of success.

To judge rightly of the method of treating exotic productions brought to us from several parts of the world, we must consider, first the soil of the country they grow in, which we must imitate as near as possible. Secondly, the time of the spring in the country they are natural to, and as near as may be the degree of heat in that time of spring; for as every vegetable has its appointed times of rest and growth, it would be unnatural to force its growth, when nature ordained its repose, or to abandon it to repose, when it requires assistance, by a warmth agreeable to its own country spring. To know the time of spring natural thereto, is to observe the latitude of the country it thrives in, and to consider the degree of heat natural to the climate in the time of its spring. To judge of which is to observe in what zone it lies; whether in the torrid, the frigid, the temperate, or from the polar circles to the poles themselves.

THOSE vegetables, which grow between the equinoctial line and the tropic of cancer, as to the northward, or towards us, we suppose, have their spring as soon as our days lengthen: as the sun approximates to us more and more, all the places between that line and

[87]

and the tropic are gradually enlivened with spring. At the same time, while the sun moves this way to its boundary or tropic, which is about 23 degrees north latitude, the influence thereof has its operations on every thing gradually from the tropic to the polar circle, and from that to the pole itself: so that if we judge of the latitude, and the time and degrees of heat progressively moving through them, we may also judge what our British territories in Europe, America, and in Africa, would produce; and there would be few particulars essential to our commerce but what we might raise in our own territories.

It is but since queen Elizabeth's time that they had any settled notions of agriculture in England. Mr. Hartlib, who wrote in Cromwell's time, says in his legacy, that the old men, in his days, remembered the first gardeners, who came over to Surry, and sowed turnips, carrots, parsnips, early pease, and rape; which then were great rarities in England, being imported from Holland. They introduced, at that time, the planting of cabbages and colliflowers, and the digging of ground for gardening stuff; and it is well known, that cherries and hops were first planted in Henry VIII. his reign, and even in queen Elizabeth's time artichokes first made their appearance, and then they had cherries still brought from Flanders, apples from France, onions, saffron, and liquorice,

from Spain ; and hops from the low countries, though they all of them have long since become natives of England. These improvements for the benefit of the landed-interest, were owing to the wise administration of queen Elizabeth's reign. And why may we not hope, and expect to make as much greater improvement in tillage and agriculture, by our land-cultivation for a century and a half to come, as we have therein made for that time past? Might we not gradually begin the improvement of new productions on our best culture, and gradually breake up fresh lands for the old, with which we are well acquainted? If such land-cultivation should take place, (as I am inclined to believe we shall be compelled to) would it not prove of singular service, if we had schools and masters of agriculture settled in proper places, with allowance, to instruct our wealthiest farmer's sons in the several arts and branches of that important business; which so many practise, and so few understand? The science of husbandry and agriculture being, according to my humble judgment, but in its infancy, why should there not be public seminaries established for its advancement as well as of any other art or mystery? Is it not this that gives mankind their daily bread? Is it not this that gives sustenance to millions of our people, and miriads of the human species throughout the creation?

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Is not this the grand art which is the foundation of all commercial materials, and dealings? Are we not, to our eternal scandal, infinitely deficient in the production of timber, and divers precious woods that we fetch from foreign climes? Is it less to our shame and reproach that we shall be obliged for hemp and flax to other nations, when we can so easily raise them within ourselves? But what an unspeakable ignominy is it, that our people are often, as they are at present perishing for want of corn, as well as meat at reasonable rates? Is not the former of these national evils to be effectually remedied by the establishment of proper storehouses and granaries? Hath not experience sufficiently manifested what advantage other nations have received, by their keeping bread at a reasonable stated price through the year? By this means, are not the workman's wages, and the value of his goods most fixt and certain? By our people, never feeding too dear, could not England often underfell our foreign rivals, instead of being always underfold by them on this and other accounts? Does not the very terror of famine make such public store-houses so frequent in Poland, Germany, Italy, Swisserland, and Geneva? Holland has not only effectually guarded against this evil within themselves, but has thereby secured the cheapness of her manufactures, and her navigation?

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[90]

By the cultivation of fresh quantities of land, England could easily supply herself, by the means of proper granaries established in the maritime counties with amply quantities of grain, as well for her own use, as exportation in time of scarcity; and she might keep the same always at near such a price, as the farmer might be encouraged to plow, and the manufacturer be able to eat and work at a reasonable price: for want of which, her trade and her tillage will ever so greatly fluctuate as to discourage both. Granaries being erected and filled under proper regulations, would free us forever from those terrible apprehensions of dearth and famine, we have so lately experienced. By having such store-houses, the government would easily judge, from the annual crops and quantities lodged in them, when it would be proper to check the exportation, from time to time; as when high prices from abroad would the emptying of those granaries too much; left by that means, we should be obliged to purchase back again corn at a more advanced price, than we received for our own. Public granaries being in England under the power of proper magistrates appointed by parliament; those erected by merchants or private societies might have the liberty of being filled from abroad occasionally, or emptied whenever their proprietors found the advantage thereof. Lesser granaries might also be erected

[91]

erected in some of the inland counties, where it should be judged convenient. To which end, the method practised by some inland countries in Europe might be introduced, if at any time a scarcity at home were apprehended; which, when that does happen, is commonly in the beginning of winter; and then an estimate should be made of the quantity of corn that every farmer possesses; who should, by law, be obliged, whenever the government apprehended a scarcity, to lodge one third part of their grain, when threshed, in those granaries, to supply the markets at home, in case the demand from abroad, were so great as to encourage such an exportation, as would leave us too small a quantity wherewith to supply our domestic wants afterwards.

THE money got for the grain sold out of those granaries, should be paid to the farmers, in proportion to the quantity each of them deposited therein. Those granaries should be filled only under these regulations, when a scarcity was apprehended at home, and when the other granaries settled in the maritime or sea-port counties were exhausted: but this kind of granary would be chiefly in use in the inland counties, where there is little water-carriage, and grain cannot be brought from distant parts, without great expence. Whence we may reasonably hope, that a beginning, in consequence of breaking up more and more land, from year to year,

[92]

year, may be made to those storehouse establishments; and when their convenience, and the profits shall be experienced, proper regulations, from time to time, will render them more and more beneficial; for the whole community would soon find the difference between a regular and constant market, and the present uncertain startings occasioned by the rise and fall of them, by reason of a glut, or a scarcity.

WHILE other nations labour to plow and enrich, even their poorest grounds, we can hardly be persuaded to break up our richest plains, which by nature seem peculiarly designed for tillage. Is it not miserable to consider how industriously the Swiflers plow the naked sides of their mountains, and the Welch struggle to force a crop from their barren rocks, while England's finest lands that would prevent a famine, are neglected? When the Poles were once endeavouring to raise the price unreasonably of their corn on the Dutch, the States ordered their ambassador to propose to the Czar; that if he would put his subjects upon tillage, they would not only buy their grain from them, but they would send them over skilful husbandmen to instruct them completely in the arts of agriculture. This proposal so alarmed the Poles, that to break off the treaty, they lowered the market, and thereby kept the Dutch their customers ever since. And is not this one of the most estimable branches of

[93]

of commerce that the Dutch possess? What hinders but England might take share in a considerable proportion of this trade? By the continued cultivation of land, in the degree proposed, according to their natural, and what their political encrease might be rendered, by attracting laborious and ingenious foreigners into the state; why might not England and Ireland too become the principal granaries of the world?

THE erecting public granaries would create this new branch of trade, which we never yet enjoyed: and how could they fail answering the same lucrative ends to us that they have long done to the Dutch? It should be considered too, that this is a solid trade, not liable to seizures at the caprice of foreign princes, to captures by privateers in time of war, to storms and shipwrecks at sea, or to the frauds of officers in remote countries. Here the provident, who store up the excess of the bounties of nature against the unavoidable calamities of bad seasons, besides the seeing our own people fully supplied, whilst our neighbours are complaining, will be benefited in their incomes, not by adding to, but redressing the grievances of the distressed poor: and as corn is seldom many years together under 40s. the storehouses proposed may pay better interest for money, than any of our present funds.

THIS cultivating and magazing in time of plenty and cheapness, will render the bounty needless on exportation of corn,

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[94]

as well as make needless those laws relating to its importation; and also against engrossers, regraters, and forestallers quite useless; for when the price of all things shall be reduced, and all taxes gradually taken off the necessaries of life, we shall be able to raise corn as cheap or cheaper than our neighbours; and we shall have no occasion for importation, which prejudices our own landed interest, but upon speculation for re-exportation to gainful markets abroad: whereby, we should have more corn, in more hands in the nation; consequently be less liable to imposition by engrossers, who in this case could afford to sell to our own people 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper than to foreigners, by the freight, charges, and risks being saved. And when any foreign demand happens, having not only our public granaries for our own supply, but also more private ones, the exportation of corn, far from being dangerous, will occasion a trade greatly beneficial.

MEASURES of this kind would prove of no little benefit to our manufactures of all sorts; as proving the natural means of keeping labour low; for as the income must bear proportion to the necessary expence; when corn, in bad years, shall be dear with our neighbouring states, their labour, and consequently their manufactures must grow dear in the like proportion; whilst our own people being supplied cheap from the granaries, will be able, by cheap labour, to bring their
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[95]

manufactures cheap to market. And will they not hereby make their way against those of foreigners, and establish a reputation difficult to be removed?

As freights also must bear a proportion to the ship's expence, whereby our owners of shipping in general will be furnished with biscuit cheaper than either the French or the Dutch; and the cheaper are our freights, will not the greater be our sea-carrying trades, the greater the increase of our seamen, and consequently the greater the increase of our naval dominion? Moreover, will not the importation of corn upon speculation for the sake of better markets, and its re-exportation when the markets shall be advanced, still more and more augment the employment of our shipping and our brood of seamen?

By this means labour will be afforded so cheap, that our people will have the more constant employment; for by our thus being always able to feed our people cheaper in times of scarcity than foreigners, they can have no pretence to the rise of their wages above them; the miseries of our poor in hard winters will be prevented, and the corn trade furnish additional business to very great numbers of the indigent.

A STATE cannot be too provident to guard against all times of scarcity; such calamitous seasons producing destructive maladies amongst the mass of the people; whereas a
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[96]

universal plenty will prevent those national distresses, and thereby preserve numberless lives : and the better the means of living are in any country, the more numerous and prosperous will the natives grow, and the more useful people from other countries will be induced to flock thither.

THE corn trade alone will thus greatly enrich England. Holland is never without prodigious quantities of corn laid up in their magazines, purchased when cheap, in order to supply other countries, to their advantage. A dearth in England, France, Italy, or Portugal has been experienced to enrich Holland for seven years after. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his observations on trade, presented to king James I, says, that in his time the Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Dutch, out of their storehouses furnished this kingdom; and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, in a year and a half, carried away near 200,000 l. sterling; and he computes their supply then for the whole kingdom carried away two millions. Had magazines of corn been erected some years ago in England, what immense sums might we not have brought into the nation in the year 1740? And whatever would in this manner cause trade to flourish, employ the poor, increase the number of industrious people, and augment the national wealth, could not fail to increase the value of our lands. For the greater the demand is for the necessaries of life, and the materials

[97]

materials of manufacture, the greater price will lands fetch, the more permanent will be the income of landholders, by enabling the people always to pay their rents. And the people in general must inevitably increase with the general plenty and felicity; and the more the people trade, the more money is brought into the kingdom, and the more money the people have, the more it will encrease, and they become double the consumers of the produce of lands and all manufacture. In all countries the natural price of home commodities is according to their plenty, the demand, and the proportion of money that the trade circulates; and the more thereof does circulate, the better rent certainly can the farmer afford to give for their lands: it is people, with plenty of money that improve lands; and the more they are improved, the better rents they will bear, which will also encrease their value in purchase.

THE gradations from the encouragement of trade to the benefit of land are solid and certain; and therefore the breaking up of fresh lands, and adding instantly to the cultivation, as the people naturally multiply, is the solid and certain way to encourage trade; and that upon the eternal basis of nature's laws. By this means we shall be soon enabled to erect public granaries of corn; which, under proper regulations, as has been observed, will prevent the price of wheat from ever sinking

[98]

so low as to ruin the farmer, but on the contrary to keep up a good price, that must at length even encrease the natural value of our lands, and enable the tenants to be certain and punctual in the payment of their rents: so that although, by the constant addition of more land in cultivation, as has been urged, the rents of lands should have a fall; yet as the universal plenty will enable gentlemen to live more hospitably and splendidly on a less real and permanent income than they do on a greater nominal one, that ebbs and flows by a precarious rental income, they must be gainers inevitably by such policy; and, therefore, at length, they will experience the necessity of promoting it.

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[99]



DISSERTATION IV.

Farther considerations on the establishment of public granaries; as recommended to the practice of France, by some of their ablest writers; and which may be considered as applicable to England in many respects, and consistent with the tenour of this work.

A MULTIPLICITY of private granaries is the first thing necessary towards keeping up a plenty of corn in the kingdom, as well as towards keeping the price pretty equal at all times, and procuring the farmer a reasonable profit.

It is a known axiom in practical commerce, that a commodity bears a low price when there are more sellers than buyers. If corn is at a very low price, the incomes of private persons must suffer; labour too must be suspended: what resource has the state left under those circumstances but to open its ports to foreigners who are willing to purchase its corn, by which the number of buyers are increased?

FOREIGNERS either consume that corn, or lay it up in their storehouses. If it be

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for their own consumption that they buy it, the quantity sold will be limited, because several corn countries will vie in supplying them. If it be to lay up, their purchases will be in proportion to the lowness of the price, and so rapid, that we are often not apprized of the too great glut, till it is felt. The hungry farmer sells as fast as he can, to supply his urgent want of money, without foreseeing a greater impending want. A bad harvest comes, and foreigners sell us back, at an advanced price, that same commodity which we suffered them to monopolize.

IF we suppose that several persons in each county lay up stores of corn in plentiful years, a proper rivalry will be much better established than when fourscore or a hundred Dutch merchants shall cause the same quantity to be bought up by a few commissioners. There will, therefore, be more buyers, and consequently the price will rise. It is so much the more certain, that that will be the case, as the Dutch merchants will try equally to take advantage of the lowness of the price, during the first months next after harvest.

THE revolution occasioned by a superabundance, will certainly be so soon over, that it cannot hurt the farmer. On the contrary he will enjoy his wealth, and enjoy it in safety. For if the next harvest should fail, every one would know that such and such granaries are full: imaginary hunger, more violent, perhaps, than real, will cause no disturbance
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[101]

in the public order. Whilst on one side those who want to buy will be easy, because they will know there is a sufficient stock to answer their demand; the proprietors of the corn knowing as well as they, the state of that commodity, will on the other hand, be fearful of losing the first opportunity that offers to sell it to advantage. They will sell, from time to time, so much at least as will secure their capital: the competition between the several quantities that are offered to sale will be a continual check on each other, prevent any one's holding his corn up at too high a price, and increase timidity in the sellers.

So active and so powerful is the principle of rivalry, that it is of itself sure to direct these various operations.

THE execution of so simple an idea can meet with but three difficulties: the opposition of the laws, the prejudices of the vulgar against storing up corn, and want of confidence.

IF the necessity of considering agriculture as an object of commerce shall be allowed, we must from thence conclude, that those laws, which cramp the corn trade in the country where produced, are incompatible with the welfare of agriculture.

THE object of trade most certainly is to establish a plenty of commodities; but the object of the trader is gain. The first cannot be fulfilled but by the second, or the hopes

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[102]

and expectation of it. What profit can be expected from a speculation on commodities which none are allowed to keep till their prices rise? Three or four plentiful harvests running, are no new thing in many countries. It has even been observed, that great scarcities have not happened, till after such repeated plenty.

THE law by which the French are forbid to keep their corn above three years, should, therefore, have had the contrary effect of what was intended by it. The wisdom of its motive, was this :

THE winters in France, and most of their corn lands, are so wet, that their corn does not keep well. The ignorance or poverty of the French farmers, added to the pernicious effects of the badness of the seasons, by the little care they took of their granaries. Hope, which will always influence and preside over human counsels, made them keep their corn on from time to time, thinking still to sell it more advantageously, whilst, in fact, they increased their loss every day. The long-expected time came at last; the granaries were thrown open, and part of what they contained was spoiled. Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken not to let the people know of its being thrown into the river, it was not possible to conceal the carriage of so bulky a commodity. Such a sight could not but pierce the hearts of the poor, and with great reason: they were inclined

[103]

clined to think those losses only artifices to enhance the price of their means of subsistence; the very uncertainty they were under of the truth of facts, and the mystery, with which that affair was conducted, all contributed to inflame their imaginations, already overheated by their wants*.

THIS reflection shews how highly valuable is the present which M. Duhamel || has made his country. He has prevented in a plain and very cheap manner, all those inconveniencies which raised the general outcry against the duke of Bourbon, and has even armed the laws against the hoarding up of corn.

LET us likewise add, that it is difficult for laws and reputation not to bear the stamp of the prejudices of the times in which they are made. The destruction of those monsters must be the work of a judicious restriction.

THE arguments we have hitherto made use of, sufficiently demonstrate the errors of popular prejudice, in relation to the profits made by the corn trade. Without those profits, trade would be at an end; and without trade, there would be no plenty. Nor shall we say much of the ridiculous error inspired

* This was in the minority of the present king of France, and owing to the duke of Bourbon's management with Paris, Vernay, and others.

|| *Traité de la conservation des grains, et en particulier du froment.*

[104]

by injurious engrossers, either great or small; if small they cannot do much hurt; and if great the laws may take cognizance of them.

But it is not enough to oppose reason against errors of this kind: to alter and direct the spirit of a nation is a work reserved to the legislator, who will be sure to succeed by respecting and favouring those that concur in his views.

THE French have already taken some steps towards the true principles and maxims to be observed, with regard to the housing of corn. It is some years since, that the government ordered all the religious houses in the kingdom of France never to be without three years provision of corn. Nothing could be better judged, nor more easily executed. In plentiful years it will not cost twice the sum of one year's provision at the medium price. Every community must be able to comply with this order, unless it be in debt; in which case the laws and public welfare require it's being suppressed, and it's possessions annexed to those of some other religious order.

To this expedient the keeper of the seals in France has added another still more extensive, and worthy his superior views. He has obliged the contractors for victualling the troops on their march, to have, during the time of their contract, which is for three years, a certain quantity of corn always ready in every province. One plentiful harvest will
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[105]

be sufficient to give that establishment a proper degree of solidity: it may too be annexed to the farm of the demesnes.

By this means the French have magazines of corn authorized, and even ordered by the state. The motives of those regulations, and the laws of rivalry, always mutually useful to the proprietors and consumers of a commodity, naturally lead to a thorough reformation of abuses.

WERE the king of France but to issue an edict granting some distinction, or, at first, some small reward, in favour of such magazines as should be stored with a certain quantity of corn, and be built after the new manner; likewise subjecting them to be registred with the intendant of the province or his deputies, it would soon root out the national prejudice. If the preamble to such an edict did but convey some instruction to the more ignorant class of people, that day would be forever blessed in France. The French provinces cannot be said to want men rich enough for such an undertaking. A slight knowledge of their condition is sufficient to shew, that all their money does not circulate. It is, doubtless, a great misfortune to them; and the profits arising from the corn trade are held in such esteem, that that would, perhaps, be the surest means of restoring to the public, ease and convenience, those treasures which now lye buried. Let us but follow
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[106]

the principle of rivalship, which cannot mislead us: it is not a few immense granaries that would be of use, but a great number of middling ones; that is what ought to be aimed at; it is to such as those that a bounty, if a bounty should be thought proper to be granted in France, should be given.

WANT of confidence is the third difficulty that might be met with in the execution of this scheme. Some distrust might arise from former examples of granaries broke open by authority. The danger must be great, indeed, that can justify such a step: for a granary cannot vanish away in a moment, especially, if it be such a one as merits the attention of the magistrate. At least, it must be owned there would have been no necessity for such extremes, if there had been a great number of such granaries in France. Consequently the very nature of this scheme secures superiors from the necessity of using such disagreeable means, and private persons in the safe enjoyment of their property. A proper confidence can, however, never be better established than by a solemn promise at no time whatever to force any one to open a registred-granary. This distinction alone would induce them to comply with so essential a formality, as that of enregistering them, and a state of such registers might be published, whenever it should be thought proper.

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[107]

As in all things a beginning must be made, and an example set, it might, perhaps, not be amiss to oblige the several companies of traders and artizans in every city corporate ||, to keep each of them a granary, or two, or three. Almost all those companies are rich enough to do it out of their fees of admission, fines, and other perquisites: nay, some of them are but too rich at the expence of trade, and the poorer class of workmen. They all have credit, and the speculation here proposed, being in itself lucrative, cannot be a burden to any of the numbers. It would be proper that those several companies should have the management of their own granaries, and that a public account should be given of their administration to the city magistrates.

WHEN the usefulness both public and private, of such an establishment should be once known, it is reasonable to think, that the spirit of charity would bestow some of its gifts that way; for surely no alms can be more meritorious than those by which the working poor are supplied with bread at a cheap rate; for the creator has ordained that man shall earn his bread with the sweat of his brows.

THIS forming of these stores, with the supplies sent to the French sugar islands, and

|| Might not some thing of this kind be easily done by the several companies of traders of the city of London, and of the other corporate cities in England?

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[108]

the usual current consumption. already secure the farmer a considerable vent for his commodity in plentiful years. But, in order to make such a regulation at home, answer its full intent, it must likewise be followed and supported by other regulations as to its foreign concern.

THE object of the legislator, is to establish an equilibrium between the class of labourers and that of mechanics.

To encourage the labourer it is necessary, that the commodity he consumes be purchased at the greatest possible height of rivalry in plentiful years.

IT is likewise essential, that most of those purchasers be made by his fellow citizens. Now the latter will not be tempted to lay in a stock, but by the hopes of gain.

THAT gain depends on the inequality of harvests, and the diminution of the quantity of corn in a certain proportion to the want of it.

ON the one hand, it is not usual for seven years to pass without some inequality in the harvests: on the other, several plentiful harvests often succeed each other. If the corn be never exported, the diminution of its mass will be imperceptible. There will be no profit in keeping it, no granaries established, nor any plenty reign. Or else another bad effect will ensue: if corn be at a very low price, the best and most valuable kinds will be used without distinction to feed animals; which might

[109]

might be equally well fattened with other inferior sorts. Those inferior sorts being made little or no use of, the bad or middling lands of which they are the production, will be abandoned, and consequently a considerable part of agriculture lost.

A DIMINUTION of the mass of corn after a plentiful harvest can, therefore, not be advantageously effected but by foreign purchasers.

THE exportation of corn ought, therefore, to be permitted, in order to procure a sufficient quantity to answer the want of it, and establish an equilibrium in its price.

A question naturally occurs, which is, the quantity proper to be exported.

I ANSWER it is exactly so much as secures a profit to him who hath laid in a stock, without prejudicing the subsistence of workmen, sailors, and soldiers.

THE exportation ought, therefore, to be regulated by the price of bread, or corn, and that price ought to be proportioned to the abilities of the poor.

LET us be guided by facts. We have found the medium price of the setier of wheat in France, weighing 230 lb. was 18 liv. 13 sols, 8 deniers, from 1706 to 1745 inclusively. But since 1736, the medium price has been from 19 to 20 livres: we will say 19 liv. 10 sols. So long as wheat does not exceed that price, nor other grains are higher in

[110]

in proportion, bread may be thought cheap on the present footing of hire or wages.

Two thirds of a year's produce are not sufficient for the subsistence of France. But it is possible, that the price may exceed the medium of 19 liv. 10 sols, when there is no more than just the value of that quantity. Those who deal in corn ought, if they have the least knowledge of what they are about, to lay in, besides what is destined for current demands, a stock reserved for extraordinary cases, and keep it by them, until, by the appearance of the next harvest, they are able to judge how it is like to turn out. There can never be any great hazard in such a speculation, if the corn be well bought.

THE moment the appearance of such a harvest promises an increase of price, corn grows scarcer at market, because several form the same scheme at the same time, without acquainting each other with it; and each flatters himself he shall at all events not be obliged to sell, even the last part of what he has, under the present price. The price of corn must, therefore, rise above the medium price, when the quantity in being is generally thought not to exceed what is just necessary: such as are acquainted with the trade will not gainsay this.

WE will suppose those reserves made by the dealers in corn to be one sixth only, when wheat is at its medium price of 19 liv. 10 sols the setier, and other grain in proportion. It
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[111]

may from thence be inferred, that when the setier of wheat is at 16 livres 5 sols, and other kinds of grain bear a price in proportion, there is in the kingdom half a year's subsistence beyond the necessary quantity, or two sixths remaining good. So that though the next harvest should produce but one third, no dearth or scarcity could be feared. In such cases the common people in France eat more chestnuts, rye, millet, pease, beans, &c. whereby the consumption of other grain is diminished in proportion.

A MULTIPLICITY of granaries would be a very great increase of those reserves; and even, though there should be but twice the number of what there now is, it would be a resource for two years, which in all human probability, would be sufficient to keep bread at a moderate price.

THE price of 16 livres 5 sols the setier of wheat, should, therefore, seem the utmost boundary at which it should be permitted to be exported. Perhaps it might be proper, in order to favour poorer lands, which stand more in need of encouragement, not to observe the proportion too exactly, with regard to the meslin-corn, rye and barley. The price for exporting meslin-corn might be fixed at less than 14 livres 5 sols, that of rye under 13 livres, and of barley under 10 livres the setier. The medium price of the setier of oats weighing 480 lb. having been for years at about 12 livres, the exportation
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[112]

might be allowed, when the price is under 11 livres.

If we now suppose the granaries filled in a plentiful season, when wheat should be at 14 livres the setier; the profit that might be expected from it, even before the least rise of price should prohibit the exportation, would be 17 per cent.. Such a speculation being evidently advantageous, adventurers would not be wanting to engage in it.

At the same price the farmer, not able to keep his corn, would still find a sufficient profit to encourage him to continue and encrease his culture: for I suppose a plentiful year, in which every acre of middling land would produce four for one, wheat being at that price, and other grain in proportion, three years harvest would produce, according to the old culture 88 livres, the expence 54 livres. Remains 34 livres to pay rent, taxes, and the farmer's labour. That is to say, that taxes being at 3 sols in the livre, in order to let an acre of land at 7 livres 10 sols a year, the farmer must be content with clearing 36 sols per acre per annum, and the profit he can make by his cattle. As on the other hand, there are many lands capable of producing wheat, which will require a greater expence than 54 livres per acre in three years, and will produce less than 88 livres, even in the best of years, it plainly follows, that it were to be wished, wheat was never to be sold under 14 livres the setier, when
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[113]

when the land-tax is at 3 sols per livre, and so of the rest. Otherwise the equilibrium of that profession with others would be at an end; quantities of land would remain uncultivated, and numbers of men be deprived of subsistence.

A HOME and a foreign rivalship of buyers, properly combined, is alone capable of preventing the price of corn from falling too low: at the same time that it would secure to labourers and working men the hopes of never paying more than 21 or 22 livres the setier for wheat, even in times of scarcity. For to the half year's subsistence, which we have found must be before hand in the kingdom, when wheat is at 16 livres 5 sols the setier, must be added the natural encrease of harvests, when the farmer is once sure of finding his account thereby. Accordingly I am convinced, that if ever this method should be put in practice for seven or eight years, it would be found indispensably necessary, in order to establish a thorough proportion between all branches of hire and wages, to extend the permission for exportation as far as 18 or even 19 livres the setier. It is equally sure, that if France trades yearly for two hundred millions of livres, and gains five and twenty by the balance; in forty years, besides reducing the interest of money, it would likewise be necessary to enlarge still somewhat farther the permission to export corn;
VOL. I. I for

[114]

for otherwise the class of labourers, and husbandmen would be less happy than others.

AT the price we have proposed, the state would be under no necessity of granting a bounty to encourage exportation, the thing intended being only to enable its merchants to compete with others at foreign markets. But it would be very proper to restrain all leave of exportation of corn to French ships only, and those built in France. Those prices are so low, that the dearthness of their freight would not hurt the exportation: to bring that freight lower, which is a very essential point, the only means are an increase of navigation, and a low interest of money.

IT may possibly be objected to our last proposal, that in case there should be but few capitals employed in trade, it would be depriving the farmer of his present resource.

BUT capitals can no longer be few in trade, unless some public discredit was to happen: such discredit must be occasioned by some domestic maladministration; and that would of necessity require being remedied. Under such calamitous circumstances, the greatest part of the people are unemployed: it is, therefore, proper, in order to preserve the number of inhabitants, that the first and most necessary commodity of all should be very cheap; justice requires that all should partake in any public disaster. Besides, if some lock up their money and others their goods,

[115]

goods, great exportations would reduce the people to two of the worst extremes at once; cessation of labour, and dearthness of provisions.

To reduce the prices in the ports and on the frontiers of France, according to those prices here proposed, a due regard being had to the weights and measures of each place, would be very easy, and of advantage to the state, for two reasons.

I. IN order to equal the condition of all the provinces, which is but just.

II. To avoid arbitrariness, otherwise almost inevitable. From the moment that an equality of condition should cease to reign between the provinces, all the advantages of home and foreign regulations would be lost; for they can never subsist, without each other.

As to foreign corn, it is a good policy to prohibit the importation of it, in order to favour our own lands. That prohibition may at any time be taken off when necessity requires. The French have no reason to fear that other nations will refuse them corn: and, if by any extraordinary event, beyond all human foresight, that state should be reduced to a scarcity, it may depend on subsistence from the competition of its merchants, tempted by a prospect of gain. Nothing but a war, and that a very unfortunate one by sea, can require the government's undertaking

ing part of that care. It would not, however, be proper to interdict all foreign corn trade, when the merchant and mariner gain by it. The design of free ports is to promote such speculations abroad as are illicit at home. It is very easy without much trouble, to confine within them all such commodities as it would be dangerous to communicate to the rest of the people; especially when they are so bulky as corn is. It is enough to resolve it, and to convince those whose duty it is to watch over that branch, that they are really paid for it.

THE French might, therefore, at all times very safely allow the merchants of Dunkirk, Bayonne, and Marseilles, to have granaries of Northern, Sicilian, or African corn, to be re-exported to Italy, Spain, Portugal, or Holland; but never to be sent out of those towns to any part of France.

THOSE granaries, if such were formed, could not but contribute to prevent sudden revolutions in the prices, by keeping the consumers always in spirits.

A FRENCHMAN, who compares the English prices with those I have here laid down, will undoubtedly be sorry to see his country so far from producing an equal quantity of corn. The principles we at first laid down will be some comfort to him, if duly considered. It is essentially necessary for the French to keep their labour at a certain de-
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gree of cheapness*, but without forcing it; whilst the interest of money is so high with them: their foreign trade is increased by it; the riches that brings them in, encreases the number of consumers of meat, wine, butter, and, in short, of all the productions of the land of the second, third, and fourth degrees of necessity: the consumption of those commodities pays taxes and duties, by which the land is eased. For in a country where nothing should be produced by industry, every tax would immediately affect the land. On the other hand, manufactures increase with the number of cattle, and the latter are of service to the lands.

WE may farther observe, that France is obliged to maintain a very considerable number of soldiers and sailors: it is of infinite advantage that they be able to subsist on their small pay; for otherwise the public expences would encrease, and with them taxes. This observation should be a sufficient answer to all objections that can be made against the freedom of the corn trade; but men, accustomed to find fault with every thing that does not coincide with their prejudices or private interests, have no respect for even reasons of state, the most sacred of all, when rightly understood; and such object, that if

* This is the great point, that I have endeavoured to accomplish in Great Britain, throughout this, and all my other labours.

France should be under a necessity of providing any considerable store of provisions, the rivalry of buyers, both national and foreign, would make the prices rise.

THIS pretended difficulty may be solved several ways. 1. The double rivalry that is objected, joined to that of the sellers, would soon make the price rise to that degree as of itself to amount to a prohibition of exportation. 2. If the price does not rise so high as to prevent exportation, it is a proof of a superabundance of the commodity, and of the urgent necessity of easing agriculture. 3. If that rivalry does not extend beyond the national purchases, not only the prices will in all probability not rise immoderately, but it is likewise evident, that the more private magazines of corn there are known to be, the less those prices will rise. 4. In case corn should be bought a little dearer on account of this competition or rivalry at home, it will be an additional motive for every man to encrease it, and thereby secure more and more the national stock of provisions. 5. In case of this supposed encrease, it seems probable, that it would rather be the seller's profits that should be lessened, than the price of the commodity raised. This useful operation can never be more easily put in execution than when the state is rich enough to pay punctually: now the state can never be richer than when the cultivators of its lands are so.

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To resume the comparison of the price of corn in France, with its price in England. It is not by the quantity of money that we ought to judge of the ease of the subjects of both crowns, but by the nature and quantity of conveniencies they are able to procure themselves with what money each of them is respectively possessed of.

If the circulation of specie in France be established in an equal degree with that of the representative value in England; if the lands in France are not more burdened in proportion to their incomes; if taxes are levied without greater oppression on the labourer's industry; their agriculture will flourish, their harvests will be as plentiful in proportion to the extent and fruitfulness of their respective lands, as the English; the number of their cultivators will be in the same proportion with the other classes of the people: and, in fine, they will enjoy the same ease as those in England do.

THIS observation implies several of the other conditions, by which agriculture may be carried to perfection. The principles we have laid down, with regard to the most essential object of culture, stand themselves in need of being supported by others; because, as men are susceptible of very various oppressions, the legislator cannot bring them to his end, but by a reunion of motives.

[120]

THE best laws and regulations concerning corn, would not alone suffice to bring agriculture to perfection, if the nature of the taxes and methods of levying them, did not likewise contribute to give the farmer hopes; and, what is more certain, convince him in his own mind, that his ease will encrease with his labour, and also his flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, with the fresh lands he plows up, as the means he takes to perfect his profession; and in short, with the encrease of harvest, providence shall be pleased to bless him with. In a country where the farmer should be distressed, on one side by a greedy landlord, who should rigorously insist on the strictest payment of his rent, and on the other, by a collector of the taxes, whom the public necessity should force to be urgent, he would live in continual dread of two executions at once: one is sufficient to discourage and ruin him.

LET us for a moment cease to consider agriculture in its relation to trade; and we shall necessarily see all the various difficulties and obstacles of which we have just now shewn the danger, occur one after another. That they ever existed was owing to want of seeing in this important light, that which of all others ought to be the first and greatest concern of the legislator. This remark is a farther proof, that the progress of agriculture is always greatest in that country whose
laws

[121]

laws are best and wisest, or at least best observed.

As no general principle can hold good in all cases, we will add to this a very essential restriction; and which we have already found to be a consequence of our first argument.

To establish the most perfect equality possible between the several occupations of the people, being one of the chief cares of the legislator; it is of equal importance to him to favour in agriculture the various parts of that profession, in proportion to their respective needs. That can never be done by checking or restraining, or at least it cannot be brought about by such means, without confusion: and after all, the laws will be evaded, where a profit is to be made. It is, therefore, by restraining the profits, that such a proportion must be effected.

THE shortest and most simple way is, to tax the lands as commodities are taxed; that is to say, always less in proportion to the greater degree of necessity for them: but in such manner, however, as not to prevent the demand for even the most trivial necessaries: for by so doing the springs of imposts and population would be dried up. This method would undoubtedly be one of the great uses of a general land-register; nor would it be impossible to put it in practice in the
mean

mean time. If France has too many vineyards, in proportion to her arable lands, the general cause of it must be, because vineyards yield more. Would it be unjust, in order to equal them, to make vineyards pay a fifteenth and arable lands only a twentieth?

By that means every kind of land would certainly, and without any trouble, be appropriated to what it is fittest for. Nothing more can be wished, when all necessary wants are once provided for. However good laws may be in every respect, they cannot force the earth to produce: they may, indeed, limit her productions; but then they limit population at the same time. Of all laws the most prevailing is interest.

THE subject is too important not to add proof upon proof; and the vineyards I have been speaking of, afford me an experienced one which I cannot help urging. Plantations of vines have encreased greatly in France, because quantities of land are fit for nothing else: but that is not the only reason; for numbers of fields, which before produced plenty of very good corn, have been turned into vineyards.

IT is well known that the expence of planting a vineyard is great; and it is some years before the young vines bear. It is the most casual of all incomes, for a shower of hail will sometimes rob the planter of all his
hopes

hopes for several years to come: he has no resource left in bad years, and the expence of cultivation is always the same. The quality of the wine seldom makes amends for the want of quantity; in plentiful years wine is as liable as any other commodity to bear a low price; it cannot be kept without expence, difficulty, and hazard. What then can be the motive that induces the owner of a corn land in France, to convert it into a vineyard, and invent so many pretences to elude the law to the contrary? In short, how can that kind of culture support itself there, whilst the number of rival sellers encreases every day, not only among themselves, but in Spain and Portugal too? Those two points deserve to be considered separately.

THE first is accounted for by the freedom of trade and liberty to keep both wine and brandy. That commodity, in which property is best secured, will always be proposed: now property is more secure in wine than in corn, because it is lawful to keep the one as long as we think proper, to buy, export, or sell it as we please; which in the other article is prohibited.

THE culture of vines in France supports itself notwithstanding the risks, for two reasons. First, because a rivalship of buyers is in general better established for that commodity than any other; except in some of the state demesnes, by the French called *Pais d'Etat*, where

where the farmers are allowed to deal in wine and brandy, and where they monopolize those two articles by being able to sell them cheaper than others can. And, secondly, because the owners of vineyards keep them in their own hands: their easy circumstances enable them to carry that culture to perfection, to lay out on it as much as is necessary, and to wait for proper opportunities of selling their commodity.

THIS discussion certainly adds a new weight to two principal maxims, which we have laid down; *viz.* that agriculture cannot be carried to perfection in a country where it is not considered as an object of commerce, and where the cultivators are very poor. It naturally follows, that to grant the owners of lands all possible encouragement to keep them in their own hands, is a means of increasing the commodities of a state, and of securing a proper stock of provisions. Such encouragement is not compatible with any but a real tax laid on the lands, in consequence of a general accurate register and evaluation of them, as they shall increase in the quantity cultivated.

THO' it was not my design to consider agriculture in its practical part, yet what we have said and shall occasionally say on that head, by way of succinct abstract, from the best agricultural philosophers, and practical farmers; we hope, may prove acceptable to many country gentlemen, who would give their more igno-

ignorant tenants some useful hints, according to the circumstances and situation of their old lands; or such new, as they may be induced hereafter to promote the cultivation of, if ever our general principles in relation thereto should be found to deserve the attention of the legislature.

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DISSERTATION V.

The preceding subject continued in other political lights.

TRADER, in its general acceptation, is a reciprocal communication of what men stand in mutual need of. It is, therefore, evident that agriculture is the necessary basis of trade.

To be satisfied of the truth of a maxim implies but an imperfect knowledge, till the whole stress and force of it be understood: and that consists chiefly in the close connection of the maxim allowed to be true, with another. It is for want of considering things connectedly with others wherewith they have an essential affinity, that the merchant is often induced to look with indifference on the ease or poverty of the farmer, the encouragement he may meet with, or the hardships he may labour under. For the same reason most landholders are apt to envy the advantages of trade, the profits accruing from it, and the number of men employed therein. The error would be much greater, if those landholders were to separate the consideration of the

the interest of their lands from that of the labourer. A nation, in which such prejudices should prevail, would be in a state of infancy in agriculture and commerce; the two chief branches of the domestic administration of a state: for we ought not always to judge of the progress of that part, by the figure a nation makes abroad; no more than we are able to determine how far a man manages his estate prudently, by the expence he seems to live at.

THE idea of preservation is closely connected in every individual with that of his existence; for which reason the occupation that best answers his wants, is the dearest to him. This law of nature cannot be changed by the formation of a society, which is a reunion of particular wills. It is, on the contrary, confirmed and strengthened by new motives, unless that society be supposed the only one existing in the world. If it be neighbouring to other societies, it has rivals; and preservation requires its being supported, by all the strength and vigour it is capable of receiving. Agriculture is the first, and most natural means of procuring it that strength and vigour.

SUCH a society will be composed of as many members as the culture of its lands can employ or maintain: those members will become hale and robust, by being innured and habituated to fatigue; and they will be the honestest and the more industrious men,
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by having been always honestly and industriously busied and employed.

If the lands of that society are more fertile, or those who cultivate them more skilful and labourious, they will produce a superabundance of commodities; which will be carried to countries less fertile or less cultivated.

THE sale of those commodities will have the following effects. Such sales will draw from foreigners, money, which constitutes the conventional riches of states. By the lowness of the price, the farmers and planters of rival nations, will be discouraged; and such state will secure more and more every day that advantage over the former rivals.

IN proportion as a country is drained of its hard money, or conventional treasures, and the profits of its most necessary kind of labour, are lessened to such a degree as no longer to afford the labourer the means of subsisting comfortably, that country must of necessity either become less populous; or, which is worse, a part of its inhabitants must be compelled to beg, or starve. It follows from the contrary reason, that, by the perpetual encrease of money, and conventional wealth in a country, the number of imaginary, or artificial wants will be multiplied in proportion. Those wants will produce new kinds of occupations: the people will be more happy, marriages more frequent and
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more fruitful, and men, who cannot subsist comfortably in other countries will flock to one where they can; and more, especially, to Great Britain, where property may be as well secured as plentifully obtained, according to the system, we would endeavour to establish.

SUCH are the necessary effects of superiority of agriculture in one nation over others: and those effects are felt in proportion to the reciprocal fruitfulness of the lands, or the variety of their productions. For this principle would not be the less certain, even though a country, worse cultivated than another, should not be depopulated in proportion to its inferior degree of culture; if at the same time that worse cultivated country furnished naturally a greater variety of productions.

IT is still certain, that it will have lost its advantage both really and relatively, with respect to other countries.

IF agriculture deserves in a body politic the first rank among the occupations of mankind; the culture of those natural productions, for which there is the most general and most necessary demand, deserves to be encouraged in proportion to that demand; as corn, fruits, wood, coal, iron, grass, leather, and wool, great and small cattle, oil, hemp, flax, silk, wine, beer, &c.

[130]

THE real strength of a nation may be certainly known, by the encrease or decline of the populousness of it's lands.

THE principal effect of agriculture would be greatly limited, without the assistance of trade, and therefore without it's inseparable connection could never attain to perfection.

NATIONS, who have considered nothing farther in the culture of their lands, than the bare means of self-subsistence, have always lived in perpetual fear of dearths, and have often felt them. Those, on the contrary, who have considered agriculture as an object of commerce, have enjoyed such a series of plenty, as has enabled them, at all times, to supply the necessities of others.

TILL about 1690, England had exported but little corn, and had often been obliged to have recourse to foreign nations, for subsistence. She had felt those disagreeable variations and unexpected revolutions in the prices, which either discourage the farmer or drive the people to despair.

POLAND, Denmark, Africa and Sicily were at that time the public granaries of Europe. The conduct of those states, who lay the corn trade under no restrictions that can cramp it, and their constant plenty, though some of them enjoy neither much tranquility nor the happiness of a good constitution, were undoubtedly sufficient to make the English, sensible of the cause of the evils they complained of. But the countries just mentioned

[131]

tioned seemed too well settled in the possession of that trade, by the low price at which they could afford their corn, for the English landholders to expect to be able to rival them at foreign markets. The corn trade required an unlimited freedom of laying up stocks of corn, and that for as long a time as should be thought convenient; a thing which the ignorance and prejudices of those times rendered odious to the nation.

THE state remedied that double inconvenience by the bounty granted on the exportation of corn, in English ships only, when the price does not exceed what the law has fixed it at; and the prohibition to import any foreign corn, so long as the current price at home is below what is settled by statute. This bounty enabled the English to compete with the most fruitful countries, at the same time that this public sanction given to the trade and storing up of corn, put an end to all vulgar prejudices on that head. The circumstance was, indeed, the most favourable that could be desired; the nation had that confidence in the new government, without which the best regulations are of no effect.

THE event has demonstrated the rectitude of this policy. From that time, England has known no famine, though she has exported immense quantities of corn almost every year: the variations in point of price have been less rapid and less unexpected; and the price in general has been lowered. For

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[132]

when it was resolved in 1689 to grant this bounty, a calculation was made of the price corn had been at on an average for three-and-forty years before: by which the medium price of wheat was found to have been 2*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* a quarter, and other kinds of grain in proportion. By an exact calculation of the price of wheat from 1689 to 1752, the price at an average during those fifty seven years, is found to have been no more than 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

SURPRISING as this variation may seem to be, it is not the less in the natural course of things. The landholder, whose industry was at the same time secured by the government by the land tax, had but one difficulty remaining; which was the sale of his commodity when overstocked. The rivalry of buyers, both at home and abroad, secured that sale, and from that time he exerted his industry with all the emulation, which hopes of success, and security in the enjoyment of it, can alone inspire. Of forty millions of acres of land, which England contains, at least, one third was then commons, besides woods. A considerable proportion of those commons and wood-lands is now sowed and inclosed.

THIS policy was not the only thing that brought about these admirable effects; the lowering of the interest of money likewise contributed, by enabling individuals to till their lands with advantage: but still it is
equally

[133]

equally certain, that no landholder would have been at that expence, had he not have been sure of selling his commodities for a reasonable price.

THE design of the state was to encourage the culture of the lands, to procure plenty, and bring the money of other nations into England. It succeeded without doubt; but so it might in all probability have done, without burdening the state with a superfluous expence; and without making it's own subjects pay sometimes dearer for bread than foreigners do.

THE state is in two respects loaded with a useless expence, which affects all its subjects without distinction, as well those who are gainers by it, as those who are not.

WHEN the price of corn, is lower in England than in the countries, which compete with her in that trade, it is plain the bounty is then needless. The bare profit attending the exportation, is a sufficient allurements to the merchant.

IF corn is at the highest price, at which it is entitled to the bounty; and if it happens at the same time to be very cheap at Dantzick or Hamburg; a profit might be made by smuggling corn from those parts into England, to be afterwards re-exported with the bounty. In that case it is plain, the lands will not have received the encouragement that was designed them. Navigation, indeed, will have been a gainer by it,
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[134]

but then it must be by loading the state and people with an expence much more considerable than that gain.

THOUGH the private profit of the subject, arising from the sale of corn, repays the whole of the nation the sum advanced, and even more; yet until they who actually paid their contingent of the bounty be reimbursed, with interest, by circulation, a considerable time must elapse; during which, they might have employed that same money to more advantage, perhaps, in a country, where trade, manufactures, fisheries, and the colonies are in a flourishing condition.

NOR that such means of gaining ought to be despised; for no part of the foreign trade of a nation should be slighted; but a wide difference is to be made between the principles of oeconomic trade, or the re-exportation of foreign commodities, and the principles of that trade, which relates to national commodities.

THE encouragements granted the former, are a means of procuring an increase of inhabitants; they are useful so long as they are not burdensome to the mass of men, who may be considered as the fund of a nation. But that trade, of which the object is the exportation of national commodities, ought to be favoured without restriction. For one pound that such a trade costs a state, it receives back ten or more; each individual is sooner re-imbursed, and with greater profit, the

[135]

the contingent he has furnished; because the whole of that trade belongs immediately to the lands or industry of the subject. On the other hand, the quantity of national commodities never encreases, without encreasing at the same time the mass of men, who may be considered as the nation's stock.

IT is difficult to prevent the bringing in of foreign corn in a large island, where it is easy to land at many places: whence one would be inclined to infer, that the bounty had better have been granted only from time to time, and regulated according to circumstances, by the price of corn, in countries, rivals in that branch. Such an operation would have been really salutary, and worthy the admirable principle from whence it flows.

IT might, perhaps, be likewise said, that this bounty does not always fall so immediately to the farmer's share of profit, as one would at first sight be inclined to think: for in plentiful years, when corn is bought to be laid up, till a proper opportunity offers to export it, it is not natural to suppose, that the buyers, who are always less in number than the sellers, and, therefore, masters of the price, account with them for the bounty in the value they set on the commodity. In a country, where very few farmers should be able to keep their corn, the bounty would affect the land still less immediately. Let

us by the way observe, that agriculture will never flourish in a nation where the general ease does not begin with the class of labourers. The gains of that class of men depend on the value of the commodities they bring into trade, compared with the expence of producing them: and the value of those commodities depends on the demand for them: consequently, the fewer buyers there are, the less land will yield it's owner, and the less will it be able to bear taxes.

It is a disadvantage attending a too great foreign rivalship, that England supplies foreign workmen with bread at a lower price than it does its own. A short calculation will prove it. Supposing wheat in England at 42 shillings, 3 d. the price it has been at, on an average, for fifty seven years past; it is plain it may be sold in Holland, Flanders, Calais, and even Bourdeaux, at 40 shillings, 3 d. and a good profit made by it. The bounty is 5 shillings per quarter; the freight and insurance will not cost above 2 shillings per quarter; remains one shilling profit; that is to say 3 per cent., on an affair that is over in a month, and in a country where the interest of money is at 3 per cent. per Annum.

If it should be said, in answer to this, that hereby England discourges agriculture in other countries, it may not have the weight some imagine. For that way of reasoning is
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more specious than solid, if the common price of corn in England be so high, that other nations do not have recourse to the English, except when their own harvests prove very bad. Now every one knows that to be the case, especially with regard to France.

WE have already observed, that the medium price of corn in England has been 42 s. 3 d. sterling per quarter, that is to say, 49 livres, 12 sols, 10 deniers French, for fifty-seven years past: or 24 livres, 16 sols, 5 deniers the Paris setier, said to weigh 240 lb. but as some assert not above 230 lb. The medium price of wheat in the province of Brie, was no more than 18 livres, 13 sols, and 8 deniers for forty years, from 1706 to 1745; notwithstanding the famine in 1709, the scarcity in 1740 and 1741, and the dearthness in 1713, 1723, 4, 5, 6, and 1739. Consequently the French begin to subsist with difficulty, when forced to take corn from England at her common price.

To account for the reason of this difference in the price of the two kingdoms, we must have recourse to an invariable principle.

THE price of wages in a nation depends on two things: first, on the expence of living, and secondly on the profits of the several occupations of the people, by a successive encrease of the mass of money introduced by foreign trade. To follow this
reasoning

[138]

reasoning closely, requires some attention; but at the same time, nothing, perhaps, can be more fit to shew the immediate interest of each citizen in the general balance of trade, and the intimate connection between the divers occupations of the people.

AT the time that England prohibited the exportation of corn, she did not consider agriculture in the light of commerce, and very frequently suffered scarcity: the subsistence of workmen being dear, their wages were high in proportion. On the other hand, her industry being rivaled by few, she gained, in a few years, very large sums by her foreign trade: the money that trade produced, being circulated among the workmen employed in that industry, raised their wages still higher in proportion to the foreign demand, and the rivalry or competition of workmen.

WHEN England, more sensible of her true interests, began to consider agriculture as an object of commerce, she found it was impossible, by restoring plenty of corn, to lower the high wages the dearness of provisions had occasioned. To animate and encourage the husbandman, it was necessary that his profession too, as well as others, should be bettered by the encrease of the national mass of treasure: for without that equilibrium, as just as necessary, the legislator lost, either his men or a branch of their occupation. The state, therefore, let the
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[139]

lands profit by the high price, which the wages of the other classes of people made corn bear.

THE exportation of corn out of France, was never so free as at the time when England acted on opposite principles; wages were lower, and consequently culture cheaper. The frequent wars she has had to carry on since 1660, and the numerous armies she has been obliged to maintain, have been thought sufficient reasons for restraining the exportation of corn: but that never was for any length of time; that uncertainty and the alternative of some scarcities kept up the farmer's hopes. Agriculture, however, declined in France; for a plentiful harvest now suffices for no more than a year and a half; whereas formerly it was sufficient for two years, though the country was then more populous than it is now. But the care the government has always taken, by various operations to force bread to be cheap, together with the goodness of the lands, and a kind of emulation supported and kept up by the alternate changes of dearness of corn and leave to export it, have in some measure prevented the rise of wages, in proportion to the expence of living.

ON the other hand, the raising of the value of money in France has been a great diminution of the mass of treasure, which the balance of trade brought yearly into that kingdom, for which reason manufacturers and

[140]

and workmen have not had, to divide annually amongst them, a mass of treasure in proportion to that which they began to receive at the time of the first epoch of the French commerce; nor in proportion to that which the English workmen had from the establishment of their commerce, till the year 1689.

IT is, however, proper and indispensably necessary to settle an equilibrium between the several classes and various occupations of the subject. Corn is the greatest, as well as the most necessary product of the earth: for which reason the farmer, who raises corn, ought to reap thereby such an advantage as will maintain him in his profession, make him amends for the fatigue he undergoes, and enable him to keep as many cattle as his lands can feed. For this last part of farming depends on the success of the first; and their connection is such, that if one gives way the other feels it instantly. Every valuable thing that agriculture could bring into trade, is then lost. But this, pernicious as it is, is not the only misfortune attending a too great cheapness of corn, especially if all the things are not rendered cheap to the farmer in the like proportion.

IF the lands are divided into small farms, the farmer's wants oblige him to sell at whatever price he can, within a few months after harvest; that price will often be such as will not repay him what he has advanced
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[141]

with taxes and the rent of his farm. The owners, who have repairs to make, in proportion to the number of their farms, and are not paid their rents, resolve to lay several together, in order to bring them to a less number. Every operation of that kind is a step towards beggary, or rather the annihilation of several families in the state. Even though so inestimable a loss could be submitted to, yet futurity does not offer any means of repairing it.

WHEN the lands are divided into capital farms, it is certain that the farmers are better able to advance sums of money; and those advances will become more burdensome in proportion as corn shall be at a lower ebb of price for want of buyers. The natural effect of this overcharge will be, to keep the wages of labourers low; a considerable part of the people will be thereby condemned to such poverty, as not to be able to consume more than what is barely necessary to keep body and soul together. Even the enjoyment of that bare necessary will be precarious, in proportion to the instability of the price of the commodity, in the culture of which they are employed. From that precariousness will ensue dread of marriage and depopulation; from depopulation and poverty, a chasm in the finances. For experience shews, that of two countries of the same extent, the public revenue will be most considerable in that which is inhabited by the
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greatest number of men, and who are most at their ease. But we have endeavoured to shew how these evils may be prevented; and how these kingdoms may become as populous as they will admit of, and every thing made so plentiful as to enable the mass of the people to double their consumption, and to extend the foreign traffic of the nation in general, so as to make the whole kingdom lastingly prosperous and happy. This is the end that we would aim at, and shall rejoice, if our means may be judged adequate thereto.

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DISSERTATION VI.

Farther considerations on the connections of Trade between Great Britain and Ireland and the British plantations.

WE have seen in the preceding papers, upon what plain principles of natural, as well as national policy, the trade and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British plantations, should seem to be advanced, even to what degree the wisdom of the nation shall think fit; and when the same are really advanced to the pitch desirable, by what means they may be maintained and preserved; for the same measures that will give them the exaltation required, will ever after uphold and support them: and what is founded on this ancient and experienced maxim, carrying with it the linaments of truth, may, one day, deserve the deliberate attention of the legislator.

It has been observed likewise, that it would be most for the interest of the nation in general that England, Scotland and Ireland should interfere as little as may be with each other in their essential articles of traffic; and that the polity of our plantations in
America

[144]

America should be constituted upon similar principles as near as can be.

THE woollen manufacture being the great staple of England, it will remain her everlasting interest to support this branch as much as possible against all competitors, as well against any such attempts to injure it either in Ireland or Scotland, and the British plantations, as against the efforts of France or any other foreign rival to ruin it; for the loss of this capital branch will first ruin a great part of the landed interest, and banish our woollen manufacturers out of the kingdom, after that the rest of our artists may soon go a wool-gathering too, according to our English proverb; for our woollen fabrics have proved a great support of most of our other, by promoting their sale in conjunction at the same time: it is by nations, as by private people, if they are well used at an old shop in one article, they will not go to a new for what else they can buy at their old. This is well known to be the case of our British factories settled abroad; one species of goods forces the sale of another of the same nation; and therefore those factors should have the proper assortments of merchandize to accommodate their customers with all those wants, wherewith we can supply them.

ENGLAND, therefore, cannot have too vigilant an eye over her other dominions, in relation to the preservation of this fundamental

[145]

mental branch to herself; and this, indeed, has enabled England to support all her dependent territories, and always will, whilst it is duly preserved upon the principles we have endeavoured to establish in this treatise. Wherefore, it cannot be for the interest of Scotland or Ireland, or the Plantations, to interfere with England herein, because they will not thereby be so able to support themselves and England, as England has been able to support them; for if we suppose the woollen manufacture of England to be divided amongst them all, and the seat of empire transferred from England to either of them; would not this division of the advantage amongst them weaken the power of the whole state? It would be dangerous policy to attempt to shift this manufacture to any other part of the British dominions, lest, whilst we are struggling for it amongst ourselves, foreigners should step in, and deprive them all of it. Besides, it is a manufacture that England has so long excelled in, that Ireland and Scotland being infant states, when compared to England, would be so long before they could arrive to the like perfection, that the nation would, on that consideration also, run the risk of losing the whole. It appears, therefore, that it is for the interest of the kingdom in general, and consequently for the interest of every part, whereof the same is constituted, that England should preserve her woollen manufactures to herself; and to that end,

VOL. I.

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she should be no less watchful over Scotland and Ireland, than she ought to be over France, or any other foreign state that shall attempt to wrest the same out of our hands.

IT is not sufficient reason that England should give up her woollen manufactory to Ireland or to Scotland, because they may, at present, be able to work cheaper than she can do; or because that they may be able to sell those fabrics cheaper than our foreign competitors shall be able to do; and this for reasons already given in the former part. If, indeed, it was not in the power of England to keep and preserve this manufactory to herself, to that degree at least, which she at present possesses, she ought rather cheerfully to give it up to Ireland or Scotland, or even to the British plantations, than to suffer France, or other powers to engross it from the whole nation.

BUT as we have shewn, that it is really in the power of England to afford to sell her woollen, and indeed all other manufactures as cheap as France can do: it will certainly be very ill policy in England to suffer so inestimable a commerce to be wrested out of her hands, when it appears that she is capable of preserving and greatly extending the same.

ALTHOUGH Ireland abounds as well as England with wool no less good in quality than plenty in quantity; yet if England once becomes capable of manufacturing as cheap

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as Ireland or France can do, it will be more for the interest of England to take the whole wool of Ireland, than for them to suffer France to have it; and they would then be capable of working the whole of the Irish as well as their own wool up, as we have before shewn.

As Ireland should by no means be suffered to interfere with the foreign trade of England in her woollens; so it may be best that England should not, in that case, interfere with the linen manufactures, which are carried on in Ireland: she should, on the contrary, leave that branch to the Irish, and encourage the same no less than Ireland should the woollen trade of England, that being their chief staple of commodity.

AND in regard that Scotland enjoys a considerable share in the linen manufactures, and is become the staple commodity of that kingdom also; this manufactory should be so divided between them and Ireland, that they might rather mutually promote and advance each other's interest herein, than prejudice either: and this they may jointly do, by establishing every species of that extensive manufactory amongst them: and while they shall both leave the woollen manufactures wholly to England, the latter should manifest an equal regard to the linen manufactory of both; and more especially so, when Ireland (as we have shewn how that may be

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brought about) shall, as well as Scotland, become united with England.

WHEN all things in England become so plentiful and so cheap as we have endeavoured to render them, she will of course grow more and more populous; this will augment the consumption of Scotch and Irish linen, as well as of her own woollens, in England: and not only so, but, from her greater cheapness of labour, she will proportionably extend her navigation; be capable of making more beneficial treaties of commerce with various powers, than subsist at present, and thereby will be enabled to encourage the linen manufacture of Scotland and Ireland, as they may the exportation of the woollen goods of England.

To what degree our northern British plantations may, with security to the commerce of their mother country, be admitted to interfere with the woollen manufactures of England, or the linen of Scotland and Ireland, is what may deserve consideration.

THESE colonies having plenty of provisions amongst themselves, and even a large quantity for exportation, they take nothing of this nature but some Irish beef, butter, and pork, and these they will not want long; and those colonies having interfered with Great Britain in the corn trade to several of her foreign markets; Great Britain and Ireland can expect to receive no great benefit from the plantations in those articles. We have

have hitherto furnished them with a great quantity of their materials for wearing apparel, household-furniture, silk, woollen and linen manufactures; but if they should establish the woollen and linen manufactures amongst themselves, and encourage every other species of artificers to settle amongst them, our plantations may, at length, prove detrimental, instead of beneficial to the three kingdoms.

IF it should be deemed good policy in Great Britain to suffer her northern colonies to supply themselves totally with all wearables, and all furniture, as well as all kinds of provisions; may not this prove a preparatory step towards their becoming capable of supplying other nations herewith; unless they are kept under such proper restrictions as may prevent those injuries to their mother country, as well as to Scotland and Ireland?

THE primary establishment of these colonies was intended principally for the business of planting, not for that of manufacturing. However wise and necessary it may be to indulge them in some degree in the latter; yet the natural consequence thereof, should be effectually guarded against for the benefit of the whole nation; for we well know, that the habit of manufacturing in a few capital articles, will beget that in more; handicraftmen in one branch of manufactural and mechanical business beget others; and as the

necessaries of life, and the price of labour are likely to grow cheaper and cheaper amongst them, should we not keep a strict eye, that the infant is not reared in a way which may prove detrimental, and at length ruinous to the interest of her parent? While those colonies shall not be capable of manufacturing so cheap as Great Britain and Ireland, it will remain their interest rather to take what they have been wont to do of them: but so soon as they shall be able to furnish themselves equally cheap, we must expect to lose all that exportation: and if they are permitted to go those lengths, it is easy to judge what farther strides they will attempt to go, unless they are duly restrained in their career of manufacturing, by the wisdom of the British legislature.

We have permitted them to make pig and sow iron; and we have imported great quantities thereof; and now, it seems, they are to be permitted to manufacture bar iron for us, there being a bill now depending in parliament to give them that toleration, and to import the same duty free. This may prove a necessary temporary indulgence, perhaps, because we are not able at present to supply ourselves with a sufficiency of good bar iron; and, therefore, are under the necessity of importing the same from Sweden and Russia, &c. What may farther render a measure of this kind eligible is, that the balance of trade between Great Britain and
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Russia, and her and Sweden, are much to the disadvantage of the former; and therefore, if she cannot furnish herself with a part of her imports from those countries, it may appear wiser to encourage her colonies to supply her with the same.

CERTAIN it is, that the waste and destruction of the woods in Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Gloucester, Glamorgan, Pembroke, Shropshire, and Suffex, by the iron-works, is scarce to be imagined. The scarcity of wood is thereby grown so great, that where cord wood has been sold at five and six shillings per cord, it is now risen to upwards of twelve or fourteen shillings; and in some places is all consumed.—It is necessary, therefore, to preserve our timber from these consuming furnaces, lest they should lay hold of our oak.

WITHIN these seventy or eighty years, Ireland was better stored with oak-timber than England; but several gentlemen from England, as well as in Ireland setting up iron-works, they, in few years swept away the wood to such degree, that they have had even a scarcity of small stuff to produce bark for their tanning; nor scarce timber for their ordinary occasions. So great has been their distress, that they have been obliged to send to England, and elsewhere for bark, and to Norway, &c. for building-timber, and to suffer their large hides to be exported to Holland, Germany, and Flanders, where, to a
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great loss in that manufactory, they have been tanned.

IF the quantities of bar iron, of which Great Britain and Ireland stand in need, could be manufactured with any species of our pit-coal; or with one half of that, and the other half of wood fuel acting in conjunction, by the proper application of heat; we might, perhaps, be able to supply ourselves, if not with the whole, at least, with a considerable proportion thereof, and the residue might be furnished by our colonies; but, if we should not have wood-lands sufficient to supply the half, and the art of manufacturing the same from the ore to the bar could be done with any species of our pit-coal alone, it would prove a very valuable discovery to this nation: and should not this have been effectually tried, before we had been so long obliged to take foreign iron; or before we made the attempt to transfer this manufacture wholly to our plantations; which in its consequences, may prove no less hurtful to Great Britain and Ireland than the importing of bar iron from Russia, Sweden, and Spain?

IN order to have had the possibility of making bar iron with pit-coal effectually tried: supposing the parliament had offered a public reward to have encouraged people to have been at the expence of making experiments of this nature; the discovery might probably have been made long before this time; for I do not remember to have heard any

any body to have demonstrated the impossibility thereof à priori. This is the way to bring to light the discovery of all practicable desiderata for the public interest; and this in particular, (since such a discovery cannot be carried into execution in great works, without being known to every one): because that a common patent, in a manufacture of this kind, is more liable to be invaded and violated, than some of a different nature, by others who would envy so great, and so lucrative a discovery.

BUT to resume our consideration on the plantations.

COLONIES ought never to forget what they owe to their mother country, in return for the prosperity and riches they enjoy. Their gratitude in that respect, and the duty they owe, indispensably oblige them to be immediately dependant on their original parent, and to make their interest subservient thereunto. The effect of that interest, and of that dependancy will be, to procure the mother country: (1) a greater consumption of the productions of her lands: (2) occupation for a greater number of the manufacturers, artizans, fishermen and seamen: (3) a greater quantity of such commodities as she wants: (4) a greater superfluity, wherewith to supply other people.

FROM the end of the establishment of colonies, result two kinds of prohibitions. First, It is a law founded on the very nature of colo-

[154]

colonies, that they ought to have no culture or arts, wherein to rival the arts and culture of their parent country. For which reason, a colony, incapable of producing any other commodities than those produced by it's mother country, would be more dangerous than useful: it would be proper to call home it's inhabitants and give it up.

SECONDLY, colonies cannot in justice consume foreign commodities, with an equivalent for which their mother country consents to supply them; nor sell to foreigners such of their own commodities as their mother country consents to receive. Every infringement of those laws is a real, though too common, robbery of the mother country's labourers, workmen and seamen, in order to enrich the same classes of men belonging to rival nations, who will sooner or later take advantage of it against those very colonies. Every police that winks at, or through indolence tolerates such abuses, or that leaves some ports the means of acting contrary to the first design and intent of the institution of colonies, is destructive of the trade and riches of a nation. The true bulwarks of colonies during war, are likewise the bulwarks of their trade in times of peace.

FROM these principles it follows, that colonies are designed for culture only; and that the navigation occasioned by that culture, belongs to the seamen of the mother country. This maxim cannot be contested; and it would

[155]

would be better to enforce it with rigour, than to suffer it to be too much deviated from by over great lenity, or any other means.

THOSE colonies require, in order to flourish, three kinds of navigation; which may be restrained as occasion requires, either by being limited to certain ports; or by limiting the quantity of goods shipped off.

THE first kind of navigation useful, and even necessary to colonies, is their coasting trade. It is productive of a greater communication between every part; and consequently of a greater rivalry either of buyers or of sellers, each of which is equally favourable to culture and commerce. It eases the ship's crews that arrive from Europe, and by degrees accustoms a nation to sail with fewer hands: but such a thing must be the fruit of time, freedom and encouragement.

THE second kind of navigation useful in colonies, is that which enables them to carry to each other the commodities of which they are in mutual want; and with which the mother country cannot supply them.

THAT navigation may, however, be performed more advantageously by the mother country's ships, if the interest of money be low enough there to fit out ships for long voyages at a moderate expence.

THE third branch of navigation useful in colonies, is that which they carry on with foreign colonies, to supply them only with com-

commodities of the product of their mother country, or of their own growth not admitted by their mother country at home, tho' allowed in the colonies for prudential reasons. If those exportations consist in other commodities; or if the returns for them do not consist in money, cattle, or commodities of which the mother country is in want, the freighters of the ship, as well as it's crew ought to be punished. It is always easy to make proper examples, whenever a state is seriously inclined to set about it.

THESE three branches of navigation seem to be the only ones that colonies should be permitted to carry on; and those under such restrictions and limitations as the circumstances of things require. It should likewise seem advantageous to oblige them to employ a certain number of slaves in their ships, in proportion to the tonnage of those ships; that the mother country may not lose sight too long of so great a number of seamen, and that the price of their wages may not be enhanced too much. Such a regulation would, at the same time, encrease the African trade, and the strength of the colonies, either for attacking or defending.

THE four chief ends intended by the establishment of colonies, can never be answered, but in proportion to their populousness and degree of cultivation.

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To provide with certainty for their populousness, it is necessary that the first settlement be made at the expence of the state. who founds the colony: that is to say, such state must furnish ships to carry the first inhabitants thither, and supply them with provisions, clothes, utensils, and slaves; inheritances must be divided equally between the children, in order to fix there the greatest number possible of inhabitants by the subdivision of fortunes. It is likewise equally necessary, that the condition of the inhabitants be easy and comfortable, to make them amends for their labour and fidelity. For which reason, wise nations draw from their colonies, when once established, no more than what defrays the expence of forts and garrisons; and sometimes are content with the general advantage of trade only.

IT would be acting contrary to the very intent of colonies, to settle them by depopulating their mother country. Spain only has experienced that misfortune, because the greatest part of it's inhabitants had neither occupation nor ease at home: tho', as Sir Josiah Child very justly observes, the inquisition has contributed more to depopulate that monarchy, than all it's vast settlements in either Indies. Other nations have sent, from time to time, their superfluous hands, or such as were a burden to society, to their colonies. There is, however, a possibility of colonies being too populous: that would be the case

case if there was in them a number of idle men (for there should be none such in a colony) or a number of men of which the mother country should feel the want. There may, therefore, be circumstances, under which it would be proper to prevent the inhabitants of the mother country from going to settle whenever they pleased in the colonies in general, or in any one in particular. It would likewise be very proper in some cases, to send such as are willing to go, from one colony, where fortunes begin to grow rare, to another less advanced and flourishing.

It is not enough that a colony be so peopled as to be screened from insults; but it is farther necessary that the generality of the inhabitants should apply to the first intent of their settlement; that is to the culture of the lands: for if they turned interlopers and applied to that branch of trade only, as the profits attending it are always precarious, the establishment would acquire a less degree of solidity; and even, if the profits were equal on the whole, the mother country would still be a loser in the occupation of her subjects: for gold, silver, and precious stones do not occasion a great navigation between the mother country and her colonies, nor between her and other nations; whereas the like value in sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, tobacco, silk, rice, pitch, tar and furs, commodities whereof part is re-exported,

ported, will maintain a vast number of seamen, shipwrights, &c.

COLONIES, as we have already said, are intended for cultivation; for which reason those of the inhabitants, who apply to it ought to be most distinguished, because they are most useful. It is likewise just, that they should enjoy in their mother country, some prerogative; which by encouraging should invite them thither from time to time, and facilitate marriages and alliances with them, in order to perpetuate the common bonds of union.

THE main spring of that culture is trade; and the activity of trade depends on the competition or rivalry of merchants. Their ambition will always afford the planter greater assistance, and will make his productions bear a higher price, than would any exclusive company: which, by being exclusive, would be able to command the prices of whatever was bought or sold, and the conditions of payment; not to speak of the odious tricks and vexations practised by the clerks and servants of such companies, without the knowledge of their masters. No plantation colony ever yet did, nor ever will thrive under such management.

PLENTY of consumption is the only means of rendering culture profitable; from it's profits arises rivalry of cultivators; from that rivalry, lowness of price of a commodity; and from the lowness of price of a com-

commodity, proceeds superiority in that branch of trade.

To procure a plentiful consumption of the productions of a colony, even when dear, the mother country forbids the importation of foreign commodities of the same kind, in order to prevent the rivalship that would result from them. The best method that can be taken to establish that equilibrium, is to grant on the importation of those commodities of the growth of the colonies, such a bounty as may enable the merchants to sell them cheaper than other nations can.

A MORE natural way should seem to be, to prohibit the use of such foreign commodities, or to raise the duties on them in proportion: but two great inconveniencies attend that method: first, it is not sure of succeeding; men will be tempted to smuggle whenever the profit surpasses the risk; and that risk consists less in the punishment, than in the means of eluding all perquisitions: Secondly, that method may be displeasing to foreign nations and afford them a pretence either to prohibit, or at least to raise on their side, the duties on the commodities of the mother country.

NATIONS who understand trade are, therefore, satisfied with granting a bounty till the commodity can do without it. Bounties are in fact no more than a subdivision made among the subjects, of a part of the profits,

profits, which the state receives from the daily encrease of their riches.

FROM this evident maxim, and those we before laid down, follows the necessity of prohibiting in a colony the importation of all commodities of foreign growth, which either that colony, or any others belonging to the mother country, may have undertaken to raise. It is plain that it would be discouraging the inhabitants to carry them cheap cargoes of a commodity, which they themselves are raising at a great expence.

THE views of the mother country ought to extend beyond her own consumption: her assistance is indispensably necessary, until the foreign consumption be thoroughly established. That must be by obtaining the preference of foreigners, who, to give that preference, must find their account in the cheapness of the commodity.

IT is, therefore, always on the prices of rival nations that the bounties, or duties whenever the commodity is able to bear any, ought to be regulated,

IT's lowness of price will likewise depend on the cheapness of negroes, freight, and interest of money; all which are the effects of the rivalship of merchants; and likewise on the not less essential rivalship of sellers. For it is the price of the returns of the colonies, which constitutes the profits of those who trade thither. Foreigners, to whom the mother country re-exports the

[162]

commodities of her colonies, look on them as superfluities, and are not easily induced to give an additional value for them: or, to speak more properly, it is the consumer of an article of luxury who give it its price. If the encrease of price of commodities in colonies, be a consequence of the common revolutions of trade, of scarcity, or of plenty, it can be of no long duration; the equilibrium will soon return of its own accord. But if that encrease should proceed from want of rivalship in the sellers; or, which would have the same effect, from a rivalship of contraband buyers or interlopers, a cessation of trade, and the ruin of the merchants would be the inevitable consequence.

IT absolutely follows, that tolls, servitudes, and all regulations tending to promote exclusions of any kind in a colony, must hurt the culture of that colony, and consequently the riches of the mother country. Small inconveniencies, at first neglected, and thereby multiplied, have often brought on the unexpected ruin of once very flourishing branches of trade. In proportion as the price of a commodity rises to a certain degree, the profit tempts other nations, or enables them to compete in what they before did not dare to hazard. Their rivalship lessens the price insensibly; that diminution of price is sometimes on a sudden such, that the people, with whom the price of labour is dearest, are unable to bear it, and therefore renounces that
branch

[163]

branch of trade, of which its rivals possess themselves for ever.

FROM this truth, of which all that have any knowledge of men and past events cannot but be sensible, must be inferred, that whatever tends to lessen the price at which the commodities of a colony can be afforded to foreigners, encreases the consumption of those commodities, discourages rival nations, and multiplies every day the riches and branches of occupation of the mother country who sells cheapest.

THIS reason may even render necessary some abuses, if they are of long standing. The Europeans certainly committed a great fault in suffering sugar to be refined in the colonies where it grows. The English, has been justly charged with setting an example of several wrong steps taken with regard to colonies: that is one: for they were the first who began to refine sugars at St. Christophers. If France had then forbid her colonies doing the same, and had granted bounties or exemptions from duties to make them amends; she would not the less enjoy now a superiority in the sugar trade, and would constantly have employed in that branch of navigation a third more than she has done of ships and sailors, not to speak of other advantages, which she would have thereby obtained. It would be imprudent now to stop the progress of those sugar works, until the lowness of freight and diminution of duties compensate

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[164]

for the difference; for men cannot, without being discouraged, bear to be deprived of a profit they have been used to, and which is thereby become necessary to them. It is true, that it is always in the power of a state, by raising or lowering the duties, to establish, either an equilibrium or a preference in it's own commodities, without having recourse to prohibitions or coercive means.

THE progress of natural history, and of cheap experiments, are very fit to improve the culture of colonies, and thereby to increase their utility. It would be wrong in any body to imagine he has at once hit upon the best method either of cultivating his lands, or preparing their productions. The first inhabitants of colonies have seldom been great naturalists, and their successors have been content to grow rich by following the methods practised by their ancestors. It is likewise probable, that the properties of all those lands are not known, and that it would not be impossible to multiply their species of productions. The same latitude, and same climate should give one great room to expect the same kinds and qualities of earth, and to be able to procure several commodities, which some countries only are thought to produce; if proper care was but taken to try experiments. What a fund of riches would that nation possess, who should be able to draw from her colonies cochineal, spices, potash, hemp, flax, silk, and what else it might stand

[165]

stand in need of for it's manufactures in particular.

LASTLY, it is necessary to observe, that the culture of the colonies will become more and more precious, in proportion to the increase of ingenious labour in the several parts of Europe. Workmen and sailors will find no chasm in their several occupations, if the inhabitants of the colonies, enriched by the culture of them, are enabled to consume more. Those workmen and sailors will receive their hire in commodities, of which the value will be paid by foreigners. That, and the national culture together, will, by degrees, become the sole measure of the balance of trade.

HITHERTO we have spoken only of the culture of colonies, and the preference that culture is intitled to as being the first intent of the establishment of colonies; and because, without it, their second intent, trade, could not take effect.

BUT it ought never to be forgotten, even for a moment, that in seeking to fulfil this first intent, the second was the chief, and most essential thing in view; and that without the second, the first could never have attained perfection. For without trade, the commodities would have had no value; nor would the lands have been cultivated for want of slaves and credit.

Two consequences result from this truth.

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[166]

FIRST, if the original laws made to promote the cultivation of a colony are become detrimental to trade, it is necessary to alter or correct them, by some new regulation, whereby the abuse may be prevented. For it is of importance to a mother country, that the trade of her colonies be advantageous to her; and that it cannot be, if those who carry it on are not secure in it.

DISPUTES in trade are of the same nature in the colonies, with those which arise in the mother country: the interests of trade cannot be supported in any place whatever, without a thorough knowledge of the particular details relating to it, and the practical ways and means of carrying the same on. For which reason, consuls in the trading towns of those colonies, and representatives of those towns in their mother country, are a very proper means of establishing the necessary equilibrium between their culture and their trade.

A SECOND consequence is, that this perfect equilibrium is equally necessary for the preservation of culture and of trade. The culture could not, without ingratitude, disown the endeavour of trade to add to it's perfection: nor could, without the continuance of that same trade, be able to support itself. On the other hand, trade owes the greatest part of it's riches to culture, and stands in need of it, in order likewise to preserve itself. The
planter

[167]

planter and merchant in the colonies, cannot be too thoroughly convinced, that their mutual success depends on their harmony. Whatever hurts trade, is, in the end, destructive of culture; though the latter may have seemed to be a gainer for some short time: if the culture be prejudiced, trade must insensibly share it's losses.

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DISSERTATION VII.

Of such productions, manufactures, and trades, as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the British plantations should chiefly cultivate; in order to rival and compete with foreign nations, and not with each other; and some measures necessary to be taken for the prosperity of the commerce and navigation of all.

BY breaking up and cultivating the quantity of land in England, which has been considered in the course of these dissertations, she can never stand in need of grain of any kind, either for home-consumption, or foreign exportation; if public granaries should be established, and properly regulated, as has been recommended, in consequence of what we have urged. A steady pursuit of the same measures with regard to pasture will likewise amply supply this part of the kingdom, with cattle of every species requisite for the support and maintenance of the people, according to their natural encrease; which must ensue from the enjoyment of that general plenty amongst them, which we shall endeavour to promote; the like practices being duly regarded.

garded in Scotland and Ireland, as well as the British colonies, will not only furnish the inhabitants of those several parts of the British empire with all the necessaries of life as plentifully, and as cheaply as can be desired for their own use, but for sale to such states as may occasionally want them.

THE three kingdoms, and her plantations being thus capable of supplying themselves with all things absolutely necessary from their respective lands, they will not stand in need of the assistance of each other in this respect; England will have as little occasion for the Scotch or Irish cattle, as those countries will have for her grain; and which of the three shall enjoy the greatest plenty, and be able to afford to sell the cheapest, will gain the advantage of selling their productions to foreign states. The British northern plantations would also enjoy a share in the supply, not only in our own island colonies, but occasionally of foreign countries; but that should be done upon those principles of national policy, which we have before urged, in relation to the strict subserviency of colonies to their parent state.

IT will be next necessary to consider what other essentials this kingdom stands in need of, wherewith she may be furnished by the proposed land-improvements. And the first I shall take notice of is the article of timber, which has been frequently recommended to little purpose: and certainly is of no small importance

[170]

importance to the trade and navigation of this kingdom to render timber so plentiful, that we may, in conjunction with the other advantages we would labour to obtain, be enabled to build our ships as cheap as they are remarkably good; that no nation may be able to sail for less freights than the English: if this be sufficiently done, and labour rendered as cheap as has been observed, ships may be built for a third less than they at present are. Will not this occasion the building of numbers more than is now done; employ abundance of more people in variety of trades, besides encreasing our navigating-carriage, as well for the account of foreigners as of ourselves? As the wealth of this nation so greatly depends on its maritime affairs, does not also its chief strength on its royal navy? If timber be made very plentiful, and labour cheap, may not a man of war be built proportionably cheaper than at present? Would it not prove greatly to the benefit of the kingdom, if we could raise double the degree of naval strength we have, and man and fit the same for sea for the same expence we are now at for that purpose? That we may be able to effect this is certain, if our land-improvements are carried to the length they will so easily admit of.

It is something very strange, methinks, that gentlemen should be backward and supine with respect to their own advantage, and that of their families, by neglecting to plant timber.

[171]

timber. But so it is, that even laws to oblige them so to do, have proved ineffectual. Does this proceed from the rise of rents of late years; or to an unnatural and unjustifiable neglect of posterity, as timber-planting regards them more than ourselves? Will not this unaccountable behaviour in our gentry, together with the devouring iron furnaces, render the kingdom incapable of supplying itself with timber sufficient for the fleets of England? When gentlemen are distressed for money by the non-payment of rents, or from other causes, then we find the felling of what timber we have goes forwards; and, for a spirit, shall make timber reasonable; but it is scarce and dear in the general with us; and we are too much supplied from other nations: which is certainly impolitic, when we have no occasion for their aid. If our laws to enforce the planting of timber are deficient, let them be made effectual, and be effectually executed.

ALL lands that are infertile, or not so fit for cultivation; also waste lands, as far as practicable, should be well planted with timber. Hedge timber, we know, is generally the strongest, though not so straight as that in woods: and its growth in hedges is also much quicker: and if waste lands were properly managed and planted, they might be made to afford sufficient timber of quick growth for our naval as well as other building purposes. If we neglect this policy, we must be content, not only to see the ships
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[172]

of other nations the principal carriers of the world, but to employ many ships ourselves, which are not built in this kingdom. When we might be capable of amply supplying ourselves with all the timber we stand in need of for home building likewise, is it not extraordinary that we should import such immense quantities from Norway, and Sweden, at the expence too of our current specie, and the encrease of the navigation of other potentates; the Danes and Swedes bringing their timber in their own large ships built for that purpose?

BuT if neither England, Scotland, nor Ireland should ever, even by their conjoined aid, be brought to afford us timber sufficient for our maritime, as well as every other occasion; yet it is not to be doubted but our plantations will; for we may import what we cannot raise in the three kingdoms, from New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, if proper care is there taken for that purpose. And then here should be always provided and laid ready in proper places great quantities of timber; and care should be taken that bulky ships should be built and loaded therewith in a few days.

BuT even our heath-ground in England would do well for timber-plantations, as Mr. Bradley observes: though it may be difficult to inclose, yet, to overcome such difficulty, it might be eligible, perhaps, to summon the poor of the parish, who have chiefly

[173]

chiefly the right of commoning, and parcel out such lands in as many lots as there are persons, who can justly claim a right to it; and then the choice amongst them, of the respective parcels of land to be made by balloting; or else let them chuse according to their seniority, or the length of time that each of them, or their families, have been inhabitants of the parish. By this means every one of these poor people would find matter of employment, and become possessors of land, which they might justly call their own, and thereby have encouragement to cultivate and improve it; these people still remaining tributary to the lord of the manor, in proportion to the value of such lands as they hold, and to be obliged also to plant a certain number of such trees of timber as the land will best nourish. Hereby many of the poor, which, at present, are a dead weight on parishes, may be rendered useful to the public, and live in a contented state, enjoying every man his own right, without encroachment from his neighbours, or being subject, as the commoners now are, to have the benefit run only in a few hands; while, perhaps, those who have the greatest right have hardly pasture enough for six sheep, when others find subsistence for two or three hundred. Our heath-lands in England, which at present scarcely yield food enough for sheep, and are of no other use, might be cultivated for the propagating of fir-trees, which are

are of quick growth, useful, and agree well with such a soil.

ANOTHER way, which might tend to the improvement of timber, would be by obliging every tenant, at the renewing of his lease, to plant certain number of trees at his own expence. Where any considerable plantation happens to be made, a stone might be set up, with an inscription, denoting the year, the season, and by whom planted, that it might be an instruction to posterity how long such trees had been growing, to produce the sum they might be then sold for, and inform the successor of the person's name, who had so wisely the foresight to provide for him.

CHALKY soils will be productive of good timber; such as we observe, for the most part, on Salisbury-plain, and the waste grounds about Newmarket; and it is strange, considering the scarcity of timber, and even fire-wood in those countries, that no body has yet begun planting thereabouts; especially since we have so many instances of hills and lands of the same kind of chalk in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, &c. which are covered with trees, as well for timber as fire-wood. We there find the beech is natural to that kind of soil; and in some places the English chesnut thrives pretty well, and the oak indifferently; but the walnut rejoices in that soil, if it has any tolerable shelter.

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THE balance we pay in money to Norway and Sweden for timber, iron, &c. over and above what they take from us, is not less than 350,000 l. per annum; which is an outgoing well deserves our consideration.

So egregiously neglectful have we been in the article of wood-planting, that we are quite unacquainted with any species of woods that would grow in our climate, except such as have grown, as it were, wildely and spontaneously. Do not those soils that will produce in plenty the oak and the walnut-tree, promise fair to afford various other strong and beautiful woods for an infinite variety of uses? Are we yet well instructed in the divers kinds of woods that our lands would afford for the art of dying? Though the time of growth required for those hard colourable woods, in our climate, may be longer than in some others; that should no more discourage their plantation than those of oak. It would be little expence to gentlemen to try experiments for the raising of fine woods: success would amply recompence their attention. All high-coloured woods being more durable, as well as more beautiful than fir, they would become much used in the inside work of all housebuilding, and in various species of cabinet and other mechanical works; and therefore would prove very lucrative in cultivating by our gentry.

I HAVE often viewed our desolate forests, and barren plains, with an eye of concern, considering

sidering how much we were, at the same time, beholden to distant nations for those commodities, which might with care be cultivated in our own country; and which might turn to considerable private as well as public benefit. Experience has shewn, that there is no ground of a soil so barren, but it may, by mixing with other soils, and by skilful and industrious management with proper manures, be made to produce all sorts of grain, and feeds, as well as all sorts of plants and trees, which are necessary for the use of man, according to the several climates where they live. And, therefore, we have found it very practicable to raise flax and hemp in Great Britain and Ireland; and certainly those articles are capable of far greater improvement than they have hitherto arrived at in this kingdom. But whatever we are deficient in may be supplied by our plantations; and, therefore, it is unpardonable in a nation to want those things that are so essential, when they may raise them within themselves; especially so, when the article of hemp, flax, linen, thread, lace, cambrics, lawns, linen from Russia, Silesia, Switzerland, Hamburgh, and Bremen, do not cost the nation so little as a million and a half a year, notwithstanding our domestic improvements in the linen manufactures in Ireland and Scotland. These things have been often recommended by the public spirited: and when when so little regard has been had thereto, in comparison to what there ought to have been;

been; when our debts and incumbrances make it so necessary; when the rivalship of other states in trade are daily encroaching on us; and when wars make it necessary to save every national out-going expence that we can: is it not unaccountable, that we should overlook any advantage within our reach?

WHATSOEVER materials for our capital manufactures we shall not be capable of raising amongst ourselves, we may easily do by wise encouragement in our plantations; and this would restrain them to their plantation business, and prevent their engaging in manufactures to interfere with their mother-state. To promote planting more amongst them, and manufacturing less, why should we not encourage to the utmost the planting of tea, coffee, and cacao-trees, as well as logwood, and every other specie of dying-woods, or others that can be worked up to advantage? Will not our colonies produce cochineal and indigo to as great perfection as those of France and Spain? These essential articles, together with what have been before intimated, would greatly add to the circulation of the trade and navigation of Great Britain between her and her colonies, independent of all other states; and this independency cannot be too much cultivated; for the more we shall be able to deal and thrive within our own dominions, the less occasion shall we have to submit to other states.

ALTHOUGH we have not yet proved so successful in the production of silk in Georgia

[178]

as could be wished and desired; yet it is to be hoped that a matter of this concernment will not be given up, but pursued vigorously till the great end shall be happily accomplished. Let the example of France animate and inspire us. They laboured under no less difficulties and discouragements than we do in this respect: and if they have carried their point, will it not be shamefully impolitic to despair, which is the child of ignorance? On the contrary, since we are convinced, that the state, which shall obtain the commercial dominion, will obtain the like by the sword; we must either resolutely and zealously pursue the commercial prize, or submit to bondage by the enemy. Why should we be dismayed, when the natural advantages of both states being compared, they seem to lie in our favour? France yields great quantities of corn, but our harvests are generally more certain, and do not miscarry so often as theirs. They raise great quantities of hemp and flax for their manufactures: and although we do not raise a sufficiency in Britain and Ireland for the like purpose, we may raise as much as we please in our American colonies; whereof we have land as good as any, and far cheaper than it is in France. Do not our colonies also abound with mulberry-trees? We want nothing but industry and effective policy to raise within ourselves silk competent to carry on that estimable manufacture. The importation of China silk has greatly helped this manufacture. France
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[179]

has iron and copper ore; so have we in far greater quantities, both at home and in our colonies; and in the latter we can work it to greater profit than they can. They have wines and brandy, which afford them a very considerable annual advantage from various countries: and as the woods in our colonies abound with wild vines, why should they not, if duly cultivated, in Carolina or Georgia, produce wines no less delicate than those in any part of Europe? But it would be no great difficulty to supply ourselves with wines in another manner. Nor are our colonies less capable of yielding oil, raisins, figs, currants. The French have salt: and have we not salt-springs, sufficient to serve, not only ourselves, but even to export; especially so, if our water-carriage was properly improved. France has, indeed, wool of its own; but of such a quality, that it will not serve to make their manufactures for that general exportation without a due mixture of ours; which, from the measures laid down in this tract, we seem capable of effectually preventing, and securing the manufacturing of all our own wool wholly to ourselves. England abounds in the valuable articles of tin, lead, coals, and leather, for exportation; of which France is deprived, and purchases from us. We have quantities of excellent oak for ship-building, and may greatly improve the quantity; but France is herein deficient: nor have they a sufficient store of

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flesh for victualling their shipping; in which Great Britain and Ireland generally abound, so as to sell to them, and to other countries. England had formerly a very beneficial trade by the re-exportation of our sugars to foreign markets; but the French, by enlarging their sugar plantations, and their better management, have so much undersold us of late years, that they have in a manner beat us out of that trade; which yet we might recover, when we shall be able to sell them as cheap as they can do at foreign markets: and the natural ways and means to do that we have shewn to be in our own power. If Martinico has suffered so greatly by the late hurricane as is now reported, this accident attending our rivals, may contribute to reinstate us in this trade, if we improve the occasion. The carrying of our plantation produce directly from our colonies to foreign countries, was a deviation from the act of navigation, in order to render those productions the cheaper: but this measure has its bad consequences to the mother countries, as well as good ones to the colonies. If we shall be once capable of reducing the price of every thing as proposed, the necessity of this toleration will, perhaps, cease. Our African trade has proved no less beneficial to the plantations, than to Great Britain; and by some measures, that I may one day have the honour to lay before the administration, that branch of trade may be

be rendered far more lucrative and important to the kingdom than it ever has been.

THESE considerations enable us to make a judgment, how far this nation may be said to be independent, in point of trade, from the rest of the world. The quantity of shipping and water-craft of every kind, employed in our home-coasting trade round our islands, as well as the shipping employed to and from Great Britain, and Ireland to our American colonies, and our African settlements, and the quantity also employed by our colonies among themselves: these points well weighed, our seamen hereby bred, and the tunnage of shipping hereby created, would, perhaps, entitle us to the character of a maritime power, although we had no commerce with other nations. But,

IF we had no commerce with other nations, and our neighbouring potentates had, and we only carried on our commerce with our own territories, they would encrease in wealth and power, while we should be at a stand, as it were, in comparison to them. Were we reduced to this state, how long could we maintain ourselves an independent people? Was it not the advancement of the commerce of this nation, that enabled us, in the days of Elizabeth, to oppose the chains of slavery then forged for us in Spain? Is not trade the only means left us, whereby we can protect ourselves from that slavery, wherewith we are at present threatened?

[182]

Where trade is, there will be employment; where employment is, thither will useful people resort; and where property is secured, there the wealthy will settle to enjoy it.

THE convenient situation of any estate adds to its value and purchase: without convenience, life itself would be but an insipid spiration, not worth enjoying. England certainly deserves to be valued, and preferred to all nations, having both to so great advantage. It is an island placed as a center to the circular globe, towards which, commerce may draw a line from the whole circumference; it is blessed with a moderation of every element; no scorching sun negroes, nor frigid zone benumbs its natives; a medium influence strengthens and beautifies its inhabitants, rendering them, neither of the unweildy or pigmy race, but fit to endure the toils of labour. So temperate is our climate, that the sun neither exhales, nor does the cold phlegmatic the spirituous parts, which creates the medium temperature; our imagination being neither too airy for deep contemplation, nor too dull for invention. Its soil is mixture and productive; and where sterility appears on the surface, the bowels are enriched with valuable minerals, and fossils.

AGREEABLE variety of hills and dales compass the land. When the parching sun chaps the highlands, the meadows thrive with verdure; when mighty showers drown the vales, the hills grow fruitful by moderate humidity;

[183]

humidity; our lands, by tillage, afford a grateful plenty; our trees are lofty and well topped; our oaks so firmly rib our ships, that our royal navy, if duly supported, by the effects of a prosperous commerce, may ever prove an invincible bulwark; our fruits are salubrious, our cattle large, healthy, and numerous, none in the world better for sustenance; their skins are firm, and so contracted their pores, that better leather is no where to be met with. Our wool being remarkably good, is the parent of our great staple, and gives a plaudit to our manufactures throughout the universe. We have fowl in great variety and good. The land is plentifully veined with rivers, refreshing the earth, and affording variety and plenty of fish: the nation is a verdure-field indented with harbours around it, where our ships, from their natural situation, may ride out the tempestuous storm. The sea is as a wall, which surrounds us, defending us from the Pharaoh that would enslave. It is wonderful to behold the immense quantity of divers sorts of fish that periodically visit our coasts to administer sustenance, when the land fails, and afford merchandize to enrich the nation. How has heaven blessed us, by causing the winds to blow westerly for above half the year? These make our Cape lands and bays, opposite to the French and Dutch coasts, good roads for our ships to ride with security: we have an advantage over the French, by being on the weather, they

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[184]

on the lee-shore: our anchor-hold also is much better than either that of the French, or the Dutch, we having a stiff clay, chalk, or hard gravel, while the French have hard rocks, or loose sand, the Hollanders and Flemish more numerous sands on their coasts, their waters of less depth, and their ports choaked with quick-sands; when our ships ride safe, even between our sands, by our country's being a weather shore. Where is the nation more happily situated for universal commerce? If we do not maintain our own independency of empire, and preserve the liberties of christendom, how can we answer for our ingratitude to our country, on which nature has so liberally bestowed her benefactions?

WE have seen, from the first and second dissertations, by what means we may preserve our wool from being smuggled to France, and how we may be enabled to sell our woollen fabrics as cheap to foreigners as the French, or any other nation can do theirs. Though this is the fundamental and primary principle that we ought to aim at, yet this alone will not extend and propagate our commerce abroad, and enable us to maintain a competitorship against France, and other rising commercial states: we must not less study the art of pleasing foreigners than that of cheapness; for if our manufactural artists do not fall in with the taste of other nations, and hit them as well as our rivals, our being upon
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[185]

a parity with them in point of cheapness solely, will not augment the vent of our commodities; ours may still lay upon our hands, while those of our competitors shall be in great demand, unless we are also upon an equality with them, in regard to fashion and quality as well as the delicacy of our colours. By what measures this may be obtained comes next under consideration.

THE usual method, whereby our manufacturers come at a knowledge of these things, is through our merchants, whose correspondents in other countries send them over patterns of such fabrics as are in vogue: but they who in general have been the first inventors of the new manufacture, will always have the first of the market; and when the run for such goods is quite or near over, then Mr. Englishman, perhaps, steps in for a small share, while Monsieur, or Mynherr, has been beforehand with him, and reaped his harvest before the other has began to sow: a general commodity shall, as it were, be in and out of fashion frequently before it comes to our knowledge, or not till the markets are glutted, the fair over, and our goods become a drug. By this succession of new fashions, the French anticipate the English in their trade; foreigners are first captivated with their goods, the warehouses of the French factors are full and empty before the English factors can be provided with the fashionable fabric of the day: so that if we could afford
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[186]

to sell our manufactures as cheap as the French do theirs, unless we are equally happy in the arts of engaging the fancy of foreign nations, France, from this cause alone, will bear away the trade, and establish and extend her mercantile factories, every where to our detriment; they having the start of us generally in this essential point.

AND here, we say, the plain question lies, how England shall put herself upon a level with France in this respect also? The answer is obvious: follow the example of France herein, as near as we can. *Fas est, et ab hoste doceri.* If the inventive talent of the French fabricators are more fertile, than those of the English; if they are more delicate and refined, or more artful and politic in striking in with the foible, and prevailing passions of foreign countries, than the English; does it not well become the wisdom of this nation to exert themselves herein, and by proper policy supply the defects, under which their artists and manufacturers may naturally labour? But long experience has shown, that our workmen neither want genius nor industry to equal, if not to excel those of any other nations; and what proves this beyond all doubt is, that they have made greater advance in the manufactural and mechanical arts, with less public encouragement, than those of any other country. May we, therefore, not reasonably enough suppose, that if we should resolve to take all such

[187]

such measures as the nature of the case seems to require, our artists would prove no less successful in their arts of pleasing the taste of foreigners than our rivals are? To this end, is it not necessary, indispensably necessary, to encourage every establishment that hath a tendency to the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures?

WE are happy enough, indeed, to have such a society lately spontaneously sprung up in London; but this is but in its infancy; it has been hitherto promoted only by the private benefactions of a few public spirited gentry. The essential improvement of our arts, trade, and manufactures, have been left as it were, wholly to our artists and manufacturers themselves, and the voluntary aid given them by generous philosophic spirits, in the course of their emulous labours: nay, till we long experienced the rivalry of other nations therein, too many were weak, or vain enough to think that we had arrived to the ultimate perfection. Though we have seen such like public establishments take place in many foreign countries; though England has experienced the progress that Ireland and Scotland have made, in their manufactures, by these means; yet she has always slighted them, till very lately: but trade, like states and empires, will ever stand in need of the same means to preserve it, that first raised it. Nor have any steps been taken to promote and advance our trade but

but what have been first set on foot by private persons, who have delighted in studies beneficial to the kingdom, and communicated their discoveries for the general advantage. To the Royal Society of London this nation has been unspeakably indebted upon this occasion; and, indeed, almost every state in Europe; most of them having followed our example in this respect, and established philosophical societies for the improvement of sciences, and the commercial arts.

BUT those learned associations do not come up to the peculiar point to which I am, at present, speaking of; we have no kind of public institution for the ordering, directing, and regulating of the fashions that our artists and manufacturers ought to pursue in their various fabrications, in order to render them the more acceptable to the taste of other countries, suitable to their climate, habit, and custom of the people in general, and the nature and constitution of the government; for all these have more or less influence on their manner of clothing, as well as in their furniture, and their very diet and entertainments: and, therefore, a commercial state cannot give too great attention to the customs and prevailing passions of foreign countries, if they would render their commodities the more universally acceptable. As we would not send the same apparel to the frigid as to the torrid zone; so neither is it good policy to send always one and the same sort of goods, where they

they have a taste for a continual variety; and where that trading state, who supplied the greatest variety was certain to obtain the greatest share in the trade. But how is this to be done, we have asked? It will hardly be thought sufficient to answer in the general: pursue the like measures that France have done. It may be expected, that we should particularize some measures, if only to provoke and excite others to mend them. This we shall endeavour to do with all brevity: (1) Let the before mentioned society, already established, for the improvement of arts, and manufactures, or any other public spirited body, be properly incorporated, and duly supported by parliament, for this, and all the other purposes, of the private improvement of the useful commercial arts. (2) Let this society be authorized to maintain a constant correspondence with our consuls, and British factories abroad, or with other merchants in foreign countries, in order to have their opinion duly from time to time of any species of goods that may be wrought up or manufactured in England, that may fall in with the humour of the people, and bid fair to be generally acceptable in those countries; what objection the people are observed to make against any of our commodities, and their opinions how these objections may be removed; what other nations interfere with us in any of our staple, or other manufactures, and how much cheaper they can afford to sell their goods than

than we can of a quality no way inferior to ours : in fine, what difficulties and discouragements our trade may, in any respect, labour under in foreign countries, either by deviations from our treaties of commerce, or by the oppressions of the officers of the revenue ; whether any other nations are more favoured in their commerce and navigation than we are, who have no peculiar right by treaty so to be ; and how, and by what means every kind of grievance on our trade in foreign states may be redressed. (3) That the society obtains as early intelligence as possible of the new fabrics of every commercial art that is practising in other states for the advancement of their trade ; and that they have sent them patterns, and samples of every species of their chief manufactures, or of any of their mechanical productions that are observed to have a vent in other countries. (4) That all such patterns and samples, together with the prices, for which such goods are sold, be properly ranged and disposed, in the society's repository ; that all manufacturers, and artists shall have unrestrained access to them, and inspect them so as to be able to imitate them, if prudent. (5) That the society shall, from time to time recommend such fabrics, and productions of art to the imitation of our manufacturers and artizans, as may be judged to come into vogue ; in order to enable this nation constantly to vye with others in any species of commodities that we shall be capable of

of making or producing. (6) That the society shall be enabled to promote and encourage any kind of institution that may prove subordinately conducive to the promotion of the great end of their own establishment ; such as the institution of academies for cultivating the arts of design, painting, sculpture, and the like. (7) That the said society shall annually lay whatever they judge proper before the parliament ; with their sentiments on the measures that may be necessary to encourage certain new branches of trade ; what old branches are declining, and from what causes, with respect to the arts of workmanship, and the prices ; with their opinion what may be requisite to be done to preserve these trades from the ruin wherewith they may be threatened, so far as shall be within the province of this society. (8) That this society shall cause to be taken and preserved a minute record of the present state of the arts and trades of all nations, and continue the constant history of their variation ; whereby they may be able to judge what parts of new foreign trades we may be able to adopt, as any of the old shall decay. (9) That the society shall be open to receive all information from artists and manufacturers of any deficiencies under which they may labour in their respective arts and trades, and communicate all desiderata wherein it would prove for the national advantage for them to be informed in ; to the end that
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[192]

the society might be enabled to offer proper public rewards and encouragements to have all such discoveries made by the learned and speculative, that cannot be accomplished by the mere practical artists, and by that means to bring all our commercial arts and manufactures to the utmost perfection; and afterwards to establish them in the kingdom by such parliamentary encouragement as the nature thereof shall require. (10) That all persons of learning or ingenuity, as well as all artificers and manufacturers, who shall make any new and important discoveries for the advancement of trade, shall be invited by the society to lay them before them for their consideration; promising, that they shall meet with all encouragement suitable to the merit of their discoveries.

By such like means all new inventions and theories would be brought to the touchstone; and their validity or insufficiency discovered; and when found just and solid by such a society, they would be confirmed and stamped with a character that would render them universally current, and fit to be carried into public practice.

Thus when any attempt is made to settle a new trade, or any discovery or invention made for the improvement of an old one; before the least attempt is made to apply the same in real business, the proper assay or experiment must be performed in miniature; which proving successful, upon repeated trial and examination,

[193]

amination, with due variation of circumstances, may then encourage the application, or advancement of the discovery into an art.

IN order to judge of the general utility of any discovery, the society, who shall be constituted the inquisitors, should strictly examine into the expence thereof; for although it may be very ingenious and very important, yet if it comes too dear to be practised in any branch of trade, it may be useless. The society, indeed, should act herein so as not to discourage any invention; for although, on the first trials, it may prove too expensive for general practice, yet future experiments may render it otherwise; which has proved the case of many important discoveries.

VOL. I. O D I S-



DISSERTATION VIII.

The same subject as the last continued in another light.

AS a society for the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures is already commenced, we may reasonably hope for its continuance and success; and if it should once become constituted of a large and weighty body of persons of distinction, and supported by the public purse, as well as private donations, we may suppose, that it will consist of many gentlemen happily turned for science; many, who are as well disposed to read and think as to act for the public interest and happiness; and such will be daily enquiring into the desiderata of artists of all kinds: nor will they search for these only from the books and theories of the philosophic class, but they will have opportunities to be informed therein by the artists themselves, from the access which they will be permitted to have with the society; and every one else will be ready and willing to communicate whatever may thus contribute to the public benefit: whereby a register may
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be kept of whatever discoveries shall, from time to time, be requisite to be made for the advancement of our mechanical and manufactural arts, and others wherein our commercial interests depend.

THUS nothing that our soil and climate will admit of; nothing that the arts of husbandry and agriculture can produce in the kingdom to profit, will be left unthought of, or untried in miniature; and then we need not fear but it would be duly carried into execution in grand; for this body being the happy medium between the parliament and private people, nothing that really merits the public attention will pass unnoticed; or go unencouraged for want of being either properly and faithfully laid before the legislature, or effectually supported and carried through, without any expence and fatigue to the artists. For, when once the society is thoroughly convinced of the public utility and emolument of any discovery, or any national proposal, they will undertake all the rest for the interest and honour of the kingdom, and exonerate private people from those expensive discouragements that intimidate their application, and stagnate their ingenuity.

UNSPEAKABLY beneficial to the nation must be the consequences of such an institution. For when the working practical artists are certain of having their inventions brought to light, and set in a public point of view,

and themselves publicly rewarded for their industry and ingenuity: when the learned philosopher is sure that his labours in the public service shall not be slighted, nor himself pass unrecompensed or unhonoured, how will the human mind be agitated to glory? What an emulous spirit will not this raise throughout the kingdom among the thinking and active part of mankind? Every artificer, every manufacturer, every man of business will strive to excel in his trading capacity, when he knows that his name shall be recorded with honour in the annals of this immortal society? For it might prove not the least encouragement to have a list yearly published of the names of those, who have been instrumental to make any useful improvements in their respective arts or trades; with an account of the honour, and of the reward annexed, to which they have been entitled. How many genius's may not these measures bring upon the open stage of action, that are now eclipsed behind the curtain in low obscurity; and how much more profitable to the community may the talents of numbers be rendered than they are at present?

WHEN this society shall be enabled by the public to propose encouragements to all who shall make any useful, and important discoveries in their several arts and trades; what numberless improvements would not gradually arise from the working people themselves, that could not otherwise fall within
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the cognizance of the society, or of philosophers? When the society shall invite all artists to transmit such difficulties to them that they cannot overcome themselves, and they shall properly propose them to the public attention, may we not expect that the philosopher will perfect many things that the working artist could never of himself be able to do? Thus uniting the philosopher's head with the mechanic's and manufacturer's hands, what advancement, in the commercial arts, may we not hope for? Will not the effectual rise of a spirit of this kind amongst the people so raise our commerce and navigation, as to enable us to beat the French in trade? And will not that prove a more effectual way to keep them impotent and humble, than depending too much upon war only to do it?

LET Great Britain but add sound commercial policy to her natural benefits and advantages, she may preserve and maintain her independency, as a free state, without being eternally liable to be embroiled in wars. For superiority of trade and commerce, necessarily producing superiority of wealth and power, her enemies will not be so forward to quarrel with her.

THERE have been a great variety of arts, trades, manufactures, and productions recommended, from time to time, by private persons, in order to be encouraged in some part or other of the British dominions; many

of which have been enumerated in our last discourse : but whatever shall be thought eligible in the opinion of private people, is not always to be regarded by the state. There are too many things that come from individuals, that rather deserve contempt than attention : yet it may not be politic in a state to despise and stifle the efforts of the most obscure, when they appear any thing rational, because a trifling public performance may be productive of others unspeakably interesting. The society supposed to exist, therefore, we may imagine, will take any thing into their consideration that may be submitted by men of letters to the public for the emolument of commerce : and when they shall recommend to the legislature, or to the practice of the public, what shall be thus communicated, we may presume it will be duly regarded by both ; because the matter will be duly enquired into, and its practicability and uses pointed out, explained and illustrated by the authority of the society. This will prove another means of introducing and promoting whatever shall be found beneficial to the community that shall come from the press also.—To give one instance explanatory of my meaning.

LET us suppose, for example, that any nation should quarrel with England, from which she takes large quantities of wines ; as from Spain or Portugal ; or suppose either of these nations should lay aside, or greatly diminish,

minish, in times of peace, in their purchase of our woollen and other manufactures : in either case, or from other motives, we will further suppose, that the court of England should think it advisable, by way of resentment or retaliation, to encourage the productions of wine for home-consumption in our country, and gradually lessen the importation thereof from Spain or Portugal. For the article of foreign wines is a very expensive one to Great Britain, and should be retrenched, since our trade with Spain and Portugal also declines daily.

IN order to satisfy the government of the practicability hereof, the society for the improvement of arts and trades might be consulted, it naturally falling within their department. Upon such an occasion, the society would certainly enquire, who were the proper persons to be advised with ; what celebrated writers had treated on that subject, and what other measures were prudent for them to take, in order to make a due judgment of this design submitted to their consideration. Upon such an enquiry, with whom could the society more properly advise than the learned and ingenious Dr. Peter Shaw, physician in ordinary to his majesty ; this gentleman having eminently distinguished himself in all chemical philosophy, and having wrote on the subject of wines better than any one else, so as to answer such a purpose to the court of Great Britain? The

works of the learned Dr. Stahl likewise should be consulted upon a matter of this nature; upon whose labours our learned Dr. Shaw has greatly improved.—To give an idea, how far we may be able to supply ourselves with wines, in case we should be ever put to the necessity of it. Be that, however, as it may, our shewing the probability of it, may deter wine countries from declining to trade with us, when they know we can retaliate on them in the like way, without destroying the custom of wine-drinking in the nation.

It is well known, that artificial or made wines, as they are vulgarly called, are produced from cherries, gooseberries, currants, alderberries, blackberries, plums, and also from tappings of certain trees, as the birch, the maple, the sycamore, &c. and more eminently from the juice of the sugar-cane, treacle, or direct sugar and water. For any of these vegetable juices, being duly fermented, afford as real and perfect wine, according to their several natures, as the richest grapes of the best wine countries.

THE wines made, at present, in England, lie under disrepute, says Dr. Shaw; the reason whereof seems chiefly owing, first, to the inartificial manner wherein they are usually prepared; and, secondly, to a certain rumour spread about them, as if they were unwholesome, crude, indigestible, too
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luscious, too tart or griping, and apt to occasion the head-act, &c.

THOSE, who have never been in wine-countries, nor otherwise made themselves acquainted with the nature and common preparation of wines, proceed, in their judgment of them, according to popular report, or notions, and the immediate information of the senses. Thus, for instance, red port wines, to please the common taste, must be bright, deep-coloured, rough, rich, and racy, two or three years old, &c. And when this, or any other notion, comes to prevail as the criterion of wine, the cooper is thence directed how to hit the general taste, and make a saleable commodity.

UPON the same principle, philosophical chemistry instructs us to imitate the wine-cooper; and from almost any sweet and tart vegetable juice, to make saleable wines; even saks, mountains, sherries, or ports: all which, by the way, are usually mixed liquors; though the basis of them all is in the juice of the grape.

THIS juice of the grape, being chemically examined and considered, proves to be no more than a large proportion of *real sugar* dissolved in water, with the addition only of a certain flavour in the juice of the grape; according to the nature of the vine. Whence we may lay it down as an axiom, and the result of a careful enquiry, that a saccharine
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substance is the basis of wines. For sugar is not peculiar to the sugar-cane, but obtainable also from grapes; and accordingly, we often find large grains thereof in dried raisins; particularly those of Malaga, that have laid for some time, and swet together; whereby they run into candy, a saccharine efflorence, and actual grains of sugar.

HENCE we may observe, that any vegetable subject that is reducible to a pure dry saccharine substance, may be practised upon to advantage, as a vinous subject, as well as sugar. But if we have not in Great Britain and Ireland natural substances, which afford a saccharine substance sufficient to supply us with wines, we need not doubt but our sugar colonies can; for lump sugar well cleansed of it's treacle, is a subject no less fit for the making of the most delicate wines than the juice of the grape itself. The analysis of the juice of the grape before fermentation, shews it to be no other than a saccharine substance dissolved in water, with the addition of a tartarous acid: which is fully confirmed by a chemical resolution. Whence it is easy to expect, that if tartar, which in the natural salt of wine, or of any sweet vegetable juice fermented, can be artificially dissolved in a proper mixture of sugar and water, it would give an exact resemblance of the thing. And upon experiment it has been found, that tartar may be thus dissolved, so as to communicate
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an agreeable acidity to sugar; and thus to imitate, in great perfection, the natural sweet juices of vegetables, without their particular flavours: and hence experiments discover to us the nature, use and perfection of the art of sweets. By a sweet is understood any vegetable juice, whether obtained by the means of sugar, raisins, or other foreign or domestic fruit; which is added to wines, with a design to improve them. So that, the art of sweet-making might receive a high degree of improvement, by using pure sugar, as one general wholesome sweet, instead of those infinite mixtures of honey, raisins, syrups, treacle, stum, cyder, &c. wherewith the sweet-makers supply the wine-coopers, to lengthen out or amend wines. For pure sugar being added to any poor wine, will ferment therewith, improve it, and bring it to a proper degree of strength and vinosity. If the wine to be thus amended is tart of itself, no tartar should be added to the sugar: but if it be too sweet, or luscious, then the addition of tartar is proper.

BUT it is not my intention to enter into the art of wine making, referring for that to the works of the learned gentlemen before-mentioned, who have expressly and very learnedly and judiciously treated on that subject: all that I would observe, is only to show: that together with our native fruits and various other vegetable substances the growth of our climate, and the assistance of our sugar
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colonies, we are capable of supplying ourselves amply and cheaply with good and wholesome wines of any flavour, without being obliged to foreign countries for them.

AND how this might be carried into general execution for the benefit of the nation as well as of the government, the society might be able easily to show: and this instance is sufficient to give an idea of the unspeakable utility of such a body wisely supported by the state, to take into their consideration the improvement of every art, that shall tend to the emolument of the community.

AND if England should resolve to begin the art of wine making in earnest, she might, perhaps, become not only capable of supplying her own consumption, but of exporting them to many foreign countries. For, if once we took to the art, we should by gradual experience excel in every branch of practice, requisite to bring the same to it's ultimate perfection; we should fall into all the practicable methods of concentrating wines, so as to reduce their bulk, render them more unalterable and perfect, more durable and fit for service, carriage and exportation; for these things are easily attainable, if the study and practice of chemical philosophy shall become more generally pursued.

THE farther cultivation and improvement of these studies will open new views of infinite extent. The due application of chemistry,

istry, as to the supporting and improving useful trade, and commerce, will (1) supply the demands of a nation, and afford a surplus of commodities for exportation and foreign consumption. (2) It discovers the several ways of condensing, curing, preparing, securing and fitting natural and artificial productions, or commodities, for transportation and carriage: and (3) it shews the means of supplying chemical necessaries to voyagers and travellers in founding, supporting and improving the business of trade, traffic and commerce in different countries.

THIS subject is of too complex, and intricate a nature for national purposes, to be adjusted from bare philosophical and chemical considerations: a knowledge of the different policies, laws, interests, and customs of other countries is here required; or the joint abilities of the statesman and the merchant. Thus, perhaps, it might not, though it were practicable, (while England continues in perfect friendship with Spain and Portugal, and our trade on their parts are no way injured, and that of France encouraged at her expence,) be for the interest of England to rival them in wines; or Germany or Sweden in metals; nor Holland in the production of corn spirits; and the cheap preparation and refinement of certain other commodities: but it may be greatly her interest to rival France in her wines and brandies, and in whatever else she shall be capable of.

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BUT supposing England to have no very interesting connections with certain states, and at full liberty, and the customs, duties and drawbacks in her favour; then it is a point of philosophical and chemical consideration, to shew what arts may be rendered commercial, for the benefit of our own kingdom. And amongst others of this kind may come the following, *viz.* the arts of wines and brandies from grapes of English growth; the same arts without grapes, as we have observed, to still greater profit; and practicable with much less trouble and expence—The art of producing corn spirits to better advantage than our neighbouring states; and underselling them at the foreign markets—The art of producing vinegars, cheaper than in France, or Holland—The art of producing arracs, equal or superior in goodness to those of India—The art of refining camphire to more perfection than other countries—The art of making hard oil-soaps, equal to the foreign—The arts of curing several sorts of fish and flesh, to greater advantage than our rivals—The art of refining borax, to greater profit and perfection—The art of making white lead, to greater advantage than other countries, &c.

IT is not necessary to be large in the enumeration of many other chemical arts, no less improveable than these, for the purposes of commerce; because this is sufficient to convey the idea intended; and a single one, when

when fully advanced and extended, may often prove the principal business of a whole country. But what arts might be politically necessary to cultivate and improve, the learned society, which we suppose to be established, would be good judges, with the intelligence they might receive: and in this manner, we should be capable of showing our resentment to any nation who should injure us; who should violate their faith, and disregard their solemn treaties: and this method of national resentment might restrain other states, perhaps, from being perfidious more than the dread of war; that now being reduced to a mere trade, and by alliances may be carried to what length nations please. But, when treacherous states shall experience, that Great Britain will revenge themselves as well by their trade as by their swords, they will change their conduct towards her: and by the former, we have seen, and shall further see, how Great Britain, with the aid of Ireland and her plantations may be enabled to injure more effectually the trade and navigation of any nation that acts unjustly or dishonourable by her, than she can, perhaps, by dint of her arms alone; for the art of trade, may render this nation more invincible than the art of war only can do: but the proper exertion of both will put it in our power to maintain, not only our own liberties and independency, but likewise those of all christendom. For, if Great Britain does not stand in the gap as she has

has hitherto done, farewell the liberties of all mankind!

IF it should be enquired from whence these apprehensions of danger arise? We answer, from the detriment arising to our trade and navigation; for these daily decline, while those of other states daily advance: If this is the case, must not our wealth and our power dwindle, as those of other nations encrease?

WHETHER this is not the case, let any one of candour and impartiality examine the facts, and faithful representations founded thereon, which I have given throughout the course of my writings, in relation to the commercial policy of France; and then let him judge, if any system can possibly be better grounded for the total destruction of the British trade and commerce, and the exaltation of their own?

LET the judicious and unbiassed likewise consider, all we have urged with respect to the commercial politics of the court of Spain; how they are adapted to supply their colonies in America with those manufactures that they have been wont to take of England; and the underhand preference, which they have some years given to the French fabrics in detriment to those of England; and how for some years our exports to Old Spain have decreased, while those from France to Spain have augmented: And since Minorca is wrested out of

of our hands, every one knows the present melancholy condition of our Italian, and our Turkey, and Levant trades. Is it not notorious that several of our rich ships have long lain rotting in the port of Leghorn; while the proprietors of their cargoes are great sufferers, and the revenue of the customs deprived of the duties? Will not our custom-house revenue very severely feel the effects of the present precarious state of our whole Mediterranean commerce? And may not the deficiencies of those funds prove very great, when they shall come to be made good by parliament? While our trade in this part of the world, is in a state of declension; we find those, not only of France and Spain triumphant there, but we find His Neapolitan Majesty making large commercial advances in the traffic of his subjects to the Levant. Have not our merchants often experienced the injuries and insults offered to the nation by the corsairs of Barbary; and if we shall not be able to regain our influence amongst the Italian states, shall we not experience the like treatment with more severity? That the British commerce to Portugal has been some time upon the declining condition, we have shewed to be no less true than all the rest: by the improvement only of the French manufacture of black druggets, the French have hurt the woollen manufactures of our kingdom in this article alone, to the amount of no less than two hundred thousand pounds sterl.

per Annum; and this is the case, with regard to divers other branches of the English commerce: for do not the Portuguese seem resolved to carry on their trade to the Brasils for their own account as much as they can by the means of a company of merchants which they have lately established at Oporto? Do not the French factories encrease in this kingdom, while the British decline? Does not the treatment, which the British merchants have here met with of late years prognosticate the loss of our commercial interest in this nation, as well as the others above intimated? Will not the present state of our trade in the Mediterranean greatly affect the trade between that and Portugal; and will not this affect England in a double respect, and diminish the circulation of Portugal gold in the nation?

How the ballance of trade stands between England and the East countries is well enough known not to need animadversion: and that the Russia trade is likewise disadvantageous is no less notorious. And we would ask, whether the benefits, which Great Britain receives by the neutrality of the Dutch, the Hamburgher, Danes, Swedes, and Spaniards, bear any comparison with those made by the French? Does not the greater cheapness of the French commodities in general, when compared with ours, induce those neutral states to traffic more for their own account, also for company account with French traders, and other
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foreigners than they will do in our goods, by reason of their greater dearness in general than those of France? Is not the French commerce, by virtue of neutral carriers, more extended at this time of war, than that of Great Britain? Though France hereby lose the benefit of the employment of quantity of their mercantile shipping, and consequently of freight; yet, is not this made up to them in a great measure, by savings in the articles of insurance? and are they not hereby advantaged in their naval power, by converting their trading vessels into those of war; and thereby have less trading ships for us to take of theirs, and we more of ours for them to take, by being obliged to be our own carriers; since neutrals do not find it so much for their interest to carry our commodities for us, they not selling so well as French at foreign markets?

As to our trade in America, that, which we had, some time before the war, with our Northern colonies was greatly reduced; and that with our islands is not bettered; no more than is that of Africa, or Asia.

Do not these considerations make it necessary to think, without loss of time, of the effectual ways and means to reduce the price of our exportable commodities to a parity with those of France? If any other measures shall be demonstrated more effectual to answer this important purpose than those which I have adopted, in the train of my writings; I will
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cheerfully give them up ; but till better can be supported, these may deserve trial.

SHOULD not this idea of our trade rouse and animate us to exert every measure to advance it? Will not what we have urged in relation to the establishment of a society for the improvement of new arts and trades greatly contribute hereto, in conjunction with those various other measures, which we have endeavoured to maintain and inforce throughout our writings? Let no one, therefore, judge these faithful representations useless, or drawn up from other motives than the public interest; for time will prove their expediency, when those who may disregard them may live to be treated with the contempt and indignation they deserve from an injured nation.

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DISSERTATION IX.

Further motives exciting to agriculture, from the example of the Chinese; with an abstract of some philosophic remarks, relating to the cultivation of land.

SUCH is the industry of the husbandmen of china, and such their indefatigable application to labour, that there is no province in the empire but wears the aspect of fertility, and none but what can support an inconceivable multitude of inhabitants. Besides the nature of the soil being well meliorated by art, the prodigious quantity of canals with which the land is separated, contributes not a little to it's fruitfulness; and so many different species of grain are produced, that they employ divers of them to make wine and several spirituous liquors. But when a barrenness or scarcity is apprehended in one place, the mandarins always obstruct the making of strong liquors.

AGRICULTURE is here in great estimation, and it's practisers revered as the most useful persons in the state, and maintain a considerable rank. They are indulged with

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great privileges, and preferred before tradesmen, or even merchants.

THE general care of the husbandmen is for the cultivation of rice. When they are unemployed in the fields, they cultivate kitchen gardens, the Chinese not being inclined to prefer the agreeable to the useful, and employ their land with such unprofitable things as parterres, flowers, and fine walks. They think it more concerns the public good, that all their land be cultivated with something beneficial rather than merely ornamental.

ALL the plains are cultivated; we perceive neither hedges nor ditches, nor almost any ordinary tree: so much do they fear the loss of an inch of land, as it were. In many provinces the land bears twice a year, and even between the two harvests they sow small grains and pot-herbs. The provinces to the North and West bear wheat, barley, various sorts of millet, tobacco, green peas, as well black as yellow, wherewith to fatten horses instead of oats: they give them rice, but in small quantities. The southern parts yield abundance of rice, the country being low and humid.

IN the provinces where the plains are very hilly and mountainous, there are some of them barren, but the most are good lands, and they are cultivated, even on the borders of precipices. It is an agreeable sight, to behold sometimes plains of three or four leagues
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surrounded by hills and mountains, cut in the manner of a terras from the summit to the vale. These terrases rise above each other to the number of twenty or thirty, at the height of three or four feet.

THOUGH there are some provinces desert uncultivated mountains, the vallies and mountains which separate them, are very fruitful. We can scarce see any land but what plentifully abounds with rice or other useful grain. The industry of the Chinese has levelled the unequal ground betwixt their mountains, which is capable of any improvement. They divide into parterres that which is on a level, and by stories in form of an amphitheatre that which, by reason of the declivity of the valleys has higher and lower places. As the rice will not do without well watering, they place at proper distances great reservoirs, at different heights, to collect rain-water, and what runs from the mountains, that they may disperse it equally over the parterres of rice; wherein they spare no fatigue, whether in letting the water fall by the declivity of the higher reservoirs into the lower parterres, or by making it rise from stage to stage to the very highest.

ON this occasion they make use of certain hydraulic engines, of a very simple composition, to make the water thus circulate, and throw it over their lands whenever needful: so that let the season prove almost as it shall, the farmer is, as it were, certain to see a

[216]

perpetual harvest suitable to his industry. Their hydraulic engine is composed of a chain of wood, and a great number of small plates of six or seven inches square, strung together in the middle, parallel at equal distances, and at right angles in the chain of wood. This engine is extended along a wooden canal made of three boards, in form of an auger; so that the inferior half of this engine rests upon the bottom of this auger, and fills the whole vacuity of it, and the superior one, which is parallel to it, rests upon a board placed along the opening of the canal. One of the extremities of this engine, we mean the lower one, passes round a moveable cylinder, the axle of which is poised upon the two sides of the lower extremities of the machine; and the other extremity of the engine is mounted on a kind of drum furnished with little boards, so placed, that they close exactly with those of the engine; and this drum turning by the power applied to the axle, makes the engine turn. As the higher extremity of the canal, which this drum rests on, is supported at the height to which they would raise the water, and the lower extremity is plunged in the water, which they would raise; it is necessary that the lower part of this engine, which takes up exactly the cavity of the canal of wood, should ascend along this canal, and that all the small planks, raising with them as much water as they meet; that is, as much water as the canal

[217]

canal can contain, there being formed a rivulet of water, which ascends without intermission to the height which you wish, as long as the machine continues in motion; notwithstanding the higher part of the engine descending uniformly along the plank on which it rests, these two motions produce all the effect of the machine, which is put in motion in the three following manners.

FIRST, by the hand, by means of two or three handles fixed to the axis of the drum. Secondly, with the feet, by means of certain cogs of thick wood, placed setting out at the distance of half a foot round the tree or axis of the drum; these cogs have large round heads externally; such we mean, as are proper to fix in them the sole of a naked foot, so that one or more men, according to the number of the cogs, either standing or setting, may only, as it were, playing together by the motion of their feet, without any straining, holding in one hand an umbrella, and the other a fan, make a rivulet of water rise to any height required over their dry lands. Thirdly, by the means of a buffalo, or some other animal, which they tie to a great wheel about two fathoms in diameter, situated horizontally, at the circumference of which they have fixed a great number of cogs or teeth; which corresponding exactly with the teeth of the drum, they make the machine turn, though far greater, with more facility.

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[218]

WHEN they cleanse a channel, they cut it here and there by ditches, and they assign a part to each of the neighbouring villages. There immediately appear different companies of peasants, who bring a kind of engine of little square board, which they use to raise the water of the canal; and as the banks are very high, they raise their engines three stories high, and so bring up the water from the one to the other. There are places, where the mountains, which are not very high, touch one another, and are almost without vallies; yet they are quite cultivated by the art, which the labourers have of making as much water flow into them as they judge proper, by conveying it from one mountain to another by pipes of bamboo.

WHAT supports those in their toils, who, with so great care and fatigue cultivate the lands, is not so much their own interest as the veneration in which agriculture is had, and the esteem, which the emperors of China have paid it, since the very infancy of the empire. It is their opinion that it was taught them by one of their first emperors, called Chim-nong, whose memory they revere to this day as the inventor of an art so useful to the people. And their emperors go at stated times in person to till the ground, in order to indicate the veneration in which agriculture ought to be had in every state. So great is the care of the emperor or the mandarins for the cultivation of the lands, that when deputies

[219]

ties come from the vice-roys to court, the emperor never fails to ask them, in what state or condition they have seen the fields; and a seasonable rain falling, lays a foundation for the mandarins being visited and complimented.

THIS high veneration for agriculture is one great, if not the principal source of that plenty and prosperity which reign in China. For this added to their other industrious arts, renders the trade carried on in the heart of the empire so great, that the traffic of all Europe can scarce be compared with it. The various provinces are like so many kingdoms communicating to one another what is peculiar to each; whereby they become all united, and convey unspeakable abundance to all the cities, and render all their productions, and their manufactures so extremely cheap, that they beat all the world therein; and induce all nations to come to them for the purchase thereof; without carrying 'em themselves, except within the bounds of their coasting trade.

BESIDES the artful administration of water for the improvement of agriculture, there are divers other particulars requisite. We have before shewed from the judicious application of the various soils of Great Britain and Ireland, and how by their due mixture and incorporation, they may contribute to give reciprocal fecundity to each other, according to their peculiar native quality and texture.

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[220]

It may, therefore, prove no less useful, in order to forward and promote that cultivation of land, which we plead for, to give next a succinct account of the various kinds of manure for rendering land fruitful; for not only the practicable farmer may from hence gain some knowledge that may turn to his account, but the speculative country gentleman may be induced to try experiments himself, or recommend them to the trial of his tenants; by which they may both be benefited.

Of the several kinds of manure, no one need be informed that dungs in general have been long experienced to be serviceable; but these must be duly distinguished and applied, or they may do mischief as well as good, for want of observing the properties of different kinds of dung and manure, which have been given us by the philosopher, as well as the practical husbandman.

FIRST, the dung of sea-fowls. It has been found that the dung of those birds, which retire into the islands near the continent, is the best of all fowl-dung, by reason of their subsisting so much upon the water, its constant exhaling spirit, and the fertile fatness of marshes; from whence they imbibe a strong nutriment, whereof their excrements participate, and administer the same to soils properly prepared and adapted to receive the same.

DUCK

[221]

DUCK and goose dung. This is reckoned too hot and burning, especially that of wild-geese; but if care be taken to gather it in heaps, as well as that of tame ducks and geese, to throw straw over it, and incorporate it with the dung of large cattle, these over-hot dungs may be brought to a state of temperature that would indemnify the pains taken.

THE virtue of this method is known by experience: a farmer having abandoned a piece of ground to his geese for the space of twelve years, at the expiration of that time turned them out to let the grass grow, and it rose so thick and strong, that the scythe would scarce pass through it.

POULTRY and pidgeon's dung are scattered in small quantities upon land intended to be sown; and on account of their heat, are rarely used, except when rain is foreseen. It is practised with advantage for millet, and is a good manure for meadows: but all hot dungs should be properly tempered with other colder manure, according to the humidity, or heat of the soil to which they may be applied.

HUMAN ordure. This is replete with an impure and burning sulphur, that destroys every thing, unless applied with great caution; which consists in leaving it exposed several months to the open air. It must be turned up from time to time that it may rot, its bad qualities destroyed, and its heat moderated.

derated. If it be duly mixed with pond-mud after well rotting, it will be found as useful as it is commonly judged dangerous, especially if used in vineyards.

ASS-DUNG is the most esteemed of any, and may be used in any shape, without having lain long rotting: the reason assigned for this excellence is, that the animal being phlegmatic and strong, eats slowly, and by grinding his aliment well, digests better than most other creatures; whence his excrements being more dissolved, neither abound with heat nor humidity, and are nearer to putrefaction.

SHEEP-DUNG. This is of no duration, even when taken from the cotes, and less durable when the sheep are folded. In the last case, in order to prevent a sudden evaporation of the fertile quality of the dung, the ground included in the fold ought to be covered with chopt straw or foliage, before the sheep enter: but many dislike this manner, by reason of the difficulty of dunging equally; a task requiring a diligent and a faithful shepherd, and because to profit hereby, the dung must be immediately buried. The wheat and barley that grow upon lands manured with this dung are not proper for making beer, which contracts a bad taste from it.

THE dung of horned cattle is the most refreshing of all; and this well-known quality shews what ground it best agrees with. It is a wise precaution to make a sink in the stalls,

stalls, paved and lined with stone, in which the juice of the dung may be preserved, from acrimony: this juice is useful in watering meadows as well as gardens and trees.

HOG's dung is not commonly esteemed, yet when it has rotted some time, and mixed with other manures, as the dung of large cattle, it answers as well as many others; it is deemed specific in preserving the hop from the bad effects of the mildew.

HORSE-DUNG being naturally dry and warm, is little valued by some farmers; but the most understanding will not despise it. With this alone hot beds may be made; it is quite necessary for asparagus, and, when rotted, is excellent for all the plants of the kitchen garden. It is not, indeed, easily rotted, but may be assisted with rain water, or soap-suds, which fill it with salt and oil. It may likewise be mixed with cow-dung, or with pond mud, which will temper its heat and dryness, and then it will prove as good as any other kind of manure.

MARL, is by the confession of all a most excellent dung: it is a kind of lime-stone, supposed to be the beginning of chalk, before it acquires its consistence, and hardness; and if chalk could be dissolved and pulverised, it would prove no less useful than marl itself. This stone, which resembles clay, is either white, black, grey, or yellow; sometimes found under the first crust of the earth, and sometimes taken from the depth of

[224]

of four or five fathom. The marl being dug out of the earth, is laid in small heaps upon the land, and afterwards spread like ordinary dung. It is so replete with virtue, as to fatten the earth for twelve, fifteen, twenty, and often thirty years, during which it will require no other manure. But being very hot, and that in different degrees, the quality of it must be examined, and proportioned to the nature of the land on which it is to be spread. It is dangerous to lay it on too thick, for in that case it will burn. Let whatever precautions be taken, a good crop is not to be expected from the first year; yet the farmer is amply recompensed afterwards. It is convenient to marl the land in the autumn or spring, that being dissolved by the rains usual in these seasons, it may enter the earth so as to fertilize it, let it be ever so barren.

GREEN turf rotted or burnt. Wherever the farmer can advantageously strip his earth, as in old ditches, marshes, &c. he carries away as much turf as he can, lays it in a heap, leaves it to rot for a year, and then spreads it on the land, which he wants to fatten: it may be used sooner, if lime be mixed between the layers of it, this helping to consume it more quickly, and by impregnating the turf with its own virtue, renders it more fit to fertilize the land. The burning of turf dexterously and gradually in ovens made of the same, with proper air-holes, to ashes, and spreading the land with the same, will greatly

[225]

greatly meliorate lands. Those who can find turf, without being obliged to skin their meadows, will find the advantage of it greatly.

PEASE, vetches, lupins, and beans. Nothing is more useful in fattening the ground than to sow these sorts of grain, and, before they come to maturity, cut them down; then till and over-run them in the earth, without regard to the small profit expected from the crop, in case left to ripen; for these kinds of pulse greatly exhaust the earth; and it is easy to conceive, that the nourishing juices are far more abundant in the fruit than in the stalks and leaves; and that if the fruit is carried away, we cannot, by overturning the rest, restore to the earth all that she has given. Besides, we should consider, that what is supposed to be lost, in omitting to gather the fruits, will be retrieved by the saving of dung, which will not be wanted for the land, as well of carriage and workmen to spread it. Nevertheless, for a supply of grain, a piece of ground may be reserved to be dunged as usual, on which pulse may be left to ripen for a crop. This kind of fattening is most proper for high grounds, to which it would be expensive to carry dung.

POND-MUD. By this is understood not only the mud of ponds, but also the slime that rivers deposite when they retire, after having overflowed their banks, and that which gathers on the declivity of high places,

VOL. I.

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[226]

in pits that are either natural, or prepared by the skilful farmer. This soil is excellent, because it is new. However, it must not be employed immediately, especially the mud of ponds, because being extremely moist it will chill the earth, and produce an effect contrary to the farmer's expectation: but if it be placed as a dunghill, in a sloping manner, so as gradually to drain off the chilly gross humidity of the water, it may, when pretty dry, be used soon, with great benefit. Or if it be proportionably mixed with chalk, the compost may be the sooner used. Care must be taken not to suffer this pond mud to lay years without using, because the fertilizing salts wherewith it has been richly impregnated by the water, will either be washed away, or evaporated, and nothing but dead earth remain. It should be observed, that pond mud being left to dry, presents a surface mixed with sand, and a kind of dead clay, which is useless as manure; but this layer being removed, the fertilizing matter will be found below. This being dried, must be spread equally and pretty thick upon the land, and soon turned underground, lest its oleaginous parts be dissipated, or washed away, or too low to promote the vegetable virtue intended.

ASHES. Hereby we mean to speak only of the wood-ashes taken from chimneys, forges, and ovens, and those of coal, earth and turf. These are particularly excellent for

[227]

for pease, vetches, and other such pulse; they are scattered or sown when the plant hath risen about an inch above the surface of the earth; but as their salt being very sharp, would infallibly injure the tender vegetables, they are not used till the farmer can depend upon immediate rain to dissolve and soften their too great acrimony.

SOAP-WATER, and soap-ashes. These, in the opinion of some, are the most estimable of all sorts of manure; especially soap-suds, to which may be added lye-water. The great virtue of this manure consists as well of the animal salts as the oils therein contained, proceeding from the soap and the linen washed therewith, as the vegetable; and these of the animal quality soften those of the other. This water will produce admirable effects in gardens. The ashes taken from soap-houses ought to be kept dry, and never carried to the ground till it is ready to be sown; then the ashes are spread as equally as possible with shovels; and care may be taken to lay them on pretty thick, experience having shewn that the ground is bettered thereby for eight or nine years, during which it will need little other manure. If there is not a sufficient quantity of ashes, dung may be added to them; but then they are not so effectual as may be easily imagined.

SHELLS. Some spots of land abound with shells, that are for the most part brittle, and crumble into white powder, which

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make

makes a very valuable manure; and will render lands fruitful many years.

LIME, and lime-ashes. The property of lime is to destroy noxious weeds and insects, and fertilize the land. The season for its use is when the land is ready to receive the seed; but it is dangerous to use unslacked lime, its heat parching the land too much. When the lime is properly burnt and slacked, and the ashes spread pretty equally and thick over the ground intended to be fattened thereby, and the farmer, in the first year, does not reap such an abundant harvest as he might expect, the second will pay with interest what the first could not afford. When we say it is proper to prepare entirely for the seed the ground upon which the lime shall be laid, the reason is, that it must be considered, by scattering the lime and labouring afterwards, the lime will be turned underground, and its virtue still descending, can no longer act near the surface of the earth to answer the end proposed; and therefore the land will continue to be over-run with noxious weeds and insects, instead of being cleansed from both. Wherefore, the reason is apparent, why the ground ought to be entirely laboured, before the lime be applied, that we may be assured it will remain upon the surface, and do the execution expected.

BLOOD. However this is neglected, it is one of the principal species of manure. The nature hereof being replete with salts, oils, and

and spirits, should demonstrate how rational it was to fertilize the earth. Every judicious farmer will, therefore, take care not to lose one single drop of that which is taken from his beasts; and furnish himself with as much as he can procure from the shambles; it amply requiting him, by the fruitfulness of the land upon which it shall be sprinkled. Nor can this be at all unnatural to comprehend, since the earth which breeds and nourishes brute animals may be reasonably enough supposed, to be constituted of that, which will renourish and refertilize the land again: and it may deserve consideration whether philosophic means may not be discovered, which will so coagulate and preserve the same from putrefaction, that it may be carried from cities and market-towns to any of the counties, and afterwards be properly dissolved for the purposes of vegetation.

STREET-DIRT. The goodness of this manure consists in its being fat, well-diluted, and mixed with abundance of animal dung, and sweepings thrown from houses, with things that have the virtue of dung. It ought not, however, to be used until some time after it hath been collected, when it is thoroughly rotten, and well soaked with rain; and to accelerate its preparation, it should be stirred from time to time, to imbibe all the virtues of the air and dew, and be afterwards put in a position proper to

[230]

throw off the superfluous quality of the aqueous humidity.

SOOT contains a very volatile salt, and produced from wood agrees well with onions; but, with respect to other vegetables, it ought not to be used without great caution, on account of its acrimony.

SALT-PETRE, or nitre and common salt. Nitre and salt are the most efficacious principles of vegetation; and that in them only consists the virtue of all the dungs and every other kind of manure that are used: whence it is that all matter impregnated with these salts is proper for fertilizing the earth.

PLAISTER and rubbish of old houses. This matter is universally thrown away, as absolutely useless, into places where it can turn to no account: notwithstanding, the knowing farmer should observe, that after the bricks, tiles, and stones are taken away, what remains will be useful, as it is a mixture of lime and clay, which hath been impregnated with the fertilizing principles of the air, and the like exhalations of the earth, during a long series of years; without taking into consideration the rotten wood, and other decayed matter always belonging to such places. Besides, where plaister is common, we always see it engendring, or attracting salt-petre in the lower or humid parts of the houses; and, therefore, these refuse and despicable materials will all greatly contribute to the enriching of lands.

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[231]

FRAGMENTS of slate, and lye-ashes. When land that is too fat, and unctious, wants to be lightened and opened, it is a very good method to sprinkle it with powdered slate or lixivious ashes, which break the clods of earth, and give air to the interstices; which penetrating into the interior parts, sets in motion, and heats the salts and oil with which such lands abound.

BURNT stubble. The burning of this refuse has been at all times universally known as the certain means of destroying weeds and insects; but this practice is not without danger. For, if we do not take particular care, in observing from what point the wind blows, great damage may be done to the fruit-trees and woods in the neighbourhood. In countries where the grass grows so thick, that the sheep cannot consume the whole, about the autumn they set fire to the dry grass, that the new may sprout up in the spring; and this is the reason of the extraordinary fertility of these districts. Divers farmers, indeed, chuse rather to plow it under ground, than to burn it; thinking that by thus rotting, it renders the land more light and fruitful. But if it was first to rot for a twelve-month or more in a moist place, or a stagnated water, it might be plowed on to greater advantage.

ALL putrefied substances. Putrefaction is the operation by which nature dissolves one body for the formation of another; it is, there-

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[232]

therefore, easy to conceive, that every thing which is putrified must favour vegetation; and it is unnecessary to insist farther upon the subject.

URINE is full of salt and spirit; but they are so strong and acrimonious, that they burn every thing when the urine is employed by itself; but if it be mixed with rain water, it then becomes an excellent manure, if gradually applied; or, if it be from time to time cast, not in too great a proportion, upon dung manure, it will enrich it: but care must be taken not to throw it thereon in too large quantities at a time, lest the humidity should wash away the salts from the dung, and rather injure than improve the same.

WINE-LEES. There are few vegetable substances that are more abundantly impregnated with the solar virtues than the vine; wherefore, the lees deposited in the casks by wine, are richly replete with vigorous salts and spirits: but care must be taken in covering ground with them, that their most subtile and volatile parts do not evaporate, or be washed too far below the surface of the earth to forward and improve the vegetable life.

CURRIER-LYE, &c. To this lye must be added all that comes from tan-works, fulling-mills, dyers vats, and manufactures of wool, as well as all the waste in hide-dressing, hair and horns of animals, and leather-works of
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[233]

all kinds. Every thing, likewise, that belongs to the animal kingdom is precious for those purposes, on account of the nutritious salts, with which it abounds; and these good qualities are augmented by the oil and fat used in preparing the greatest part of it, or in keeping the leather in repair. That old leather, therefore, which is usually thrown away, ought to be carefully preserved for those good purposes; for whether scattered upon the land, in small pieces, or steeped and rotted in all sorts of greasy and dirty water; such as dish-washings, soap-suds, &c. kept for enriching lands, the wonderful effects of all these things will soon appear to the industrious farmer.

POTTER'S earth is commonly employed upon sandy grounds, and such as retain no water; it binds the earth, and fits it for the reception of such other manure as will render it very fruitful.

PIT-COAL being greatly impregnated with sulphur and oil, sea-sand, and sea-weeds, which abound with salts, and, indeed, every species of saline and oleaginous matter in general, will always make a beneficial manure; for these salts and oils constitute the essential principles of all that is useful in the ordinary sort of dungs; and when they become dissolved into the primary, and general unspecified principles of the elements, they become universal magnets to attract to the surface
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face of the earth, both from it's subterraneous as well as atmospherical parts more and more of the nutritious matters, whereby all the vegetable creation is restored, and increased and multiplied, according to the nature of the seed sown.

THERE are various other particulars, besides what we have mentioned, that are requisite to be observed, with relation to dungs in general. If the dung is not sufficiently rotted, dissolved and opened, it cannot fatten and fertilize the earth, in which it will remain several years, without being consumed: if it is too much rotted, and the saline and oily qualities too much dissolved, and therefore too much dissipated, it will lose the greatest part of it's strength, and not encrease the crop. In ditches it rots pretty well, when heaped together; but it is apt to turn sour, and then is useless. The best method, therefore, seems to be to place it on a gentle declivity, that the rain water may run off without souring it; and to make the dunghill higher than it is broad, that scouring the surface, it may not damage it too much, and wash away all the nutritive spirit. It will be very useful to dig finks below, and at some distance from the dunghills, in order to retain the juice, which if properly saved, is precious to every prudent farmer, for steeping his seeds before they are sown, for it is replete with oil and salt, or for macerating different kinds of manure, or for facilitating the putrefaction of
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horse, or other dungs that are very dry and hot in their own nature. Due caution also must be used not to load an old heap with new dung, the weight of which will too much compress and squeeze out the fertilizing substance of the old.

IT is necessary to make separate heaps of each kind of dung; and also beneficial to mix them all together, that their different qualities being consolidated, may produce a general manure, which may be every-where used with success: but it is difficult to lay down precise rules on this subject; the farmer's own discretion will prompt him to examine whether he has occasion or not for any particular dung; and the nature of his grounds, with which he will endeavour to make himself acquainted, will furnish him with certain rules for his conduct in this respect.

WE may observe in the general, that all land is either cold or moist, or hot and dry: upon this simple principle, reason dictates the application of hot dung to cold lands; and cold to hot; but as there are different degrees of heat and dryness, and of cold and humidity, the attentive farmer will take care to proportion the quality and quantity of the dung to the quality of the land; and this may be done by mixing together these different species of dung or other manure, which are the best adapted to the soil, which they are intended to meliorate. This is a matter of
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interesting reflection to the farmer; for, besides that he cannot be well acquainted with the quality of the ground, but by dint of experience and accurate observation, he must not flatter himself that it will remain always in the same state. A rivulet that used to run adjoining to a field, chancing to change its course, is sufficient to alter that field from moist and cool to hot and dry. This example, we mention, from a thousand others of the same kind, which we might urge, to convince every man who cultivates his land, that he ought to be perpetually attentive to the methods, which reason and experience dictate him to take with it, if he would reap good fruit from his labours.

As the same grain is not always sown, so neither should the same dung be always used upon the same ground. This method is founded on sound philosophy. We know that the earth and dung are full of salts and oils, or unctuosities of various kinds, and other prolific qualities impenetrable to the human understanding. But reason and experience teach us that they do not all equally concur in the production of fruits. While some are in agitation, and exhaust themselves, others remain in inaction and are accumulated in virtue: for which reason the earth ought to be sowed with different kinds of seeds; which leaving the weakned salts at rest, attract those which they find in vigor and abundance. On the other hand, the earth being too often covered with

with the same dung, becomes cloyed with a kind of salt and oil that predominates in that manure, so as not to be able to attract and incorporate them with her own: it cannot, therefore, but be very beneficial to furnish her with a new kind, for her fresh invigoration. For it may be easily conceived, that in dunged grounds, the salts and fat of the manure do not act separately from those of the earth, but may unite and incorporate together by the heat of the earth and sun, and the action of the air; which penetrating every where, diffuse through the whole mass, a certain nutritive fire and humidity, which are the life of all things.

To the knowledge of the different kinds of dung that agree with different lands, is joined the care of preparing them for the time at which they will be wanted. Experience will instruct the diligent farmer how long they ought to lay in the stall, and how long afterwards in the air, for their being brought to perfection. The dung being carried into the field, is laid, in small heaps, at a certain distance from each other, before it is spread: the spots where these heaps have been are easily known, by the peculiar plenty of corn they yield. It is, therefore, a very prudent method of fertilizing the land more equally, to multiply the number of heaps, and leave but few places of distance between them.

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[238]

THE farmer would expose himself to great loss, if in multiplying the heaps of dung, he should lay on more than the land may require: the corn, indeed, would spring up with great force, but the ears in forming would starve each other; the straw would be flimsy; the grain small; the wind and rain would easily lay them; nor would they be able to rise without great difficulty. The multiplication of heaps then, whereof we have spoken, consists in making them smaller than usual, that they may be nearer to one another.

IF it be dangerous to dung a field to excess, it is not less so to underdo it with manure. When there is a scarcity of dung, which is a great misfortune (and which with a skilful farmer need never be the case, if what has been said be duly attended to) it is better to sow no more than a part of the land; which can be well manured, than to lose the seed upon that which can have none, or to dung the whole so superficially that the harvest will scarce defray the expence of cultivation. However, as the loss will be visible, and attended with detrimental consequences for the ensuing years, the skilful farmer will, in due time, take proper measures for obtaining a sufficient quantity of dung, or seek for resources to supply the want of it from amongst the variety of those things which have been mentioned: and it is apprehended that we have enumerated sufficient, that he may

[239]

may practise some of them to advantage: but if he does not want water, or rain, and knows how judiciously to apply what has been intimated, he can never want good manure, let his situation be as it will; and when he tries things in miniature, he will not be backward in their execution in grand.

As the nature of the soil determines the time when the dung ought to be applied, so the nature of the dung prescribes the time and manner of putting it under ground. Cold land requiring hot dung, it ought to be laid on early, and quickly buried, lest its virtue should evaporate; for the moisture of the earth is sufficient to complete the rotting. To hot and dry land fat dung is applied; in which there is no risk in carrying it out late, and leaving it some time on the land when spread, before it is covered. The sun, by acting upon this, facilitates its putrefaction; and it attracts from the air a salt and nitre, whereby its virtue is augmented; and it will be sufficient to till, when wanted to plough in. In the general, whatever dung or manure is used, or whatever the time may be when it is covered in, care must be taken that it is not buried too deep. It is near the superficies of the earth that the corn takes root, and there it should meet with the assistance of the manure, which is prepared for it.

WHAT has been said of dung in general may be applied to several kinds of those manures,

nures, which have been intimated : but it will be necessary to observe, that when ashes are scattered upon the land, there is no occasion to bury them : in remaining exposed to the air, the dews and the rain will dissolve their salts, which dissolution enters into a sufficient depth in the earth to answer the end intended ; and therefore they need not be buried.

ALL those various manures cannot be prepared in the same quantity ; and many will disdainfully reject those which cannot be collected at a small expence, and employed in large quantities : but without examining whether these notions may not proceed from indolence no less than ignorance, it may be observed, for the benefit of those who have but small means, and are not possessed of a sufficient quantity of dung, that in taking advantage of what has been said, in divers parts of these papers, they may, without much expence, find ways to fertilize their gardens without employing their dung ; and that may be wholly employed on their ploughed lands. They cannot but observe also, from these remarks, how easily they may encrease the strength as well as the quantity of certain manures. The small possessions of many, instead of discouraging ought, to animate them to bestow good culture upon their lands : they should reflect that persons in the midst of wealth are impoverished by negligence, while the poorest are enriched by industry and toil.

THIS

THIS sketch upon agriculture extracted from the writings of those, who seem to have treated the subject most rationally, with our observations occasionally incorporated, is with no view to be thought to write expressly upon this subject, and, therefore, to give any thing complete upon this topic : no ; that is not our intention ; we mean no more by what we have observed on this head, than to show the advantage and utility that our country gentlemen may derive from the regular study of agriculture in all its branches ; in order to enable them to give profitable instructions to their tenants how to improve their lands to the best advantage. For, however much they may rely on the practical skill and experience of their tenants ; it should not be forgot, that all the knowledge of the farmer, was originally derived from the philosopher ; and it is upon him chiefly that the gentry must depend for all future improvement of the like nature : the philosopher must direct, the farmer execute : and to what a pitch of production the lands of Great Britain might be brought no one can presume to say ; if gentlemen would make this an essential part of their study, or would take the proper measures to give due public encouragement to those who should devote themselves to it. To this end the gentry should not be backward in promoting the society before recommended, for the improvement of arts and trades, for the art of husbandry is not

VOL. I.

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less deserving of their care and protection than any other that can fall under their consideration. If gentlemen once delighted in this the noblest of studies *; if, after divine service, the parson should give the farmers a plain lecture in their style and language upon the arts of husbandry furnished them by the gentry; and put them upon trying miniature and unexpensive experiments; and if gentlemen themselves bore the extra-expence of such new trials upon certain parts of their estates, might they not very sensibly experience the benefit and advantage thereof? Why should not the parliament enable the society to give pieces of plate to encourage our farmers in husbandry in general, as well as the crown does in regard to the breed of horses only? We know in what high veneration the ancients held to encourage the breed of horses.

It is remarkable in the history of nations, that when the gentry have declined in their regard and attention to the arts of husbandry; and when they have deserted and abandoned the country, it has proved the forerunner of the destruction of those states and empires,

* I have not only heard, says Columella, that there are, but I myself have seen, schools of professors of rhetoric, and as I have already said of geometry and music; or, which is more to be wondered at, academies for the most contemptible vices, for delicately dressing and seasoning of victuals, for contriving and making up dainty and costly dishes for promoting gluttony and luxury; and I have also seen head-dressers and hair-trimmers; but, of agriculture, I have never known any that professed themselves either teachers or students. Lib. I. cap. 2.

wherein

wherein such examples have so unhappily taken place. Before the declension of the Roman empire, their best authors lament, that the antient frugality, parsimony, temperance, moderation and industry, were no more in fashion, and, in a great measure extinct; and that unbounded luxury, ambition, covetousness, intemperance, and idleness, had succeeded in their room; that men of estates, who formerly resided much in the country, governed their own families, and managed their own affairs, had committed the management of all to bailiffs and stewards, and had, in a great measure, deserted the country, and lived in town, abandoning themselves wholly to its pleasures, and diversions; that the women, not as formerly, striving to excel in all parts of housewifery, and taking upon themselves the whole burden of domestic affairs within doors, were become so delicate, and such lovers of the town, that they could not endure to pass a few weeks in the country, and thought it greatly below themselves to cast their eyes upon the instruments of husbandry; that, instead of manufacturing wool and flax at home for their own family's use, as the celebrated Roman matrons were formerly wont to do, they could not endure home made clothes, but, by flattering caresses, obtained of their husbands such as were more costly; to purchase which, they often expended almost their whole yearly income: that men, by their dissolute and intemperate living,

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living, had so dissipated and wasted their natural strength, and their bodies were so enervated, that they were almost dead while alive, and death seemed to make no great alteration in them: so that they soon became useless both to themselves, and to their country: that many chose rather, by servile attendance, vain expectations, and fruitless solicitations, to consume their time, and their substance, than, by carefully improving and cultivating their paternal inheritance, and thereby raise for themselves a comfortable and honourable subsistence and revenue, free from all abject and slavish dependency. This shameful degeneracy from the virtue of their ancestors, and general corruption of manners, at length proved fatal to the Roman state; and, generally speaking, the same causes produce the same effects.

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DISSERTATION X.

The landed and trading interests connectively considered, and in what manner country gentlemen and planters may promote the benefit of their estates, in conjunction with that of the nation.

FROM what has been said, it is scarce possible that the landed gentleman should not glaringly discern how his own prosperity is intimately interwoven with that of the national commerce; and that nothing can be more naturally conducive to both than the due improvement of every inch of his lands, according to what it shall be found to admit of. For the more useful and estimable productions the land affords, as objects of trade and merchandizing, the greater will be the gain of the land-holder, and the greater treasures will be brought into the kingdom from our foreign negoce.

It is not cultivating of lands at random, as is too much the case, that will best promote the interest of land or trade. Those interests are the best promoted by cultivating such things as commerce points out to be

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the most beneficial to both. And how are these specific particulars to be known, but from the knowledge of trade; which informs us of our exports and imports, and of our trafficable intercourse with all parts of the globe?

THE increase of new productions for our home and foreign trade depends on the farther transplanting and communicating of the several natural commodities of all nations, to other airs and other soils, which may require different arts of husbandry from those of their original native soil: for want of the latter, many transplantations may prove abortive and unsuccessful, that might have been otherwise with the requisite management. For the art of husbandry and agriculture is extensive, and far from being hitherto brought, we apprehend, to its ultimate perfection; which seems from hence pretty evident, that there is no land so well furnished as to produce all the various sorts of things, which it is capable of receiving, by due cultivation; and many of the most fertile countries contain immense tracts that are utterly barren, for want of people and art.

THESE improvements depend chiefly upon various kinds of endeavours. Some are by transplanting out of one land into another, of the same situation, in respect of the heavens. This may be tried by conveying the eastern spices and other useful vegetables, into our western plantations. For it cannot
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be imagined, why, by the means of art and labour, they should thrive in one Indies, and not in the other; why the principles of vegetation should not prove as efficaciously operative where the sun sets, as where it rises; seeing there are parts of both, which lie under the same influence of that, and of the other celestial bodies; to whose kindly heat and neighbourhood, the oriental nations are presumed to owe their natural advantages arising from the surface as well as the internal bowels of the earth. But if there happens to be a difference in the soil, may not art, properly applied, as we have shewn in general in the last dissertation, supply that deficiency? May not the incorporation of soils, with the temperature of the proper manure, be productive in the West-Indies of divers of their most estimable vegetables in the east? Till well-conducted; and effectual trials are made, no one will presume to answer dogmatically in the negative.

If, upon the proper trial, it should be found otherwise, it may possibly be attributed to other causes than what are generally apprehended; it may be owing to an essential difference in the subterraneous parts of the globe; for they may not be less various than their superficies: and those essential differences from the center to the circumference of the earth, may have a great or less effect and communication with the celestial influences; and consequently may

more or less affect the vegetable productions upon the surface; and, therefore, it may not necessarily follow, that the same vegetables should grow and flourish equally in the same latitude, where the sun sets, as where it rises.

WHEREFORE, to make a right judgment of the vegetable natures, and to know, as it were, à priori, where the exotics may be presumed to thrive, and where not; it may not be less necessary to scrutinize into the bosom of the earth for a considerable depth, than it is to consider the climate, or the external soil. If the internal parts of the earth in the West-Indies shall indicate the same criteria as those in the East in the same latitude; if the soil shall be found to be of the same heat and quality when properly examined into; and if the west shall not less abound than the east with kindly dews and rains, and other kinds of humidities; if islands, with their other natural circumstances, can be judged to produce the same, when surrounded by the sea, as lands on the continent may; if all circumstances, when duly weighed and compared, shall concur to promise fair to afford that in the west which is done in the east; then it will be imprudent not to make the trial, with respect to any thing of the vegetable kind that will prove beneficial to the interests of our land, or of our trade.

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THAT the internal structure and qualities of the earth have a visible effect on vegetation on the surface is apparent; for the rise of the warm mineral exhalations discolours the trees or grass of the place; and when they are too powerful, may prejudice the vegetable natures, by parching their roots too much, and thereby so coagulating them as to undipose their radical fibres for the reception of that natural nutriment, which promote their growth and multiplication. This is the case when the mineral qualities lie too near the vegetable natures; but when they happen to be at a greater distance, and encompassed with obstructions, then the gradual rarefaction of their warm exhalations may assist instead of obstruct vegetation. If the mineral natures, indeed, nearly approximate to the vegetable, and happen to be of the arsenical sulphurous kind, the vapours may communicate some noxious, instead of salubrious qualities to vegetable nature, if they do not impede the growth. There are also mineral qualities, whose warm exhalations arise at a proper distance, that will help and expedite vegetation, and not injure but administer additional virtues, perhaps, to vegetables: such as these are all feruginous minerals, and other semi-minerals, as pit-coal, manganese, and divers innoxious sulphureous fossils, &c.

HOWEVER pernicious many mineral vapours may prove to vegetation, if they too
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[250]

nearly approach the surface of the earth, and they exhale in too great abundance; yet the most pernicious seem to have a fermentative quality, that so opens and unbosoms the internal parts of the earth, that set at liberty her wholesome subterraneous fires, which conquer and subdue the insalubrious ones; whereby those wholesome, warm, subterraneous exhalations may no less contribute to vegetation than the sun and other celestial bodies: and, indeed, it should seem to appear, that without the subterraneous heat innocuous, and the constant rarefaction of its warm vapours, the vegetable tribe could not thrive so well by the mere solar and other celestial influences; for the essential use of the sun in nature, with relation to vegetation, seems to be to exhale, in conjunction with the terrestrial heat, that superfluous humidity from the earth, that would impede, instead of forwarding vegetation; but the greatest constant degree of heat that vegetables seem to receive appears rather to be owing far more to that of the earth than of the sun, or any other celestial bodies; for if the earth was absolutely destitute of its internal heat, perhaps no vegetables would grow at all, so as to increase and multiply their seed in the manner that nature has ordained. But to return to the application of these few words to the subject in hand; which is this:

If vegetation shall be found greatly to depend upon the heat which is concentrated and

[251]

and embosomed within the heart of the earth, such parts of the earth that may more abound with a terrestrial, concentrated, innocuous heat, than others do, may raise and produce vegetables by transplantation in climates much colder than those hot ones, where they are naturally raised; and where such subterraneous heat may not be so strong and potential as in hotter climates. And, perhaps, on examination, this may not prove an unnatural or irrational way of accounting for the growth of many vegetables in cold climates that were originally the natives of hot ones. If these principles should be found true, on experimental examination, this will afford great encouragement to British subjects to make trial on the growth and production of divers vegetables in the British dominions, that they might think impossible to thrive in them. England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as our American plantations, abound with a great plenty of warm and salubrious mineral and fossil natures; which may, in a great measure supply the place of solar and other celestial heats; and if such vegetables, which will prove beneficial to the nation to produce, and require a greater degree of heat than our climate will admit of from celestial influence, were tried to be produced upon soils that abound with proper subterraneous mineral heat, the effect might answer what it could not do upon other soils; however near they might seem to approach towards the

the quality of those soils wherein such vegetables thrive in their native climes and soils.

BUT here it should be observed, that although we would not wholly and absolutely depend upon the soil of the surface of the earth in our clime for the production of vegetables, which grow naturally in others of the same latitude; yet the due preparation of a surface soil is, by no means, to be disregarded; no more is that of a proper manure to be therewith duly incorporated: no, none of the essential particulars are to be neglected in the art of husbandry, in the making of new experiments; they are all to be tried as circumspectly and sagaciously, as if no regard whatever was to be paid to the subterranean heat; unless that by experience should in some places be found to be too violent, or too ineffectual: in such cases, the skilful husbandman will accommodate his manure accordingly, and render it hotter or colder, as has been taken notice of in the preceding dissertation.

NOR may it prove less material to intimate, that we should not be too suddenly discouraged from making our exotic vegetable attempts upon kindly mineral lands, from the unpromising appearance of the external superficial soil; for that may be gradually amended, and by proper composts made fit for the reception of the suitable manure and the seed intended to be sowed. First trials should be as little expensive as the nature of the

the case will admit; yet they should be effectual, or they will not prove fair trials. A small quantity of land, even a quarter of an acre, or less may be some times sufficient whereon to make experiments, that may prove lucrative, and lead to others more so.

AN objection to what has been said, may naturally arise in the mind of an attentive reader; viz. that in cold climes, the chill of the external air may make trials on exotic abortive in warmer, notwithstanding the extraordinary subterranean heat, or the propriety of the manure and the superficial soil, and the utmost stretch of art and industry in the husbandman. This may certainly prove the case in very tender vegetable productions; but in those that are something more robust, experience may probably prove, that those fears and apprehensions have been groundless; for the continued and perpetual rarefaction of the warm exhalations of kindly mineral earths, will greatly contribute to subdue the chilly quality of the circumambient atmosphere; for cold being a privation of heat, if the absence thereof is supplied by a warm and kindly nourishing vapour, it may, in a great measure, answer the end of a solar heat: such experience may, however, answer to good profit, if the production should not answer in so great quantities, as might be wished for.

NOR do some mineral lands only abound with concentrated heat, and the perpetual ascen-

[254]

ascension of warm rarefied vapours, but all kinds of lands do more or less abound therewith, though the strongest and most fixed mineral bodies have the most therein incorporated, and do continually attract from the solar system a greater quantity thereof than other sorts of earths, not so cohesive, nor so magnetical and retentive of heat as those substances are; and such consequently cannot emit and administer that constant degree of nourishing warmth to vegetables that the others do. Of the unmineralized lands, those which are found, when bored, to a good depth, with a black clayey soil, abound with the greater degree of heat; and if they come up moist, it will be a sign, that they abound with a certain degree of humidity sufficient to set their heat duly at liberty for the promotion of the growth of vegetables that may require a good degree of heat for that purpose.

IF the improvement of vegetation depends any thing upon the knowledge of the internal qualities of the land, why should not boring of lands prove as necessary to such discovery, as it is in the practice of minerology, for the discovery of mineral earths?

THOUGH I never observed, that the consideration of the inward quality of the bowels of the earth has been judged necessary towards the improvement of husbandry; yet it may be nevertheless requisite. But if it shall be found true on experimental trials, it may afford

[255]

ford greater advantages than most are aware of; and that it is false no one will say, till he has proved it to be so. That the fumes issuing from vegetables are not less noxious than from minerals is certain, when we set them on fire; and there may not be so essential a difference perhaps, between the nature of vegetables and minerals as some may be wont to imagine. However, we restrain our remarks to the vapours of such minerals as are the least hurtful.

WHERE lands that abound with mineral qualities will turn to better account in researches of that nature than to apply them to vegetation, the latter will be neglected; though they both ought to go hand in hand; for small tracts of land that afford mines or coals may afford extraordinary profits, but not admit of being wrought, but to a certain extent: and the remainder of such lands, however unpromising, may frequently be converted to beneficial culture, upon the principles that have been suggested. But before we speak more in relation to the interior treasure of lands, we shall say a word more upon the point of transplantation from foreign climes; for this practice may be beneficially pursued as well with respect to animals as vegetables.

SOMETIMES the clime, the land, the soil, and the air, being changed, will give a new force to the new guests; as the Arabian steed, by mingling with our breed, produces a more serviceable race than either of them single.

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And sometimes the alteration will prove for the worse, which must be always guarded against; as the vine of France brought into England, and the horses and dogs of England into France; both which, as they have been hitherto managed, have been found to degenerate exceedingly. That the brute animals, as well as the vegetables, of particular climates, may be preserved, and some of them meliorated in regard to their skins, hides, hair, and wool, does not appear such a difficulty as some would make it, much less an impossibility, as many would have: but I leave that to the consideration of others.

ANOTHER way of this kind of improvement to be tried, is by transplanting the productions of the country from one part thereof into another, and by practising every where all the sorts of husbandry, which are used in some places with success. That this only is not enough practised in England, is manifest to every one that beholds the Kentish orchards, and the Herefordshire hedges, which seem to upbraid the indolence and supineness of other of our counties, whose highways are only fenced with thorns and briars, or with hazel; while theirs are adorned and beautified with apples, pears, and cherries; which will afford food, as well as salubrious liquors.

IN these transplantations that have been made, the chief progress that we have hitherto made, has been rather for the collections
of

of curiosities, to adorn cabinets and gardens, than for the solidity of lucrative philosophical discoveries; yet certainly there may be a great advantage made in them all, both for the one and the other. And in this it will be found, as in many other things, that, if men only intend a little curiosity and delight, they will not reap much more by their pains; but if they regard real use, not only the profit, but a greater delight will also follow.

FOR our encouragement herein; whatever attempts of this nature have succeeded, they have greatly redounded to the benefit of the undertakers. The orange of china, being brought into Portugal, has drawn a great revenue every year from the city of London alone. The vine of the Rhine taking root in the Canaries, has produced a far more delicious juice, and has made the rocks and the sun-burnt ashes of those islands, one of the richest spots of ground in the world. And if Britons can produce silk, cochineal, and spices in their American colonies, might not this kingdom reap unspeakable emoluments thereby? If the silk-worm only should, at length, be effectually brought to thrive there, we may happen to give a great part of the silk cloathing to various parts of Europe, of our own produce, as well as manufacture. May we not, in some measure, conceive the extraordinary advantages that will attend this, by considering what number of caravans, and how many great cities in Persia are maintained

by that manufacture alone; and what mighty income it annually brings into the sophy's revenue?

By consulting our customhouse book of rates, the country gentlemen of this nation, and our planters in America, will be directed to variety of particulars, that, very probably, may be produced from British lands. Let any one run over the catalogue of the drugs and dying-woods, and other materials that we import from divers foreign countries; and it may easily be discovered, that the bulk of them might as well be produced in our own dominions, as in the countries where they are, if the state would once give proper encouragement for the purpose; and be assured that the encouragement given was faithfully applied. And while other nations shall diminish in the imports of British commodities, is it not the best way to avail ourselves by lessening our imports of theirs, by supplying ourselves with the like, or such as will effectually answer the like purposes as cheap as we can have them? Will not this prove a more natural way to restrain or prohibit such importations than the restraints of high duties or prohibitions; and thereby prevent national disputes and misunderstandings with other states? Or, will any one say, that it is the more eligible policy to pay twenty pounds for a foreign commodity for the sake of raising twenty shillings by a duty of customs to the revenue? Because our customhouse duties are mort-

mortgaged to the public creditors as a security for their debts, are we, on that account, to continue importers of those foreign commodities, till those debts are discharged, and never strive to produce those commodities within ourselves?

No man will presume to say, that it is more for the public benefit that the nation should expend a million or more a year with foreigners, in order to raise a hundred thousand pounds to the revenue by customs, than to save that million or more within ourselves, and raise only the hundred thousand pounds in some other way? And yet so strange it is, that this principle is really adopted by too many; and not by those only whose sentiments on those points should be disregarded, and even contemned, but really by those who would be thought to have a consummate knowledge in public business. While such men are employed in the service of the state, must not the nation expect every clog, every discouraging impediment and obstruction to improvements of our husbandry, our arts, or our manufactures? Is it not superlatively scandalous to hear men say, that the constitution of the revenue must, by no means, be infringed, though a small variation in the nature of it should save the kingdom millions? But if the national creditors will be better contented with another kind of fund-security than what they at present have; why should this, or the other member of parliament presume to gainsay it; and

faithfully is to make it for their interest, by giving them an additional advantage, besides that of their labour, in proportion to the quantity of ore they shall be able to raise.

CERTAIN it is, that many have acquired large estates by mining; and many have been greatly injured by it; but if gentlemen reside upon the spot, and have competent skill to guard against fraud and delusion, people may often stand a good chance of great gain for very little hazard.

BUT there are other subterraneous treasures that turn to no less profit than mines, and not liable to be attended with hazard or deceit; we mean those of fine clays, sands, boles, marls, loams, and variety of curious and estimable fossils. In delicate clays the extensive art of pottery consists; which is no contemptible branch of trade. Have not the Hollanders reaped great advantages by their Delft ware? as well as the Chinese and Dresdeners by their porcelain manufactures, whose basis is no more than fine clays duly prepared, and artfully mixed and incorporated? Gentlemen, who by their sagacity in things of this kind, may discover fine clays on his lands that will make a beautiful sort of earthen ware, may reap good advantage by it: nor have good sands proved less so for the glass manufactures; and many marls and loams have answered to good purpose. A person not incurious in his searches into the fossile tribe, may have no occasion to
repent

repent of his curiosity. Even Bristol stones, spars, and talcs have turned to good profit, as well as certain mercasites, stones, salts, sulphurs, and gems. And the bowels of the earth are full of those treasures, and the surface generally affords their distinguishing characteristics, so as not to labour in vain. We daily import very expensive things from foreign countries, that are dug out of the earth, when we know not whether we may not have as good or better within ourselves.

BUT if these things are not discovered by accident, we are so wise as never to concern ourselves about them. However, it is to be hoped, that our society for the improvement of arts and trades will be enabled to promote and encourage those subterraneous enquiries; and will it not be for the interest of our country gentlemen to support and uphold such a corporation? For these discoveries must happen upon some lands, and no one knows to whose lot the prizes may fall; and, therefore, it will be but prudent in all, for their own sakes, no less than that of the nation, to encourage such like enquiries: and it is humbly submitted, whether researches of this nature, no less than other arts, might not, with propriety enough, be somehow placed under the direction and management of the proposed incorporated society for the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures? It may also farther deserve consideration, whether the museum of the late Sir

[264]

Hans Slone, Bart. might not be rendered of great public utility, on this occasion, since it has been purchased by the public for the benefit of the nation; and since it contains a great variety of the productions of nature and art?

THE proper inspection and examination of this kind of repositories will afford numerous natural objects for traffic; and the inventions of art may no less contribute to the promotion of commerce; they offering hints for new improvements in mechanics and manufactures. By this musæum being now added to the collections many years made by our learned Royal Society, and put under proper care and management, it is not to be doubted but an incorporated society for the encouragement of arts and trades will be admitted, by authority, to make such use of those collections as will the best tend to the advancement of all commercial purposes. This society being established to see arts reduced to practice, as that of the Royal Society is for their invention and discovery; the latter may be highly assisting to the former; and the former see, that none of the important discoveries of the other go unnoticed, and only literally recorded in their transactions, and the author's pass unrewarded and unhonoured, except by those of their own taste, delicacy, and public spirit. Might not such a happy union be promoted and cemented by the authority of the legislature,

[265]

ture, between those two learned bodies, that might not only bring numberless new arts and new trades to light, but greatly improve the old? Regular conferences between those two learned and noble societies could not fail being attended with ineffable advantages to the trade and navigation of this kingdom; for such weight and dignity would a committee deputed by them have with a committee of the honourable house of commons, that no discovery or invention any way tending to the public interest, could be stifled, nor go unencouraged: but what the effects hereof might be, we have briefly described in our foregoing discourses, and therefore shall not here again expatiate thereon.

BEFORE I leave this point, it may not be amiss to observe, that the greatest repositories abounding with the works of nature and art, would prove of little benefit to the community, if they are to be considered as raree-shows only, or as collections for the virtuoso to ramble over, and merely to repeat the names of all the variety, as if he was really knowing in all the qualities, uses, and applications of these things in nature and art that are presented before him. The natural historian, and the collector of nature's works are very serviceable to a trading state, as they bring objects to light, which might be therein useful, and which otherwise might remain for ever hid from public view. The mere naturalist, who studies nature

ture no farther than her outside, is not the most useful philosopher; such a one would scarce be instrumental to the breeding of a lapidary, or a blacksmith, much less to the inventing of new manufactures and new arts tending to the emolument of the community. A Bacon, a Boyle, or Boerhaave, or a Shaw, would look upon the objects of nature with a far different eye to what the mere virtuosi do: many of them seem only to burden their memory with the names of things, and affect only to be knowing in their uses; whereas the others would inform us of the qualities or beneficial applications thereof in all respects, and shew themselves to be thoroughly knowing, while the others only pretended to be so: the talents of such are less serviceable to society than the honest mechanic. Those curious and valuable repositories are made but a mean and trifling use of, if they are maintained with great show and expence, only for the amusement of the superficial, who would be thought connoisseurs. But we have no reason to apprehend that this will be the case of the Sloanian museum, lately purchased, for the public benefit; it being under the direction and management of so many honourable persons; and especially many of those of the Royal Society, who have not only given ample testimony of their talents to make useful and important experiments upon the works of nature, but have

have applied them to no less useful and important purposes.

NOR are the collections with regard to the works of art to be less attended to in a commercial state; for having all curious machines, &c. properly ranged with relation to every distinct mechanic and manufactural art, and proper admision given to artists, they might, from deliberately inspecting those that had been invented, either make considerable improvements therein, or from thence derive such ideas as would enable them to discover new ones of different kinds.

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DISSERTATION XI.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland, considered.

ONE motive to the drawing up these papers is, the late great scarcity of grain, and the deplorable distress and calamity of the bulk of the people in consequence thereof. This is the greatest of national evils, and cannot be too effectually guarded against in future; and no less than this, is the humble attempt of our present labours. Nor can the extent of our views terminate here only. A nation that shall be ever in a condition to feed and cloathe the hungry and the naked plentifully, can never want people; people whose labour and industry will, in grateful return, administer an advantage to such a nation, in a tenfold degree more lucrative to it, than that which such individuals receive. But those consequences so gainful to the state, cannot take place without the wisdom of the state shall ever find full employment for the people, as they shall naturally encrease and multiply, and as they shall be attracted from other neighbouring coun-

countries, where they cannot live so well; nor be so well protected.

As an inducement to give our sentiments a fair hearing, we have pointed out the present precarious state and condition of commerce and navigation, by laying open the measures that the most politic and potent nations are now taking to supplant us in our trade in most parts of the globe; and that this is principally owing to the ability of those nations to undersell us almost every-where. Can we then hesitate a moment about the reasonableness of removing this great impediment to our commercial prosperity? Will any man say, that it is not desirable that England should be capable of selling her commodities to foreign states as cheap as any of her foreign competitors? If the measures that I have adopted are inadequate to the end aimed at, let their deficiency be demonstrated, and let others be incited and provoked to offer such as will prove effectual. That I am ready to give up my own opinion on conviction of it's mistakes, has been repeatedly declared; and I shall think it no less my duty to defend the sentiment of others, when theirs shall appear to be true and mine otherwise, than my own, while they shall not appear false to me.

If England shall be determined to take no effectual steps towards the reduction of the price of her produce and manufactures; if, on the contrary, she shall pursue such as must inevitably more and more raise and enhance

hance the price thereof, both to her own people as well as to foreigners, it will be impossible for her to support her dominion in trade: and when that is lost, must she not fall a victim to that power which shall obtain it?

PROVIDED England will resolutely persist in not taking such measures as shall prove effectual to this great end; if England shall determine to make a sacrifice of her commercial interest, will it not be more politic to transfer it to Ireland than to France, and other potentates? In this case, England will still participate of the advantages; and this will be wiser than to give up the trade wholly to a foreign competitor. It will be far more eligible for England to become a colony to Ireland than a dependent province to France.

THAT Ireland is capable of underselling France at present is certain; and therefore that she is in a condition to prevent the trade of England being transferred to the enemy is not less certain: but then the state of England will be changed into that of Ireland, and that of the latter into the former: and, indeed, it is a happiness that Great Britain has some territories that are in a capacity to prevent the ruin of her commerce, if England herself is incapable of doing it. But that England is in a condition of maintaining her own commerce, as well in competition with that of other parts of her own dominions as with that of France, or any other state, we have

have endeavoured to make appear; and, therefore, England may still uphold her supreme dignity over the rest of her dependent territories.

THE putting the quantity of land proposed in England into a state of cultivation, so as to be productive of the general benefits suggested to attend it, will certainly take up some years; but the longer it shall be deferred, the more obstinate will our commercial maladies grow, and the longer time will be required to eradicate them; and if the remedy, on due examination shall be found a sovereign specific for the disease, the sooner it is applied, the sooner shall we experience the happy effects.

THE other measure that we have humbly proposed to go hand in hand with the land-cultivation, is that of lessening, as soon as the circumstances of public affairs will admit of it, the taxes upon all those articles, which contribute to render our commodities dear to foreign nations; and while the continuance of the aggregate total amount of those taxes shall be necessary for the support of the state, let them be laid in another modus; let the incumbrance be so wisely laid and proportioned as to ease our foreign exports as much as may be, although we shall be obliged to burthen the expence of those in particular who can afford it.

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[272]

AND although this easement of the trade and navigation of England should occasion an additional temporary burthen upon those who can the best sustain the same; yet the benefits, which England will thereby daily receive, will be so sensibly felt in other respects, by those who shall be so burdened, that they will not perceive it; they will be soon made an ample, and a lasting compensation for the temporary incumbrance. For, if England shall by this means, retrieve that degree of commerce, wherein she has been supplanted by foreign rivalship: if England shall be once enabled to effectuate this, she will be capable of extending her traffic, and more universalizing the same over the whole world. And this extension of her commerce will so advance the wealth of the state, as to put it in the power of the government, not only to disincumber those who may have been loaded with a temporary incumbrance, but to exempt them from the like again ever after.

As to the manner of shifting of the taxes, to answer this purpose, there can be no more difficulty than to strike out ways and means to raise the supplies that shall be from time to time necessary; for it requires no extraordinary depth to fall upon those things; but it requires something more to fall upon those well-grounded principles of policy, whereon all ways and means for raising money for the public service should be grounded.

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[273]

BUT while these measures proposed are taking the effect desired, it may be said, and reasonably enough, perhaps, that England may lose her whole trade rather than to do that; and is it not better that Ireland should be put into possession of such parts of it, wherein she is capable of selling her commodities upon a level with France, and indeed of underselling her? Certainly every unbiassed man, must readily acquiesce in the affirmative.

WELL then, says the Englishman, here is an end of *all* the trade of England; for if once the Irish are admitted to engage in those branches of trade, wherein that kingdom can underwork, and, therefore, undersell England at foreign markets; will not the Irish creep gradually into all other branches of the English commerce; since the gaining of one considerable branch naturally tends to the acquisition of others? To this it may be answered; that although England should admit Ireland into some certain share and proportion of her trade, wherein Ireland shall be capable of supplanting the French and others, and England is not; Ireland might still continue restrained in such other part as England shall be capable of carrying on in competition with France, till England shall be able to sell as cheap as Ireland and France: and then England and Ireland becoming on a parity in her trade, this will, as has been before observed, be the happy point of time,

VOL. I.

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when

when the complete union between Great Britain and Ireland might take place to the mutual advantage of all the British dominions.

BUT if such a partial and restrictive union between England and Ireland should take place to prevent foreign nations from ruining our trade ; it would be but just and reasonable for Ireland, in consideration of reaping such additional advantage, to contribute to the state expence of England in such a reasonable degree as should be something proportionable to the gain of Ireland thereby. For although England has very liberally hitherto paid as it were, all the charges of government ; our fellow subjects in Scotland paying but a trifle to the general support, and Ireland and the plantations paying very little also ; yet this system must be changed, when Ireland shall be admitted even to a partial union only ; and when to an absolute one, then she must expect to bear her full proportion towards the general state-expence. This, likewise, must be the case of Scotland, as that nation shall thrive in her commerce and her fisheries ; but England must give her dependent brethren time to thrive before she lays too ponderous a burden on their shoulders, lest they should sink under the weight, and all that has been many years doing, should, of a sudden, be all undone.

IF then it shall be judged reasonable, that Ireland should, upon the conditions before intimated, add to the coffers of England in

in some certain degree and proportion, this will tend to the easement of the English, in proportion to the temporary disadvantages she may be supposed to sustain : and here, we beg leave to caution the reader, not to run away with a mistake : viz. by apprehending, that if Ireland should be admitted to some additional benefits of trade in common with England, that this is intended to be done at the expence of England : no ; on the contrary, we take it for granted, that it will be at the expence of France in the end ; because England will be capable of competing with and underselling even France, which England never can, till she shall be able to do so likewise as well as Ireland : so that the advantages that Ireland are presumed to obtain, are at the expence of France and others, not at the expence of England. This I have mentioned again once for all.

IRELAND then, in consideration of certain concessions made to her on the part of England, being admitted to exert herself to support a competition in trade against our foreign rivals, and being in some degree to contribute to the state expence of England ; this may prove of no less advantage to the easement of the taxes of England than benefit to Ireland : for, supposing that Ireland by exerting her competition in trade against foreign rivals should thereby gain a nett million per Annum ; would it not be well worth the while of Ireland to give up to England one half part of

this annual gain for the sake of the other, which she cannot obtain without it? It certainly would.

Now, England, thus receiving half a million yearly revenue from Ireland, will enable her to take off half a million per Annum of her taxes that are at present laid upon such necessaries of life as contribute to render her commodities so dear that she is incapable of maintaining a rivalship against France and others: and the security to the public creditors to be paid out of the Irish revenue would not prove less certain than that given on the consumption of certain commodities in England: besides, the public creditors having always the parliamentary security of England as well as the collateral one of Ireland, they would hardly think this any disadvantage to the public credit. Thus lessening the taxes of England, and at the same time advancing in the cultivation of her lands, will sooner than might at first, perhaps, be apprehended, put Great Britain into the happy state and capacity of maintaining a competition in trade effectually with France, and all other nations; and, especially so, with the conjunctive aid and assistance of Ireland, and Scotland; and what also may be done by means of the British plantations, as we have before endeavoured to evince.

HERE then will be another advance towards *perfecting* the desirable union between Great Britain and Ireland; but till England shall

shall be in full capacity to sell her commodities to foreigners as cheap as Ireland can, Ireland, we presume, cannot think it at all unreasonable in England to insist upon some equivalent, to be admitted to such a partial union in commerce with her, as has been above suggested; for my humble endeavours are intended to show, if it be possible, how all his Majesty's dominions may be made to contribute to the prosperity of each other, and that of the whole, in the end. And here it will be necessary to observe, lest what I have said in this dissertation may be thought repugnant to what is done in some preceding; that although it might prove more interesting to the whole British empire, for the legislature so to regulate the respective trades of every part, that they might clash and interfere, with each other, as little as may be; as the woollen manufactures to be restrained to England; the linnen in all its branches to Ireland and Scotland, &c. as I have in other parts of this tract sufficiently enlarged on: yet, when Great Britain and Ireland, should be brought to that equality, in their sales at foreign markets, their rivalship in some articles amongst each other, may be attended with advantages to the whole; for they being all emulously struggling to beat foreign rivals out of the trade at foreign markets, they will so excel in the quality of their fabrics of every species, that they cannot fail getting such possession of the trade of the world as may well

content the whole empire: and when we have got such possession thereof, which will support our kingdom, as a free and independent state, we have nothing then to do, but to think of preserving the possession we have so wisely obtained: and the ever-lasting way to do this will be to make better goods and sell them cheaper than any other nation can afford to do—This, and this only is the natural and the permanent way: this and this only has maintained the Chinese empire in it's commerce; and if Great Britain will establish her temporal salvation upon a rock invincible, we are willing to believe, that we have shewn how this may be done in the course of our writings; which posterity, perhaps, may value more than my present contemporaries.

CERTAIN it is that hitherto England has, at her own expence, maintained the balance and liberties of Europe at the risk of her own, and it has cost Scotland and Ireland scarce any thing; all that we have endeavoured is to starve them without expence, and ourselves with: we bleed ourselves almost to death, and think, as some ingenious author observes, to recruit our own spirits by devouring three or four millions of Scots, Irish, and Americans, and by excess of cunning make the ruin general.

A SMALL consumption for goods makes a small demand, and a small demand makes a small price for any commodity; so that when the wisdom of our laws is magnified to prevent

prevent the importation of cattle, &c. from Ireland, or corn from any nation, unless it first bears an immoderate price at home (as keeping up the temporary value of lands) how would a Hollander or a Frenchman smile, when he reflected, that in his country the poor getting provisions from any place, where they can have them cheapest, are thereby enabled to work at prices the English cannot live on, and by working cheaper work more; that is, run away with their trade, their money, and their manufacturing people; and when these are gone, we may as well present them with the lands into the bargain, for any value they will be of to England.

IT may now be useful briefly to consider what advantages Great Britain, may reap, upon the footing we have endeavoured to put the matter, by extending her favours to this part of her dominions.

AND first, as to her woollen trade; it is to be observed, that the encouraging it in Ireland, would be the immediate way to recover it out of the hands of her rivals, the Dutch, French, and others, who have got too large a proportion of it out of her hands. As England lost it chiefly by destroying it in Ireland, she may retrieve it, till she is able to do it herself, as we have shewn, by restoring it in Ireland: as she lost it by her rivals underworking and underselling her, it is plain, she must regain it by employing the Irish, who

can undersell all the world: as England has lost it by the high taxes and high living of people, she must recal it by letting the Irish share with her in the profits, who have no taxes on their milk and potatoes, and live poorer than any manufacturers in Europe, (France not excepted) where though wages are low, victuals are dearer than in Ireland.

If once they are encouraged, they will run no wool to France, or Holland (or so little, and that so dear, as can never quit costs) because it will be against the laws of self-preservation, it being a robbery on the Irish themselves: and without a proper stock of wool, the French and Dutch manufacturers must lose the greatest part of their foreign woollen trade, and the bulk of the Irish gains will return to England, while that continues the feat of the British empire. This is self-evident, and nothing but a partial and impolitic self-interest, can silence so palpable a truth; and that self-interest chiefly of the shop-masters, the wool-combers, and weavers in England, who must by this means lower their lands and their wages, till they shall be able to work as cheap as the Irish. England, in short, is reduced to this; she must either lower their lands, and work cheaper, till in conjunction with Ireland, they shall have retrieved the trade out of the hands of their rivals; or go on, and let the French and Dutch receive it, and sink their lands, and their labour together for-ever.

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THE jealousy the English seem to have of the Irish is the great obstacle to their own prosperity. Cannot this jealousy be remedied by confining the Irish, at present, to such manufactures alone as the English cannot retrieve themselves? By confining them to cloths of a particular breadth or fineness, to cloth undied, to ratteens, draps, kerfies, &c. or to cloths but half manufactured, and which may receive their full perfection in England, and only to be bought and used there, or exported thence by themselves? Cannot these things be done, till England shall be able to work as cheap as the Irish? Would not then the whole of the woollen manufactures be restored to the English, by the auxiliary cheap skill and labour of the Irish, their own fellow subjects?

ANOTHER advantage, according to the partial union, that England might reap by Ireland, is opening the plantation trade freely to them, at least as to molasses and sugar. These being part of the enumerated goods, Ireland, as the law now stands is obliged to enter and land them in England before they can land them in Ireland. This is of great prejudice to the British colonies in America, in as much as to avoid the costs and danger, and loss of time of two distant voyages, the Irish will sail directly to the French ports, and furnish themselves with their brandies and sugar without daring to meddle with those of our own colonies. Is it not apparent that this must injure Great
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[282]

Britain? as whatever weakens her colonies, must lessen her gain by them? As Ireland does not pay less annually to the French than 150,000 l. for those commodities, this would be given to our own colonies, and at length center in England.

BUT the misfortune is, that England does not only lose this benefit, which they might thus make by the Irish trade, but our ancient enemies the French are the gainers, and have the advantage of purchasing Irish provisions extremely cheap, by their intercourse of trade, and of being thereby enabled to undersell the English in the sugar trade in Europe. As these are great disadvantages to Britain, and affect us more than the Irish, they should be remedied, especially in regard to the articles of sugar and molasses, for their own consumption. As to the re-exportation, that matter might remain as it does, till the perfect union.

IT is allowed on all hands, that till the prohibition of Ireland carrying non-enumerated goods without landing in England, was taken off, Ireland was obliged to pay 100,000 l. per annum at least to foreigners, for pitch, tar, &c. which is now laid out with our own fellow-subjects; and is there not reason to believe that the like good consequence would attend the same in relation to some enumerated commodities, especially those spoken of, molasses and sugar?

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[283]

“ AFTER the act in England, says Sir William Temple, had wholly stopped the transportation of cattle from Ireland to England, that trade of Ireland was forced to find out a new channel; a great deal of land was turned to sheep, because wool gave ready money for the English markets, and by stealth for those abroad*.

“ The breeders of cattle turned much to dairy, or else by keeping their cattle to six or seven years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef trade abroad; and some of the merchants fell into care and exactness in barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this trade were grown so sensible in the course of a few years, that in the year 1669, some merchants in Holland assured me, that they had received parcels of beef out of Ireland, which sold current, and very near the English; and of butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richer soil of the two.” Although the Dutch war at that time gave a sudden damp to this, and all the other trades of Ireland; yet the Irish have since been great gainers, instead of losers, by the act against the transportation of the cattle into England.

* This act contributed greatly to establish the practice of wool-smuggling from Ireland to France, which has proved so detrimental to the trade of England.

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THIS law gives a monopoly to a few breeding counties in England to impose upon the rest of the people high prices of cattle, &c. to the ruin of our manufactures; it forces labourers to live dear, and of course to raise their wages, and is greatly prejudicial to our navigation; for whatever enhances the expences of a ship, enhances its freight, and gives opportunity to foreigners to victual cheaper in Ireland than we can do at home.

THOUGH it should be objected, that this is done to keep up the value of our English lands; yet Sir Matthew Decker seems to have taken off the weight of this objection, by observing, "That there is always a great
" noise made about encouraging the home-
" consumption; by which is meant making
" necessaries bear a great price, which can
" arise only from an improper knowledge of
" the true nature of trade; for this is so far
" from being beneficial, that it has just the
" contrary effect: certainly the less is con-
" sumed within †, the more will be left to
" export; the cheaper things are, the more
" of them will be exported, and it is expor-
" tation only that makes a nation rich. This
" monopoly, with respect to the people, is
" unjust, and the benefit of it to the land-

† According to our principles of land-cultivation, &c we shall encourage the home-consumption, as well as the increase of people; and yet have always plenty enough for exportation at cheap rates.

" holder

" holder only imaginary: as for instance,
" A hath a grazing estate; to raise the value
" of which, all cattle from Ireland are to
" be prohibited: A having the sole market,
" raises the price of his cattle upon the rest
" of the people, B, C, D, down to Z,
" twenty-three in number, and their pockets
" are to be emptied only to fill his; a very
" equitable project indeed! But though these
" people were as blind as puppies, yet neces-
" sity, and the natural course of things, will
" force them to retaliate upon him; for as
" monopoly raises the price of cattle, their
" dearness raises the price of labour, and
" dear labour makes dear goods: so that
" the food, cloathing, utensils, labour, and
" every thing else that A wants, comes dear
" to him; an imaginary value is given to
" every thing: so that though A should
" have more rent for a time (which yet the
" decline of foreign trade must bring down
" afterwards) the money he receives is of
" less value, not going so far, or being able
" to purchase so much, as when goods bore
" their natural value only; whereby, what
" he thinks he puts in with one hand, is
" pulled out by the other; it is all a decep-
" tio visus, setting people together by the
" ears to prey upon one another; letting
" foreigners, in the mean while, eat the
" bread out of their mouths; for a nation
" that adds an artificial value to its com-
" modities, by monopolies, cannot export them
" in

“ in such quantities to foreign ports, where
 “ they are rivalled by those that bear only
 “ their natural value; and their home-con-
 “ sumption will likewise sink in price by
 “ the nation’s having less money brought in
 “ by foreign trade; such a two-edged sword
 “ are monopolies to lands.”

THESE have been some of the many bad effects attending the present want of union between Great Britain and Ireland; and this has been lamented by many of the best English patriots, as well as the most judicious writers, and ablest statesmen, who have declared themselves publicly in favour of a union between them; and as Ireland has of late years been very assiduous in the improvement of their people, their country, and their wealth, so they will bring a better portion than they could formerly, in order to advance that political match.

NOTHING but the apparent expediency and benefit of an union could have made Cromwell take such steps as he did in this matter. The Saxon heptarchy was hardly a more disjointed heap of states than England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland seemed before Wales and Scotland were so happily united to her as they now are; and as Ireland has greatly the advantage of both the last in extent and goodness of soil, trade, and number of people; it is not improbable, when all the requisite preliminaries necessary thereto that we have hinted, are taken by England, that
 Ireland

Ireland will also be joined in the general union. Certain it is, that when such previous steps are taken, there can no objection be made against uniting Ireland, which would not hold as strong against the other two. Bodies politic, like natural ones, are so far strong and potent, as all their limbs are firmly knit and well united, and equally fed and nourished; and while Ireland shall continue excluded from the favours, rights, and privileges, which her fellow-subjects in England, Wales, and Scotland so happily enjoy, she cannot prosper herself, as she otherwise would do, and therefore cannot so much contribute, as she might, to the general wealth, strength, and security of the whole state. The addition of 16,800,000 acres of land (English measure) generally fruitful, and inhabited by two millions of people, would prove no inconsiderable augmentation to the wealth and power of Great Britain; if we reflect how fully, from such a union, all those hands would be employed; how their joint tillage, their trade, and manufactures would encrease in quantity and quality by the means submitted in these papers; how an universal spirit of industry and ingenuity will spread itself through the whole British empire, and rouse and animate our traders of every rank to vie with and excel those of the whole world: if we dispassionately weigh these things, a union will appear, in every view desirable by both kingdoms.

As

As our failors would then find little rest in our ports, so our poor would be effectually set to work and employed, and of consequence, the power, wealth, and stock of the three kingdoms be wonderfully encreased, and our lands in general every where rendered more valuable. Ireland, in such case, would soon be enabled to pay a million a year towards the taxes of Great Britain, besides the full support of their own establishment. And would not this, in times of war, greatly contribute to raise the supplies within the year? And in times of peace, might not this, with an addition of a million more on the part of Great Britain, be appropriated as an inviolable DEBT-PAYING FUND, for the redemption of our public incumbrances? Moreover, the scenes of universal trade, navigation, and commerce that I shall endeavour to point out, both in a public and private manner, will find full employment for the money as the public debts shall become discharged; whereby the national creditors will be no way injured in their properties. And is not this the essential preparatory to the discharge of our public debts? Nor can they be ever justly and honourably discharged upon any other principles, but those of extending our commerce.

NOR would such an union occasion a small accession to the naval power of Great Britain, it being reasonable to believe that Ireland would

would be enabled, in such case, thereby to assist England with 12,000 if not 15,000 seamen in times of need; which would be a matter of no little importance, where the difficulty of manning a royal navy with expedition, or finding sufficient employment for failors in time of peace, is so well known. A union of this kind once happily adjusted and regulated between the two nations, all our fears and apprehensions of future wars or rebellions in Ireland or England would entirely vanish; and we should experience, in a few years, by a mixture of people and interests that Ireland became as entirely an English and protestant country, as Wales and Scotland are. As England does already possess no inconsiderable share of the lands of Ireland; so the union would prove an effectual method to vest the rest in her; for as the riches of Ireland would chiefly return to England, she continuing the seat of empire, the Irish landlords would be little better than tenants to her, for allowing them the privilege of making the best of their estates. It has cost England much blood and treasure to rear up Ireland fit for the desirable union; and to neglect to make a proper use of her, for the mutual encrease of their trade and navigation, is no less imprudent, than if a wealthy merchant should be at the charge of building a ship, and then let her rot in port, rather than be at the pains of employing her. When this shall

come to be the case, instead of considering the two nations as rivals, and the Irish as enemies to the British trade, Ireland might, by due regulations, be rendered a great support to the English empire; and instead of being a burden, might greatly encrease our general prosperity, and extend our naval dominion.

WHENEVER a matter of this consequence shall be attempted in earnest, we may be assured, that whatever representatives shall be allowed to Ireland as their just proportion; or whatever limitations or restrictions may be judged absolutely proper for the common good to tack to it, every thing will be conducted consistent with those general principles whereon it should be founded, the general advantage and welfare of the whole: and possibly we may experience, that the union of the seven provinces of Holland have not affected the trading world more in the last century, than the union of these three nations would in this.

D I S:



DISSERTATION XII.

The foregoing subject farther considered.

WE might urge many arguments, which are to be met with in the writings of different authors at different periods of time, to enforce the short hints that have been before offered; but I shall confine myself, at present, to those only, who have touched on this topic, from the beginning of the reign of queen Anne to the present time; omitting, for brevity's sake, such matter as was more consistent with the circumstances of their times than of the present.

THE first author that I have met with, deserving our regard, is the judicious Sir Francis Brewster, who wrote in the year 1702: an abstract of which I shall give to the reader, with such variations as I think pertinent at present.

SOME things, says this patriot-spirited gentleman, that might, if under consideration, settle the kingdom of Ireland so as to secure for ever that kingdom and its trade in the interest of England, which is of the greatest importance to the English nation; and being

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so,

so, I shall not prescribe how it may be done, but only offer such matter, that may, perhaps, lead to that which the great council of the nation may one day think worthy their deliberation: they are as follow:

FIRST, I suppose it a fundamental truth allowed by all, that since Ireland is above water, England cannot be safe, if that kingdom should be in any hands but her own.

WE shall now submit these things that seem essential to preserve that kingdom in English hands; for we make a great difference betwixt Ireland being under English government, and English inhabitants: it may be under the first, and yet not safe, if not under the latter.

I CANNOT see how England could withstand all the neighbours that surround her, if Ireland had a balance of other people than English: and, therefore, I should think, that though we would not make that kingdom a treasure, yet we would make it a citadel for defence against foreigners; and then, I presume, we should not make it a garrison for strangers. I come then to offer what, I conceive, will lay the foundation for securing that kingdom to England; and that is,

By act of parliament, to unite Ireland to England.

I PRESUME this will meet with objections; but I never heard more than two. First, It is observed that this may endanger
England

England in its constitution: the members of Ireland may be a dead weight, and may be, through poverty or otherwise, made ill use of, if we should fall under an unfortunate reign.

To this it is answered, that the same may be said of Wales, or even of separate counties; but it is hardly possible that any part of the English constitution should join in that which endangers the whole.

IRELAND, by a union, would be then England, and doubtless no less fond of their liberties; perhaps more apprehensive of them than England; Ireland having known the want of them.

IT would be a reflection, which I always avoid, to mention particulars, but, doubtless, English laws, and the habeas corpus act, would be thought a blessing in that kingdom, and what their own interest would lead them to: their numbers would not prove dangerous, if but two-and-thirty members for the two-and-thirty counties.

THE other objection is, that if Ireland was united, they would have equal liberty of trade with England. To which it is answered; That doth not follow: they may be better restrained by the union, than they can be under the constitution they are at present. For although England may now make laws for them, yet they in Ireland are judges and executioners of them; and how far they will enforce laws against the interest of their
country,

country, is submitted: but when they are made by their representatives here in parliament, and liable to be questioned here, if not observed, the case will then be altered.

AND there wants not precedents of the parliament of England's restraining some parts of England from trade and navigation that they allow to others; as that of the importation of Irish wools, which was many years admitted to particular parts of England only: so, in some cases, it is in the united provinces, and yet they unite in the states general: and though we follow not that commonwealth in its government, yet it is to be wished that we regarded their example in many points which relate to trade and navigation.

I NOW pass to the advantages that England would receive by uniting Ireland: for many I shall only mention four.

FIRST, by thus uniting Ireland to England, that kingdom will bear part of the taxes, which it never did; though, in time of naval wars, the ships of England have always protected their coast as much as they have done those of England, and convoyed their merchantmen.

SECONDLY, This uniting Ireland would prevent future rebellions, which that kingdom was never long free from; and which always cost England much blood and treasure to reduce: and we may add, that the union would greatly contribute to prevent future

future rebellions in England, and invasions in time of war from our ancient enemy.

KEEPING Ireland a separate kingdom, hath supported the Irish in the pretence of their right to it; and whenever they have opportunity, call their parliaments, and make laws; but if they were abolished, and the kingdom united with England, we should become one people; which we never can be, though we are one blood, while we live under different laws and government. Suppose, as I think they are, under some kind of despotic power, which some believe give us an advantage over them; yet it is dangerous to England, and may bring us under the same misfortune; for men that are without hope of English liberty, will naturally join in that which will bring others under the same subjection.—It is nothing like the case in Ireland at present, to what it was in Sir Francis's time; for although the spirit of popery and disaffection is still too prevalent in that kingdom, yet the face of the whole country is no less changed in this respect than in regard to the state of its trade: but if a union takes place, this cannot fail to prove the effectual step to eradicate all principles that may be hurtful to the British constitution; and contribute greatly to render the same more and more invincible. For,

THIRDLY, Uniting the kingdoms would make the English nation more formidable: none, I presume, would deny that England

would be more feared abroad, and safer at home, if it were twice as great, and that Ireland was one continent with it.

Now, in my humble opinion, it is possible to make it so in effect; and of better use than if it was so in reality.

THE great security and treasure of the English nation depends on their navigation, under which is comprehended fisheries, manufactures, &c. Continents, therefore, never can be so much and so beneficially engaged in traffic as islands so happily situated as Great Britain and Ireland, and no less happily governed: long land-carriage makes commodities dearer for exportation; so that if Ireland were one continent with England, we should not only lose the benefit of cheaper water-carriage, but lose the advantage of sea-employments for our men; in which we cannot exceed.

BUT as Ireland now stands, and was united, it is possible to make it a nursery for the employment of twelve or fifteen thousand seamen more than now we have: and of what consequence that will be, we may judge from the number of our seamen, who, in times of peace, run into foreign service to get bread: and it is a melancholy observation, that we want seamen in time of naval war; and yet we have not full employment for them in times of peace. But Ireland being united and established as it might be, would not only

only employ all we have, but breed more and more daily.

FOURTHLY, Uniting Ireland to England seems the most effectual way to prevent the English manufacturers from going to foreign parts, as they have greatly done of late years to our unspeakable detriment. But a union will alter the course of such who are invited into foreign parts. Men will then, as they do now, only change from one country to another to mend their fortunes. But such as have any thing that makes a property, are not willing to go where there is none; but by going into Ireland, lose the birth-right of an Englishman.

IT was thought a politic institution of the Romans to give liberty to the remotest conquest to purchase the liberty of a Roman. It shews a narrow understanding, to believe the nation cannot be supplied in their trade and manufactures but by cutting off a limb from the body: do we not so, if he that lives in Ireland is treated as a foreigner?

I SHOULD rather think it the interest of England to give extraordinary privileges to Englishmen that would go and plant there, and to turn the tables; take from Ireland the naturalization act, and bring it here; exchange Englishmen for foreign protestants; their number here cannot overbalance; in Ireland they may.

I WOULD

I WOULD not mean, that all the privileges and immunities that England hath in trade and manufactures, should be allowed to Ireland; but only encouraged in such a way as will advance England in theirs. It seems the misfortune of both kingdoms, that whilst new methods and *new* arts are used by all our neighbours to improve and secure their trade, we should content ourselves with the *old*, and are only *new* in contriving how to render Ireland more mischievous to us. Certain it is, that the trade of Ireland has never been conducted so well as it might be to the benefit of England. If the trade and navigation of Ireland were under the consideration of the parliament, I am persuaded that all jealousies might be removed, and Ireland made easy to itself, and less injurious to England; for then they would be able to make suitable returns to England, for their expence in so often recovering their kingdom.

THESE considerations may prove sufficient motives for a British parliament to bring Ireland under their care in other methods than it ever yet has been; especially so, since we can never hope to be free from the perfidious machinations of France to destroy the trade and liberties of both. *Vis unita fortior*. A union, and nothing but that, can remove all fears, and blast the designs of our common enemies. The force and interest of Ireland will be one with England; and then it will
prove

prove no longer a trouble or charge, but a help and advance-guard to England.

By a retrospect of the benefit that the trade of England has received by means of Ireland, under all disadvantages, we may form a judgment how further beneficial it might be, under the advantage of a union. The importations from Ireland into England from the year 1675 to the year 1681 inclusive, and from the year 1695 to the year 1698, according to the customhouse accounts, amount to 333,698l. 9s. 5d. and the exports from England to Ireland, in the same time, amount to 293,813l. 13s. 6d. so that England hereby appears to have lost by the Irish trade 40,154l. 15s. 11d sterling per annum. But this way of striking the balance of trade is erroneous, because some importations enrich a kingdom, as those commodities which are imported and exported again: so do those importations that are manufactured in the kingdom. Wherefore, in order to make a right estimate in the balance of trade, is to have the particular species of all commodities before us; whereby may be seen what is profitable and what detrimental to the nation.

BUT the exports from England to Ireland, in the first six years, ending in 1681, amounted to 346,800l. sterling per annum; and the imports from Ireland into England amounted to 231,554l. sterling per annum. By this
account,

account, according to the vulgar way of judging of the balance of trade by the mere custom-house account of the exports and imports, England may gain by the trade of Ireland 115,286 l. whereas it is by the first-mentioned account for the year 1698, a loser of 40,154 l. 15 s. 11 d.

THE commodities that are exported from England to Ireland are, for the greatest part, either the manufactures or the native product of England, and are consequently clear gains to the kingdom; which cannot be said of any other trade belonging to England. Those who would satisfy themselves with a detail of the respective commodities imported and exported to and from Ireland from the period above-mentioned, may consult Sir Francis Brewer's Essays on Trade; which shews how the trade of Ireland stood in the reign of king Charles II. The next account for four years, shews how it stood in the year 1698.

THAT the exports of Ireland should, in six years, exceed 413,491 l. 8 s. 2 d. of what they were in 1681, is extraordinary, being almost as much as the whole exports of Ireland before the wars; but this was owing to the following circumstances of affairs; for most of their exports being provisions, the foreign demand for them is governed by their harvests, vintages, &c. as is from hence demonstrable: in the year 1697, the exportations of corn amounted to 45,000 sterling; whereby

whereby, before, that there were frequently importations of corn into Ireland. The exports of butter also are casual; when the olives in Spain have failed, then butter is in great demand there from Ireland: but much of their exports of butter depend upon the markets of Holland, and Flanders, and they are governed by war.

A PROPORTION of the exports of Ireland were manufactures, and that by Sir Francis's account, for the year 1681, amounted to 582,814 l. sterling, of which there was of the yarn manufacture, &c. to the amount of 69,000 l. sterl. and to the amount of 12,000 l. in linen yarn, and 3000 l. sterling in woollen yarn; all which was manufactured to great advantage in England; the rest of the 69,000 l. was 50,000 l. in frizes, much of which was imported into England, and improved by new dressing and napping; so that there remained of all the Irish manufactures exported, but to the value of 4000 l. sterling: this is the fact as the account stood in the reign of Charles II.

THE importation of Ireland for the year 1681 stands thus. Their importation in general, amounted to 433,040 l.; of which 346800 l. were from England, and but 86,000 l. from foreign parts; and of them, a part should be excluded the account.

In 1695 the exports of Ireland amounted to 265,562 l. 1 s. 2 d.; of which, there were in manufactures to the value of 30,463 l. 7 s. 6 d.;

6 d. ; whereof, it is observable, that 20,075l. was of linnen and woollen yarn ; whereas before the wars, when Ireland was in it's greater prosperity, there was, as before intimated, but to the value of 15000 l. sterling in those commodities.

THE *imports* of Ireland amounted to 361,524 l. 7 s. 1 d. sterling ; whereby it appears, that the balance was to the loss of Ireland, 95932 l. 5 s. 11 d. sterl.

IN 1696 the exports of Ireland amounted to 398,237 l. 7 s. 5 d. ; of which there was in manufactures, and in those, in particular, of linen and woollen yarn 12,000 l. sterling in linen, and 5208 l. 7 s. in frize ; all which was no less to the benefit of England, than if it had been their own, and in some respects more, because they cost them nothing in a manner.

THE imports of Ireland in the year 1696, amounted in the whole to 334,963 l. 15 s. 8 d. ; of which there was from foreign parts to the value of 101,419 l. 16 s. 8 d. : whereby is seen that the imports from foreign parts abated from what they were in the preceding year, though the exports encreased almost one third of what they were in the year before.

IN 1697 the exports of Ireland amounted to 525,004 l. 6 s. 3 d. ; of which 83,707 l. were manufactures exported into England, and improved in England.

THE

THE imports for the above year amounted to 423,182 l. 16 s. 7 d. ; whereof the value from foreign parts was 132,290 l. This was to the prejudice of England, and the more so, as it encreased the evil in the next years imports ; for the foreign imports into Ireland is a loss to England.

IN 1698 the exports of Ireland amounted to 996305 l. 8 s. 3 d. ; of which there were manufactures into England for additional improvement to the value of 155,595.

THE imports for the same year amounted to 576,863 l. 1 s. 5½ d. ; by which account the balance is to the gain of Ireland 419,442 l. 6 s. 9½ d. ; whereof there was from foreign parts to the value of 191,066 ; which was to the loss of England, for in the year 1681, the imports from foreign parts were but 86,240 l.

THE number of ships employed in the importations to Ireland, and their tonnage in the year 1698, was as follows, viz. 2403 ships, their tonnage of Irish ships 21,332, of English ships 76,044, of Scotch ships 4,205, and the tonnage of French ships 18,947 ; the total of the tonnage being 120,728.

WHENCE it appears how the navigation of England is shortened by the trade of foreign parts, which is a prejudice to both kingdoms.

THE imports into England from Ireland in the year 1698, and how they were manufactured and improved in England, stand thus :

Sheep's

[304]

Sheep's wool 335,574 stone, at 16s. per stone, in Ireland amounted to	-	l. 167,787
Worsted yarn 12848 stone, at 27 s. per stone	-	17,345
Woollen yarn 3937 at 13 s. 6 d.	-	2,657
Sheep and lamb's skins	-	5,250
Linen yarn 8916 lb. 3 quart. at 15 l. per cent. in Ireland came to	-	44,583
Green hides 40000 at 14s. per hide	-	28,000
		<hr/>
		l. 265,623

This sheep's wool manufactured in England, came to	-	671,148
This worsted yarn, ditto	-	35,000
This woollen yarn, ditto	-	5,000
These sheep and lamb's skins, ditto	-	15,000
This linen yarn - - ditto	-	89,000
These green hides - - ditto	-	56,000
		<hr/>
		l. 871,148

THERE were many other commodities then imported from Ireland, that are not mentioned, the certainty of their improvement not being ascertained as in the rest; but

[305]

but they appear considerable, from the following account.

Calve skins at	l.	s.	d.	
14 s. - - -	3327	7	6	
Tan'd hides 30000				l. s. d.
at 14 s. - - -	21000	0	0	} 106982 18 6
Tallow 26903 at 3 l. - - -	40355	0	0	
Iron and wooden ware - - -	42300	0	0	

THE next thing, is the exports from England to Ireland, according to the nearest computation	-	-	250000	0	0
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THERE was employed in the trade of Ireland, as by the particulars of each part, in the year 1698; 2043 fail of ships, making tonnage as they were entered in the customhouse. 120,728 tons; of which 76,044 tons were of ships of England; the gain whereof at 20 s. per ton, makes -

			76044	0	0
			<hr/>		
			1304174	18	6

[306]

By this account against which there can be no objection, there being nothing charged, but what arises out of the customhouse books of both kingdoms) England gained annually by the trade of Ireland, as above 1,304,174 l. 18 s. 6 d.

BESIDE this, we must not exclude the exports of Ireland to foreign parts, on English account, that making no inconsiderable article; for the account of the exports of Ireland, for the year 1698 is 996,305 l. 8 s. 2 d.; of which we bring to the above account but 265,623 l. 10 s. 6 d. imported into England; which being deducted out of 996,305 l. 8 s. 2 d., leaves 730,681 l. 17 s. 8 d., which was exported to foreign parts—The greatest part of the last sum, is, or of right ought to be for the account of England; and if so, that is in the balance of trade equally so much, as if exported from England itself; and then it is evident, that England gained 2 millions sterl. per Annum by the trade of Ireland.

THOUGH there can be no gainsaying of matter of fact, yet there may be an objection to 871,148, that I make to be a part of the clear profit to the nation; for it will be said, that the first cost of them in Ireland, being 265,623, that must be deducted, as being paid for with the money, or goods of England.—

To which it is answered; that there is neither money nor goods sent out of England,

Years	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1710	712497	2	6½	554247	12	4	158249	10	2½			
1711	878237	4	10½	670948	13	8½	207288	11	2			
1712	889339	7	0½	774420	12	6¼	114918	14	6¼			
1713	890437	5	3¼	659665	0	10¼	230772	4	5			
1714	1422227	7	5	1016122	13	7	406104	13	10			
1715	1529765	14	1¾	972688	9	11¼	557077	4	2¼			
1716	1255083	7	10	875565	19	11¾	379517	7	10¼			
1717	1100012	10	4	907160	10	10¼	272851	19	5¾			
1718	1115304	6	11½	887758	16	6¾	227545	10	4¾			
1719	1038381	7	1½	891678	5	6½	146703	1	7			
1720	859581	5	1¼	683364	1	6¾	176217	3	7			
1721	986346	14	2	730558	10	9¾	255788	3	4¾			
1722	1074269	12	2¾	829367	17	2¾	244901	15	0			
1723	1090675	13	5¾	920802	11	6	169873	1	11¾			
1724	1053782	13	11½	819761	13	3¼	234021	0	8¼			
1725	1026537	6	4	889832	18	5¾	136704	7	10¼			
1726	1017872	15	4¼	1030059	16	4½				12187	1	0¼
Total	18020351	14	2	14114004	5	1	3906347	9	1	12187	1	0¼
Medium for 17 years.	1062020	13	7¾	830235	10	10⅝	229784	2	9¼			
Total for the last 7 years.	7109066	0	7½	5903747	9	2½	1205318	11	5¼			
Medium for the last 7 years.	1015580	17	2½	843392	9	10⅞	172188	7	4¼			

land, for the exports of Ireland to England, nor much for the exports from Ireland for English account to foreign parts; but they are paid for by the expence of the Irish estates in England: so that as to the general stock of the nation, nothing is carried out of the kingdom, for what they fetched from Ireland. Whence it appeared, that if the trade of Ireland had been rightly regulated by England; it might have been made instrumental to have brought in more clear gain to the nation, than any other trade belonging to it.

THE next period, in which I shall consider the state of the trade of Ireland, is from 1710 to 1727; which, according to the customhouse accounts, carefully extracted by the judicious Mr. Dobbs, stands as follows: viz.

X 2 Years

Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
712497	- 2	- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	554247	- 12	- 4	158249	- 10	- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$			
878237	- 4	- 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	670948	- 13	- 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	207288	- 11	- 2			
889339	- 7	- 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	774420	- 12	- 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	114918	- 14	- 6 $\frac{1}{4}$			
890437	- 5	- 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	659665	- 0	- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	230772	- 4	- 5			
1422227	- 7	- 5	1016122	- 13	- 7	406104	- 13	- 10			
1529765	- 14	- 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	972688	- 9	- 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	557077	- 4	- 2 $\frac{1}{4}$			
1255083	- 7	- 10	875565	- 19	- 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	379517	- 7	- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$			
1100012	- 10	- 4	907160	- 10	- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	272851	- 19	- 5 $\frac{3}{4}$			
1115304	- 6	- 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	887758	- 16	- 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	227545	- 10	- 4 $\frac{3}{4}$			
1038381	- 7	- 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	891678	- 5	- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	146703	- 1	- 7			
859581	- 5	- 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	683364	- 1	- 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	176217	- 3	- 7			
986346	- 14	- 2	730558	- 10	- 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	255788	- 3	- 4 $\frac{1}{4}$			
1074269	- 12	- 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	829367	- 17	- 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	244901	- 15	- 0			
090675	- 13	- 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	920802	- 11	- 6	169873	- 1	- 11 $\frac{3}{4}$			
053782	- 13	- 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	819761	- 13	- 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	234021	- 0	- 8 $\frac{1}{4}$			
026537	- 6	- 4	889832	- 18	- 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	136704	- 7	- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$			
017872	- 15	- 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1030059	- 16	- 4 $\frac{1}{2}$				12187	- 1	- 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
8020351	- 14	- 2	14114004	- 5	- 1	3906347	- 9	- 1	12187	- 1	- 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
062020	- 13	- 7 $\frac{7}{8}$	830235	- 10	- 10 $\frac{5}{8}$	229784	- 2	- 9 $\frac{1}{4}$			
109066	- 0	- 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5903747	- 9	- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1205318	- 11	- 5 $\frac{1}{4}$			
015580	- 17	- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	843392	- 9	- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	172188	- 7	- 4 $\frac{1}{4}$			

land, for the exports of Ireland to England, nor much for the exports from Ireland for English account to foreign parts; but they are paid for by the expence of the Irish estates in England: so that as to the general stock of the nation, nothing is carried out of the kingdom, for what they fetched from Ireland. Whence it appeared, that if the trade of Ireland had been rightly regulated by England, it might have been made instrumental to have brought in more clear gain to the nation, than any other trade belonging to it.

THE next period, in which I shall consider the state of the trade of Ireland, is from 1710 to 1727; which, according to the customhouse accounts, carefully extracted by the judicious Mr. Dobbs, stands as follows: viz.

X 2 Years

By these abstracts may be observed the gradual rise of the exports of Ireland from 1710 to 1716; from which time they gradually fell to 1721; then rose again to 1724, and abated to 1727. It is immaterial to my purpose to enter into the causes of those ebbs and flows.

To help our judgment farther in forming an idea of the importance of the trade of Ireland, it may have its use to give an abstract of the number of ships, with their tonnage, employed for some years to export and import the commodities dealt in by that kingdom.

Years commencing Lady-day.	Ships No.	Tons.	Tonnage of ships at a medium.
1714	3081	161115	52.27 decimals.
1719	3341	135887	40.67
1720	3167	187041	59.09
1721	3334	158414	47.51
1722	3657	286594	78.36
1723	4012	173986	43.36
1724	3829	170273	44.46
Total	24421	1273310	
Medium	3488.7	181901	52.14

Of which the English tonnage amounts to 96,924, Scotch 17,951, and Irish 38,513.

THE tonnage in different nations in 1722 and 1723, was as follows:

In 1722.	Tons.	In 1723.
English	218299	96440
Scotch	18355	19247
Irish	33312	42136
Danish	11201	9292
Dutch	2444	3915
French	2868	2751
Spanish	115	205
Total	286594	173986

HEREBY may be seen the proportion which other nations bore to Ireland in the carriage and freight of their goods, and their imports; by which we may observe, that a great part of the profits of the Irish trade were absorbed by England and foreign nations; and if a union between England and Ireland should once take place, these advantages might chiefly center among ourselves.

An Abstract of the Exports, Imports, and Balance with England for eight Years from Lady-day 1719, to Lady-day 1727.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1719	447659	2	11½	476187	14	1¼	31341	11	0¼	28528	11	1¼
1720	363529	10	5	375803	8	8¼	36264	17	4¼	12273	18	3¼
1721	440946	17	6¼	409605	6	6¼	35068	16	4¼			
1722	544002	7	8¼	507737	10	3½	34833	11	4			
1723	554431	1	5¼	519362	5	1						
1724	476632	14	10½	441799	3	6¼						
1725	467949	2	7	501649	6	3½				33700	3	8½
1726	495497	13	3¼	558261	10	3¼				62763	17	0
Total	3790648	10	9½	3790406	4	9¼	137508	16	1¼	137266	10	1½
Med.	473831	1	4¼	473800	15	8¾	30	5	7¾			

[310]

[311]

The medium of Irish exports to England in linen and linen yarn about - 267000 0 0
 By wool, woollen, and worsted yarn, - - - - - 117554 15 10¼
384554 15 10¼

Of copper ore, feathers, hair, raw hides, kelp, calveskins, goat and kid-skins, sheep and lamb-skins, rabbit-skins, tallow - 55408 00 00

Total of all 439962 15 10¼

THE other articles, which make up the remainder of the exports, amounting to about 33,900 l. are goods re-exported about 1500 l., chiefly wine and brandy; beef, butter, candles, fish, flannel, frizes, small horses, hogs-lard, pork, rape-feed, and other small parcels, which are generally the provisions and little necessaries colliers and other seamen carry with them, in their portage in their return home.

By this it appears, that the Irish export to England the first principles of their manufactures of various kinds, viz. wool, ores, skins, hair, feathers, hides, and tallow, about 172,900 l., in linen yarn about 90,000 l. so there is above 262,900 l. exported to them of such things as are absolutely necessary

fary for carrying on and increasing their commerce, and for employing their people, the linen yarn being particularly useful in carrying on the northern manufactures of linen, and mixtures of linen with wool and cotton. The Irish linens amounting to about 177000 l. are made a manufacture in England, by being stamped or stained, and saves a great quantity of their rich manufactures in wool, &c. for exportation; which is so much saved from foreigners in Irish hands for English use, being spent in Britain, where all the redundant cost centers: so that of all the Irish exports to England, there is 34,000 l. luxuriously spent therein, consequently they must have proved a great benefit to the English trade and commerce.

THE imports from England at a medium, are nearly 473,800 l. per annum, and chiefly consist of the following articles, viz. bark, books, bottles, candle-wick, wool-cards, coals, coffee, wheat and barley, drapery, drugs, allum, cochineal, indico, logwood, iron ware, steel, lead, cambricks, hollands, lawns, muslins, flower, millinary ware, callicoes, salt and rock, raw silk, thrown silk undyed, and silk manufactures, pewter and tin, whalebone, wood and ware, cotton and yarn, grogrum-yarns, salt-petre, groceries of fruits and spice, small parcels, battery and brass shuffls, cheese, camblets, copper-plates, redwood, earthen-ware, herrings, fustians, glass-wares, sugars, gold and silver thread and lace,

lace, hops, slate, snuffs, stockings, pitch and tar, cyder, tea, tobacco, toys, fans, gloves, paper, hats, garden-seeds, hemp, apples.

THESE, with some other small articles, make up the medium as above: of which there is of the English produce and manufactures 248,439 l. from the American colonies, and by the East-India company 167,536 l. and by the Dutch, Flemish, Baltic, and Mediterranean trades 57,400 l.—There is about 7,800 l. value of tobacco imported by way of Scotland; but being all from the English plantations, the whole is placed to this account.

THUS stood the trade between England and Ireland; by which it appears, that all to a trifle which we export to them, are either of the greatest use, and a very great gain to England, by encreasing their trade and commerce abroad, and employing a great number of industrious poor at home, or saved from foreigners, by whom they must otherwise necessarily be supplied: consequently this is an addition of power and wealth to the British Dominions. The goods imported into Ireland from England are either a redundancy of their produce and manufactures, which employs and maintains a great number of farmers and manufacturers; or such colony and East-India goods as employ a great number of the largest and best ships; which consequently pro-

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motes navigation and seamen, and employs abundance of hands in our colonies, who, in return, take off great quantities of the English manufactures.

WE shall next consider the state of the trade between Ireland and Scotland, and the Isle of man, and annex an abstract of the exports, imports, and balance, with that part of Britain for the like term of eight years, viz.

Years.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Contra balance.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1719	13690	19	0	37868	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24178	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1720	10352	4	4	27706	18	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	17354	14	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1721	11256	15	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	29151	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17894	15	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1722	14398	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	27468	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13070	12	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1723	23578	5	8	33497	2	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	9918	16	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1724	21250	0	3	31003	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	9752	19	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1725	10023	12	4	38938	0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	28914	7	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1726	9384	2	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	29762	13	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	20378	11	2
Total - - -	113934	1	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	255396	19	6	141462	17	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Medium - -	14241	15	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	31924	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	17682	17	2 $\frac{3}{4}$

IRISH

IRISH exports to Scotland and Isle of Man, consist of viz.

OATMEAL, other grain; beef and kine, horses, hides, butter, cheese, soap, linen, and mutton, and other small parcels to the amount of 11900l. Some other small articles with wine and brandy make up the medium—

THE imports from Scotland into Ireland consist of, viz.

COALS, tobacco, bark, brandy, barley and malt, groceries, linen and kenting, wine, timber, linen-yarn, herring, and small parcels, amounting to 31700 — Some other trifling articles make up the medium.

THE importation from North Britain and the Isle of Man to Ireland vary but little; consisting chiefly of coal and tobacco; for which the Irish demands are pretty constant, and nearly equal—The Irish exports being chiefly of oat-meal, rises and falls as the Irish harvests are plentiful, or otherwise.

UPON this trade there is occasion for little animadversion, it being very small and to be understood at first view. By deducting the small balance with England, from the Contrabalance with Scotland; they lost by Britain, not including their colonies, 17652 l. 11 s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

IT

IT is necessary to state the Irish trade with the British colonies in America, as an appendage of Britain; the imports from thence being all accounted for in the Irish importations from Britain; where they must all be first entered, before they can be admitted into Ireland, except timber and grain; not being bond-goods.

HERE follows an abstract of the Irish American exports, for the same years with those of the last abstracts, viz.

Year	Value
1763	100000
1764	110000
1765	120000
1766	130000
1767	140000
1768	150000
1769	160000
1770	170000
1771	180000
1772	190000
1773	200000
1774	210000
1775	220000
1776	230000
1777	240000
1778	250000
1779	260000
1780	270000
1781	280000
1782	290000
1783	300000
1784	310000
1785	320000
1786	330000
1787	340000
1788	350000
1789	360000
1790	370000
1791	380000
1792	390000
1793	400000
1794	410000
1795	420000
1796	430000
1797	440000
1798	450000
1799	460000
1800	470000
1801	480000
1802	490000
1803	500000
1804	510000
1805	520000
1806	530000
1807	540000
1808	550000
1809	560000
1810	570000
1811	580000
1812	590000
1813	600000
1814	610000
1815	620000
1816	630000
1817	640000
1818	650000
1819	660000
1820	670000
1821	680000
1822	690000
1823	700000
1824	710000
1825	720000
1826	730000
1827	740000
1828	750000
1829	760000
1830	770000
1831	780000
1832	790000
1833	800000
1834	810000
1835	820000
1836	830000
1837	840000
1838	850000
1839	860000
1840	870000
1841	880000
1842	890000
1843	900000
1844	910000
1845	920000
1846	930000
1847	940000
1848	950000
1849	960000
1850	970000
1851	980000
1852	990000
1853	1000000

Years.	l.	s.	d.	Irish exports to America consist of	l.
1719	77190	8	8½	Beef about	61500
1720	88980	18	9	Butter	10000
1721	68404	3	2½	Pork	8600
1722	74344	9	6½	Linen	3500
1723	82806	6	9½	Fish	8890
1724	96825	8	10	Bread	1300
1725	103998	2	4½	Cheefe and Candles	1000
1726	110313	19	7½		
Total	702863	17	9½		Total - 86790

[318]

Which with some other small articles make up the medium.

The medium of which is the annual Balance, viz. 87857 l. 19 s. 8½ d.

THE

THE Irish imports from America being already accounted for; the contra-balance from Britain alone must be deducted from the American: the balance from Britain in the favour of Ireland, including the colonies, will then amount to 70205 l. 8 s. 1¼ d.

THUS stood the trade with Great Britain, and her colonies, and Ireland. Whence it might be imagined, that Great Britain were losers by their trade and intercourse with Ireland: but when this balance comes to be subtracted from the draughts upon Ireland, by those who have estates, employments, or pensions, and reside in Britain; by others who go there to spend, or for education, and by the troops paid abroad; which amounted to 486000, then Britain will be a gainer by Ireland 415794 l. 11 s. 10¼ d. If to this be added the monopoly of wool, woollen and worsted yarn; of which Ireland sent annually to England 227049 stone, at 16 pounds to the stone (the computed price at a medium of wool and yarn being then 10 s. 4 d. per stone, and the least profit upon that when manufactured is computed at 2 l. 19 s. 8 d.; for a stone of wool manufactured without dying, is, at least, worth 3 l. 10 s. od. especially what Ireland send over here, that being the choicest and best) then the English gained by the Irish wool 678,573 l. 15 s. 6 d., which is by the lowest computation that can be made; for as it is computed by others

others it rises considerably higher; as thus: a pound of wool in England is valued at 12d., and a pound of the Irish wool and yarn, being of the best sort, may be worth 14 d. Irish at least: now Mr. King's computation is, the wool is the fourth of the value of it when manufactured: if so, a stone of wool manufactured is worth 3 l. 14 s. 8 d., and the profit from Ireland to England would then amount to 730,340 l. 19 s. Another ingenious gentleman, who wrote upon the trade of Ireland in 1687 says, three pounds worth of wool, and oil, when manufactured into white cloths is worth 13 l.: at which rate the gain to Britain upon the before-mentioned quantity of Irish wool, computing such as was sent to England at 14 d. Irish, would be 916710 l. 6 s. 9 d., this computation being made on white cloths as sold in England, before they are dyed and exported; the profit upon exportation after dying is to be added; which, if we were to say does not amount to less than one half more, it would not exceed the bounds of truth: so that the computation at first given is rather greatly diminished than exaggerated.

THE profit England gains upon other articles being no monopoly, we shall only observe; that the linen and linen yarn as it is improved in England by working and stamping, since the Irish cannot export it striped and stained with colours, or with any other mixture,

mixture, is so far a monopoly; and since otherwise England would take it from foreigners, it is so much saved to England, as before observed, and contributes to the power and wealth of Britain, by enabling Ireland to take so much more of our rich manufactures.

To the two articles already mentioned may be added the freight and employment given to British shipping; the tonnage of which, at a medium of three years, amounts to 155738 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., which, at 1 l. 10 s. per ton freight, is 233608 l. This, considering how many are employed in the American trade, I cannot think without bounds: for the tonnage in the coal trade does not much exceed one-third, being at a medium 61081 tons, about one-sixth of which may be computed to be Irish; so the British tonnage employed will not exceed 50901, there would then be about 104700 tons of shipping employed upon the freights; and the others being supposed, at least, to make 10 s. per ton freight; this would raise the freight upon others to about 1 l. 19 s. 8 d. per ton; which I suppose not much to exceed the truth. Since also a great quantity of our goods is sent abroad by commission from England, they have the benefit of the sale of these goods in foreign markets.

THE benefit then arising to Britain from Ireland will appear thus:

	l.	s.	d.
Money spent in England over and above the balance subtracted as before, and by payments of troops abroad - - -	415794	11	10 ³ / ₄
By the monopoly of Irish wool and yarn - - -	678573	15	6
By freight of British shipping - - - - -	233608	0	0
Total in Irish money	1327976	7	4 ² / ₄

Which amounts to, in English money, 1225730 l.

But, lest it might be thought that 30 s. per ton is more than the English gain by the freight of shipping, we may deduct 10 s. per ton from the freight, which comes to 77869 l. 6 s. 8 d. and then they will be gainers by the trade and rents of Ireland 1250107 l. 0 s. 8 d. Irish money.

To which may be added the profits made by England upon the Irish linens that they stamp or stain, which, at 12 d. per yard exported, amounts at a medium to the value of 177000 l. Upon this they make at least, 10 d. per yard profit when stained or stamped, in which case the English gain will be - - - - - 147500 0 0

The

	l.	s.	d.
The linen yarn, at a medium exported at 12 d. per pound, amounts to about 90000 l. and the profit upon it manufactured being at least 150 per cent. when sold in the English market, without computing the profit when exported from thence, comes to - - - - -	135000	0	0

Their profit upon skins, ore, tallow, kelp, &c. when manufactured, may be reasonably supposed double of the value when exported from Ireland; which being above 55000, the English profit may be computed the same - - - - -	55000	0	0
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As all this is net gain above the value of the goods Ireland exported to Britain (and the profitable goods Ireland sends to them, upon which the above profit is made, amount to 440000 l.) with which Ireland paid for the British commodities imported there, we may add at least, so much more to the gain Britain makes of Ireland; since if there was no such kingdom, the English would want a vent for so many of their profitable exports, no

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other

other kingdom having a demand for them; by this the profit of England from Ireland is at least - - - - - 440000 0 0

This being added to the foregoing sum of 1250107l. 0 s. 8d. then the total benefit Britain reaps from the neighbourhood, trade and commerce of Ireland (in which is not included the profit made upon the Irish goods when exported by Britain to foreign countries) amounts to - - - - - 2027607 0 8

To this also may be added the advantage arising to Britain, by the number of veteran troops maintained in Ireland, as also the benefit of providing for many by the beneficial livings and employments there. If such and so many are the advantages which Britain reaps from the neighbourhood of Ireland, by their rents, wool, and trade; how grossly ignorant must those be, who maintain it would be better for Britain that Ireland was sunk, or not to have had it annexed to the crown of England?

THESE people are possessed with a notion that Ireland has been a perpetual charge and expence to England, and a drain of their men and money, by the frequent rebellions of the Irish; whereas it is manifest, except the

the conquest of Henry II. and the armies brought over by king John and Richard II. Ireland was no expence to them from the first landing of the English under Strongbow until the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, but was serviceable in several of their wars with France and Scotland; and during that whole time, the English gained by the rents and trade of Ireland. Though the crown of England, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, and after the Irish rebellion, was at a considerable expence, yet the body of the people of England gained vastly more by the Irish rents and trade, than the money expended and sent over to pay the troops that reduced the rebels there. As to the reduction of Ireland after 1688, though for three campaigns it was very expensive to England, yet, from the year 1660 to that time, the English reaped by the rents and trade of Ireland, three times the sum which was expended by them upon the last reduction; and since that time to the present, it may be acknowledged, that England has not gained so little as a million and a half annually by Ireland. All which would have been lost to us, had there been no such country, or had it been in the hands of foreigners.

It is plain then, that Ireland, instead of being a charge to Britain, is of unspeakable benefit, and may be termed the choicest jewel and acquisition of the crown and people of England. And by a union of Ireland

[326]

with England, in a manner consistent with the general tenor of those principles, whereon we have before reasoned, the wealth, and the naval power of Britain may be greatly augmented, there being trade and commerce abroad sufficient to employ and maintain all the hands in Britain and Ireland, were they even double what they are. For as Ireland has prospered from the times we have been speaking of, England has been proportionably gainers thereby, and ever will.

As London is now opulent and magnificent by being the seat of empire, and residence of the court, where men of fortune and great expence generally reside; so upon such a union, Britain being the seat of empire, would still engross by far the greatest part of the wealth perpetually flowing from Ireland, as London does that from the distant counties. Wherefore upon a union with England, and an enlargement and extension of the commerce of Ireland, all their acquired treasures would be poured into England by the wealthy; and Ireland would retain no more riches, nor enjoy no more money than what would be sufficient to employ their poor and circulate their traffic: for as the blood in the natural body circulates through the heart in greater quantities, and with greater velocity than through the extremes, so all the wealth of a trading nation does through the capital and center of empire and trade.

THUS

[327]

THUS should Ireland encrease upon a union in their numbers and industry, and acquire two or three millions more from abroad annually than was sufficient for their consumption, four-fifths of this at least, would be brought into Britain by various channels. It can then proceed only from a narrow and selfish way of thinking; that Ireland can ever be supposed to rival England in trade, whilst a member of the empire. Were it in the hands of a foreign nation, or had it extent and numbers sufficient to be a state of itself, it would then be a dangerous rival; but the latter of these is not possible from it's situation and small extent, and the former can never happen whilst the British protestant interest prevails in Ireland, and Ireland is protected and regarded as brethren and friends: nothing but violence and oppression can ever give Ireland the least tendency that way, whilst good government prevails in the British empire. What reason then can be assigned for not admitting Ireland into a stricter union and greater privileges in trade, but would have equally held against the admitting of Scotland and Wales? And do we not experience that London, by being the metropolis, reaps all the benefit and acquired wealth of those distant members, as it did before of the northern and western counties of England? Would it not be accounted a very narrow and confined way of thinking,

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and highly detrimental to the wealth and the power of the public in general, to allow that a few merchants should monopolize a trade, and deprive others of it, who being admitted would add greatly to the wealth and power of the whole community? Should the city of London say, by depriving the out-ports of all trade, they should grow immensely rich, and all their poor be employed, and gain infinitely more than at present, when trade is dispersed in so many parts of the kingdom; would this be esteemed sound reasoning, or good policy in a state to suffer it? When the out-ports could demonstrate, that by their being admitted to participate of the commerce, greater numbers would be maintained and employed, and a far greater degree of wealth acquired by the nation in general, though it should be dispersed amongst more hands, and some particular persons would not reap so great a benefit as when confined to themselves? Yet is it not from a parallel way of reasoning that Ireland is deprived of an union with Britain; and having several privileges of trade allowed them, which would greatly add to the wealth and power of the British empire in general? Were Ireland admitted into the same privileges of trade, and incorporated with them, would not they be liable to the same taxes with England? Which they could bear in proportion as the distant counties in England do,

do, and the enlargement of the Irish fund bear it? Would not that ease the public in England, and render the whole united kingdom far more formidable to its enemies, and its rivals in trade than it is at present? Would not the encrease of the riches and numbers of people in Ireland, in consequence hereof, greatly extend the foreign trade of the united kingdom? No unprejudiced man, who has the real security of the British empire at heart, but must own that the encouraging Ireland in all the improvements it is capable of, by adding to its trade and wealth, and uniting its affections to Britain, is doing the greatest service to the public; and the closer such union is cemented, and the more powerful Ireland shall grow, just so much the more is added to the security, wealth, power, and dignity of Britain.

THAT an idea may be formed, in as narrow a compass as may be of the proportion that the Irish trade has borne to the whole commerce of Britain; we shall observe, that

THE exports of England upon their whole trade were computed in the year 1710 at 6690828 l. 15 s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and the balance then at 2389872 l. 9 s. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ d.; in 1715 their exports were 7379409 l. 3 s., and the balance 225653 l. 18 s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. If we suppose they encreased to the year 1727 to 8000,000, and the balance to 2500,000, which would be a considerable addition to the trade and wealth,

of

of Britain; near $\frac{2}{3}$ as much, if not $\frac{4}{5}$ was gained by the rents, trade, wool, and freight, of Ireland.

THE tonnage of shipping employed in England at a medium of 6 years ending at Christmas 1727, amounted to 859305; the tonnage of the trade of Ireland to 181901 l.; which is to the English as about 1 to $4\frac{7}{10}$; the British tonnage employed in Ireland is 155378 $\frac{2}{3}$; so the proportion employed by Ireland of British shipping, is to England's whole tonnage as 1 to $5\frac{4}{10}$: it may also be observed, that the total of the exports to those of England was as 1 to $7\frac{2}{10}$; and the Irish imports as 1 to 6; but the English balance exceeded the Irish as 14 to 1; without taking notice of the draughts upon Ireland otherwise.

THE monopoly of wool and woollen yarn has been the greatest occasion of complaint in Ireland, of hardship laid upon it by England's engrossing so valuable a branch to itself. This the English claim as due to them, upon account of the charges from time to time that they have heretofore been at in reducing the natives of Ireland, as also in protecting and restoring the British interest, when disturbed by the frequent rebellions of the Irish.

ON the other hand, the Irish say, that the hardship is laid equally upon the conquerors and the conquered, without regard to their own
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offspring, and of those who bore the brunt of the war. Also the Irish, by being confined to one market, the profits made by their sheep is too small, they being allowed only to spin it at the lowest wages possible. This difficulty we would consider as a friend to the British commerce in general, without any view of it's being a hardship to Ireland, since England has given Ireland a full equivalent for it, in the manufacture of linen and hemp; in which they have been so greatly encouraged, and thereby the imports of foreign linen proportionally diminished: and whilst England continues their encouragement to the Irish in this respect, they ought willingly to acquiesce in the monopoly of wool, or give England an equivalent in taxes to be allowed to carry on the woollen manufacture unrestrained, till a union of the two kingdoms should take place.

FOR it is certainly better policy for the English to consent that the Irish shall share this trade with them, than foreigners should engross any of it, although by a greater cheapness of their commodities the Irish supplant the English, till they become capable of selling equally cheap: and if the Irish gave an equivalent to England, in consideration thereof, in money annually, and that money was inviolably appropriated to take off such taxes as most affected the price of our woollen goods; this, together with the other principles

ciples humbly recommended to the public deliberation, would gradually put the English in a condition to sell as cheap as the Irish; and then the happy union may take place, without any injury to either; but on the contrary to the unspeakable benefit and advantage of both; which is otherwise at present. For, as the Irish wool is, at present, disposed of, it proves greatly prejudicial to England; because where high duties or prohibitions are laid upon any species of goods, either exported or imported, there a smuggling trade will be carried on; whilst there are men in the world, who will risk any thing for gain, it will be unavoidable. Whence it is that in Ireland such persons finding a better price in France and Holland for their wool than in England, do carry on this trade, in spite of all the care taken to prevent it. Wherefore, it ought to be carefully weighed, whether the giving so material an article as Irish wool to foreigners in their manufactures, and that in considerable quantities, be not more prejudicial to the sale of English woollen manufactures abroad, than prohibiting Ireland from sending over to Britain any of the Irish wool manufactured, permitting only the Irish wool and woollen-yarn can at present, be of benefit to them?

As the case at present stands, the consequence has long been, and will continue to be, that either the smuggling detrimental trade will

will be carried on to the sole advantage of foreigners, and the lessening the sale and consumption of our British manufactures abroad; or, if a stop should be put to it, the sheepwalks, and flocks of sheep in Ireland must be lessened; and in a little time, no more would be kept than were sufficient to supply the markets with flesh, and what wool would be wanting to make up apparel for the Irish consumption. Does it not, therefore, become the wisdom of the British nation to consider, whether it is better to remain under this dilemma than not? That is, whether the Irish, by continuing their smuggling trade, or lessening their sheep-walks, give foreigners no more wool on the one hand; or, on the other, be put upon such a footing as to work their wool to advantage, and employ their poor in Ireland, while at the same time England should reap the same advantage by the Irish manufactures as France in particular at present does by the Irish wool? Let the dilemma be taken in either light, we find England must be a great loser. For suppose 100,000 stone of wool is conveyed from Ireland to France or Holland annually, it is plain (that in such foreign markets as they supply by it) at 4l. per stone manufactured, which is now considerably within the profits they make, England loses 400,000l. which they might have saved, had they got the wool, and manufactured it for their foreign sales. If the Irish are stopped in their sheep-walks, by reason of the
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the trifling profit they could honestly make by their sheep, then the profit England makes by their manufacturing of the Irish wool would be lost ; which has been already made appear to amount to no less than 678573 l. 15 s. 6 d.

IF England, either by Ireland giving her too much wool, or by their supplying foreigners, has more manufactures upon hand than she can vent abroad, it is her interest that the Irish flocks of sheep should be lessened, and their lands be put to a better use : but if this be not the case, and England could have a sufficient vent, and should want wool to supply what foreign customers she has, or might have, with her woollen manufactures : and it seems to appear, that if Great Britain should fall into the general system that we have here, and in our other writings adopted, with all submission to the wisdom, correction, and improvement of others (for as a private labourer in the vineyard for the public prosperity, I only presume to sketch out the land for others to cultivate) we are willing to hope she may be capable of selling her woollen, and all her other manufactures, as cheap as any other rival nation can do ; and, from what we have also proposed, her husbandmen, her manufacturers, and her artists of every denomination, may equal in skill and delicacy of workmanship any in the world.

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DISSERTATION XIII.

The union of England and Ireland continued.

LONG experience has shewn, that no laws hitherto enacted, however severe, have been sufficient to prevent the people of Ireland from running their raw wools to France, and their manufactured goods to foreign countries ; and that nothing can effectually put a stop to this great evil, but making it the interest of Ireland to discourage that practice.

FOR since the Irish wools, that yearly remain more than they manufacture, must somewhere find a market ; and since the French can afford to give more for their wools than we can, the landed gentlemen of Ireland will ever continue to countenance this pernicious trade, as the only one, perhaps, by which their tenants are enabled to pay their rents.

IN order to shew that the running of Irish wool to France, and the Irish manufactured goods to other countries, is inconsistent with the real interest of Ireland ; and to make it

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the interest of Ireland to prevent it ; we shall first take a retrospect of the state of the woollen manufacture about forty years ago, and compare the same with what it is at present : in the next place we shall point out the reasons why the Irish have sold so much wool to our rivals the French, and propose some measures that should seem to prevent the same, till a happy and perfect union between the two kingdoms, shall take place ; and this in such a manner as will be equally beneficial to England and Ireland, and prove a step previously necessary to be taken to facilitate the desired union.

ABOUT forty years ago, they manufactured in Ireland large quantities of ratteens, frizes, and coarse cloth of eight, nine, and ten shillings per yard ; the latter being the price the best cloths their own wools could make, were generally sold for. The lower and middle class of their people appeared at that time well dressed in ratteens and frizes ; the better or richer class, wore cloths of ten shillings per yard ; and their nobility and gentry the superfine cloths, then made in England.

THE importation of Spanish wools into Ireland made an alteration in their woollen manufactures ; their cloathiers attempted first to make quarter Spanish cloths, afterwards half-quarter Spanish cloths, and soon learned from us the manner of making whole Spanish cloths.

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As the country of Ireland improved, their people grew more pompous in dress, and more expensive in equipage. The lower class, who were formerly well dressed in ratteens and frizes, despise that cloathing now, and purchase cloths mixed with Spanish wools ; the middle class, together with their nobility and gentry, wear few cloaths but such as are manufactured of all Spanish wools ; by which the Irish clothiers are become great manufacturers of Spanish cloth ; there being no great demand for cloths of eight, nine, or ten shillings per yard, except liveries for servants, into which sorts their own wools were formerly largely manufactured.

As by the discouraging the manufactures of such cloths, great quantities of Irish wools do yearly remain in that kingdom, the measures proposed shall be to engage the people of Ireland to manufacture more of their own wools, send less of them to France, and more of their spinning to England ; and this may be enforced, by proving it not only consistent with their own interest, but the surest way to extend and advance the same.

IN what is herein submitted, the advantages of both countries are considered. We apprehend that neither our own manufacturers nor land-owners can oppose, and the people of Ireland will have due encouragement to induce them to prevent, the running

VOL. I.

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their wools into France, and their manufactured goods into foreign countries.

It being apparent that the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland has been the cause of their clothiers manufacturing less of their own wools, and consequently having the more to sell to France; a prohibition of Spanish wool into Ireland, added to the other measures that have been suggested in the course of these animadversions, bid fair to answer the end proposed. For when these things are accomplished, the Irish manufacturers will return to their former manner of making such cloths as the wools of that kingdom will produce, and the laudable spirit for encouraging the manufactures made in Ireland, will effectually promote this design.

TILL the desired union between England and Ireland shall take place, let every step be taken that is previously necessary to a view of such high concernment. Let the people of Ireland be permitted to export their own woollen manufactured goods directly from Ireland to Great Britain only; not to be sold for consumption in England, but for exportation from England to such foreign countries as the proprietors or purchasers shall judge best. But as there are many good reasons why they should not send their woollen goods directly from Ireland to our plantations abroad, or to other foreign countries

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we trade to, the exportation of their woollen goods should be limited and restrained to Great Britain for re-exportation only to foreign countries.

AND, in order to prevent the expence to this kingdom that might attend the erecting and keeping proper warehouses, and the multiplying revenue-officers for receiving and discharging such woollen goods as the people of Ireland may send us; and also to prevent the sale and consumption of such woollen goods in England, to the prejudice of our English manufactures, landlords of pasture-grounds, and the lessening the labour of our own poor: let a duty be laid on all Irish woollen goods at importation from Ireland; which duty shall be drawn back upon exportation to *foreign countries only*, but not to the British plantations, England reserving that branch in the woollen trade wholly to herself, till the perfect union between England and Ireland shall take effect to the mutual content of both nations. Hereby the warehouses of the merchants in England will become the proper places for receiving all such woollen goods as shall be imported from Ireland, and the duties paid at importation will be a sufficient security to England that such goods shall not be wore or consumed in England, to the prejudice of our English manufactures in that respect.

If any one undertakes to make it for the interest of the people of Ireland to prevent

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the running their wools to France, and to manufacture them fully themselves, either for their own wear, or for exportation to England, under the limitations before-mentioned; he must also make it for the interest of England to receive the goods so manufactured in Ireland; for this degree of union proposed must be agreeable to both kingdoms, otherwise the success hoped for cannot be expected.

To render, therefore, a design of this nature agreeable to the land-owners of Ireland, we will consider the advantages arising to Ireland by the manufacturing of one year's importation of Spanish wools, and the advantage she will have by manufacturing one year's produce of her own wools; also the gain that will accrue to Ireland by prohibiting of Spanish wools, and by a free exportation to England of such woollen goods as she may manufacture more than are absolutely necessary for her own consumption.

THE Spanish wools imported into Ireland from the 25th of March, 1743, to march the 25th 1744, were one hundred twenty-eight thousand, and eighty-six futtle pounds--which may be computed at about five hundred and seventy bags.

LET it be supposed that each bag of wool is sufficient to make four pieces of Spanish cloths; then the cloths manufactured were two thousand two hundred and eighty; which, upon an average, being worth twenty pounds

pounds each cloth, the produce of the year's importation of Spanish wools will amount to 45600l.

IT is computed, that in the woollen manufactures, four-fifths of the value of the goods, when finished for sale, are given to the labour of the people therein concerned; therefore, let us suppose, that of this 45600l. there was paid to the labour of the people 36480, and to Spain for the wool 9120l.

To make one piece of Spanish cloth, completely finished for sale, will take up three months; it is seldom finished in less time; the manufacture is so tedious, that some of the people employed are often obliged to wait for work, while others are finishing their parts; as may be conceived by the following table, which was received from an eminent clothier, on whose veracity we may depend.

To make one piece of Spanish cloth will employ,

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Days.
Dying - - -	1	0	0	1
Beating - - -	0	2	0	4
Scribling - - -	2	0	0	5
Spinning the chain	0	8	0	7
Winding the chain	0	3	0	1
Warping, winding quills, and weav- ing - - -	2	0	1	24
Spinning the list	0	2	0	2
Burling - - -	0	2	0	4
Milling - - -	1	0	0	1
Dressing - - -	4	0	0	5

By this table it appears in how many days less than three months the poor employed in this manufacture finish their several parts. Therefore it is highly probable that several of them are often idle for want of work, unless the master clothier be a man of a large capital, and is able to carry on his manufactory so as to find them employment all the year. This we cannot suppose to be the case of the clothiers of Ireland, whose funds, I am informed, are small, and their ambition to make Spanish cloth so great, that they give their spinners and weavers, who are employed on Spanish wools, one third part more wages than they give to those employed on the Irish.

Now

Now the same people, that are employed by the above table, in the manufacturing one cloth made of Spanish wool, are absolutely requisite in manufacturing a cloth made of Irish; and they can finish such a cloth in two months, as completely as they can a cloth made of Spanish in three; therefore, if fully employed, can work up half as many more yards of cloth in one year, as an equal number can do, who are wholly employed in manufacturing of Spanish.

BESIDES, as coarse wools may be worked up into goods of various kinds, and the wool so disposed of, as to give employment at any time to a greater number of hands than the like value of Spanish wools can employ, all manufactures of coarse wools can be finished with greater dispatch.

SINCE, therefore, the wealth of a nation is increased by the number of the poor it employs, and the quantity of the land-productions they consume; we shall consider what number of the poor of Ireland nine thousand one hundred and twenty pounds value in Spanish wools will employ, and what number of poor the wools of Ireland, valued at twelve shillings the great stone, containing sixteen pounds, will also employ and subsist.

ON the best information, we find that the wools which Ireland yearly produces are computed at four hundred eighty thousand stone, of sixteen pounds to the stone; some

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have computed them at less, but accounts that we have obtained from Ireland make them more.

WE shall, therefore, consider the wools of that kingdom under the highest estimation that they have been reckoned at, and shew what that quantity of wool would produce, if worked up for their own consumption, or for exportation to England; and what loss that kingdom sustains yearly by neglecting the manufacturing of her own wools, encouraging the manufacture of Spanish, and running her raw wools to France.

WE shall next shew the gain that would arise in that kingdom, if their own wools were fully manufactured by their own people.

LET it be supposed, that the medium price of the wools of Ireland is twelve shillings the stone of sixteen pounds; then four hundred eighty thousand stones, at twelve shillings the stone, is 288000 l.

IF ten pounds value in wool, when completely manufactured for sale, is worth fifty pounds, the value of the yearly wools of Ireland, when worked up, must be 1440000 l.

IF four fifths of this sum be paid to the working people for labour, and the remaining fifth be paid to the rents of the kingdom for the produce of their sheep, the earned money of the poor of that country, in working up the yearly produce, will amount to 1152000 l.; and they will work up

up as much of the produce of the kingdom as will amount to 288000 l. Consequently, Ireland will gain yearly, by the manufacturing of her own wool, 1152000 l. And

By manufacturing the whole years importation of Spanish wool, she can only gain 36480 l.—To earn which sum, she must yearly pay to Spain 9120 l. and have numbers of her poor idly supported by high wages, to make them amends for the many days the manufacturing of Spanish wools leaves them unemployed.

IT is not easy to compute the exact number of poor that the wools of such a country, if worked up amongst themselves, would employ and subsist. But as most working people earn no more than what is sufficient to maintain them comfortably; we are of opinion that the finding out the quantity and value of any kind of goods manufactured in a country, and the value of the common annual subsistence of a manufacturer, is the nearest way of judging of the number of the working people subsisted by that manufacture.

LET us suppose that the common annual subsistence of working men, women, and children in Ireland may be purchased at a medium for ten pounds per annum, and that four hundred eighty thousand stone of the wools of Ireland, when fully manufactured, are worth 1440000 l.

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THEN the number of poor subsisted by the manufacturing the yearly produce of the wools of Ireland will be one hundred forty thousand people.

WE shall next consider how many of the poor of Ireland are subsisted by the manufacturing Spanish wools, admitting that they are not, during the whole year, one day unemployed, and that they manufactured the whole importation of Spanish wools in the year 1743, which was much larger than any quantity they ever imported in one year into that kingdom.

IT was before computed that five hundred seventy bags of Spanish wool, when fully manufactured for sale, would amount to 45600l. Wherefore, by that computation, the poor thereby employed and subsisted by that manufacture can be no more than four thousand five hundred and sixty people.

WHENCE it is obvious that Ireland loses immensely every year by encouraging the manufacture of Spanish cloths, discouraging the manufacturing of her own wools, and sending, and selling her valuable unmanufactured wools to France. To these causes may we not justly ascribe the number of Irish poor, who are now employed in all the woollen manufactories of France, where, on account of religion, as well as skill, they have met with protection and encouragement?

IF the industrious poor are compelled to quit their country for want of employment, the

the gentlemen of Ireland must lose their former markets for the product of their lands. The loss will be greater to the landed than the trading interest, and gentlemen must abate of their rents; for it is the employment of the poor that must ever keep them up to their value; and while Ireland shall encourage the manufacturing Spanish cloths, this has notoriously obliged numbers of the poor to quit the country, or come to the lands for maintenance, which will lower their value; but the value of their lands must rise, as the manufacture of Irish wools shall be encouraged, and the greater number of their poor shall be employed. Wherefore, a commerce with England, for such woollen goods as Ireland may manufacture more than are requisite for her own consumption, must prove of the advantage to Ireland that has been represented. It will encourage them to work up yearly their surplus wools, and employ the number of poor, at least, already mentioned. What the cloths, which they may export, will produce more than the cost of the wool, will be gain to the national stock; and the greater number of manufactures that are employed will be so much earned money to the country; the price of whose labour will, in a great measure, circulate among them, and be a means of improving their lands.

IF manufacturers are riches to a country, how valuable must that manufacture be, that is

is capable of employing and subsisting yearly one hundred and forty-four thousand of the poor? And how little valuable, in comparison thereto is that manufacture, that employs but four thousand five hundred and sixty, and occasions a much greater number to abandon the country for want of bread, or to be a burden to it for their maintenance? Such a manufacture ought to be considered as a nuisance, the other as a great blessing.

EVERY manufacturer in England and Ireland is reckoned to be in himself a certain market to the product of the lands of at least ten pounds per Annum for his maintenance, and of one pound per Annum, to the rents of the lands, for his lodging. Consequently every manufacturer employed in Ireland is a gain of eleven pounds per Annum, to that kingdom, and every one that is driven out of that country, for want of employment, or obliged to be maintained by the parish, may be said to be eleven pounds per Annum loss to the kingdom; and this difference being taken out of the scale of wealth in our country and thrown into that of an enemy, is well deserving our consideration.

THEREFORE if encouragement to manufacture Irish wools will keep up the price of the product of the lands of Ireland (as consumption of all commodities necessarily causes the advance of prices); if it will bring home numberless manufacturers, who have found employment in other countries, and enable

able their poor to maintain themselves, who are now a charge to the several parishes they belong to; if it will encrease the employment and subsistence of their poor; it must be the interest of Ireland to manufacture her own wools, prohibit the importation of Spanish wools, and discountenance and prevent the running their raw wools to France; which must ever be detrimental to the woollen manufactures of both England and Ireland.

IF this kind of union proposed between England and Ireland, with respect to a liberty of exporting to England such woollen Goods as Ireland shall manufacture, should be agreeable to both kingdoms; I am convinced no gentleman in Ireland will consent to the running of raw wools to France. If he is able to procure but a nursery of spinners upon his estate; the produce of their labour (though of all labour on wools the most sparingly paid for) will keep up the price of the product of his lands, which will be much more advantageous to him than what he can possibly gain by permitting the wools that grow on his lands to be sold or sent into France.

IF this union should not be agreeable to both kingdoms, and that the people of Ireland shall be obliged to wear (as they now are) what woollen goods they manufacture, we are of opinion, it has been fully shewed that it

is not the interest of that kingdom to wear Spanish cloths, if manufactured in Ireland, which must bring such numbers of their poor to the parish for subsistence, or oblige them to quit the country, for want of employment, who might be subsisted by their labour on Irish wools, without any charge to the landed interest.

FOR, if such of their poor as could not be employed in manufacturing their wools fully, were continued to be encouraged as they have been to spin their surplus wools for exportation to England, their poor might be employed and subsisted; since it is evident, by the price we have paid them for their spinning, that the labour of the comber and spinner is equal to the first cost of the wool; and as England has taken for many years past very large quantities of their yarn, the poor of Ireland have earned many thousands a year by their spinning, and not less for the wool so spun, which will appear from the following computation. A ball of wool consists of one pound and half of combed wool, which at twelve shillings per stone of sixteen pounds, costs thirteen-pence half-penny; when spun into skains of yarn, is sold from two shillings and three-pence, to three shillings per ball, according to the number of skains into which it is spun.

I SHALL take the lowest price for my valuation. If, therefore, a ball of wool, that costs

costs but thirteen-pence half-penny, when spun into yarn, is sold for two shillings and three-pence; it appears that the money earned by the comber and spinner is equal to the first cost of the wool.—Consequently, if the poor of Ireland were employed to manufacture their surplus wools, no farther than through the hands of the combers and spinners, numbers might be maintained, and Ireland would become a nursery for England, (but never can be so, while her poor are engrossed by the high prices now given for the spinning of Spanish wools,) and the landed interest of Ireland would be considerable gainers by their poor being so far employed, since it must greatly benefit a nation, to be saved from the charge of maintaining it's poor.

THE gentlemen of Ireland may imagine they receive their rents from their tenants; but it is the consumer that pays them both the price of their wools, and of the product of their lands.

IF their artificers and manufacturers are obliged to quit the country, for want of employment, the consumption of the product must be greatly lessened; therefore all prudent ways ought to be tried, to keep those at home, that are willing to work, and to induce them to return, who have been obliged to seek for subsistence abroad.

EVERY one, who lives in that country, and wears the manufactures of Irish wools, ought to be considered for what he wears, eats

eats and drinks, as a tenant to the lands, and a pay-master to the workmen.

How many such tenants the gentlemen of Ireland may keep in that country, and how many old ones they may prevail on to return, by discouraging the running of their wools to France, encouraging the manufacturing their own, and prohibiting the importation of Spanish, I have endeavoured to shew; which is submitted to the consideration of the gentlemen of that kingdom.

I SHALL next consider the advantages England will have, by consenting to the importation of such woollen goods, as Ireland shall send us, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back only on exportation to foreign countries.

THE accounts that were published the year after the peace of Utrecht, of the great quantities of Irish wools, that were run out of Ireland, and imported, in one year, into France, so alarmed our manufactures and landed gentlemen of England, that we have ever since endeavoured to make the most effectual laws to prevent the exportation of the wools of that country; and are now at a great annual expence by the many ships stationed on the coasts of Ireland for that purpose; but notwithstanding have been unwilling to receive any proposals, that have been offered to the consideration of parliament, to prevent this evil, if such proposals had the least tendency to a free liberty of exportation of

of the woollen manufactured goods of that kingdom.

HOWEVER just our apprehensions were forty years ago, there is not the least room for them now; since Ireland does not produce, at present, two thirds of the wools, that were supposed to be the growth of the country at that time.

THE decrease of their sheep has been owing, not only to the very great danger and difficulty the people of Ireland found in sending their wools to France, under the severe laws we made to prevent it, but to several acts of parliament, which have been made in that kingdom since the year 1714.

By the act to encourage tillage, every farmer in Ireland is obliged to plough a certain number of acres, in every hundred, which he holds by lease. This obligation, together with the great difficulty and risque in sending their wools to France, obliged many people to plough up their pasture grounds, which lessened their sheep throughout the kingdom; for they found a certain market for their corn, instead of an uncertain one for their wool.

THE several acts for encouraging the linen manufactures of that kingdom have been another cause of lessening the growth of their wools: since it is well known, that they have no more sheep in the north of Ireland, where that manufacture is established, than are sufficient

cient for the necessary subsistence of the people.

THESE considerations should entirely remove our former apprehensions, and convince us, that they cannot have the quantity of wools, which they had before these acts of parliament were made.

WE ought to examine, what the wools of that country are at present, and what we have to fear if the wools, which their own people cannot consume in apparel, were fully manufactured, and exported to us, and from hence re-exported to such foreign countries, as we trade to.

WE are very certain, that we may grow less considerable in foreign markets, but cannot be more so, while the French continue to procure the wools of Ireland; and since we have made so many laws to prevent it, and that it is evident they have been ineffectual, we should try other ways and means to stop the evil we have so long complained of. For, since by long experience we find, that the people of Ireland are not, by any laws, to be forced from this pernicious practice of selling their wools to France, and that neither punishments nor penalties can prevent it, I am clearly of opinion, our condition cannot be worse than it is at present, if we permit them to send us such woollen goods, (under the restrictions, that have been mentioned, and such other as shall be suggested, when we consider the

the objections that may be made against such proposal) as they shall manufacture, for exportation, which will effectually put a stop to their sending or selling wool to France; because they will then find it more their own interest to prevent it, than it is now their interest to connive at and encourage it.

THE many creeks, and by-places on the coast of Ireland are so well known to the French, that their agents, notwithstanding the many difficulties that attend it, will be always able to procure a loading of wool; for, the farmer, whose lands lie contiguous to the sea, will be as ready to sell, as the French are to buy. But, these temptations will cease, if the farmer finds that he can have a market near his own home for his wools, when spun only; because, the French can give no price for the small quantity of wool, that he has to sell, that can be equal to the advantage the farmer will have by it's being so far manufactured.

AFTER the last declaration of war against Spain, the wools of Ireland sold at a much higher price than they were ever known at before. When they exceed 10s. per stone of 16 pounds, our manufactures cannot afford to purchase them. But as the prohibiting the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland, will occasion a greater plenty of their spinning, we shall have more of their surplus wools, so far manufactured, and thereby lessen the quantity, they would otherwise

fully manufacture themselves. We do not buy the Irish spinning for it's fineness, (our own people spin much finer) but on account of it's nature and quality.

IT is very useful to our weavers, in mixing with our own spinning, and making several sorts of goods for foreign markets; and on that account only we buy it. But if we cannot take from them, in spinning, such wools as they have more than are requisite for the cloathing of their own people, we must give them leave to export, fully manufactured, what they cannot consume; or, the French will certainly take from them their wools unmanufactured. They are not (as we are) limited by price; for by the help of one pack of Irish wools, France manufactures two of her own, without which they are useles to her for foreign markets, notwithstanding the wools she procures from Germany, Portugal, Barbary, and Turkey.

THE wools of France are short and coarse; they are not (to speak in a manufacturer's phrase) so fine in the thread, or so long in the staple as those of Ireland; for which reason, France can ever give double the price that we can afford for the wools of that country; which I shall shew more fully hereafter. This proves, how dangerous an enemy we have to encounter, and that nothing can prevent France from buying them, but making it the interest of Ireland to manufacture their wools; which engages me to think, that the best

best law that can be made, to prevent France from procuring the wools of Ireland, will be, to permit the people of that country to send their manufactured woollen goods to England, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation to foreign countries.

I HAVE already shewn the quantity of wool, by estimation, that Ireland yearly produces, and what value these wools may be manufactured into by their own people, upon the importation of Spanish wool being prohibited. I shall now consider what number of people there are in that kingdom, what their own consumption must be of the wools they may manufacture, what quantity of wool we have taken from them before the present war, how much in woollen yarn, and how much in worsted yarn, and to what value the surplus wools of Ireland, if fully manufactured, will amount. The exportation to England of this last article, is the whole we have to fear from the union proposed, which I shall shew cannot be manufactured into such a quantity of cloth, or other woollen goods, as will prejudice England to receive, for exportation. On the contrary, I am of opinion, the encouragement to manufacture and export it, will be the means of encreasing and extending our commerce.

THE people of Ireland are computed at one million six hundred sixty-six thousand. I shall suppose the one half of their people to be men and boys, and the other half women

and girls ; and that every man and every boy in Ireland wears, or is the occasion of consuming, the value of 20 s. of woollen goods yearly ; and that every woman and every girl wears, or is the occasion of consuming, 5 s. in woollen goods yearly.

THEN, eight hundred thirty-three thousand men and boys at 20 s. per Annum, will consume in Irish woollen goods £. 833,000

AND eight hundred thirty-three thousand women and girls at 5 s. per Annum 208,250

THEREFORE, the amount of woollen goods, wore in apparel and consumed in furniture of such houses as they inhabit, will be 1,041,250

As the richer kind of people in Ireland are buried in woollens, according to act of parliament, I shall allow for burials in woollens 20,000
£. 1,061,250

THEN, if all the wools Ireland yearly produces were fully manufactured, and that England took from them neither raw wools, worsted or woollen yarns, the value of the surplus wools fully manufactured would be 378,750

Total £. 1,440,000
I FIND

I FIND we imported from Ireland from March 25, 1743, to March 25, 1744,

In raw wools	— great stones	19,993
In worsted yarn		68,622
In woollen yarn		15,224
		<hr/>
	stones	103,839

IF we take yearly the same quantity of unmanufactured wools, worsted and woollen yarns, that we have done last year, which I shall compute only at one hundred thousand great stones, we shall prevent their fully manufacturing as much of the wools of Ireland as I have computed when fully manufactured by themselves, would amount to 1.300,000

THEREFORE, admitting there is no objection to the value in woollen goods, which I have computed to be the yearly consumption of the people of Ireland, not only in apparel, but in bedding, house furniture, and burials, all the woollen goods Ireland can fully manufacture for exportation will amount to no more than 1.78,750

IN order to remove the apprehensions that may arise in our clothiers and manufacturers, that this value in Irish woollen goods, if exported to England for re-exportation to foreign countries, may hurt the sale of our own manufactures abroad ; I shall consider, what value in woollen goods France will be prevented from vending at foreign markets which

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which she now supplies, by procuring the surplus wools of Ireland, that may be manufactured into that sum.

I SHALL suppose, that France has been able to procure yearly no more Irish wools than, when fully manufactured, I have computed would produce this seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, which I calculate at seventeen hundred and fifty packs of two hundred forty pounds weight each.

I SHALL likewise suppose, that what France purchases are the best Irish wools, for which she pays 16 s. the great stone, (at which price the fine wools of that country were sold in 1744) and that all risks, hazards, insurances and freights being accounted for, those wools, when landed in France, cost the manufacturer 20 s. per stone.

By the best information obtained in France, we learn that their people manufacture two packs of their own wools by the help of one pack of Irish. I shall, therefore, suppose their own wools worth 5 s. the great stone, and when mixed with Irish wools at 20 s. the stone, that the manufacturer in France has three packs of wools at 10 s. the stone medium price.

I HAVE

I HAVE computed that the surplus wools of Ireland, which France now procures, are seventeen hundred fifty packs, which make in great stones of sixteen pound to the stone

stones	26,250
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To which I shall add double that quantity of French wools, which the manufacturers of France work up by the help of this quantity of Irish

52,500	
Total stones	78,750

THEREFORE, the French manufacturers, by the help of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty stones of Irish wools, have seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty stones of wools proper for such manufactures as we carry on; which wools, on an average, will cost them only 10 s. per stone. Then seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty stones, at 10 s. per stone, cost the manufacturer in France

£. 39,375

AND when fully manufactured for sale, allowing for labour, as I have done on the like value of wools manufactured in England, the amount will be

£. 196,875

IF these calculations are near the mark, it plainly appears, that we have nothing to fear from giving

[362]

giving Ireland a liberty of exporting to England such manufactured woollen goods, as her own people cannot consume; since by encouraging Ireland, we shall prevent France from procuring her wools, who thereby is enabled to supply the foreign markets with goods of her own manufacture, to the value of - - - £. 196,875

IF France can send to foreign markets such considerable quantities of woollen goods, by procuring seventeen hundred and fifty packs of Irish wools, of what consequence ought those wools to be to England! And since we know that such a quantity, and a much greater, may be sent yearly out of England, we should endeavour to prevent the running of it from England, as well as Ireland; which I am far from thinking an impossible scheme.

IF the preventing the running of this quantity of Irish wools will enable us to send to foreign markets as much woollen goods as will, when manufactured, be worth one hundred ninety-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds more than we now export; I am humbly of opinion, we ought to make a new experiment, and consent to the people of Ireland's sending their manufactured woollen goods to England; for we may be certain of manufacturing and vending more cloth, and other woollen goods, as the French are deprived of the means of sup-

[363]

supplying the foreign demands. And as all the goods that the surplus wools of Ireland can be manufactured into, will not amount to one half of what France will be prevented from supplying, we must furnish the rest from our own manufactures. And if France has been able to procure a larger quantity of Irish wools, yearly, than I have supposed, we shall be able to manufacture so much the greater quantity for foreign markets, as she is obliged to manufacture the less.

WE have nothing to fear from any encouragement we give Ireland to manufacture, if we can prevent the French from procuring the wools of that country; for when the plague raged at Marseilles, the demands for woollen goods from foreign countries were so large, that the wools of both England and Ireland were insufficient to supply them; which plainly shewed how largely France had been concerned in the markets abroad, and what a quantity of her own coarse wools she must have worked up, by the help and assistance of the wools of that kingdom.

THE camblets of Ireland are goods the Portuguese have been a long time accustomed to wear, and that they will have, and do procure these goods from Ireland, appears from the ships we have taken, bound with such goods to Portugal; and the Irish will continue that trade, notwithstanding our guard-ships, and the encouragement our commanders of men of war have to search,

search, unless we make it their own interest to discourage it. All that our manufacturers have been able to do, has not been sufficient to prevail with Portugal to approve of the camblets we make. I am convinced the consumption of that article would be greatly increased there, if the people of Ireland were permitted to export those camblets to us, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation from England; their profit would be more certain than it can be at present, and it would put a stop to all attempts to run such goods for the future, and be a great encouragement to their working up more of their surplus wools, and consequently of lessening the temptation of selling them to France. Our merchants would have a commission on receiving and forwarding, perhaps on sales; our packers would have the benefit of repacking, and our ships of carrying.

If it be objected, that the exportation of such other woollen goods as Ireland may send us will interfere with the exportation of our own; I am of opinion it cannot. For if France be prevented from procuring the wools of Ireland, there will be a demand in foreign markets, not only for the same quantity of woollen goods which we now supply, but for as much more as France did formerly supply; and we shall sell not only to the amount of what I have computed the surplus wools of Ireland may be manu-

manufactured into, but also near double that value, which France would have been able to sell of her own manufactured wools, by the help of the surplus wools of that kingdom.

If it be objected, that when the duties laid on the Irish woollen goods at importation are drawn back on the exportation from England, that the Irish woollen goods can be sold cheaper in foreign markets, than goods of the same kind manufactured in England, by reason of the cheapness of provisions, and low price of labour in Ireland; I answer, That we shall have in our own hands a remedy, when it is convenient to use it, *by permitting such goods to draw back only a part of the duties paid at importation, as we find can be sold cheaper in foreign markets.* By which we shall bring the value of such Irish woollen goods upon a par with our own, on exportation from England; so that there will be no temptation to the buyers for exportation to take the one before the other.

BUT as the great end aimed at by Great Britain should be to sell woollen manufactures full as cheap to foreign nations as France or any other country can do; and if England cannot do this, she ought (till she shall be capable so to do, by the means which run through these papers) some how to make use of Ireland to effect that great end. Now, as the drawing back only a part

[365]

part of such duty as should be laid upon the Irish manufactures imported into England might not render the woollen goods of Ireland cheap enough to undersell France, this expedient will not answer the essential point England ought to have in view; and therefore, if it should be judged consistent with the interest of England to admit of the importation of the Irish woollen goods, it might be more eligible that Ireland should allow a parliamentary equivalent to England annually for such privilege; which would not fall upon the woollen manufactures of Ireland so as to make their price be so dear as those of England; and that this annual parliamentary allowance given by Ireland to England should be appropriated as a bounty to the English woollen manufacturers, to enable them to sell as cheap as the Irish could; whereby both of them might be upon a level to undersell the French and others. But this incumbrance upon Ireland might, upon a proper union of the two kingdoms, be taken off, when England should be capable of selling her commodities in general as cheap as Ireland, or any other country can do: and how this may be happily accomplished, we humbly hope will satisfactorily appear throughout the course of our writings, when impartially weighed, and considered upon those national principles, we have endeavoured, to the best of our judgment, to support.

IF

[367]

If it be objected, that the people of Ireland will increase their sheep, when they have liberty to export what they manufacture, and that they may send us too great a quantity of their woollen goods for re-exportation; I answer, That it must be some years before they can effect it; and if they should so encrease their sheep, as to be able to export double the quantity, that I have computed their present surplus wools may be manufactured into for exportation, that quantity will not exceed what France now sells, by the help of the surplus wools of that country; therefore we must continue to sell the same quantity we now send abroad.

AGAIN, if it be objected, that should the people of Ireland have liberty to export what they manufacture, they will sell us no more of their wools, or woollen or worsted yarn; and that instead of their having but seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds value to export, they will export the whole value that I have computed their surplus wools might be manufactured into. I am of opinion we have little to fear from this objection; for there will be always in England and Ireland as many people on the trade of buying the wools and yarns (for which we pay ready money) as there will be purchasers of their wools, fully manufactured, which, if sent here to be sold for exportation, must be on long credit; and if sent abroad on their own accounts, will be
subject

subject to uncertain sales, and as uncertain payments. Besides, if there should be occasion, their wools may be made cheaper to us, and their woollen goods loaded with a duty at exportation from Ireland to England. But this would defeat the point of cheapness, to enable us to compete with foreign rivals.

IRELAND pays for a licence (together with fees) to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, for every thousand great stones of wool exported to England, about twenty-three pounds. If the Irish wools were exported to us, free of this charge, our manufacturers might purchase the wools of Ireland at all times near five per cent. cheaper than they now can, or hitherto have done; and in lieu of this income, which belongs to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the parliament of that kingdom may fix a duty on all woollen goods, fully manufactured, on exportation to England, or rather find some other way to supply its place.

THIS would in some measure prevent their sending us too much of their wools, fully manufactured, and enable us to purchase more of their raw wools.

NEW experiments must be made; the people of Ireland must find a market for their surplus wools, manufactured or unmanufactured, or we cannot effectually distress France, enlarge our foreign woollen trade, or indeed be certain of supplying them ourselves

selves with such goods as we now manufacture. I will admit, that from the cheapness of provisions, and low price of labour in Ireland, their poor are able to work cheaper than ours. They are not in Ireland bound by any parliamentary laws to provide for, and maintain for life, reduced and decayed housekeepers, and disabled and superannuated servants, as the people of England are, which obliges their poor to work for less prices than ours. But if we have a parliamentary equivalent from Ireland, which will enable England, as has been observed, to sell their goods as cheap as the Irish can, this will dissipate all our apprehensions of that kind.

WHAT we suffer Ireland to gain by the export of her woollen manufactured goods from England, can be no loss to us; in many instances we shall be gainers; by encouraging them to manufacture their wools, they will find it their own interest to sell none of them to France, by which we shall be tempted to manufacture the more of our own.

BY prohibiting the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland, their manufacturers will be obliged to work up more of their own wools, and the people to wear more of their own manufactures; by which we shall have the less to fear from what they may be able to export.

BY lessening the number of their fine spinners, we shall encrease the spinning of such worsted and woollen yarn, as we want

[370]

and take from them; which are so useful and necessary in our manufacturing several kinds of coarse goods, for our consumption, as well as exportation.

By allowing them to export their woollen goods to Great Britain, manufactories will be established in several counties in Ireland; their nobility and gentry will have such advantages by the settlement of workmen on their estates, that they will find it their own interest to discourage the running of wools, and to forbid their tenants to be aiding and assisting. By making Ireland a nursery of spinners for England, we shall have plenty of their spinning; and by making England a magazine for Irish woollen goods, fully manufactured, our merchants will have a commission on reception and forwarding, our dyers a profit on such white goods as they shall send us; our pressers the benefit of packing, and our shipping of better employment. By a good understanding between England and Ireland, our manufactures will be brought into greater esteem abroad; we then shall have nothing to fear from the low price of labour in France, with respect to coarse goods, which has obliged us for years past to manufacture such goods as would sell, although they brought discredit to our country.

By our woollen goods being demanded abroad, in proportion as France is unable to supply foreign markets, our landed gentlemen will

[371]

will find their rents better paid, and their lands let at higher value. The encrease of our woollen manufactures will keep up the price of the product of the lands; as demand for goods not only employs our poor, but causes the advance of the price. The product of the lands of England is a considerable part of every manufacture: our rents are but the value paid for the product of the lands; therefore all the additional labour we encourage, which pays to the product of the lands, is so much added to the rents of the kingdom.

By preventing France from procuring the raw wools of Ireland, we shall not only undersell her, but speedily put it out of her power to answer the demands of those foreign countries, which she has for many years past been able to supply.

By permitting Ireland, under proper restrictions, till a perfect union should take place, to export such goods as she may manufacture of her own wools, the gentlemen of that kingdom may be prevailed on to wear no Spanish cloths, but such as we manufacture in England. The advantage of which I shall shew.

WE have already computed that the Spanish wools Ireland imported, from 1743 to 1744, might be manufactured into two thousand two hundred and eighty pieces of cloth; which, supposing each cloth twenty-six yards, would be fifty-seven thousand

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yards.

yards. I find, that from the 25th of March, 1743, to the 25th of March, 1744, the importations of Spanish cloths into Ireland were twenty thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards and one quarter; therefore the yearly consumption of Spanish cloths in Ireland, seems to me to be seventy-seven thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards one quarter. We cannot prevent France from supplying foreign countries with their Spanish cloths; by their situation they always will have the Spanish wools cheaper than we can, and the low price of labour, and cheapness of provisions, in those provinces of France where Spanish cloths are manufactured, will ever enable them to vie with, if not underfell us in that manufacture. Their colours are as good as ours, and their wools, in this respect, as fine. But we have advantages peculiar to this nation, which they cannot take from us. Their cloths want the firmness in their texture and milling, that our cloths have, without which they never can dress them as we do; and if a small encouragement *by bounty on exportation*, was given by parliament on such Spanish cloths as we export to the Levant only, I am humbly of opinion we should wholly supply both the Turks and the Persians, especially if, to this end, we make the proper use of Ireland.

THEREFORE, since we have so powerful a rival as France *in our Spanish wool manufactures*

factures, which of all our manufactures deserves our greatest attention, we should endeavour, by all prudent ways, to encourage and support it at home. Our silken manufactures greatly depend on it. A bale of Spanish cloths amounts to a large sum of money; consequently it is a means of increasing our balances against those countries, from which we receive a balance by our commerce; and on the other hand, of preventing a balance being too heavy against us with those countries, which by our large imports may have a balance against us.

By the modern dress of our nobility, gentry, and merchants, this manufacture appears daily decreasing among ourselves. I am convinced that the new-fashion goods we wear have lessened our consumption of Spanish cloths two-fifths of what it was a few years ago. If we suffer this manufacture to decay, *the French and Dutch will soon procure the hands we employ*; our poor must quit the country, or come to the lands for a maintenance; since it is well known, that a woman, who has spent the best of her days in spinning fine wools, cannot bring her fingers to make good work by spinning of coarse. I have already shewn, that if we consent to the people of Ireland's exporting their surplus wools, fully manufactured, the value of them cannot exceed seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. And though we may think it our interest that no

Spanish cloths should be manufactured but in England, and to prohibit the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland; yet I am of opinion, the gentlemen of Ireland would wear but little of our Spanish cloths, if we prevented their manufacturing (though it is demonstrably their own interest) without giving them, in lieu thereof, a liberty of exporting such woollen goods as they could manufacture of their own wools.

THE consumption of Spanish cloths in that country in 1744, appears to be seventy-seven thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards; and we may expect they will yearly consume an equal quantity; which, at sixteen shillings per yard, will amount to 623851.

THEREFORE, if they wear no Spanish cloths but what England shall manufacture, and we agree to their exportation of such woollen goods as they may manufacture more than are requisite for their own consumption, the balance we should yearly pay them would be but a trifle, if they took no woollen goods from us but Spanish cloths; whereas we do now, and always may, depend on supplying them, yearly, with *all new-fashion woollen goods, that are worn here*; since all dependent kingdoms take their fashions from the place where the court resides. We have had no reason to repent of the encouragement we have given to their
linen

linen manufactures; it has greatly enriched that country, which has been thereby more improved within these forty years past, than in one hundred before. We take *from them in linens five hundred thousand pounds per annum*, besides what they send directly to our plantations, and other countries; whereas, according to Dr. Davenant's report, in the year 1713, their whole exports of linen were computed at only eighty thousand pounds. We continue to favour their linens; and since we contribute so largely to support and encourage that manufacture, they ought in gratitude to support (as far as in their power lies) a manufacture that is of as great consequence to England, as the linens are to that kingdom.

THEREFORE I am humbly of opinion, that a union between England and Ireland, with respect to their woollen manufactures, must be advantageous to both kingdoms; and will be the means of effectually preventing France from procuring the wools of that country.

To induce England to think maturely on a matter of this high consequence to her interests, I would beg leave to mention two articles only, which might not produce less advantage to the kingdom than four or five hundred thousand pounds a year; wherein Ireland might immediately be made useful to rival the French in the woollen trade;

[376]

and these are, first, the article of *black druggets*, which the French send in abundance to Portugal; the other is in that of Turkey cloths; both which the French undersell England in; and we never can retrieve these trades till we shall be able to sell equally cheap, and equally good.

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[377]



DISSERTATION XIV.

Of the union of England and Ireland continued.

EXPERIENCE having shewn that England has scarce ever exercised her power in commercial affairs but she has suffered for it, it behoves the wisdom of the nation to think seriously of every *faux pas* that she has made, in order to rectify the same, upon solid principles reciprocally and permanently interesting to both kingdoms.

THIS is demonstrable in two very capital instances.

1. By the act to prohibit Irish cattle.
2. By the destruction of the woollen manufacture of that kingdom.

WITH relation to the former we have spoken, in the preceding discourses; to which, we apprehend, it needless to urge more, and especially so, since it is now generally allowed destructive.

THE effects of the second also have been too long experienced, and therefore requires effectual redress, if we resolve to enable ourselves

selves to maintain a competition in trade with our most formidable enemies.

AFTER apprehensions that the value of our lands should be lessened by the improvement of Ireland, had produced the destructive prohibition of Irish cattle; the people of that country being necessitated to find out some other employment for their lands, turned their thoughts to the breeding of sheep, and raised a growth of wool, in order, as it were, to avail themselves thereof, as a compensation for the loss they sustained—No sooner was this effected, but a prohibition ensued on our part to export the manufactures made in Ireland of that wool. This prohibition on the Irish has tended to the ruin of the woollen trade of Britain, and raised that of France; for unless, as has been shewn, the Irish shall, in some shape or other be suffered to work up their own wool, and export their own woollen goods, they will continue to sell their raw wool to the best bidder, which is to France; the injurious consequences thereof to our woollen trade has been proved; and been shewn to be far more detrimental and destructive to Britain, than the opening the exports of woollen goods from Ireland would be: and France, by lessening her taxes in time of peace, and enabling her thereby to work cheap, could afford to give large prices for Irish wool, especially, by the means of bartering their brandies and their wines for Irish wool; and thereby

thereby France has long become the chief market for woollen goods to most parts of Europe, having, by these means, raised for exportation an immense cheap saleable manufacture, which their own wool alone could never have effected. As the woollen trade of France has encreased, that of Britain has declined; and though these are still encreasing therein, even in times of war, by virtue of their numerous neutral carriers, and England is more and more declining in this their great staple commodity; yet still this fear, or rather infatuation, in regard to the value of our lands, makes us persist in a prohibition that not only injures the Irish, and ruins ourselves, but enriches and aggrandises the French: for as the case at present stands, either Ireland or France must have the woollen manufactures, unless Britain will resolve to take the effectual measures to enable her to sell as cheap as France can do; for by reason of our heavy and encreasing taxes and monopolies that make labour dear, England cannot be capable of keeping the trade.

THE Irish export clandestinely some camblets to Lisbon, and undersell the French. Should not this convince the English, that, they may make use of the Irish to recover the woollen trade out of their hands, till they shall be able to do it themselves in concert with Ireland? And shall we complement the French with so estimable a branch of our
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commerce that we deny to our own subjects? Especially so, when one third at least, of what Ireland shall gain will center at length in England? And shall we refuse the Irish such gains, which they might wrest out of the hands of enemies?

WE suffered also in a third instance, by our restraints on Ireland, which was in the prohibition of importing certain commodities directly from the plantations to Ireland, without touching first upon England.

DURING this law, the price of these commodities, as pitch, and tar, &c. were so raised by such difficulty, that Ireland paid above 100,000 l. per Annum, to foreign nations, for what they might have had, and now have from our own, since this prohibition has been taken off, after the nation had laboured under that restriction half a century.

THE consequences of the destruction of the woollen trade in Ireland were: 1. The expulsion of 20,000 manufacturers at once from that country. 2. Their retreat into foreign countries. 3. The establishment thereupon of the woollen manufacture in almost all parts of Europe. 4. The exportation of English and Irish wool. 5. The gradual and notorious decay of the woollen trade from that time.

FROM these notorious consequences we should observe, that the decay of our woollen trade

trade does not arise from the exportation of Irish wool. That were to make an effect a cause.

To ascribe the misfortune of the retreat of manufacturers from Ireland, and the establishment of foreign manufactures, as a cause, would be equally wrong likewise: these being but natural effects of one and the same destructive cause, and proceeding from a vain and groundless expectation in England to engross the whole woollen manufacture to themselves, from Ireland, who should have shared the same with them upon such principles of policy, as would have tended to the mutual interest of both, and have prevented those fatal consequences, which we have too long experienced; and that for want of this matter being put in such a national point of view as to induce men in power to pay a due regard to it.

THE argument which proves that any one branch of trade should be confined to any one part of these dominions, exclusive of the rest, properly circumstanced to carry the same on against rival nations to the best advantage, exclusive of the rest, will tend to prove, that even that part shall be again divided to the prejudice of a part of itself: thus, if Great Britain argues, that Ireland should have no trade in wool, the rest of Great Britain may argue that Yorkshire ought to be excluded too: and thus we may argue down the manufacture, by a parity of reasoning,
into

into one county, and thence into one town, nay, even into one house in that town, and to one manufacturer in that house: An argument certainly, which proves that the woollen manufacture of Great Britain would be most advantageous when there was but one man employed in it, will hardly be allowed a good one; such proving too much, proves it's absurdity.

LET us open our minds, upon an occasion of such high concernment to the national prosperity: let us think in a more generous manner than we have hitherto done: let us think that our brethren of Ireland have an equal right to liberty, and to all the advantages of human nature with ourselves, when it is apparent that the kingdoms interest requires it: let us credit this important truth; that nations are only powerful, in proportion as they shall be *wisely united and cemented in interests*: and let us understand, that no people can be thus united, where equal liberty, and equal advantages, are not permitted upon the principles of sound national policy.

KINGDOMS may admit of monopolies as well as private companies; and the most horrid monopoly of all is, where, in a kingdom composed of many different states, one state is suffered to assume, or engross any particular advantage, to the exclusion of the rest; when such exclusion gives the foreign rival

val and enemy the advantage over all of them.

SUCH monopolies are not found in absolute monarchies, even in the worst of governments: but absolute monarchies are the only governments in which they may be suffered. They cannot be maintained without force; and force may be allowed in absolute governments, because no liberty can be lost: but where liberty can be lost, force cannot be admitted, but it will be lost. The liberty, therefore, of Great Britain, as things are now circumstanced, depends in a great measure upon the freedom of the people of Ireland, as we have shewn. And,

THE commerce of that kingdom has been proved to depend upon their reasonable liberty in trade: what then should give us cause to hesitate a moment in regard to their proper union with England at this time, when the most solid union is so essential to the well-being of both? Give them a due representative power; make them the same people with: the same constitution must take away all objection, if there should be any now? Is it the fear of being undersold by them, that prevents this great design? Whose fear can this be? It cannot be the fear of the public, for it is well known, that every thing gained by Ireland centers in Britain at last. It cannot be the fear of the public, because,

cause, as has been shewn, nothing but the due encouragement of their trade in concert with that of England, can save the whole national commerce. It must be then the fear of private men: of what private men? Those whose estates arise from wool: those, who manufacture wool? They imagine their estate must fall upon such a change.

BUT their estates are now raised too high to suffer any commerce to thrive, or to continue in our favour, and their labour is too dear. This is the present case of England: and I have proved, how England may remedy this, without sustaining any disadvantage, and sell her commodities as cheap as Ireland, or France, or any other nation in the world.

IF England will have commerce, they must cultivate more and more land; which will fall their estates and their labour to lower rates: if they will suffer no commerce, their estates will produce them nothing—Their labour will not be wanted. Which is then preferable? That their estates should lower in their value, from the principles I have reasoned on; or that they should produce them nothing?—That their labour should fall in price, or that they should never labour? They are likely to ruin their estates, and their arts and labours, by raising their nominal, or imaginary value. They can save them only by reducing them from those maxims of policy,

licity, which we have endeavoured to recommend and enforce. Had England no other cause to apprehend the ruin wherewith she is threatened, her commerce itself, which might prove her everlasting salvation, must, as it is circumstanced, prove her everlasting ruin. She has both fettered and incumbered herself with too much precipitation; and there is a *ne plus ultra* in all nature.

THIS truth is more evident in trade, than in any other thing. For that the low price of commodities and labour, which is the foundation of it, is changed into the very contrary, by its continuance.

PETTY states may, therefore, soon be gorged by beneficial traffic, and as soon be ruined by it. Great countries have this advantage: as they rise slower, so they fall later. But England, in the management of her commerce, has lost this advantage, which was natural to her; by confining commerce too much to herself, independant of her other dominions, she is, in effect to be considered, as a petty state: and like such will be quickly ruined, if she does not adopt other principles of policy than she has done.

To have avoided this impending ruin, England should have admitted Ireland to have shared more of the profits in trade with her than she has suffered: and to recover this error in her political system, she must act upon the same principles: she is bloated with debts and taxes, with paper credit and

[386]

paper circulation; and she must submit to reduce herself in these imaginary treasures and real evils: if she does not, she will be more severely reduced by other means.

LET the interests of private men, therefore, no longer blind the public. But these are not the interests of private men; they are false principles, which the selfishness of the times render favourable to the majority. Is it the interest of private men to neglect a certain profit, for imaginary gain? For gain impossible? For gain, if possible, yet nationally destructive? A nation circumstanced like Britain, has been sufficiently proved to be incapable of engrossing commerce to the exclusion of its other dependent states: but its other dependent states having a due share of it, upon a right foundation of united policy, may for ever preserve the whole.

A PARTIAL and monopolizing commerce by any branch of the state, will always, in the end, prove destructive to the whole: but to admit Ireland to a reasonable freedom in the British commerce, must be certain gain, which other rival nations will otherwise eternally supplant Britain in: For Ireland would gain by a freedom of trade; and what Ireland gains England could not lose. Ah, but this must come out of some branch of our own manufactures! As, suppose, their gain on the woollen manufactures: this gain, say we, will come out of our woollen manufactures.

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[387]

LET it be considered, whether we can keep our manufactures as we are? If we can—Why so much noise and clamour upon the subject? Why such universal complaints amongst our manufacturers? Application to parliament, and committees appointed to consider those complaints and applications? Why bills brought in to parliament from year to year to secure it by partial and unnatural policy, when the simple natural will do the business effectually?

IF we cannot keep our own manufactures as we are;—How would the gain of the Irish be out of the manufacture of England? On the contrary, the gain of the Irish must, in such case, arise out of the woollen manufacture of those countries, which will succeed us in it? And who will succeed in it? Or rather, who has already got it from us? France in the principal part.

THE gain of the Irish then, in the woollen manufacture, must be a gain upon the manufacture of France. If to permit the woollen trade of Ireland, to be a gain upon France; to prohibit the woollen trade to Ireland, must be a gain to France: and shall Britain contend for the gain of France, our ancient and our perfidious enemy?

COULD the Irish recover the lost woollen trade of England? Or rather, can we recover it any other way than by that means, and those other which we have connected therewith throughout our writings? If we can,

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why

why have we never taken those other ways? If we cannot, shall we refuse to make this experiment of a union?

BUT the Irish can recover our woollen trade. 1. Because they can absolutely undersell our rivals in that manufacture. 2. Because, if they manufactured at home, they would export no raw wool, or woollen yarn, to foreign manufactories: and without their wool, or woollen yarn, of their growth, those foreign manufactories must be annihilated.

As to the first, it is notorious that the Irish do it: they have a clandestine trade in stuffs to Lisbon: the French trade thither also, and so do we, in the same commodities. The Irish undersell both the French, and us.—The English manufacturers complain of this clandestine trade.—The French dislike it with more reason: for, if it were possible to prevent it, and it were prevented, the French would come into the place of the Irish; but the English would be undersold as much as ever.

As to the second argument, that if the Irish were allowed the manufacture of wool, they would export no wool, or woollen yarn to France.

THIS is evident, from the nature of the thing, without multiplying words—Men study their profits, and this would be manifestly against their profits—Wool manufactured is worth five times as much as wool
unma-

unmanufactured: and, therefore, to sell their wool abroad, would prove a loss to them, unless they sold it for five times what they sold it for at home: and if they who bought it, gave but one third of that price, they could not use it, when they had bought it.

THIS all Ireland must see; and therefore will unite to prevent it: whereas it is feared that all Ireland has long done, and still does find it's for her interest to promote it.

IMPEACH this argument.—Allow some wool and yarn would still be run; would not the quantity be extremely less?—Being less, would it not be dearer?—Would not the manufactures arising out of that commodity, in consequence, diminish in quantity, and augment in price? And what other method can be taken, better to destroy a rival manufacture, than to diminish it's quantity, and augment it's price?

To pursue the same question:—Is it doubted that the Irish wool and yarn be necessary to the manufactures of France? We are told, by all who have been conversant with that business, that they cannot carry on the trade to foreign markets without them. They may make very coarse cloths of their own wool, which serve in some degree for their ordinary home consumption. They make the finest cloths with Spanish wool; but the cloths for exportation and general use, are of a middle sort, and cannot be made without a

mixture of Irish wool.—This we are told.—This the French have acknowledged.—It is too notorious to be questioned.—But if we were not told it: if it were not acknowledged by the French themselves, is not the matter self evident?

1. Do not the French consume greater quantities, at far greater prices, than their own wool and woollen yarn can bear? Would they act so wild a part as to do this, if it were not necessary to their manufacture?

2. Do not the very manufactures of England depend, in a great measure, on the woollen yarn of Ireland, by opening all our ports for it's reception?—If they do! the manufactures of France must do it in a much greater degree: for the wool of France differs far more than the wool of England, from the wool of Ireland, But whether they do, enquire of the manufacturers of Bristol, and of those of Norwich: they will tell you that they cannot work without it.

To reduce also this argument below its full force; not that we may suit it more to reason, but that we may render it less obnoxious to prejudice and passion.—Let us suppose it strong only in part.—Let us suppose the wool of Ireland necessary only to France, for such manufactures as the same is necessary to in England.—Would not the woollen manufacture established in Ireland confound the commerce of France for so much? Is not this species of manufacture a very

very considerable branch of the woollen trade? would not, therefore, the establishment of the woollen trade of Ireland destroy the commerce of France, in a considerable branch of the woollen trade? As we now stand, are we able to destroy it in any branch?—It is allowed we cannot.—If it is allowed we cannot, shall we not employ the people of Ireland who can?

LET us here observe one circumstance. In whatever branches of manufacture the Irish or the English wool is employed in France, it works up twice as much of the French wool: thus one thousand stone of Irish or English wool produces three thousand stone of French manufacture. If the Irish, therefore, were now allowed to work up all their wool, they could but manufacture one third of that quantity. This is the only quantity, or only kind of cloth in France for their exportation, and the greatest part of it is employed in exportation.

THUS all the cloth of France for exportation is destroyed; yet the Irish gain but one third of that exportation. The demand for cloth abroad must continue the same.—There must then remain two-thirds of that demand unsatisfied.—Who can satisfy this demand? Foreigners cannot, from the nature of their wool. The Irish cannot, because they have not quantity sufficient.—The English therefore must.

THUS shall we, the English, possibly benefit as much again by opening the Irish commerce, as the Irish can do themselves; for of the ruins of the French manufactures, two-thirds must demonstrably fall into English hands, if the proper means be pursued to effect it, as we apprehend have been proved to be rational and effectual.

By this plain policy, may we recover the woollen trade, and that in a way, for as short a time, and in as small a degree, detrimental to the rents of England, as can possibly be conceived. The greater demand of the commodity which must ensue, will keep up the price of the commodity, and consequently of the lands of England. The greater consumption must employ the poor.

If the rents of England can, at length, from all we have suggested throughout this work, be maintained upon the footing on which they now stand, they will be maintained upon that footing by our united measures, for ever; which seems to promise to confine the whole woollen trade for exportation to such countries as cannot supply themselves, to Great Britain and Ireland. If the lands cannot be maintained upon this footing, we shall have the consolation to perceive, after they are once fallen to their due standard, that they will daily rise upon such a foundation, as will maintain them when they are risen.

BUT, on the other hand, we may with modesty presume to say, that no other schemes

schemes can effect the great end of regaining the woollen trade, and supplanting France and all other rivals therein, than those we have proposed throughout the whole tenor of our works.—Our woollen manufactures must be totally lost—The rest of our trade must follow—The rents of the whole kingdom will be every where reduced. A dismal poverty, a general distress, an universal discontent, faction, tumult, civil war, anarchy, and tyranny will sink us, by the natural succession, into the circumstance of an Asiatic province; from which we shall never rise: and this state will save France, or any other state the trouble or expence of going to war with us to make their conquest; for we have long been at war with ourselves in our trade, and in all our system of politics.

A GENERAL infatuation, of late years, seems to have seized this nation. We court our own ruin more eagerly than other countries seek their interests.

THE interests of England, as they are now understood, are the interests of particulars against the public. There is no settled interest, no national interest. It is private, local, personal.

THUS our maxims are grown absurd, arbitrary, and contradictory in their own nature. And our conduct (the result of these maxims) such as runs counter to the very first lights of human reason, passionate, violent, and oppressive to the minor part of the society,

society, calculated by the major also to their own ruin. From having being bought out of our reason in grand instances, it is grown a natural habit to neglect the use of it in all; and from having been accustomed to part with it to our private interest, it has fled so far from us, that we have the use of it no longer to direct us truly to any one interest of the public.

ENGLAND hath no mines of gold, or silver, or of precious stones. Her only riches are its trade. Trade cannot exist under heavy taxes; yet our taxes daily increase. Trade cannot exist in a country where the price of land is excessive dear, when the trade of that country principally arises from its own product. Our trade arises from our own product, and our land is dearer than in any part of Europe, excepting Holland, whose commerce does in no sort depend upon it.

OUR trade, therefore, cannot exist, unless our taxes be diminished—Or unless we reduce the price of our lands—Or turn our commerce upon foreign product.

WE have no hope, according to our old system, to see our taxes sufficiently diminished.—The false interest of particulars will never suffer the second to be effected, till it effects itself; before which our commerce will be lost.—We have, therefore, nothing else to do, than to turn our commerce upon foreign product; that is, the product of coun-

countries where things are cheaper than they are with us.

FOREIGN product is proper or improper. Improper foreign product is the commodity, or manufacture of another people, entirely distinct from us in point of government, and in point of interest. Proper foreign product (a wrong term in itself, but used here to humour the narrow notions of the times) is the product of colonies, or countries united to us, or dependent on us.

COMMERCE, founded upon improper foreign product, is very expedient, and very profitable. Commerce, founded upon proper foreign product, is more expedient, more profitable, and more certain.

COMMERCE, in improper foreign product, employs an infinite number of people in navigation: its principal profits arise upon freight, and upon prudently buying in cheap times, to sell again in dear. The commerce of Holland is, in great part, of this kind. The commerce of the Genoese was anciently the same, and the commerce of England may be greatly enlarged hereby upon our principles.

BUT commerce of this kind may lose its channel, and suffer by many accidents; and, with respect to particular countries, be ruined by the wisdom of the opposite government. The profits of it must be less, because the nations you deal with being the root of the com-

commerce, must have a great share in the gain.

BUT commerce founded upon proper foreign product (or the product of our own colonies, countries united to you, or in dependance on you) is a natural commerce, and ought to be as tenderly treated, and as much indulged, as that of the mother country; having no difference from her's, but as she is resolved to make a difference. It cannot easily be destroyed but by oppressing and distressing such a country; and oppression and distress will ruin commerce wherever it meets with them.

ITS profit is infinitely greater: for as the root of that commerce is our own, the whole of the gain is our own also. The main of the profit settles with us; so much only remaining in the colony, as may be sufficient to draw in more.

GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, has no better choice, than to ground our commerce on the industry and product of her colonies, and countries united to her, or dependent on her. And yet her maxims, with regard to all these countries, have been violent, and contradictory to their own intention.

VIOLENT — Because against the natural course of things, which requires every man to make the best advantage of the product of his land.—Because grounded upon manifest force; upon laws made upon a people who

who have never consented to them.—Because they cramp the trade of those countries—and because—that to forbid the export of any commodity to another country, is to command it to be sold at your own price to yourselves, which is nothing better than downright robbery.

CONTRADICTIONARY to their own intention, because they manifestly produce the ruin of the commerce of England, which they affect to support.

THE reflections that arise on a violent and contradictory conduct, with respect to government, are these:

THAT such a conduct must, in the end, destroy our constitution.

1. BY alienating the affections of a vast body of our fellow-subjects, who envying our superior privileges, will be ever ready to seize occasion to abridge them, and to reduce us to their own level of ruin.

2. BY obliging us to govern the people it is exercised upon, by a military force; which force may be as well employed against our liberties as theirs.

WITH respect to commerce, which is more immediately to our present point, such a conduct must entirely confound it.

1. BECAUSE a lively commerce is incompatible with a government by force: new people will never settle in such a country, the old inhabitants will fall from it.

2. BE-

2. BECAUSE no kind of manufacture, or branch of trade will flourish, where any is prohibited; for men are never satisfied; but that the power which has abolished one, may deprive them of any other.

THE genius of trade sickens under the reflection of a bare possibility of restraint; and therefore must grow very languid upon reflection, on an actual restraint, a restraint rendered perpetually present, although but by a single instance.

THUS must the conduct and maxims of Great Britain, with regard to her colonies, countries united to her, and dependent on her, destroy (not only her liberty, but) the commerce of those countries.

BUT it has been proved, and is evident, that her own cannot exist, without it now founds itself upon the commerce of those countries.

IT follows, therefore, that the present conduct and maxims of Great Britain, with respect to the commerce of those countries, if pursued farther, must ruin her own trade.

THE general conclusion, upon the whole, is this; that Great Britain, for the future, must change her conduct with respect to these countries.

IRELAND is the chief of these countries. —She must, therefore, chiefly change her conduct with regard to Ireland.

As

As a merchant, in his particular sphere, employs the cheapest manufacturer he can find; so England, in her general merchandize, must employ the poor of Ireland, and the product of Ireland, as the cheapest she can find, till she can employ her own people upon an equality.

AND as men pour water into pumps, which once set moving, throw up water in return, as long as they require; in like manner must England give encouragement to Ireland; which encouragement will render infinite returns.

I SHALL, at present, urge no more upon the necessity of the union of Ireland with England, and therefore shall close the whole with a quotation from Mr. Trenchard, because he was sent to Ireland by the English parliament, as one of their faithfullest and ablest trustees, for the forfeited estates; and also as he is allowed to have known Ireland more, and understood its affairs better, than most gentlemen, who had no fortune or interest in it. It is from the first, in the fourth volume of Cato's Letters, which he concludes with the following words:

“ I SHALL sometime hereafter, says he, “ consider that kingdom [Ireland] in relation to the interest of Great Britain; and “ shall only say, at present, that it is too “ powerful to be treated only as a colony; “ and

“ and that if we design to continue them
 “ friends, the best way to do it, is, to
 “ imitate the example of merchants and
 “ shop-keepers; that is, when their appren-
 “ tices are acquainted with their trade and
 “ their customers, and are out of their time,
 “ to take them into partnership, rather than
 “ let them set up for themselves in their
 “ neighbourhood.”

THE strength, the vigor, and the pro-
 sperity of his Majesty's kingdoms de-
 pending on the proper union of all their parts,
 I think the case of the Isle of Man should by
 no means be forgot. For it is too notorious
 to be doubted, that this Isle has many years
 been, and still continues to be a common
 storehouse for all manner of foreign goods
 and merchandises that pay high duties in
 Great Britain or Ireland, or are prohibited
 to be imported into these kingdoms.

D I S-

THE merchants in that island have con-
 stant supplies of large quantities of tobacco,
 both in leaf and roll, tea in chests, with all
 sorts of East India and Dutch goods from
 Holland; one cargo landed there from Rot-
 terdam, though contrary to law, consisted
 of 345 chests of tea; they are likewise sup-
 plied with tobacco, and other things from
 Dunkirk, Ostend, Norway, and even from



DISSERTATION XV.

*Of the union of the Isle of Man with Eng-
 land, from some anecdotes relating thereto,
 which may be depended on.*

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some parts of Great Britain ; with tea and india goods of all sorts from Gottenburgh and Denmark, with vast quantities of brandy and wines from France, and with rum from America ; the Scotch and others sending vessels to our plantations on purpose for that commodity and landing it there, contrary, as is supposed, to the act of navigation.

THESE goods are all warehoused in that island, and afterwards put into packages of lesser quantities and weights ; such as may be most handy and convenient for smuggling into Great Britain and Ireland.

THERE have been nine or ten large wherries, and above twenty boats in the island, constantly employed in the smuggling trade, and go weekly from thence, if the weather permits, laden with high duty or prohibited goods ; the wherries and boats from Piel-town supply the east and north parts of Ireland, the Highlands and West of Scotland ; those from Douglas and Derby-haven, Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire ; and those from Ramsay, Cumberland, and all the country on each side of Salway Firth ; but their chief trade is up the river at Boulness, into the Scotch borders near Annan.

TEN or twelve of these boats are almost every week seen in a fleet passing by Whitehaven all laden, steering for the said river, where they land their cargoes at noon-day, the country being all ready to assist and protect

test them, in such numbers as no officer dare offer to molest them.

THESE cargoes, which generally consist of brandy, rum, tea, and silks, are afterwards brought out of the Scotch border on horseback in the night, under an armed force of fifteen or twenty men into England, and guarded by them up into the country, till they have passed all the preventive officers on the English border.

THUS all the northern counties on this side Trent, and further, are supplied from that island with these commodities at a cheap rate, for the smuggler generally buys his brandy and rum there at two shillings the gallon, or under, and other goods in proportion ; and by paying no duties is enabled to undersell the fair trader.

IT was several years ago made appear, that the clandestine trade carried on from this island, was then above 100,000l. yearly loss to the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland ; and it is computed now to be twice as much, not to mention it's carrying away the coin, the detriment to the honest merchant, the landholder, and even ruin to the labouring people ; for being constantly supplied with brandy, rum, and Dutch geneva at so cheap a price, induces them to drink so much as not only weakens their constitution, and quite debilitates their whole offspring, but so intolerably vitiates their morals as to render them objects unfit for a civilized community.

THERE does not seem, it is to be feared, any other method that can be thought on to put a stop to this great evil (all the laws hitherto having proved ineffectual) but either by lowering the duties, or the nation purchasing the island of the present proprietor.

FROM July 16, 1753, to July 11, 1754, a manufacturer of tobacco with eight workmen, manufactured and shipped off to Ireland 166 hogsheads, containing 8797 rolls, and 175,358 pounds of neat tobacco. There is now in the isle of Man several workhouses, in which are employed 50 men, and upwards, all workers of Irish roll tobacco,— Say but 48 men, that in the same proportion with the manufactory in England, will be 996 hogsheads, containing 50,382 rolls, 1,052,148 pounds of neat tobacco, which must all be run into Great Britain or Ireland, but chiefly to Ireland.

IRISH duties on 1,052,148 lb. of tobacco,
is - - - - - £. 24,001 16 s. 7½ d.
Loss per Annum will
be English - - - - - £. 22,155 10 s. 9 d.

N. B. The supply for tobacco to the island is chiefly from Dunkirk.

TOBACCO imported into the isle of Man, makes a considerable article of the lord proprietor's revenue—Who receives half a pound duty on the same, which is allowed on all hands, to bring him in about 1500 l. per Annum.

ONE

ONE factor only, named W. T. for the merchants and dealers in tobacco in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, actually paid near 1000 l. to the proprietor's collector for tobacco only in the year 1753. And there are three or four factors in that island for tobacco-dealers, who pay less sums annually.

THESe tobaccos are mostly manufactured in the island into fine pig-tail and coarse roll, and run into Great Britain and Ireland. The working manufacturers were first procured from Dublin and Glasgow; there are not less now than fifty of those hands, and a number of boys employed in several workhouses in the island.

THE lords of the treasury, considering the intolerable growing evils arising from smuggling, gave instructions about two years and a half ago, to the commissioners of the customs to order the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in Great Britain, to transmit to them the most accurate estimates possible of the nature and quantity of the clandestine trade carried on in their respective districts, with their own observations thereon, and their opinions of the most feasible methods of suppressing the same, and whatever else might tend to the improvement and better establishment of his Majesty's revenue in the customs and the excise, that the same might be considered by their lordships, and laid before the parliament, &c.

D d 3

ONE

ONE of these orders addressed to the collector of the port of—by the secretary of the customs, I saw. The said collector, who is an able and intelligent officer, and with whom I have often conferred on these matters, says my correspondent, did accordingly acquit himself to his principals with credit. He also informed me, that the like orders had issued from the commissioners of the customs in Ireland to the respective collectors in that kingdom, with some of whom, the most notable, he had kept a close correspondence on this head, as well as with several in the ports of Great Britain.—That upon the whole of their informations and estimates he found, that the smuggling trade from the isle of Man alone to Ireland, could not amount to less than a loss of 200,000 l. per Annum to his Majesty's revenue in that kingdom.—And from the said island to England, Wales, and Scotland, at least 300,000 l. per Annum—And to the east india company, and the fair trader 200,000 per Annum more; in the whole 700,000 l. per Annum, exclusive of the horrid consequences attending the said clandestine trade from that island; the chief of which are, the destruction of the health, the breed, and the morals of the British subjects stretching round the said island—The universal decay and death of their industrious arts of agriculture and manufacture—The ruin of the fair trader, and the temptation, and necessity numbers are brought under, of countenancing

cing and connecting themselves with infamous smugglers, in order to keep out of a goal themselves—The inevitable forerunner of the decay and destruction of the revenue, if suffered to continue—Add to these only one consideration more; the nourishing and strengthening the trade and commerce of foreign powers, particularly one, our most dangerous neighbour and enemy, by destroying our own, and draining us constantly of our cash, &c.

So greatly has this most pernicious trade spread itself, that scarce any duty was paid in the whole county of Cumberland, for seven years together, for French brandy, the county being glutted with the same by the smuggling boats and night-carriers from the isle of Man. They have, besides, large quantities of coarse Spanish brandy from Cete and Barcelona, which they purchase there at about 10 d. English per gallon, and sell it out again to the smuggling-boats in the isle of Man at 18 d. per gallon, the duty on importation of the same in the island being but 1 d. per gallon to the lord of the isle. This brandy may be bought afterwards on the South and West coasts of Scotland, for about 2 s. 2 d. per gallon in great quantities.

ABOVE 4000 gallons of this brandy were the year before last seized at different times, and put up to sale at the customhouse of Whitehaven, but it would not fetch even the

king's duty. Is not this a plain demonstration, that the country about was supplied with it by the smugglers at a much lower price? Yet by the seizures of brandy brought to that customhouse at this time, it is most certain, that not one smuggling-boat loaded from that island in an hundred, was taken by the cruizers, or coast-officers, or any other ways. Almost every soul along the coast of Cumberland, even the beggars and their brats, if they can steal any thing to purchase coarse sugar, drink tea once or twice a day, especially the damnified teas imported from Gottenburgh &c. into the isle of Man, much of which is sold by the smugglers from thence for 6 d. or 1 s. per pound; so that the excise on this article also is dwindled to nothing along the coast. By such deplorable means, punch, bumbo, rumbo, and dry drams; have universally prevailed amongst all degrees of people on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, lying round the said island, to the inconceivable detriment of both the customs and the excise; which lessens also, in proportion, the consumption of malt liquor, and the necessary motives of brewing the same well.

To what a height this detestable trade has been carried, will more convincingly appear from the following memorial, which was presented on this occasion.

“ THE

“ THE memorial of the merchants and the owner of ships in the port of Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland— Humbly addressed to the right honorable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury.

“ WE the merchants and proprietors of ships in the port of Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland, beg leave to represent to your lordships the great damage which this nation in general (more especially the ports of this county) sustain, from the clandestine trade carried on from the isle of Man, to the several ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and humbly to submit to your lordships judgment the means, we apprehend, to be the most conducive to remove the same.

IT is well known that this island is the great storehouse wherein the FRENCH and other nations deposit prodigious quantities of WINES, BRANDY, COFFEE, TEA, SILKS, and other INDIA goods, which are there admitted upon very low duties, and afterwards smuggled upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in small boats and wherries built for that purpose; besides the frauds committed in the article of TOBACCO, which being first entered in the several ports of Great Britain, for foreign ports, after receiving the drawback, are frequently landed on this island,

island, and afterwards run back again into this kingdom and Ireland.

FOR the carrying on of which clandestine trade, the situation of the isle of Man is extremely commodious, being within seven hours sail of the several coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales.

THE loss, by this illicit trade, to his Majesty's revenues in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, hath, by competent judges, been computed at no less than TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS annually, besides the damage done to the fair traders in general, and to the honourable East-India company in particular, which may reasonably be computed at no less than TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE. And if the duties alone upon these foreign commodities, thus fraudulently imported, amounted to so excessive a sum, we may judge, in part, what an immense treasure in SPECIE is annually drained from these kingdoms, and principally from the circumjacent sea-coasts, for the purchase thereof; which, in the same proportion, tends to the impoverishing his Majesty's dominions, and the enriching a neighbouring state; the formidable rival of our power, as well as our commerce.

BUT the greatest loss which the public sustains by this detestable trade, proceeds from the alienation of such numbers of his Majesty's subjects from the honest arts of life,
from

from agriculture, from manufactures, or from lawful commerce, to an employment which tends both to the destruction of their lives, and the debauching of their morals, by the excessive importation of spirituous liquors.

THESE evils, though extending in some degree to all parts of Great Britain and Ireland; are yet most sensibly felt by the port of Whitehaven, and other neighbouring ports of this county, by reason of their vicinity to the isle of Man.

WE beg leave, therefore, to represent to your lordships the peculiar hardships, which the trade of this port labours under, from the clandestine practices above-mentioned, which, of late, have been carried on to a most exorbitant height.

A CONSIDERABLE trade hath formerly been carried on from the port of Whitehaven, by the corporation of British manufacturers to Virginia and Maryland, and other of his majesty's plantations in America, and the importation of tobacco, and other products of those colonies, and also the exportation of coals to Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom of Ireland, by means whereof the commerce of these kingdoms hath been enlarged, his majesty's revenues encreased, and a great number of able-bodied seamen have been raised, ready, upon any emergency, to be applied to the defence of their king and country. Both these trades are, at present, in a very declining state, occasioned chiefly
by

by the very exorbitant growth of the smuggling trade in the isle of Man: for whereas formerly a profitable branch of the trade of this port consisted in supplying the Irish markets with tobacco, this has been greatly diminished by the manufactures of this commodity, which have been set up, and greatly increased of late in the said island, by means whereof those markets are chiefly supplied with manufactured tobacco, in a clandestine way, to the great prejudice of the trade of this place, and the fair trader in general.

WE beg leave likewise to represent to your lordships the difficulties which the coal trade labours under, as it is at present carried on from Whitehaven, and the neighbouring ports, to Dublin, and other ports of the kingdom of Ireland, arising from the same cause. And whereas, by an act made in the twelfth year of his late majesty George I. no goods or commodities whatsoever, other than such that are of the growth, product, or manufacture of the isle of Man, are allowed to be brought from the said island into the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of the forfeiture of ship and goods; which makes it necessary that the owners of ships employed in the trade, for the safety of their property, should use the greatest caution and circumspection, in appointing the most faithful masters and
sailors

sailors to navigate them that are to be met with; yet it frequently happens that small quantities of prohibited goods are taken on board, on the coast of the said island, where boats are continually plying to supply them, by reason whereof, ships of great value are forfeited and sold, to the great prejudice of their innocent proprietors, who are often without redress, inasmuch as the nature of the trade will allow only low wages to the masters of coal-vessels, that few persons who are possessed of any considerable property will accept of that office. By this means their once flourishing trade is now reduced to a very declining state, few people being willing to venture their substance upon so precarious a foundation.

FOR the removal of these obstacles to lawful commerce, by which the nation in general (and more especially the port of Whitehaven, and other neighbouring ports) are greatly affected, we humbly beg leave to mention to your lordships the expedient which, by the wisdom of the legislature, has been judged most conducive to this end, viz. by purchasing the sovereignty of the said island of the right honourable the proprietor, and annexing it to his majesty's government; for the carrying which design into execution, your lordships have been vested with a proper authority.

BUT if this cannot be effected, we humbly desire your lordships would vouchsafe to
take

take under your consideration the state of the smuggling trade of this island, and apply such further remedies as in your wisdom shall seem most expedient, since it is evident from experience, that the laws now in being are not sufficient to restrain the illicit practices complained of, which are grown to so exorbitant a pitch, that the smuggling boats go publicly in large fleets, and at a common risk: so that when any of his majesty's cruizers fall in with them, it is scarce possible to take more than one at a time, and then the law hath provided no other punishment but the loss of the boat and goods, which loss is abundantly made up by the success of their confederates. But this seldom happens; for the cruizes employed in the channel are but slow sailors, and easily seen at a distance, and easily avoided; so that scarce one in a hundred of the smuggling-boats, or wherries, ever fall into their hands.

It seems necessary, therefore, that a great number of small boats, well manned, should be employed in apprehending the smuggling-vessels, and that some further provision ought to be made by law, for the punishment of those who are employed in navigating them, either by transportation to the British colonies in America, or by sending them for a limited time on board his majesty's navy, or by some other way, which may be judged more expedient."

Signed by forty of the principal merchants and owners of ships.

THAT

THAT the intelligent reader, who shall be induced to make a right use of these materials for the public service, may have all the requisites before him whereon to make a right judgment of this point, it will be necessary to exhibit a state of the annual revenue of this island to the lord proprietor.

	l.	s.	d.
The lord's rents, certain and improp- riate tythes - - - -	1500	0	0
Fines certain, payable upon deaths of tenants, and alienations of estates, and fines levied on the people for breach of penal laws, <i>com. annis</i> - - - -	500	0	0
Duties and customs upon imports necessary for the home-con- sumption of the island, <i>com.</i> <i>annis</i> - - - -	500	0	0
Duties and customs of goods im- ported into the island, and afterwards smuggled into Great Britain and Ireland, <i>com. annis</i>	4000	0	0
Revenue in gross - - - -	6500	0	0
From which deducting his annual civil list - - - -	700	0	0
Then his present income will be	5800	0	0

BUT

But were the smuggling trade suppressed, whereby the lord would annually lose the duties arising thereon, viz.	l. s. d. 4000 0 0
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Then the lord's annnal income, upon a fair trade, would amount only to	1800 0 0
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N. B. Brandy, rum, &c. pay only one penny per gallon duty in the isle of Man.

TEAS, India goods, &c. pay *ad valorem* 2½ per cent.

By which it is evident how great the importation of clandestine goods into the island must be, to raise only 4000 l. upon such low duties.

BUT it is now believed, that these low duties amount annually to 6000 l.

THE tobacco alone imported into the island brings to the lord, at an half-penny per pound, 1500 l. per annum.

HAD we no other lights than what are here laid together, a reasonable judgment might be formed of the bulk of the clandestine trade carried on from thence to the British dominions round them, and the shocking loss it must prove to his majesty's customs, and excise in particular, exclusive of the fatal consequence to his subjects.

WHENCE it cannot but be admitted, that the government had better give the lord pro-

proprietor of that island, and his heirs for ever, a consideration from 5 to 10000 l. per annum, or more, for his sovereignty, than let it remain longer as it is, it being obvious, that the sum which the government would save thereby, in a year or two, would more than pay such consideration for ever, at 3 per cent. even exclusive of the annual fair revenue of that island.

THE purchasing and annexing this island to the crown would infallibly put an end to the smuggling from thence; because all such foreign goods as have been above-mentioned, must then be brought to the island in ships of burden, and landed in one of their four ports; and this could not be done without the knowledge of a king's governor, collector, and the proper officers, in the face of the day, the whole coast of the island being rocky and dangerous, except their four ports, and open boats cannot supply them with such goods from France, Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden.

IF the lord proprietor should decline taking a reasonable consideration for his sovereignty in this island (which is hardly supposable) it may become an interesting national concern; whether it be not absolutely necessary to have an act of parliament for commissioners immediately to enquire into, and ascertain the value of the said island, and to oblige him to receive such valuable

consideration in lieu thereof, as in the case of the hereditary jurisdictions in North-Britain.

AND, indeed, the reasons for annexing this petty royalty to the crown hold stronger than in any of the other. For the detriment which the whole kingdom sustains by its alienation, is much greater than that which arose from all the royalties and jurisdictions in Scotland.

THE loss to the nation, and the gain to the French, are inexpressibly great. And, as all the sums drained from the kingdom are employed by them, in times of war, to hire troops, and fit out fleets to fight against us, it will be no exaggeration of the truth to say, that, since the peace of Utrecht, they have drawn more money from us by means of their trade with this small island, than was sufficient to maintain 30,000 men with a train of artillery during the last war in Flanders. Can we suppose that the French would have suffered a like sovereignty of Bellisle, formerly in possession of the family of the famous duke of that name? Their conduct plainly shews they would not.

IN short, this island may be looked upon as a fortress in the hands of our enemies, draining us of our specie (for all those goods are paid for with English coin) and also continually annoying us in the most sensible parts, our TRADE and COMMERCE. Wherefore, the question turns here; whether we ought to

to dispossess them or not? A question that can admit of no dispute, if the public good and welfare of our country are to determine it!—Nor can there be any one good reason assigned, why this island should remain so long in a manner independent of Great Britain.

HAS not this been one cause of aggrandizing France at our own expence? Sure this is an instance of our political folly, no less glaring than that of our want of union with Ireland!

IF we look back, and consider how many millions of debts the honest part of these kingdoms is burdened with, by submitting for so many years to be plundered by such gangs of thieves as these smuggling rabble are, how can we, with any consistency, call ourselves a civilized people? Has not this island proved a nursery highly beneficial to the French trade, and enormously detrimental to our own? How could we expect other consequences from France than are now visible to the whole world? And have I not, for above these seven years past, pointed out all these evils that have happened to this nation at present, and shewed by what means they might have been happily prevented?

LET us, therefore, before it be too late, so wisely and happily unite every part of the dominions of the crown, that their

united commerce, and their united strength, both by sea and land, may, at length, prove the essential safeguard and preservation of the liberties of this independent nation; that we may be capable of protecting the liberties and independency of other oppressed Protestants, who are not able to protect themselves. This is the great aim of the endeavours of a private man: and, therefore, I shall continue to consider what farther kinds of union between other parts of his majesty's kingdoms may be necessary for the security, the prosperity, and the glory of the whole British empire.

D I S-



DISSERTATION XVI.

A succinct view of the constitution of the British plantations in America; and of the state and condition wherein they have many years been: wherein is pointed out the chief causes of their becoming the present seat of war; with considerations how they may recover their strength and stability, and become a match for our enemies.

MANY of the British colonies in America, are immediately under the government of the crown; namely, Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, the Jerseys, New York, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, Bermuda, and the Summer Islands, Bahama Islands, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands.

OTHERS are vested in proprietors, as Pennsylvania, and Maryland, as was formerly the Bahamas and the two Carolinas.

THERE are likewise three charter-governments, the chief of which is the province of Massachusetts-Bay, commonly called New
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England ; the constitution whereof is of a mixt nature, the power being divided between the king and the people, in which the latter have much the greater share ; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, as in other colonies, but the assembly chuse the council also : and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has too frequently laid the governor of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of Great Britain : *an effectual remedy to prevent which in future ought to be thought of by England, at the proper time, this having been productive of great evils.*

CONNECTICUT and Rhode island are the other charter-governments, or rather corporations ; where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people, who make an annual election of their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise ; to the majority of which assemblies, councils, and governors respectively, being collective bodies, the power of making laws is granted ; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without their governor's assent, and directly contrary to their opinion, no negative voice being reserved to them as governors, in the said charter. And, as the said governors are annually chosen, their office generally expires before his Majesty's approbation can be obtained, or any security can be taken for the due observance

vance of the laws of trade and navigation, and hold little, or no correspondence, with our lords commissioners for trade and plantations in England. It is not surprising that governors, constituted like these last mentioned, should be guilty of many irregularities in point of trade, as well as in other respects : *all which have given these colonies a kind of independency on the crown of England, and thereby gradually encouraged and encreased our evils in that part of the world ; and these evils ought to be effectually remedied in future, at the proper time.*

ALL these colonies, however, by their several constitutions, have the power of making laws for their better government and support, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, nor detrimental to their mother country : and these laws, when they have regularly passed the council and the assembly of any province, and received the governor's assent, become valid in that province ; but remain repealable nevertheless by his Majesty in council, upon just complaint, and do not acquire a perpetual force, unless they are confirmed by his Majesty in council—*of which too much care cannot be taken, as well in regard to the trade of Great Britain, as of every other important circumstance that may tend to cement the most interesting ties of union between those colonies and their mother-country, and between those colonies them-*

themselves; that no sort of disunion amongst them, or any kind of ill treatment towards the Indian nations, may ever give a formidable united enemy the advantage over any distinct colonies; and then it would not be in the power of France to have made head against them all as we now experience.

BUT there are some exceptions to this rule of subserviency to his Majesty's check and controul in council, in the proprietary and charter-governments; for, in the province of Pennsylvania, they are only obliged to deliver a transcript of their laws to the privy council, within five years after they are passed; and, if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six months from the time such transcript is so delivered, it is not in the power of the crown to repeal them afterwards--Do we not too well know what an unspeakable disadvantage it has lately proved to our affairs in America, by the contests and heart-burnings that have been between the governors and the assemblies of certain provinces? For, has not the enemy taken every advantage over us on this occasion? *Let Great Britain, therefore, take effectual measures to prevent these broils and contentions for the future, or we may lose every inch of property in America! Let the preservation of the whole of our plantations be duly consulted by a British parliament, for the general good of all his Majesty's dominions, and then it must prove for the general*

neral good of all our plantations! Let the constitution of our proprietary and charter-governments be changed, for the safety, the prosperity and honour of the whole nation; and let due satisfaction and content be given that individuals may not be sufferers, by such a change!

IN the Massachusetts-Bay, also, if the laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his Majesty for his approbation or disallowance, they are not repealable by the crown after that time. *Let a most vigilant eye be kept to these things, while the desirable change in the constitution shall take place.*

THE provinces of *Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island*, not being under any obligation, by their respective constitutions, to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown, for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account of their proceedings, our board of trade in England are very little informed of what is done in any of these governments--*How then should the parliament and the nation be apprised in due time of the measures necessary to have been taken to guard against the calamities of our people in America? Are not these things of the last consequence to the interest and honour of the king and his kingdoms?*

THERE is also this singularity in the government of *Connecticut and Rhode Island*, that their laws are not repealable by the crown,

crown, but the validity of them depends upon their not being contrary, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England. — *But if they are not well watched, this has been too much disregarded, and always will.*

ALL the governors of colonies, however, who act under the king's appointment, ought to transmit home to England immediately after making, authentic copies of the several acts by them passed, that they may go through a proper examination: but even those governors have been too often negligent of their duty in this essential particular, and have likewise passed temporary laws of so short continuance, that they have had their full effect even before our board of trade, could obtain due notice of them. Some attempts have been made to prevent this pernicious practice; but, the annual support of government in the respective colonies making it necessary that laws for that purpose should pass from year to year, the assemblies have frequently endeavoured in those laws, as well as in others of longer duration, to enact certain propositions, repugnant to the laws and interests of Great Britain; of which our board of trade have not failed, to express their dislike to the crown, when such laws have fallen under their consideration, and many laws have, from the representations of that honourable board, been repealed on that account.

BUT

BUT as to such laws as do not directly fall within the above rule, against which no complaint is made, and where the board are doubtful of the effect they may have, it has always been usual to let them lie by as *probationary*, being still under the power of the crown to be repealed, in case any inconvenience should arise from them.

IT has also been usual, when a law has contained many just and necessary provisions for the benefit of the colony where it was passed, intermixed with some others liable to objection, to let it lie by, and give notice thereupon to the governor of the province, that it should be repealed, if he did not within a reasonable time, procure a new law, not liable to the same objections, to be substituted in the place thereof.

COLONIES become a strength to their mother country, while they are under good discipline, while they are strictly made to observe the fundamental laws of their original country, and while they are kept dependent on it; but that, otherwise, they are worse than members lopped from the body politic, being like offensive arms, wrested from a nation to be turned against it, as occasion shall serve.

THE history of our northern colonies furnishes us with but too many instances of the ruin of their advanced settlements, from their leaving so large a country as they have uncultivated and uninhabited, for fear of being

[428]

ing too near neighbours to the Spaniards or to the French, which has been the case of Georgia in particular.

THE steady alliance and friendship of the Indian nation is now found by experience to be a more important concern than some have thought it; and ought and must hereafter be made the constant object of parliamentary considerations, and never more left to the vague, inconsistent, capricious, and impositious conduct of the respective colonies; who only intoxicate these people, and deceive them in their traffic, which has quite alienated their regard and attachment; while our more politic enemy has steadily pursued measures quite the reverse; and which it is no wonder has had the contrary effect to what ours have; the French having wonderfully strengthened their interest and power in North America by means of these people, while we have shamefully weakened ourselves by our neglect and disregard of the proper measures requisite to have been taken for our security and preservation.

BEFORE things came to the extremities to which they now are, have we not long been apprized and alarmed from facts incontestable, of the views which the French have had to complete their chain of correspondence and contiguity between their colonies of Canada and Louisiana? Has not their long-continued series of overtures, their bare-faced and notorious conduct long been sufficiently decla-

[429]

declarative of their formidable scheme of power? Had we timely cemented our friendship and our alliances with these savages, as we mistakenly dub them, these savages might and would have proved such a barrier to all our colonies on the continent, as to have saved this nation an immense profusion of blood and treasure: but, on the contrary, instead of engaging them in our cause by such interesting ties as is well known will influence these people, have we not suffered many of their tribes, who were in alliance with us, to be cut off by the French, to our eternal scandal? Has not this been the case of our allied Indians, the Nautches, and others, who inhabited near the French settlement on the Mississippi, on the back of Carolina and Georgia? Has not this shameful neglect of our Indian friends and allies given the other neighbouring Indians, the Upper and the Lower Creeks, so contemptible an opinion of our conduct and of our understanding, as to play ever since fast and loose with us? Could we ever expect to establish the colony of Georgia upon a good footing of security without securing the Indian allies for ever in our interest? Had these people been managed as common sense directs, according to their circumstances and situation, their peculiar customs and usages, and treated with humanity and integrity, and timely supported, whenever injured and insulted by our national enemies, it would never have been
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in the power of France to have gained the ascendancy over them, which they apparently have: I mean their general ascendancy over those people, even from Georgia to Nova-Scotia.

THESE considerations are sufficient to entitle the Indian affairs, not only to the most serious consideration of every colony, but of the parliament of Great Britain itself, who ought to have the direction of a matter of such consequence. For nothing less will preserve these colonies from destruction but a formidable Indian barrier; and this barrier must be supported and maintained by a constant and sufficient fund raised in the colonies for that purpose; and wisely, inviolably, and religiously applied to the design for which the same shall be appropriated.

NOR are these the only means that we humbly apprehend to be indispensably necessary to be taken with those people. The wise men amongst them (and they have many such) have repeatedly declared their abhorrence and detestation of the practice of intoxicating their people with our spirituous liquors. Our enemies practise the reverse; they cherish them in sobriety; and represent the English to them as a designing wicked people, who can, by their mischievous and inebriating liquors, put them out of their senses when they please, in order to over-reach them, as well in their commerce

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as their treaties; and this has too often been the case, in regard to matters of trade; and when the Indians have, in their sobriety, discovered the cheat upon individuals, the fraud has spread itself among the whole tribe; this has made impressions upon them, so disadvantageous to our interests, that their wise men have rather chose to treat with France than with us, and to ally themselves with the fair and sober dealers, than with those who, they say, make them mad, in order to take advantage of them.—These are some of the practices, whereby we have lost the attachment of those people.

THESE Indian people bear the image of their creator no less than we Europeans; and if we consider ourselves in the state of ancient Britons, Picts, and Scots, we shall find little difference. Traffic and science has civilized us, and those Indians have understandings capable of equalling us. For although they are bred, as we have heretofore been, under the darkest ignorance; yet a bright and radiant genius displays itself through those opaque clouds. None of the greatest Roman heroes have discovered a greater affection and attachment to the interest and glory of their respective countries, or a greater contempt of death, than those people, when liberty is in competition. Our Indians have even out-done the Romans in this particular; some of the greatest of these we have known to murder themselves, to avoid

avoid shame or torments; but these Indians have contemptuously refused to die meanly, when they thought their country's honour would be at stake by it: they have given their bodies willingly to the most cruel torments of their enemies, to shew, as they have declared, that the *Five Nations* consisted of men whose courage and resolution could not be shaken.

BUT it must be said, to our eternal shame and ignominy, that we Christians, we British Christians, have debauched and viciated the natural honest and sober morals of these Barbarians; we having not only defrauded them by dishonest weights and measures in our trafficable concerns with them, but we have too often neglected to protect them as friends and allies against our enemy. Is it to be admired, therefore, that they are so difficult to be retained in our interest? especially when the French treat them with the contrary conduct? While our enemies pique themselves on treating the Indians with the strictest regard to truth, integrity, and honour; while our enemies treat them with small wines, to preserve their sobriety, and make them the more sensible of their good treatment, and not with inebriating spirits, the better to deceive and over-reach them; while the French employ their religious emissaries to instil the principles of their religion into them, and their people to intermarry with them; while they represent the
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English and their religion as heretical, dangerous, and even damnable; while our enemies are indefatigable in making every impression upon them, both moral and religious, to our disadvantage; and we take pains to make ourselves no less odious to them by our conduct, than our enemies represent us; how can we reasonably expect to attach these people to our cause, when it is set before them as the worst and most iniquitous; and we take no pains to convince them of the imposition? But,

IF we continue so indolent, indifferent, and impolitic with relation to those Indian nations, and the French shall effectually gain them over to their interest, their religion, and their system of policy, it will not be in our power to secure our interest upon the continent of America, without being at the expence of a standing army from even Georgia to Nova Scotia; for, if the Indians are drawn off from our alliance, and their weight is thrown absolutely into the French scale; if the French besides have a well disciplined militia, and shall instruct those Indians in the art of war; will not those British colonies be ever in a precarious situation, and likely to fall into the hands of France? Nor are we at all acquainted with the strength of France to the most western parts. So that, if we do not attach the Indian states to our alliance and friendship upon ties far more interesting, engaging, and obligatory than those that arise
VOL. I. F f from

from mean temporary presents: and those such too that often influence those people to our disfavour, our settlements in this part of America will not be tenable; our whole commerce and navigation to this spacious continent will be inevitably lost, and it's invaluable treasures thrown into the coffers of our antient enemy.

WE seem to forget also the contiguity of the Mexican Gulph to the Messasippi; and appear unapprehensive of danger from that quarter: whereas, if the Spaniards join the French, in their Louisianian views from the Messasippi to Nova Scotia, and exert their united force there from the Havanna and St. Augustine on the one side, while the French attack our colonies on the other, in the north, great must prove our difficulties to defend ourselves, without the Indian aid and assistance: and, therefore, if we had another able general to head a sufficient body of troops on this side, to act in concert with lord Loudon, it might not be less necessary.

THE town of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia has been always reckoned as a barrier to the colonies of New England, and is certainly of the last importance to prevent the French from joining, in time of war, with the eastern Indians, either by land, or by sea. In queen Anne's war, while this place was in the hands of the French, it actually proved, as the ingenious Mr. Dummer justly styles it, the Dunkirk of this part of the American world;

world; continually harbouring fleets of privateers and French cruizers, to the ruin of our fisheries, and the foreign trade of all the British northern colonies; and which will inevitably be the case again, if France is ever suffered to obtain the whole, or any part of this important colony, more especially since they are possessed of Cape Breton. In 1744, after the French from Cape Breton had taken and burnt Canso, at the east end almost of Nova Scotia, their Indians alarmed Annapolis for a month together, by threatening a general assault, and providing scaling-ladders, but, the garrison happening opportunely to be re-inforced, they retired. Wherefore, the near neighbourhood of Cape Breton to our colony of Nova Scotia is of itself sufficient to alarm us, without suffering them to encroach an inch upon our Dunkirk of North America; which would so add to the strength of the French, and weaken that of the English there, that we should be ever liable to insults, and our possessions in that part ever rendered precarious. And, therefore, should not every policy be exerted to engage the Indians in our interest?

THERE have been many other causes that have contributed to the present state of our affairs on the continent of America. Those who have been entrusted with the chief power in our colonies have granted such large tracts of land, as well to themselves as to others,

others, that many planters have been, and are at present, prevented, from enlarging their plantations, whereby the encreased settlers have been obstructed, and people in general discouraged from going thither as formerly. It has long been matter of great complaint, that in most of our colonies there is no land, though in most of them there are such vast quantities uncultivated, left near any settlement, that is unpatenteed, or not granted to some particular person; which well merits the attention of the public wisdom; whether we consider the loss that has already ensued, and must ensue to this kingdom, by such large tracts of land remaining uncultivated; and which the proprietors either cannot or will not settle and plant, or sell, but on most exorbitant terms.

Is not this repugnant to the intention of the crown? Were not these grants of land given to be cultivated, not monopolized, in order to raise their value upon their industrious planter, whose lands are contiguous to them, and who would gladly cultivate them so as to render them beneficial to the nation as well as themselves? Have not the grants of such tracts of land been too often procured on very easy terms, and frequently upon wrong suggestions? Do not many hold thousands of acres a-piece, and those largely surveyed? Some patents are said to contain double the quantity of land mentioned, or intended

intended to be granted. Is not this the cause that so many thousand acres of land have been taken up, but not planted? Has not this drove away the inhabitants, and servants bred to planting? Have not these unwarrantable practices left our frontiers naked of people to defend them against the enemies, and our distance from the Indians the greater?

THE French suffer nothing of this kind in their plantations. — They oblige every ship bound to any of their colonies, to carry such a number of persons, in proportion to it's tonnage, passage free; not permitting any person to take up more land than he shall actually plant and manure, within a limited time; and furnishing persons, who will become settlers, with negroes, and all requisites for the making settlements, upon obliging them to repay only to the public out of the produce, one third of what is produced, till thereby the sum advanced shall be fully repaid.—Have not these, amongst other wise measures, occasioned the rapid progress that the French have made, in their American commerce, and the great force they have obtained there, to our present mortification?—Has not French policy absolutely settled a correspondence between Canada and Louisiana, which has established such a formidable degree of power, as will not easily be erased, or reduced, I am afraid, within such bounds as will render our colonies secure from their perpetual insults and invasions?

unless we take quite other measures than seem to be thought of.

ANOTHER cause of the present situation of our affairs in America seems to be the unskilful administration (not to call it worse) of those who have been too frequently appointed governors of many of our plantations. We will not say that all who go thither, like those in David's camp, have been in debt, or distress, and consequently, unfit to advance matters of public interest; but we may, perhaps, find some who can inform us, that in time of war, the Indians our enemies, have been supplied with powder and ball, the French with provisions, and the Spaniards with naval stores. Themistocles, we know, said, that he could not play on a fiddle, but understood how to make a little city a great one: but of our fiddling gentlemen, our colony-governors, by keeping up parties and factions, and oppressing people under colour of his Majesty's authority, have made flourishing colonies poor ones, and strong ones weak and impotent.—Nor have we scarce ever heard of any that have been acquainted with commerce, although they were to be the protectors of a commercial colony!

WE have another set of officers too, who are settled in every province, by commissions from England, but without any salaries annexed to the ample powers wherewith they are invested. These are judges, advocates, registers,

registers, and marshals of the admiralty, who having nothing to depend upon but the *fees of court*, and being altogether unqualified for such employments, by promoting litigious actions, and pronouncing unjust decrees, have brought our trade under a very sensible decay. Is it not to be greatly lamented that so useful a court, in these parts, should not have been better established? If our ministers of state considered how greatly the interest and honour of the nation depends upon the prosperity and security of our plantations, and, at the same time, what discouragements they lie under by the conduct of volunteer governors, judges, &c. many of whom have been known to use their commissions as some do letters of reprisals, they would take care to prevent such grievances.

NOR has a dependence upon the security and preservation of our continent colonies, without erecting a proper range of forts, proved the least of our mistakes.

CERTAIN it is, that the crown of England has not hitherto been sparing in expence to cherish those important plantations, in order to raise them to the height to which they have arrived; and therefore those plantations themselves should not have been lukewarm, when it has been in their power, in regard to their own safety and welfare. The people of England are already sufficiently incumbered with taxes. The colonies, therefore, themselves should have contributed

cheerfully towards the expence necessary for the regulation of their Indian trade, the attachment of those allies, and the security of their frontiers; for it was full time for them to have had a watchful eye over their own preservation, and not expect to hang for ever on the breast of their mother country.

IT has, therefore, several years since been recommended by those who have been well acquainted with the interest of those colonies, and to have had their security and prosperity at heart:

1. THAT the colonies themselves should have been obliged to have taken care in time to have had such a range of regular fortifications and block-houses as were absolutely necessary to have been erected on the frontiers for their security and preservation, and magazines of all kinds of warlike stores, both for the offensive and defensive, with snow-shoes, small hatchets, &c.

2. THAT this should have been timely done, in particular to have protected our more northern colonies, and to have facilitated a descent upon Canada, when occasion required.

3. THAT commissioners should have been appointed from all the colonies annually at NEW-YORK and ALBANY, in order to settle their respective quota's towards the general expence, for erecting all such forts and block-

block-houses as were absolutely necessary in those parts.

4. THAT these forts should have contained a proper number of well-disciplined Highlanders, and the block-houses a due number of Indians; and that both should have contained a competent number of both in times of peace and war.

5. THAT all the lands from FORT NICHOLAS and FORT ANNE; that is, all the lands upon the CARRYING PLACE, and those adjacent, should have been set apart for the use of such regular troops as would have settled there, and should have been properly assisted in their settling for the first two or three years; each man and his wife having (we will suppose an hundred acres, and each single person fifty acres of land) without fee or reward.

6. THAT near this fort there should have been timely erected small BLOCK-HOUSES, sufficient to have contained a due number of our Indian allies from the six nations, who should have been relieved and regulated in such manner as the six nations themselves had thought most proper.

7. THAT those commissioners jointly had been empowered to have lain out lands (not already granted) most conveniently situated for a good frontier; and that these lands had been laid out in townships after the NEW-ENGLAND manner, for a competent number of families, to have been granted them
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[442]

and their heirs, for ten years at least, clear of all taxes and quit-rents.

8. THAT in each of these townships should have been erected a strong church, with loop-holes, with a few field-pieces, which might have served for a retreat upon occasion.

9. THAT a string of BLOCK-HOUSES should have been erected, so as to have made the communication, or an alarm, from one garrison or block-house to another easy, by smoaks properly disposed in the day-time, or by throwing up a number of rockets, or firing great guns in the night-time*.

SUCH an expedient would be of great use in time of war, as the Indians never attack but by surprize, and would greatly discourage the parties of the Indian enemies, as it would keep our own garrisons upon the watch, and our out-scouts strictly to their duty.

* It does not appear impracticable to have conveyed thus an alarm from Albany to New-York in one night. Let us suppose, for example, a party of French and Indians abroad, which seldom happens without being discovered by some out-scout or other: upon discovery, if in the day-time, let there be one great smok, and one great gun fired: which, if taken up by the other garrisons, that party would hardly proceed. In order to discover what course the party might take, let there be three smoaks, two pretty near to one another, and the third at a proper distance, either to the eastward or the westward, &c. which might point out the course taken.---Something of this kind might have been improved.

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[443]

10. THAT in each of the six nations of Indians there had been built a fort of some kind or other, where and in what manner that particular nation should best approve.

11. THAT in the ONONDAGO country, where their general councils are held, and the archives of the six nations are preserved, something more than common had been erected: this would have done honour to the British nation among those people, and greatly encouraged them, especially in time of war; and while their old men, women, and children are secure in a fort, with a party of Christians, their excursions would be more free and frequent: but this security ought to be left altogether to their own choice, whether by erecting one single fortification for the retreat of the whole, (the SENECA. I should chuse, being a fine country, where great encouragement ought to be given to settlers, and where the Indians are less tainted with Christian vices) or, whether each nation should have their proper retreat and security.

WHAT has hitherto prevented our Indians in their excursions against the enemy is, in a great measure, owing to the apprehensions of having their castles cut off in their absence; with this they have, before the war, been often threatened, and had nothing to trust to but their heels; and nothing prevented the attempt but the resolutions of the CACHNA-

WAGES,

WAGES, their principal fighters (but deserters from our MOHAWKS) not to spill the blood of their relations and countrymen.

THE villainous treatment these people have met with at Albany from the handlers, as they are called, was the original cause of the desertion of those people; and, doubtless, for the same reasons, many more deserted.

WHENCE it is requisite to observe, that without a proper regulation of the trade between the Indians and the English, all other endeavours on the side of the latter to preserve the friendship of the former, will avail but little. We shall not, at present, enter into a detail of the great injuries done by the English to the Indians, in their intercourse of commerce: certain it is, that these poor people have for many years been under the direction of Albany, who have shamefully deceived and defrauded them, which is too notorious to be gainsaid: instances in abundance might be produced, but they are really too shocking to relate—These have been a great cause of the alienation of the Indian friendship, and now we experience calamities in our turn.—And I have, for several years past, loudly complained of these things, and forewarned us of the unhappy consequences hereof; all which have come to pass: this it is to disregard the sentiment of an impartial man, whose declarations, seven years ago, were treated by the short-sighted, and

and the prejudiced, as visionary apprehensions; and they may now be well ashamed of their political discernment, that a private by-stander should see more than some gamesters.

NOR is this our treacherous treatment of the Indian nations a new thing, as appears from the following preamble to an act of parliament of the 13th of queen Anne— But we have not heard of any act of the like kind since, though the mischief has been daily encreasing.

“ WHEREAS great endeavours, says the
“ said act, have, from time to time, been
“ used by her majesty’s governors and com-
“ manders in chief of this colony, to settle
“ a trade, and to have commerce with
“ such Indian nations as lived beyond our
“ five confederated nations; which, in pro-
“ cess of time, might not only be very ad-
“ vantageous, but also of great security to
“ the frontiers of this colony, at or near Al-
“ bany, in time of war; and several of the
“ said Indians being lately come to the city
“ of Albany, in order to trade with the in-
“ habitants thereof; but several private per-
“ sons, not regarding the SAFETY OF THIS
“ COLONY, but only designing their own
“ private lucre, have and do daily use many
“ indirect means to engross the trade into
“ their hands, by their contrivances with
“ those who are employed by the said In-
“ dians to carry them in their waggons to
“ Al-

“ Albany ; and, having once gotten the
 “ peltry, beavers, or other furs of the said
 “ Indians, in their possession, hinder them
 “ from making the best of their markets, to
 “ the ruin of the said trade, and the alienation
 “ of the affections of the said Indians from
 “ this colony ; and, instead of securing the
 “ friendship of the said Indians, will, if
 “ not prevented, cause them to be our ENE-
 “ MIES, &c.”

THE chief principles to be laid down in the management of our Indian affairs are, first, by all means to endeavour to undersell the French ; and the next is, to do justice to the Indians in all our trafficable concerns with them.

FOR which reason, instead of this trade being wholly under the direction of the people of Albany, who are most of them traders or handlers, and whose interest it is to take all advantage of those poor people, and that with impunity, as they have nobody to complain to, the principal directors being all traders themselves, and, of course, *socii criminis* :

2. THAT the same in future be put under the direction of one single person of capacity and integrity, of his Majesty's appointment, during good behaviour, with an handsome allowance, and proper checks over him, for the Indians to make their complaints to, in case of need, with full power to do them summary justice on all occasions.

3. THAT

3. THAT the said superintendant be debarred trading directly, or indirectly, under the severest penalties.

4. THAT he take his instructions from the governor and council ; and report to them, at fixed times, the true state of our Indian affairs, in order to be laid before His Majesty, or the board of trade.

5. THAT he be obliged to make a tour through the six nations, once a year at least, with a proper equipage, and some small presents for the chief men ; when and where he may receive complaints and redress grievances.

6. IN order to save the crown the expence of such an officer, it may be adviseable, that, as there are two surveyors-general of the customs upon this continent, at an allowance of a guinea a day, and 60 l. sterling yearly, each of them for a clerk, upon the demise of either, that officer be set apart for this service : one surveyor-general being sufficient here for all the purposes of the customs, those officers being rather in the nature of preventive officers, their chief business being to prevent any European goods being imported from any part but from Great Britain and Ireland, and to prevent the exportation of the enumerated commodities to any parts but to Great Britain, &c.— These are not collected here by the officers, nor have they any accounts worth mentioning to controul : so that it seems, one of those

those at least, may be well spared for the above good purpose.

7. THAT there be an handsome allowance made for two interpreters at least; one, indeed, for each nation, might not be too much, and one of them always to attend the principal officer; for want of proper interpreters, I fear, we have often been misled and imposed upon; and, therefore, if some of the young Indians were bred to read and write English, and our people bred from their infancy amongst the Indians to the perfect understanding of their language amongst the wise men, the deceit might in future, be happily prevented, and be productive of well cemented friendships and alliances.

8. THAT every person employed by the public in this service, be prohibited trading, directly or indirectly, under severe penalties, and give security for the due execution of his duty; and be on oath obliged to represent faithfully, every grievance, which, he conceives, the Indians meet with from the traders. As monopolies in general are the bane of trade, this commerce should be open and free for all His Majesty's subjects; when it is, a number of bush-lopers, as the Dutch call them, and the French coureurs de bois, who are indefatigable to prevent these sort of people, are created: these are a set of men, who, from their acquaintance with the woods and the Indians, are importantly
useful

useful upon many occasions, especially in times of war.

9. That there be lodged in the hands of the proper agents for this purpose Indian goods to the value of £—— always by them, which they are to dispose of for the use of the public, according to invoices from New York, fixing the prices of the goods, as well as of the furs and skins, and by no means to exact further upon the Indians. This is the method, and indeed, perhaps, the only one, that we humbly conceive, can be taken, by which we can undersell the French in our Indian commerce: and something like this is the method taken in the government of New England; which is in the following manner, viz.

By an act of 12 of Geo. I. it is enacted,
 “ That provisions, cloathing, &c. suitable for
 “ carrying on trade with the Indians, not ex-
 “ ceeding the value of 4000 l. be procured at
 “ the cost and charge of the province, and
 “ the produce applied for supplying the In-
 “ dians, by such persons as shall be an-
 “ nually chosen, &c. and likewise annually
 “ produce fair accounts of their proceedings;
 “ which supplies shall be lodged to the east-
 “ ward, &c.

“ THAT a suitable person be chosen an-
 “ nually at each of the places where any of
 “ the goods are lodged, which truck-masters
 “ shall be under oath, and give sufficient se-
 “ curity for the faithful discharge of that
 “ trust, and such instructions as they shall
 Vol. I. G g “ re-

" receive from time to time ; and shall keep
 " fair accounts of their trade and dealings
 " with the Indians, and shall return the
 " same, together with the produce, to the
 " person, or persons, who shall be appointed
 " to supply them with goods. And they
 " shall not trade with the Indians, directly or
 " indirectly. That the truck-masters sell
 " to the Indians at the price set in the in-
 " voices sent them, from time to time, with-
 " out any advance thereon ; and shall allow
 " the Indians for their furs, and other goods,
 " as the markets shall be at Boston, accord-
 " ing to the latest advices from the person or
 " persons that shall supply them for the same
 " commodities of equal goodness.

" RUM to be given to the Indians in mo-
 " derate quantities, by the truck-masters
 " only.

" No person whatsoever other than the
 " truck-masters, and they only, as such,
 " shall, or may presume by themselves, or
 " any other for them, directly, or indirectly,
 " to sell, truck, or exchange, with any In-
 " dian, or Indians, any wares, merchandises,
 " or provisions, within six miles of any
 " truck-house, &c. on penalty of forfeiting
 " 50 l. or six months imprisonment."

HAD our Indian trade in general, been un-
 der such a regulation, and the law duly
 executed, we should not have alienated the
 regards of those people, whose friendship at
 this time is so importantly interesting: and
 it

it is to be hoped, that this will never hereafter
 be disregarded.

10. A GRAND commercial fair to be kept
 annually amongst the six nations, alternately,
 would prove extremely useful ; to begin first
 in the *Onondago* country, and next year in
 the *Seneca* country, &c. of which all the na-
 tions far and near may have due notice ;
 and where the superintendant, or inspector-
 general before humbly proposed, should al-
 ways attend : and the prices of goods be-
 ing fixed from the latest invoices from NEW-
 YORK, it would prove a great inducement
 to the distant Indian nations, as well as
 of our own, to resort thither, and purchase,
 and this would, at the same time, be a check
 upon the handlers at Oswego, and else-
 where.

ONE essential article in our trade with
 the Indians, and upon which, in a great
 measure, the whole depends, has been hi-
 therto much neglected on our part ; and that
 is, the Indians have from us the cheapest
 arms and ammunition for their hunting,
 which are the worst in the world : the French,
 on the contrary, take the utmost care to sup-
 ply them with what is really good, and at
 a cheaper rate than we can afford the worst
 of ours : such is their policy, that they dis-
 regard a loss upon an occasion that so highly
 obliges the Indians, and attaches them so
 much to their interest. By these means it is
 no wonder they should undersell us in this es-

fential article, unless some effectual methods should be fallen upon to prevent it: for this purpose the French purchase the most engaging Indian commodities, both in Holland and England. The Indians must have good arms and ammunition, and where the best are, to them will they resort for the purchase; and this is another cause of their bias to the French, and their lukewarmness towards the English interest. Had we got the better of this article particularly, but a few years ago, we might have laid a sure foundation to have preserved their inviolable friendship: but this, like the enumerated other articles, have made impressions to our disadvantage, not easily to be eradicated.

As supplying the Indians as cheap with arms and ammunition as the French have done in times of peace, will be attended with a yearly expence, there should be a scheme prepared for each colony's paying their proportion towards the same. For most certain it is, that if ever NEW-YORK, ALBANY, and HUDSON'S river should get into French hands, the loss of our other colonies seems to be inevitable; and while those are well secured, all the more northern colonies will be so too. In answer to that trite objection, viz. that as these more northern colonies have all the commerce to this part [meaning *New York* and *Albany*] they ought to be at all the expence: we answer; let each contributing colony have its township upon

upon the frontiers, with proper magazines, and one or more trading-houses, and a stock; and let them have their share in the trade, and then let them contribute their quota's to the needful expence: but if the preservation and security of all are at stake, with regard not only to the whole general trade, but to their very being and existence, as English colonies, why should they hesitate to bear their proportion of the expence? But when the government of these colonies, shall come under the care, controul, and protection of the parliament, they must, for the common safety, be obliged to acquiesce in all preservative measures; and if they had been so sooner, we should have avoided that expence of blood and treasure to which we shall be now put for their security.

In justice to the people of *New-York* it should not be forgot, that they have been at an infinite expence, upon the whole, from the beginning, in fortifying, and in presents to the Indians, with very little assistance from their neighbouring colonies; a burden which that province alone has scarce been able to sustain; and is most unreasonable, as every other colony upon the continent is, in some degree, concerned in the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, and the security of our frontiers. But all that has been done, has been only palliating matters, and doing things by halves: but whenever these colonies shall be obliged to unite, for this and

other necessary purposes, according to the dictates of the parliament of England; our Indian affairs will wear quite another aspect. Such a confederacy would unspeakably encourage our Indians, strike a terror to the French hereafter, and prevent those insupportable insults and encroachments, which they will make again with impunity, in time of peace.

A LONG series of ill usage from the traders has given the Indians but a very indifferent opinion of our morals. They of themselves are naturally very honest and faithful; such at least who have not been debauched by the Christians. It will, therefore, want some address, as well as expence, to recover our character, and permanent interest with these people.

SOME measures, indeed, have been taken towards this salutary end; but they have all proved fruitless and inadequate to the good intent. His majesty sent the following instructions, upon this very occasion, to the late governor Montgomery in the year 1727:

INSTRUCTION 18. "Whereas it has been thought requisite, that the general security of our plantations upon the continent of America be provided for by a contribution, in proportion to the respective abilities of each plantation: and whereas the northern frontiers of the province of *New-York*, being most exposed to an enemy, do

"do require an extraordinary charge for the erecting and maintaining of FORTS necessary for the defence thereof: and whereas orders were given by king William III. for the advancing 500 l. sterling, towards a fort in the *Onondago* country, and of 2000 l. sterling, towards building the forts at *Albany* and *Schenectady*; and likewise by letters under his royal sign manual, directed to the governors of divers of the plantations, to recommend to the council and general assemblies of the said plantations, that they respectively furnish a proportionable sum towards the fortifications on the northern frontiers of our said province of *New-York*, viz.

	1.
" RHODE-ISLAND and PROVIDENCE	} 150
" plantations	- - - - -
" CONNECTICUT	- - - - - 450
" PENNSYLVANIA	- - - - - 330
" MARYLAND	- - - - - 650
" VIRGINIA	- - - - - 900

" Making together 2500

" AND whereas we have thought fit to direct, that you also signify to our province of *Nova-Cæsarea*, or *New-Jersey*, that the sums which we have at present thought fit to be contributed by them, if not already done, in proportion to what has been directed to be supplied by our other

“ other plantations as aforesaid are 250 l.
 “ sterling for the division of *East-New-*
 “ *Jersey*, and 250 l. sterling for the divi-
 “ sion of *West-New-Jersey*: You are, there-
 “ fore, to inform yourself what has been
 “ done therein, and what remains farther
 “ to be done, and to send an account there-
 “ of to us, and to our commissioners for
 “ trade and plantations, as aforesaid.

“ 84. AND you are also, in our name,
 “ instantly to recommend to our council,
 “ and the general assembly of our said pro-
 “ vince of *New-York*, that they exert the
 “ utmost of their power in providing, with-
 “ out delay, what farther shall be requisite
 “ for preparing, erecting, and maintaining
 “ of such forts in all parts of that province
 “ as you and they shall agree upon.

“ 85. “ AND you are likewise to signify to
 “ our said council, and the said general as-
 “ sembly, that for further encouragement, that
 “ besides the contributions to be made to-
 “ wards the raising and maintaining of FORTS
 “ AND FORTIFICATIONS on that frontier,
 “ as above-mentioned, it is our will and
 “ pleasure, in case the said frontier, be at
 “ any time invaded by an enemy, the
 “ neighbouring colonies and plantations upon
 “ the continent shall make good in men,
 “ or money in lieu thereof, their quota of
 “ assistance, according to the following re-
 “ partition, viz.

MAS-

	Men.
“ MASSACHUSETT'S BAY	350
“ NEW-HAMPSHIRE	40
“ Rhode-Island	48
“ CONNECTICUTT	120
“ NEW-YORK	200
“ EAST-JERSEY	60
“ WEST-NEW-JERSEY	60
“ PENNSYLVANIA	80
“ MARYLAND	160
“ VIRGINIA	240

“ Making together 1350

“ PURSUANT whereunto, you are, as
 “ occasion requires, to call for the same;
 “ and, in case of any invasion upon the
 “ neighbouring plantations, you are, upon
 “ application of the respective governors
 “ thereof, to be aiding and assisting to them in
 “ the best manner you can, and as the con-
 “ dition of your government will permit.”

FROM hence his majesty's care has been
 apparent; but why these instructions have
 not been duly observed, is, that the constitu-
 tions of these governments have not admitted
 of his majesty's orders being duly obeyed.--And
 whoever has attended to the conduct of the
 colony assemblies for these forty years past,
 cannot fail to observe what little regard has
 been paid to the royal instructions; for as
 it has been left altogether to them, the whole
 has ever ended only in words and altercations.

BUT

BUT the quota's proposed would of late years answer no great end in forwarding the views of security proposed; they ought at least to have been doubled, if not trebled; and so enforced by a British parliament, as not to be disregarded. We shall say no more, at present, with respect to the security of these parts of our North-American colonies; which we heartily desire may excite the due attention of a British parliament; and certainly the preservation of the southern parts of those continental colonies do not require less regard.

THE history of our northern colonies in general furnishes us with but too many instances of the ruin of their advanced settlements, from their leaving so large a country as this uncultivated and uninhabited, for fear of being too near neighbours to the Spaniards or the French. The importance, therefore of the settlement of Georgia must certainly appear, when it is considered that it may prove the most effectual expedient possible for securing the Indian nations in our interest, which inhabit the vast country to the west of Georgia; especially considering the views which the French have of the same kind; who thought in a little time to have completed that chain of correspondence and of contiguity between the colonies of Canada and Louisiana, on which their being formidable to us in North-America absolutely depends; since, if they had finished it, they would have surrounded all our colonies on the continent, from
Nova-

Nova-Scotia to Georgia: but, by the effectual support of this settlement on the one side, and Nova-Scotia on the other, we may effectually break the link of their intended chain, by engaging in our interest those very Indian nations that are the most capable of doing them service, and injuring ourselves; particularly the faithful and heroic nations of the Upper and the Lower Creeks.

NOR will the due support of this colony prove only a barrier against France, but against Spain also, and prevent any destructive union between the Spaniards and the French upon the Mississippi, and at Fort Augustine; and, therefore, this is matter of no less public attention than that of Nova-Scotia, New-York, and Albany. However much some have flattered themselves that the near neighbourhood of the French to the Spaniards on the Mississippi might give the latter umbrage, and make them more jealous of the consequence than we have been; yet, from the scene of trade that the French have been suffered, by the Spaniards, to carry on uninterruptedly, and the vigilant eye they have had on the trade of England for a little logwood only, does not indicate their dissatisfaction in regard to the powerful settlement of the French on the Mississippi: and, therefore ought we not to be as much on our guard in this part of America as any other? And especially so, if any attempts should
be

be made upon Jamaica from St. Domingo? Can our Indian affairs, therefore, in Georgia be taken too much care of? There are other measures too that might, and ought to have been taken during the last war, that would have proved an effectual barrier to our colonies; but they were mistakenly and unhappily overlooked, which, we hope, will not prove the case this war.

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DISSERTATION XVII.

Further considerations on the causes of the present state of our affairs in America.

THE reader will please to remark, that, from the connection we have endeavoured to preserve in this series of animadversion, our great aim tends towards such a union amongst all his Majesty's dominions, as will promote the mutual strength and vigor, as well as the mutual prosperity of them all; for the happy general union that we would cement, is no less constitutional than commercial, and such also as may the least interfere with the particular interest of each other, but advance that of the whole.

In relation to the constitution of our continent colonies in America, it is certain, that as things have been many years conducted, the proprietary and charter-governments, being different from the regal ones, have occasioned many disorders and abuses, that have proved no less detrimental to themselves than to the mother-state. That such abuses and disorders are the necessary and unavoidable consequences

quences of such their constitution ; I will not presume to say : I am rather inclined to believe, that these governments might as well have subsisted without these abuses, provided a due regard had been constantly paid to the royal command and instructions given, from time to time, to these colonies.

THE unwarrantable constructions which some of the colonies have put on the charters granted them by the crown, are altogether inconsistent with that dependence, as a very judicious gentleman * has observed, which they owe to their mother-country ; for although these charters entitle them to make bye-laws for the better ordering their own domestic affairs ; yet they do not, nor cannot entitle them to make laws which may obstruct either the trade of this kingdom, or lay restraints and difficulties on the neighbouring colonies : for, as the being and power of those colonies flow from the crown, under certain restrictions, particularly in not passing any laws inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this kingdom ; so the expediency of such laws are only to be judged of by His Majesty, or the legislature, as it is conceived these colonies cannot be proper judges in their own case.

YET to such excess have they proceeded in some of the charter-governments, namely, in Rhode Island and Connecticut, as to enact

* Miscellaneous essays, concerning the courses pursued by Great Britain in the affairs of her colonies. Printed 1755.

laws

laws, that no law shall take effect in their colonies, unless it is first enacted into a law by them ; and some of them have made themselves judges of the expediency of their own laws, by not transmitting them to their mother-country for examination and sanction. For it is the crown and the grand legislative power of Great Britain that must remain the eternal supreme judge of what laws are, or are not fit and expedient to be passed, in its dependent colonies. For the system of government in America must be regulated by the mother-government system ; and the want of attending to this in the first American frame of government, has occasioned disputes in the colonies, unspeakably detrimental to the security of these colonies, as well as the rights and properties, and the regal prerogative.

IT is neither for the interest of the crown, or the whole legislative power of England, to prejudice the colonies ; the common interest of the nation dictates their right to all due encouragement : but it is to be considered, that there is a public benefit as well as a private one to be regarded ; and that all advantages arising from the colonies to this kingdom consist in their mutual dependance, and that their separate interests would clash with each other, if they shall be permitted to exercise any power, which may be contrary to the true interest of the mother-state, or of his Majesty's other colonies dependent thereon.

HIS

HIS Majesty's orders, and instructions, are intended as the sole guide and measure of the conduct of those governors of colonies that are more immediately dependant on the crown. But has not experience shewn, that where there are no penalties inflicted on disregard thereof, the end of government in distant colonies cannot be attained? If there be no certain regulation established, whereby the measures of the government, may be effectually executed, under colourable pretences, will not this open a door to detrimental encroachments upon the crown, and acts of oppression upon the subject?

IF the instructions of the crown be such, that the occasional circumstances of affairs in the colonies, put the governors under a necessity of deviating from such instructions, is not that a sufficient reason why governors should represent their difficulties properly to the crown, and propose remedies as emergencies may require? But can it be consistent with that interesting dependency that all colonies must have on their mother-state, to depart from the royal or the legislative order of the state? Since the evil consequent on a little temporary delay, cannot be put in competition with that train of evils, which must arise from the violating those salutary connective regulations made for the general good government of the colonies, and safety of the subject? Has not the winking at such violation been productive of general destruction

tion upon the whole, not less than violent rapine and oppression on individuals? Does not such deviation from the royal and legislative orders open a door for all fraud and encroachment, as well upon the subject as upon the crown?

ALTHOUGH there appears great wisdom in the framing the constitution of our colonies, especially, at the time when they were first settled; yet time and experience have shewn that there are still many things wanting to render the system complete: there seems a necessity, an indispensable necessity for the aid of the legislature in establishing the said constitutions by law, with penalties on such, who should presume to deviate therefrom. The best of laws are no more than a dead letter without they are duly executed. And what danger could arise from hence, either relative to the prerogative of the crown, or the safety of the subject?

THE strengthening the hands of the crown, so as to guard against encroachments, cannot impede the due course of public business; the governors of our colonies being obliged to have all public concerns of the colonies registered in the journals of council, cannot obstruct the business of the crown. Those being timely transmitted to our council of trade at home, will occasion all things necessary to be laid occasionally before the parliament; and what is requisite to be done, will be duly and timely enforced by the authority of law.

[466]

And will not this regular intercourse of business between the grand legislative power and the colonies give such strength and vigor to the latter, that they can never obtain without it? Has not a want of this proved one apparent, though gradual cause, of the present calamities under which our plantations labour?

THE actions of the wisest men are formed agreeable to their informations. What may appear extremely wise and prudent, and in all respects well calculated to guard the crown from surprize, and the subject from injury, may yet have a different tendency, as it relates to our distant settlements; for without unity of design; without mutual relation between the systems observed abroad, and at home, and a uniform and inviolable course of proceedings, between both, it will be impossible to prevent the affairs of America from running into confusion, or free the crown, and the parliament from surprize. Nor can this, we humbly apprehend, be ever effectually prevented in any other manner than by the aid of parliament, in establishing an invariable rule of constant and timely intercourse, in relation to the transactions of the colony-councils abroad, and our board of trade at home.—It is impossible for the sovereign, or for those employed in the administration, to protect his Majesty's subjects abroad, otherwise than inviolably maintaining this uniform correspondence, in order to inflict penalties on such as shall act contrary to their duty,

[467]

duty, and regulate all colony-laws according to the eternal standard of a reciprocal interest between them and those of their parent kingdom—Without such a steady method of proceeding, the crown cannot protect and extend our trade and commerce, or in other respects exercise it's prerogatives.

FOR want of this, it may be useful to hint some of the methods which have been taken by several of our governors in our plantations to evade His Majesty's instructions, and to conceal acts of oppression.—Such governors do many acts of government without the advice or privity of their council, and, therefore, no records in the journals of their council appear thereof—At other times, the acts of council, have, by a governor's influence, been imperfectly recorded, and in some cases wholly omitted—When this precaution has not been used, and petitions of complaint have been preferred to his Majesty against them, they have, under frivolous pretences, kept back the records, and not duly transmitted them to England.

SUCH governors also have too often formed party and factious connections in assemblies, and pass by-laws for the emission of paper-currency, and other laws, suited to their private interests, without suspending clauses to give the injured an opportunity to lay their grievances before the crown, previous to the carrying such detrimental laws into execution.

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tion.

tion. Is it not notorious too, that such governors have dispossessed the crown-grantees of their lands, without legal trial or process? Have they not in more colonies than one issued blank patents or grants for lands, and afterwards affixed the seal of the colony thereto, and put them into private hands to be disposed of? Have not these detestable practices introduced the utmost confusion in some of the colonies? For when blank patents or grants are so issued, is it not in the power of such who hold them, by antedating the same, to claim the property of others? Will not this occasion such mixture of claims, and such confusion in property, as to put it out of the power of courts of law to determine the right of the subject? Must not these practices occasion every thing of this kind to be arbitrarily decided by acts of power and violence?

ACTS of violence exercised in His Majesty's colonies, can scarce gain credit from those who enjoy the blessing of a regular government at home. Let those who have the power to redress pry into the complaints repeatedly made against his majesty's governors, and other officers employed in our colonies, and the proof sent home to support them, and they will find evidence enough of what has been only hinted; and they will find also that these grievances have been occasioned by want of a well-regulated system for the conduct of public affairs between Britain and her American

rican colonies. Is it to be admired that these practices have sowed the seeds of confusion in our plantations, and given the enemies those advantages over us, which we at present experience? Have not these arbitrary and illegal proceedings been productive of these convulsions, which at different periods of time have happened in several of our colonies? Have not these things made the people uneasy in their situation, and caused them to think themselves unhappy under the best of governments and the best of kings? And have not such treatment often prompted them to act in opposition to His Majesty's measures, or to whatever else may have been wisely proposed for the benefit of the public?

ENGLAND hath many difficulties to encounter in relation to the government of it's colonies, particularly, as we have observed, it's charter-governments; yet these, we humbly conceive, might easily be redressed by the aid of parliament. For it seems to be full time, at present, for the wisdom of the nation to determine upon such a union in government and constitution of every part of it's dominions as may tend to strengthen the whole British empire; for although she has hitherto maintained her power, with variety of dominions annexed, that have acted independently of her, as it were, though supported by her; yet this policy does not seem capable of much longer upholding her, against enemies, who govern every part of their dominions by one and

[470]

the same steady principle of union; by the same interesting laws, and regulations, the due execution of all which, is vigorously, and orderly enforced.

THE frontiers of our colonies in North-America are large, naked, and open, there being scarce any forts or garrisons to defend them for near two thousand miles. The dwellings of the inhabitants are scattering at a distance from one another; and it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, for the number of our colonies independent on each other, by reason of their different sorts of governments, views, and interests, so to unite their military strength amongst themselves as to make head against the united military strength of the enemy. For, several of these governments pretending to, or enjoying some extraordinary privileges, which the favour of the crown formerly granted them, exclusive of others, if their assistance has been demanded or implored by any of their distressed neighbours and fellow subjects, when attacked by the enemy, in the very heart of their settlements; have they not scandalously affected delays, insisted on ridiculous niceties and punctilios, started unreasonable objections, and made extravagant demands, or other frivolous pretences, purposely to elude their reasonable demands? And have they not by an inactive stupidity or indolence, appeared insensible to their distressed situation, and regardless of the common danger, because they
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[471]

felt not the immediate effect of it? Has not their own security been precarious at the same time, since what happens to one colony to-day, may reach another adjacent one to-morrow? Will a wise man stand with his arms folded, when his neighbour's house is on fire? Yet has not this been the conduct of our North-American colonies towards each other, for want of their being under due regulations by our parliamentary laws to enforce obedience to the instructions and the commands of the crown?

THINGS being come to extremities, it becomes every true friend to his country now to speak out. Does not the experience of many years dictate and enforce the necessity of a substantial remedy to these absurdities and shameful injuries? Does it consist with the wisdom of this nation to permit these things longer to prevail without redress? Let every patriot suggest his remedy; and let the great representative make the best use of them all.

LET all the colonies appertaining to the crown of Great Britain on the continent of America be united under a legal, regular and firm establishment, settled and determined by the wisdom of a British legislature, aided by the best information that can be obtained: after which, why should not a lord lieutenant-general be constituted and appointed, by the crown of England as supreme governor over these colonies, to act in subordination to the
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voice of a British parliament ? It may also be further humbly proposed, that two deputies shall be annually elected by the council and assembly of each province ; who might be in the nature of a great council, or general convention of the estates of the colonies ; and, who by the order, consent, and approbation, of the lord-lieutenant, or governor-general, shall meet together, consult and advise for the good of the whole, settle and appoint particular quotas, or proportions of money, men, provisions, &c. that each respective government shall be obliged to raise for the mutual defence and safety, or for the invasion of the enemy, when needful : and in all these cases the lord-lieutenant-general might have a negative voice, but not the power to enact any thing as a law with their concurrence, or that of the majority of them : all which shall be subject to the controul of the parent legislature.

THE quota, or proportion, that may be allotted, and charged on each colony, may nevertheless, be levied and raised by it's own assembly, in such a manner as they shall judge most easy and convenient, and as the circumstances of their affairs will, at certain junctures, admit.

OTHER jurisdictions, powers, and authorities, respecting the honour of His Majesty, the interest of the plantations, and the liberty and property of the proprietors, traders, planters,

ters, and inhabitants in them, may be invested in, and cognizable by, the above said lord-lieutenant-general, and grand convention of the estates, according to the laws of England. These suggestions being only general are humbly submitted for the more knowing to amend, digest, and perfect.

A COALITION, or union, something of this nature, tempered, with moderation and judgment, and a general encouragement given to the labour, industry, and good management of all sorts and conditions of persons inhabiting, or interested in the several colonies above-mentioned, will, in all probability, lay a lasting foundation for dominion, strength, and commerce, and revive the present sinking state of the British empire ; and thereby, with other coadjutorial measures, render it once more, the envy and the admiration of it's neighbouring enemies.

LET us revive the consideration of our ancestors, and grow wise by their misfortunes. Had the ancient Britons been happily united amongst themselves, the Romans had never become their masters ; while they fought in separate bodies, we well know, the whole island was subdued : so, if the English colonies in America were wisely consolidated into one body, and happily united in one common interest, according to the general principles we have adopted throughout this treatise ; if their united forces were framed
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[474]

to act in concert for the common safety, and their commercial councils regulated for their general prosperity; would not such political concord and harmony establish invincible strength and power, while the contrary must prove their absolute ruin and destruction?

THERE are not less at present than 500,000 British subjects in North-America, (which are, perhaps, three times more than the French have of natives both in their Canada and their united Louisiana put together) inhabiting the several colonies on the east-side of the continent of America, along the sea-shore, from the gulph of St. Laurence to that of Florida, all contiguous to each other; and these subjects of the crown of England have for a century past established a correspondence, contracted friendships, and carried on a flourishing trade with the several nations of the Indians lying on the back of their settlements; is it not an unparalleled indignity then offered to the crown of England, for France, causelessly, to attempt to encroach upon these settlements, and wrest them out of our hands?

AND what further views and designs they may entertain against the Spanish provinces in New-Mexico and New-Biscay, may be easily conjectured, since we cannot forget the project framed by Monf. de la Salle, to visit and seize on the rich mines of St. Barbe, &c. which if they thought no difficult task to accomplish with about 200 French,
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[475]

and the assistance of the Indians adjoining to, and in actual war with the Spaniards at that time; how much more easily will they become masters of them, when, with the united strength of Louisiana and Canada, both French and natives, they shall think fit to attack them? And after such an attack of the numerous mines of those provinces, with the immense riches thereof, what may not our colonies on the continent of America apprehend from them?

BESIDES, Jamaica lying as it were locked up between their settlements in the islands of Hispaniola, and those on the bay of Mexico, will soon be in danger of falling into their hands; and whether the Havanna itself and the whole island of Cuba, with the key of Old Mexico, La Vera Cruz, will long remain in the possession of the Spaniards, is very much to be doubted, if the Spaniards should neglect their true interest, and not act in concert with Great Britain, to curb and restrain such unbounded ambition.— But we wish Spain may not, at present, be too much united with France in the cabinet against England, and those powers be determined to act in concert to wrest such possessions from us, as well in America as Europe, as will reduce us to the state at which they aim.

THE Spaniards, if they knew their own interest, could not be less jealous and uneasy than we, at the so near neighbourhood of the French on the Mississippi; it being for
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their security to dispossess them of their settlements there, and on the bay of Mexico, lest, in time, they render themselves sole masters of the navigation thereof; and, with the assistance of the Indians, make irruptions into the very hearts of their colonies, attack their towns, seize their mines, and fortify and maintain themselves therein.

IF this matter, perhaps, was properly, or rather had been timely represented to the court of Spain, by an able minister of weight and dignity, it is not improbable but they might be rather induced to divide this country with England, and surrender all their pretensions to whatsoever lies eastward to the Mississippi, except St. Augustine, on condition that the French are obliged to remove thence, and retire elsewhere.

AND, indeed, nothing seems more reasonable, from the true state of the case between England and Spain, in regard to their settlements here, than that this great river should be the settled and acknowledged boundary and partition between the territories of Spain and Great Britain, on the northern continent of America, nature seeming to have formed the same for some such purpose.—The Spaniards, at the same time, might be made sensible how the French have wormed themselves into a settlement between the English and the Spanish plantations, on pretence of a vacancy, and with an assurance scarce to be paralleled, have
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usurped an authority to set bounds to the dominions of both.—Whether some interesting use might not be made of these suggestions, at this critical conjuncture, at the court of Madrid, is humbly submitted; if France has not already obtained the ascendancy over Spain.

WHEN I have considered the colony of Georgia not only in the light of an important commercial one, but as a barrier against both France and Spain in this part of America, where our interests are so essentially concerned; I have frequently lamented that it has not been more zealously supported by parliament. For what has been done, has been only by piecemeal, and with great lukewarmness.

BEFORE this settlement was made, the country bore the name of Yamacrow, an Indian nation; whose chief was Tomochichi, that had been banished, with others, from his own country, and readily entered into a close friendship with England; which was the more agreeable to both parties, as there was no other Indian nation within fifty miles. At that time also the Lower Creek Indian nations, consisting of eight tribes, who are allied together, entered into an alliance with us. These Indians lay claim to all the land from the Savanna-river as far as St. Augustine, and up Flint-river, which falls into the bay of Mexico.—The year following, an alliance was also made with another Indian nation
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in this country, called the Nautches, or Natchitoches, tending greatly to the security of this new colony. But we have been so wise as to suffer these our faithful allies to be almost absolutely cut off and destroyed by the French, from their settlements in the Mississippi. And may we not easily believe, that this disregard to our Indian ally has had no tendency to strengthen our weight, interest, and friendship with the other Indian nations? May we not reasonably believe that it has had a tendency rather to render the British name mean, if not odious to those people, who are capable of supporting our colonies in North-America, at a trifling expence, in comparison to what it is now likely to cost us? By these and such other means we have lost the strenuous attachment of those important allies, and hereby brought ourselves into our present situation in this part of the world.

BEFORE I leave this point, it will not be improper to observe, at this time of day, that as the colony of Georgia may and ought to be rendered a powerful barrier, against both the French and the Spaniards in Florida; does it not become the wisdom of the nation to support the settlement on this side, no less than Nova-Scotia and New-York on the other? Is it not an indignity to the nation that it has been so meanly upheld and supported? Lord Bacon says, *It is a most heinously wicked thing to forsake and abandon a*

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PLANTATION *once in forwardness: for besides the dishonour, it is mere treachery, and being guilty of the blood of many miserable men.* And, in the same noble author's letter to king James concerning the planting of Ireland, he says: *It seems God has reserved to your majesty's times two works, which, among the works of kings, have a supreme pre-eminence, viz. the uniting and planting of kingdoms.* For though it be a great fortune for a king to deliver his kingdom from long calamities; yet, in the judgment of those who have distinguished the degrees of sovereign honour, to be the founder of states excels all the rest. For, as in arts and sciences, to be the first inventor is more than to illustrate and amplify; as, in the works of nature, the birth and nativity is more than the continuance: so, in kingdoms, the first plantation, is of nobler dignity and merit than all that follows.

IF the French shall grow so powerful in America, as to be able to intercept, or engross the trade with the Indians, or subject or ruin our plantations, there is an end of our home-produce and manufactures in America, of all our shipping-trade thither, and the encrease of sailors, and of the benefit of all goods imported from thence, and re-exported, as likewise of raising our own naval stores, besides the loss of so large an extent of dominion, and 500,000 British subjects at the same time, who will become subjects to the French interest. Must we not

not be likewise assured, that all our islands in the West-Indies will soon undergo the same fate, or be terribly distressed, for want of their usual supplies of fish, lumber, and other necessaries they constantly stand in need of, and receive from our plantations on the continent, with which neither Great Britain nor Ireland can assist them; and which they purchase with their sugar, rum, and melasses, the vent whereof will be in a great measure stopped on the loss of our northern colonies? And will they not hereby be mightily discouraged and impoverished, and become an easy prey to the invader?

Thus Great Britain being deprived of its subjects, dominions, and trade in and to America, our merchants will be ruined, our customs and public funds sink, our manufactures want a vent, our lands fall in value, and, instead of decreasing, our public debts will be encreasing, without the least prospect of payment.

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DISSERTATION XVIII.

The cause of the present state of our affairs in America farther considered.

THE produce of his majesty's colonies on the continent of America, and shipped to Europe, from South and North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, and Newfoundland, chiefly consisting of corn, rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, furs, tobacco, timber, masts and yards, fish, oil, ships for sale, &c. are computed yearly to amount to the value of 1,500,000 l. sterling, and upwards; and the freight hereof, many of them being bulky commodities, amounts to 350,000 l. sterling at least; whereby this trade does not employ less than 10,000 seamen.

THE products of our continent colonies in America exported to the English, the French, and the Dutch colonies, and to Africa, which consist of provisions of various sorts, tobacco, tar, lumber of divers kinds, iron-work, cabinet-wares, and spirits distilled in the northern

VOL. I.

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thern colonies, &c. are computed yearly to amount to the value, at least, of 800,000 l. sterling; and the freight of several of these commodities, amounting to above one-third of the value, that may be computed at more than 200,000 l. and this trade is a very good nursery for some thousands of sailors.

THOUGH this commerce is so very considerable; yet the whole advantage thereof does not center in England. But if the commerce of these colonies was directed in the right channel, it might prove of far higher concernment to the nation than it has ever yet been; it would promote the consumption of much greater quantities of British and Irish manufactures, than our traffic to any other part of the world: and would not the landed interest be more advantaged by this than any other of our branches of trade, as there is a great distinction between a commerce carried on by a barter of foreign commodities, and that arising from the manufactures of this kingdom; the one employing the poor in general, and improving the landed interest, while the other may only enrich the merchant, and not much encrease the national stock. Is not this manifest from the state of Spain? Although the merchant and the public may be enriched by their trade in foreign merchandizes, yet the landed interest reaps little benefit by it. Is not the like apparent with relation to the united provinces of the Netherlands?

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WHATEVER practices amongst the British traders have any tendency to promote and advance the prosperity of our foreign American rivals in trade, ought to be put a stop to. The British northern colonies in America carrying on a commerce with the French and the Dutch islands there, have proved very detrimental to the kingdom.—This has been the charge of our West-India merchants against those of the northern colonies; and this charge may be supported with no little weight of reason and argument. For,

By the act of navigation, passed 12 Car. II. cap. 18. it is enacted, that no goods shall be imported into, or exported out of, any territories belonging to the king in Asia, Africa, or America, in other vessels than such only as belong to the people of England, Ireland, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; or are built in the British plantations, and owned by British subjects, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, on pain of losing such goods and vessels; and commanders at sea having commissions from the king, are impowered and required to bring in, as prizes, vessels offending contrary to this act; and, in case of condemnation, one moiety shall be to the use of such commanders and their companies, the other moiety to the king. And by the same act it is further enacted,

THAT no goods of foreign growth or manufactures, brought into England, Ireland,

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Wales,

Wales, Guernsey Jersey, or Berwick, in English or other shipping belonging to some of the said places, and navigated as aforesaid, shall be brought from other places than those of the growth or manufacture, or from those parts where they can only, or have usually been shipped for transportation, on pain of forfeiting such goods and vessels.

THAT, by another act of parliament, passed 15 Car. II. it is enacted, That no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the king's plantations in Asia, Africa, or America, but what shall have been shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick, and in English-built shipping, navigated as aforesaid, and carried directly thence to the said plantations, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods or vessels.

IN the making of these laws (always looked upon as the bulwark of the English commerce) Great Britain had two essential objects in view; one, the increase of the naval power (by making her own people the sole carriers of the whole British commerce); the other, the appropriating and securing to herself, and her own subjects, all the emoluments arising from the trade of her own colonies; well knowing the importance of these two great sources of her wealth and her power: and the nation has continued to enjoy the full fruits of these excellent laws down to the peace of Utrecht.

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NOR has this been the policy of Great Britain only, but every other commercial nation sees the advantage thereof, and think they have a right of preserving the trade of their own colonies to themselves. France, in particular, has been so watchful in this respect, that they seize every foreign vessel (except those concerned in the timber trade) coming within two leagues of their own shore; and several British vessels have been confiscated at Martinico, for approaching within that distance, looking on that as proof enough of an intention to trade, unless they, on the other hand, shewed that they were forced in by stress of weather.

BUT, soon after the peace of Utrecht, a pernicious commerce began to shew itself, between the British northern colonies and the French sugar colonies, which began with bartering the lumber of the former for French sugar and melasses. The French, who before that time had no vent for their melasses, and could make no better use of it than to give it to their hogs and horses, soon found the way (after they became acquainted with our northern traders) of distilling it into rum, which their new correspondents were as ready to take off their hands, as they had been before to take their sugar and melasses; and from hence our enemies the French have derived a new *mine* of profit, unknown to them before, and transferred to themselves the benefit of a trade,

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which

which it was the design of those laws to preserve to England.

THIS being made appear to our parliament, a further provision was made for putting a stop to this manifest subversion of the fundamental maxims of the British policy, for preserving her commercial interests, by an act in the sixth year of his present majesty's reign; entitled, An act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, whereby such high duties were laid on all foreign sugars, rum, and melasses, to be imported into any of his majesty's colonies in America, as it was thought were equal to, and would answer all the ends of a prohibition.

BUT experience has shewn, that all these laws are too weak to answer the purposes for which they were designed, and that some more effectual remedies should be found to keep the British traders in North-America within bounds, if Great Britain resolves to preserve her right of controuling the trade of her own subjects in that part of the world, and turning the same into such channels only as her wisdom shall direct, and think most conducive to the interests of the whole community; for it has been made appear, beyond contradiction, notwithstanding these laws.

1. THAT a settled course of traffic has been carried on several years, by many of his majesty's

majesty's subjects in North-America to the ports of Marfeilles and Toulon, in which the ships have gone directly thither, laden with pitch, tar, train-oil, timber-trees, and plank for building ships; spars, staves, logwood, beaver, martins, deer, and elk-skins, furs, and naval stores; and having returned back again, without ever touching in Great Britain, with goods of the growth and manufactures of France, and other foreign nations.

2. THAT they have carried on the like trade with Holland.

3. THAT notwithstanding the act made in the sixth year of his present majesty's reign, the British northern colonies serve themselves chiefly with foreign sugar, rum, and melasses, without paying the duties imposed by that act, and sometimes import them in vessels owned by foreigners; and to such an height has this commerce been carried on, that vessels have been purchased for and fixed in this trade only, and constantly and regularly employed in trading backwards and forwards between the foreign sugar colonies and the British colonies in North-America; and that, in order to facilitate it, they settled correspondents and factors in the French islands, and the French did the like in our colonies in North-America.

4. THAT this trade has been not only connived at, but cherished, by the foreigners, with whom it has been carried on, who well know how greatly it hath tended to

enrich and strengthen their own colonies, and impoverish ours.

THIS trade has very deeply affected the manufactures and products of Great Britain, and in a much greater degree than is apprehended, it having occasioned a great declension in the trade of the kingdom, and not only deprived the nation of a profit to which they have a natural right, but many persons employed in our manufactures have been reduced to beggary.

THE number of English shipping, and consequently of sailors, have decreased in proportion as this trade increased, which has tended to sap the very foundation of the naval power of the kingdom.

THE design of the act 15 Car. II. forbidding the importation of any commodities or manufactures of Europe into the king's plantations in America, was intended to make a double voyage necessary, where those colonies used any commodities of the growth and manufactures of Europe, but British; for if they could not be shipped but in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth or manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence: But if our northern colonies have been allowed to carry them directly from the place where they grew, or were transplanted, not only these

these benefits have been lost to the nation, but likewise the profits arising to the importers, the duties reclaimed by the crown, where the whole was not drawn back, the warehouse-rent, commissions, and many other incidental profits, easier conceived than represented.

THESE practices have too much contributed to lessen the dependency of our colonies upon their mother-country, and have produced such connections of interests between them and those of France, as have tended to alienate them from Great Britain, and to make it too indifferent to them whether they were under a French or a British government—Behold, reader, how many natural causes, that have been unnoticed by others, have conspired to the present state and condition of these kingdoms!

IT may be taken for granted as an undoubted truth, that, as the enlarging the vent of any commodity is one of the best means that can be used to encourage it's growth, so the lessening of it is the certain way to discourage it; whence it necessarily follows, that, as we have many rivals in this commerce, nothing could be more detrimental to the British sugar colonies, than to suffer foreign sugars to be consumed in any of it's dominions; it being obvious, that this must check the growth of sugar in our own islands, and encrease it in those of France; and, therefore, has manifestly tended to strengthen the

the colonies of our ancient enemies, and to weaken our own.

THIS trade, as it has been long carried on has raised the price of lumber to the British planters; and, as the northern traders often refuse to take any thing from them but ready money, this has drained so much of their gold and silver, that they have been often in distress for want of specie.

A GREAT part of the money, which our northern colony traders have received from our British planters, has been carried to the foreign sugar-colonies, and there laid out either in the purchase of foreign sugars, rum, and melasses, or of foreign European and East-India commodities; which are carried to the British northern colonies, and there have supplied the place of British manufactures, and British sugars, rum, and melasses; and consequently have robbed this nation, not only of the consumption of so much of its own commodities, but of so much gold and silver too: whereas, if the foreign colonies (who cannot be supplied with lumber but from the English) had been constrained to have purchased the same with ready money only, and had never been allowed to give their sugars, rum, and melasses, in exchange for it, this would have turned the tables upon them, and have made the balance of the lumber-trade as much in our favour as it has been many years against us.

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IT is well known to all concerned in the sugar trade, that the profits of the planter depend upon the vent which he finds for his rum and melasses; for, if sugar only, and no rum and melasses, could be produced from the sugar cane, it would not pay the expence of culture, and making; consequently, in proportion as the vent of rum and melasses is prevented or encreased, the sugar-colonies (whether English or foreign) must respectively thrive, or decline. And, as rum is not allowed to be imported into Old France, or any of its colonies (because it interferes with brandy, which is the product of the mother-country) this evidently shews how much it has been in the power of Great Britain to have checked the progress of the French sugar-islands, and advanced that of her own: for, if the bringing French rum and melasses into any of the British dominions had been effectually hindered, all the profits made by rum and melasses, in the French sugar colonies, would have been lost to them, and they would have found no vent for them in any other part of the world. This point, therefore, had it been strictly attended, and invariably adhered to, would have inevitably damped the prosperity of the French sugar-colonies, and encreased that of our own; and might, very probably, have long before now, proved the means of enabling the English to have beat the French out of all the foreign markets in Europe for sugar, and have confined

fined them solely to their own consumption. But, have we not, to our eternal ignominy, acted a contrary part? Have we not studied to enrich the French in America, and strengthen their power at the expence of our own, and do we not now experience the fatal effects of such a system of policy?

CERTAIN it is that Great Britain has of late years been more concerned than at any time heretofore, to have given due attention to the commerce of her sugar-colonies; because the other trading nations in Europe have been more intent than ever upon wresting this trade out of her hands, and grasping it themselves. Of these,

THE first is, that the Danes have lately settled a sugar-colony at Santa Cruz, an island in the neighbourhood of the British leeward islands, and to which several of the British subjects in the leeward islands have lately gone to settle, upon the invitation and the encouragements offered them by the Danes. As the growth of sugar will be considerably increased by this new settlement, the demand for a consumption of British sugars abroad will, in consequence thereof, be lessened; and has there not been, therefore, the greater necessity for obliging all British subjects in North America to consume no sugars, rum, or melasses, but what are of British production, lest our own sugar colonies should not find a sufficient vent for what they grow?

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for, if that should ever be the case, would they not dwindle to nothing?

THE second is, That all other nations, possessed of sugar colonies, seem to be sensible of the advantages arising from the sugar trade, that they are more intent than ever upon extending the same, and use their utmost industry to introduce their own sugars into Great Britain: and has it not been too notorious, that they have been so successful as to find the way of corrupting the traders in our own sugar colonies, and making them the destructive instruments of introducing foreign sugars, under the denomination and disguise of British; and this into Great Britain itself? Whence, has it not been apparent, that a great part of the wealth, which Britain might and ought to have reserved to herself, from the trade of her own colonies, has been thus ravished from her by the intrigues of foreigners and the treachery of her own subjects?

NOR has this sort of commerce been only carried on by our northern colonies to the French sugar islands, but by our own sugar islands to those of France; for great quantities of French sugars have been cleared out from the English islands as British manufactures—Of these nefarious and detestable practices our northern colony people have roundly charged our West-India traders; and thus between both, the national enemy has been enriched and aggrandised, and by these and such other means, have been enabled now to attempt

tempt to wrest all our colonies out of our hands.

IF our northern colonies could not trade with our own sugar islands to so good advantage as they have done with the French, why has not proper laws been enacted to break up more land in our island colonies, that sugars, rum, and melasses might be rendered, full as cheap as those in the French colonies? For this we have proved to be the sovereign specific for most of our commercial maladies as well in America as Europe. Certain it is that the French, in the West-Indies, have sold their sugars from 30 to 40 per cent. cheaper than the English have done; but as we have been capable of raising as large quantities of sugar as France has been, why have we not taken the natural and effectual measures to sell them as cheap; that every colourable pretence for any detrimental intercourse of trade between any of our colonies, and those of our rivals might have been obstructed? for, however, lucrative these communications may be to our private traders, yet they have been no less detrimental to the whole kingdom, and beneficial to our great enemies; and, therefore, we cannot be too vigilant to obstruct all intercourse of this kind, by the more natural and effectual measures, we having experienced that the most rigorous laws and severest penalties will not avail. How, and by what means the French have gained the ascendant in the American trade, will more mani-

manifestly appear in the sequel, when I come to compare by way of contrast, the French policy with that of the British upon this occasion. In the interim we shall only observe.

THAT such is the state and condition to which the French sugar colonies are arrived, that most certain it is, they have drawn both our northern colonies, as well as our West-India traders to carry on a very large commerce with them; and this has been acknowledged by those our traders themselves, who have publicly accused each other of practices highly detrimental to the mother-kingdom: and, therefore, all intercourse of commerce whatever between His Majesty's American subjects, and those of France, ought long since to have been stopped effectually; for, if such commerce was not very lucrative to the French they would by no means admit thereof, as will manifestly appear hereafter, when I come to give a representation of the French American system of policy.

WHETHER our northern colonies, or our West-India traders, have been the most to blame with relation to what we have been speaking of, I shall not here enquire. That they have both been highly culpable is not to be doubted.

EXPERIENCE has shewn, that it is extremely difficult to enforce the execution of any law made contrary to the general bent and

and disposition of the people; and must it not be much more so to enforce a law made here, and to be executed in America; and that not only contrary to the general disposition of the people, but contrary to the very genius and constitution of some of their governments? In passing of laws of this nature, it should be considered, whether it may not better answer the end proposed, so to form the law, that the people should not have too great a temptation to evade it. With relation to the point we have been speaking to, it should, however, be considered, whether a total prohibition of the said commerce might not, by lessening the number of our sailors, affect our navigation; and whether such demand for rum, as such prohibition might occasion, would not considerably advance the price of sugar, till we so increased in the quantity produced as to prevent it?

ON the other hand, there is much to be urged in favour of our sugar-planters, as they have most of their supplies from Great Britain, and many of them spend their estates amongst us; so that their interest must not be disregarded any more than that of our northern colony brethren. To determine this matter as equitable as may be, it has been submitted; whether all ships trading from the northern colonies to the French and Dutch islands, ought to do it *by licence, to be obtained from proper officers appointed for that purpose*; and that, on obtaining such licences,

licences, the owners of the ships in that trade gave proper security for the payment of the duties on the rum, melasses, &c. brought in return for the lumber shipped by them; which bonds or securities may be discharged by proper certificates of the duties having been paid?

IN order to remove all temptation to fraud, it may be proper, perhaps, to lower the duty a penny or three halfpence per gallon; and, as a great part of the melasses imported from the Dutch and French islands into Rhode-Island, Massachuset's-Bay, &c. are distilled into rum, and afterwards shipped to Virginia, Carolina, &c. and also to Newfoundland, and to the coast of Guinea, that the said duty be laid upon all rums so shipped from Rhode-Island, Massachuset's-Bay, &c. to any other part whatsoever; and in case the same is carried coast-ways to any of the other colonies, without proper vouchers of such duties having been paid, the said rum to be liable to seizure in any of the colonies into which the same shall be imported; or if shipped to the coast of Newfoundland or Guinea, without proper certificates of the duties being paid, in both such cases, the said rum to be also liable to seizure, with such farther penalties on the master of the ship as may be needful.

IT is probable that a law of this nature might have the due effect; for, by lowering the duties, it would not be the interest of

the people of Rhode-Island, &c. either to import melasses, or ship rum, distilled by them, without first paying the duty, as it would thereby be in great danger of being seized.—It is further conceived, that if the said scheme be carried into execution, a considerable sum of money might be raised for the advantage and security of our North-American colonies, and would the better enable them to erect forts and make presents to the Indians.—Measures of this kind might lay a good foundation for such future American funds as to prevent these colonies from being longer burdensome to their mother-country for their security.

THE constituting of a certain fund applicable to the future safety and prosperity of these colonies would enable us to preserve the Indian nations steddily in our interest; which might have been done, a few years ago, at a very small expence, in comparison to what may be requisite at present; for the Americans having a fund of their own, applicable to their own uses, their preservation will be in their own hands on all emergencies; which cannot be the case as their affairs are at present circumstanced; for if the application to the treasury in England is attended with great difficulties and delays before the money wanted is obtained; and if they are to apply to parliament, the opportunity may be lost; and, in many cases, proper supplies may not be granted till our affairs in America are brought into

into such a situation, as to put us to infinite expence to regain what we have lost by such delays. These things taken into consideration, together with divers other particulars which we have delineated, should seem to indicate the indispensable necessity of making various alterations in the state and constitution of our North-American colonies.

THAT now is the time to take these important objects into consideration, every friend to his country must readily allow. For if we do not put the affairs of these colonies into a defensible state and condition, and build forts sufficient for their future security and preservation of our frontier settlements, and as places of retreat for our Indian allies; it is too much to be feared, that all the blood and treasure we may employ to this end will not have the desired effect, but only prove the means of drawing on a train of evil consequences, which may, in the end, prove destructive to this kingdom. For,

ANOTHER object that France has in view is, to give us full employment upon the continent of America, that she may be the more at liberty to attack our Islands in the West-Indies; which they certainly intend: and if they have taken, as is reported and credited, not only our settlement of James-Fort, on the river Gambia, on the coast of Africa, but all our other forts, shall we not be unspeakably distressed for negroes? In relation to our African commerce in general, as well as of

[500]

the due security of our forts and settlements on that coast, and the general advancement of our trade in Africa, we have committed the most egregious mistakes in our policy: but the consequences that must inevitably attend such conduct, I pointed out many years since, both privately and publicly, as well as many other things, that I will presume to say, would have effectually prevented many of those evils that have come to pass to this distressed nation. Nor will it be long before all these anecdotes shall make their public appearance, and then let the public judge how zealously I have endeavoured to serve this kingdom. But—

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[501]



DISSERTATION XIX.

A short review of the conduct of France, in relation to her North American colonies; with a comparison between her management of her American affairs and that of Great Britain.

HOW far the limits of the country the French intended to possess in North-America, before the war, might extend, was not known; and to what degree they design to carry their conquests, if they are able, no one will doubt.

THAT part of Louisiana that was granted to Monf. Crofat, is bounded by New Mexico, and the lands of the English of Carolina, west and east; and by the river Illinois, and the gulph of Mexico, north and south; wherein, if it be meant, as no doubt the French do, that all the tracts of land not actually possessed by the Spaniards of Mexico, and the English of Carolina, though claimed respectively by both, shall be comprehended, it will take in more than two thirds of the gulph; and reckoning from St. Fé, in New

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Mexico to our most westerly settlements in Carolina, about 24 degrees of longitude, it will make 1440 miles, and, from the mouth of the Illinois to that of the Mississippi, 150 or 160 leagues in a straight line.

BUT this is only a part of Louisiana, which the king of France (by a reservation expressed in the patent) may enlarge, when he thinks fit, the whole extent of that immense country reaching to the south sea, Japan, and the frozen ocean.

FATHER Hennepin, in the account he dedicated to king William, of his travels through a great part of it, asserts, that Japan is contiguous to North-America (the great Grævius was also of the same opinion) and that an easy passage may be infallibly found out from Louisiana to the south sea, through rivers that run beyond the Mississippi, deep enough to carry ships of considerable burthen; and he offered to return back in his Majesty's service, to make the discovery. That great prince would, in all likelihood, have accepted the proposal, and improved it to the advantage, and the glory of England, had it not been for his alliance with Spain, which proved fatal to the settlements of the Scots at Darien.

IT is a melancholy consideration, that so noble an enterprize, founded on honourable motives, and carried on with invincible zeal and bravery, should have been discouraged, betrayed and ruined, and the French, at the
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same time, permitted to build forts and plant colonies, under the command of Monf. d'Iberville, in a country, to which both England and Spain had a much better title. It is true, that d'Iberville's commission empowered him only to establish the colonies, and maintain the garrisons, which had preserved the possession of the acquisitions of Monf. de Salle; but one of the forts having been entirely rased by the Spaniards, and the garrison carried off, and the other abandoned some years before the date of this commission, the right insisted on, by virtue of that possession, was extinguished; besides, if the charters granted by the crown of England, to the lords proprietors of Carolina, be allowed validity, it may be justly doubted, whether a possession, of much longer continuance, could devolve any right on the French.

THE missionaries, who have had the best knowledge of Louisiana, give us so exalted ideas of it's uncommon beauties and productions, that one would take it for the Frenchman's paradise. Mr. Gage informs us, that the Spaniards were continually at war with the Indians, who inhabited the northern part of that province, on account of the silver mines in their territories, lest the English from Virginia (Carolina being not then planted) should be beforehand with them, in gaining these hidden treasures.

BUT the chief glory of Louisiana is the famous Mississippi, in many respects the finest

river in the world. Our American seamen affirm, that several of their rivers here are fit to receive ships of the largest burthen, and have many safe and commodious harbours. What renders the Mississippi the more considerable, is a great number of other large and navigable rivers, that run from the eastward and westward, and mix at last with its stream. Mons. de Salle affirms there are six or seven, 300 leagues each in length, that fall below the Illinois; and proposes it as a matter of the last importance, that the discovery of them should be carried on, to prevent the English of Carolina from interfering with the French in their commerce with the Indians, since some of these rivers take their rise from the Apalachian hills, not far from our settlements in that colony.

It was, therefore, natural for the English to discern, that the French would not so far neglect their interest, as not to continue their efforts to establish their commerce in this part of the world, and to become one day our rivals there in regard to our territories as well as our trade.

WHEN the French had drawn a line along the borders of our settlements in every province from St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and built forts to secure the most convenient passes on the lakes and rivers that form the communication; how could we imagine that this was not done with an intent to cut off all intercourse of traffic between us and
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the Indians inhabiting the inland countries? How could we be so ridiculously weak as to think that this was not done with a barefaced intent to compel there our Indian neighbours and allies, by their absolute dependance on the French, to break off all friendship and commercial connections with us? Must we not be blind and stupid to our interest not long since to have guarded against such palpable evils, which every man of common sense saw through, except those whose duty it was to have guarded against them? Are not these crimes of neglect and omission such as are not to be forgotten or forgiven by this injured nation? How could we expect otherwise than to suffer continual incursions and depredations from the savages on our frontiers? By permitting things to go such lengths as we have done, how could we expect to be able to maintain a lasting friendship with our Indian allies, or make any successful war against them, considering the advantage they have by their way of fighting in these parts, and by the support they would always receive either secretly, or openly, from our enemies the French? Have we not been apprised of these events even from the plan that La Honton presented to the court of France, by order of count Frontenac, for destroying our allies the Iroquois Indians, a warlike and numerous people, who have longer than we could have expected from the treatment they have received, maintained their attachment to the
British

[506]

British interest? Has not this nation been alarmed over and over for these several years past, that if the French were suffered to possess themselves of all Canada and their pretended Louisiana, and a war should break out between the two crowns, the French would find it a matter of little difficulty with the assistance of the Indians, to invade from thence and Canada, all the English plantations at once, and drive the inhabitants into the sea?

DOES not every man know that St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, with the lakes and rivers that run between them, encompass by land all the provinces on the main of America belonging to the crown of Great Britain? Is it not well enough known, that from the branches of these great rivers, and some falling into the lakes Champlain and Errie, a safe and direct passage may be found out almost to every one of our settlements, by means of other large rivers, with which the whole country abounds? Have not the French, through some of these channels, heretofore, made descents from Canada upon our northern colonies, destroyed our plantations, and laid waste entire provinces? Could the inhabitants of New-York, some years since, have secured themselves from the fatal consequences of the like attempts, but by the singular bravery of the Mohock Indians, who galled the French so sensibly, that they obliged them to retire within sixty leagues of Quebec, and sue for peace on any

[507]

any terms? And how gratefully have we since treated those very Indians who saved us, I have before shewn, to the eternal scandal of this infatuated, this unhappy nation.— Is it less true that our enemies too may easily penetrate into those English colonies that lie to the southward, particularly Virginia and Carolina, through rivers that run from the same side into the Mississippi?

THE number of British subjects here are but inconsiderable, when compared to the tracts of land they inhabit, and to what they have an undoubted title; their dwellings, except towards the sea, are scattered at a great distance from each other. There seems to be little protection for us to rely on, except that of the Indians; and yet, from the little care that has been taken to attach them to our interest, have we not experienced that we cannot depend upon their friendship? If proper allowances have been granted, have we not all reason to suspect their misapplication; and that the Indians have had the least share of the money allotted?

Is it not extraordinary, that no effectual measures till lately, and when almost too late, were taken to settle and fortify Nova-Scotia, the only province in America belonging to the crown that can be made a sufficient barrier to cover any of our plantations from the invasions of the French, and check their motions on that side by sea
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and land? Shall any part of this invaluable province be dismembered from the British crown, and tacked to the French Canada?

THOUGH the French in Canada have exceeded us neither in numbers nor bravery; yet have they not greatly gained upon us for many years past? Nor can this be admired, when we consider the wisdom of their administration in this part of the world, and their sagacious method of managing the Indians.

IT has been a maxim constantly observed by all princes and states, that have planted colonies, or subdued nations, to keep them *united* under the command of particular governors, and in subordination to others, who presided over the whole; to the end that justice might be impartially administered, seditions prevented, or easily suppressed, and each inferior government strengthened and supported by the rest. In the Roman empire, which contained 120 provinces, and near 300 colonies, we find only four prefects, or chief governors, under the emperor; in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico two; and in Canada, to which Louisiana is tacked, but one. And, lest it should be imagined that an extensive command must necessarily be attended with arbitrary power, it may be affirmed, with truth, that the governor-general of Canada is more effectually restrained from breaking in, either upon the rights of the crown, or those of the subjects, than the most

most petty governors, being liable to the check of the intendant in the first case, and of the foreign council in the last.

BESIDES guards and garrisons, such hath been the policy of this neighbouring nation, that considerable bodies of regular troops have been employed in the service of their colonies, without the least burden or charge to the planters: all civil officers, as well as military, have certain yearly pensions settled upon them, and none are admitted into places of the greatest trust, but such who have distinguished themselves by their *merit*, under whose administration the country is become extremely populous and prosperous. This extraordinary encrease is, in some measure, to be ascribed to policy, that we, like all the rest that has been eligible, have neglected; and that is their intermarrying with the Indians, whom, by this means, they have firmly engaged in their interest. In every tribe they have incorporated some missionary priests; and, though few of these savages have been thoroughly proselyted to their religion; yet, in all other matters, they idolize these fathers as tutelar gods, and are entirely directed by their councils. Is it to be admired that such like arts should give them an ascendancy over these nations that we have never been able to obtain, our system being diametrically opposite?

ON the other hand, the country possessed by the English in America seems to be much
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in the same state Britain was at the first entrance of the Romans, for, as that was divided " (to use the words of Sir William Temple) into several nations, each governed by it's own kings and particular princes, " different in their ends and councils, it was " more easily subdued by united forces: for, " *dum singuli pugnabant, universi vincebantur*; while they fought in single bodies, " the whole island was conquered:" so in America, to draw the parallel no farther, we have thirteen colonies, at least, that have been severally governed by their respective commanders in chief, according to their peculiar laws and constitutions. I have in a former dissertation considered the several sorts of government established in these provinces, and the different views and interests they have to pursue; which independancy of each other we have shewn has tended no less to weaken the whole than the unskilful and oppressive administration of many of those who have been appointed governors of several of them. Is not the contrary of all this the constant practice of France?

IN the first settlement of Canada, the French had great difficulties to contend with, neither the country nor the climate being inviting. And the obstructions they met with from the Indians would have deterred most other nations from attempts of this nature. However, we know, that the glory of the French

French monarch will animate the people to undertake the most hazardous enterprizes.

IN 1612 the French sent many persons to settle in Canada, who would otherwise have been confined to the galleys, and numbers of sturdy beggars and loose women; and to defend the settlements from the Indians, there were some companies of regular troops transported thither, but no considerable number of troops till Mons. de Frai appointed viceroy of America, arrived at Quebec in 1665.—After which Cangnon's regiment was broke, and both officers and men had considerable quantities of land allotted them to settle on.

AFTER the reform of the said troops, great numbers of women were sent over, under the direction of old nuns; and these who wanted to be married, made their addresses to their governess, and after the choice was determined, the marriage was concluded in the presence of a priest and a public notary, and the governor, by the king's order, bestowed on the married persons, a bull, a cow, a hog, a sow, a cock and hen, two barrels of salt meat, and eleven crowns in money.

THE French king likewise gave the missionaries sent over there considerable grants of lands in Canada; and to the directors of the seminary of St. Sulpitius at Paris, he gave the island of Monreal, with the privilege of nominating a bailiff and several other magistrates.—The said seminary sent thither a

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great number of missionaries, and numbers of Jesuits go to Quebec, and are from thence dispersed into all parts of the country, and mix with the Indians in their townships.—As these artful priests temporize with the Indians in their customs and dress, it is chiefly by means of their influence that the French have extended their commerce and their power amongst them. Has England practised any thing like this?

WHAT at first obstructed the French in their extensive views, was the opposition they met with from the Five Nations, they being many years prevented by them from discovering the lakes, carrying on a trade, and forming alliances with the savages who lived to the westward and the southward of them.—To remove this difficulty, they applied to king Charles II. to give orders to his governor then at New-York, to forward a peace between the French and the Five Nations. However, the governor did not comply with our king Charles's orders upon that head; yet, as he was not at liberty to act openly against the French, they improved this opportunity in extending their lines, and in building forts to the southward, whereby the Five Nations have been much galled ever since the building of Fort Frontenac and Niagara. The Five Nations, indeed, demolished these forts; but the French soon rebuilt them, and several other forts to them,
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as a retreat to their friendly Indians when they attacked the Five-nations.

THE French have likewise cut off or destroyed numbers of those our friendly Indians by treachery, and sometimes by open force, when the English have shamefully neglected to support them; so that these brave and warlike people are greatly reduced, and at present quite incapable of withstanding the French, as heretofore; which hath been chiefly owing to our engaging them in wars with the French, and then deserting them, and leaving the whole burden of the war on them. This is notorious, and what steady aid could England expect from them, after such inglorious treatment of these people?

To secure their own Indian allies, and check and intimidate the Five Nations our allies, the French built a fort near the waterfall called *Saut Marie*, and another of considerable strength at *Crown-Point*, which is on the territory of our Five nations; and has been in many respects of more service to the French, and more injurious to the English, than any of their Forts built from *Quebec* to the river *Ohio*.—By this fort they have kept the Iroquoise, or Five Nations, under constant alarms, and distressed them and their allies in their huntings; and by virtue of *Crown-Point*, *Fort Frontenac*, *Niagara*, &c. they long kept open a communication with the western Indians.—Hereby they prevented the English from making a proper use of the

five nations against the eastern Indians, who inhabit Gaspasie, a part of Nova-Scotia, and are engaged in the French interest.—Hereby the Indians to eastward of New-England have been unrestrained in their incursions upon our settlement of Nova-Scotia, although they might have been easily prevented, if the Five nations had in time been at liberty, with safety to themselves, to have attacked these eastern Indians in the province of Gaspasie, or the back parts of the province of Nova-Scotia.

CROWN-POINT having been erected near to the branches of Hudson's-river, which runs by *Albany* to *New-York*; and therefore, from its situation, the province of New-York has been in imminent danger; and this has endangered the safety of the whole continent of America; for if the French can once make themselves masters of New-York, will they not be enabled to cut off the communication between our northern and southern colonies? and, by the aid of the Indians, may they not have it in their power totally to destroy our English settlements? And how easily might all these evils have been prevented, since we have been first alarmed with the manifest appearance of those dangers?

INDIANS, in this part of the world, are certainly the best capable of fighting against Indians in their attacks, which are always sudden; and the French having, by our neglect

neglect or treachery, most of the Indians in their interest, it is not easy to guard against them; for in such an extended forest it is scarce possible, through swamps and thickets, for an army to pursue them with any great advantage.

THE views of the French against the English began to appear bare-facedly enough about the year 1726. Their designs in taking in the great lake was to secure the Indian and furr trade, as the building *Crown-Point* was to awe the Five Nations. Could any thing more significantly speak the designs of our enemies than these overt acts did? Instead of attending duly to these things, and protecting our Indian friends and allies, did we not, in the year 1746, leave them exposed to the French Indians, although we had then two or three regiments in the king's pay at New-England, that were not any way employed in the service of the crown? If, on declining the expedition to Quebec, those troops had joined the quota's to be supplied by the other colonies, the English would, in all probability, have taken *Crown-Point*, and have been thereby enabled, by the assistance of the Five Nations, to have drawn off from the French interest the southern and western Indians. And would not this step have had the further good effect, as to have kept the Indians to the eastward of New-England in such subjection to our Five Nations, as to have pre-

vented our frontier settlements in Nova-Scotia being annoyed? Had also the misunderstanding, which then subsisted in New-York and Massachuset's-Bay, been wisely prevented, as they ought to have been, we could not have wished for a more favourable opportunity of humbling the French in those parts, and disconcerting all the measures which they had many years taken to bring things to the extremity to which they are now arrived. Will not this convince us, that the very constitution of our colonies is not so happily framed as could be wished, nor the whole of them so happily united and cemented in interest as could be desired for their mutual interest and security?

MANY of the Indians to the west of the Appalachian mountains have acknowledged themselves subjects to the crown of Great Britain; and were we to determine, as the French aim at, the territories of those Indians to be within the French limits, it would be throwing those Indian allies, as well as those to the northward, into the arms of France, and prove destructive of all our frontier settlements here, and put an entire stop to the trade and commerce which hath been hitherto carried on with them. And can we suppose that the French would not, in such case, instantly erect divers forts within their territories, and compel these Indians to make eternal war upon us, as it has always been, and will ever be, the policy

licy of France to stir up their friendly Indians to annoy our frontier settlements, and afterwards disavow every act done by them?

THE ambition of the French in extending their empire, it is well known, is without any bounds or limits; and, therefore, they encourage every scheme that has the least prospect of forwarding their grand design. In relation to which it may not be improper to mention the scheme of an officer of some note in the French service in America, viz. "That the court of France ought to use their utmost endeavours to make themselves masters of the English islands in the West-Indies, and to encourage the English colonies on the continent of America

TO UNITE AND FORM A REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT; and that in order to induce them thereto, it would be for the service of France to open all their ports to them both in Europe and America."

However wild and extravagant such schemes as these may appear, yet it may be observed that the encouragement, which we have seen the French have given to the commerce of our northern continent colonies, with their islands, and many of their ports in old France, seems to countenance something of this kind. Should not a scheme of this kind, at such a conjuncture, so alarm the court of England as to guard effectually against it? To which end, does it not really concern us to think of putting these colonies under a different

regulation, even in point of constitution and government? Have not the French a governor-general and a lieutenant-governor of Canada, and Louisiana, or Mississippi? and how their government in this part of the world has been conducted, we have sufficiently shewn, and now too sensibly experience.

AND as a war is once more broke out in this part of the world, a short retrospect of what has formerly passed upon this occasion may possibly contribute to put us upon our guard in our future negotiations, with so wise and so powerful an enemy. To which purpose the sentiments of a noble lord, while the treaty of Utrecht was upon the tapis, should not be rejected—"I hope, said he, that Canada, which we missed gaining in war, will be restored to us at the peace now in agitation, and that Annapolis Royal, which we have recovered, will, with the whole country of Nova Scotia, as far eastward as the island of St. Paul, forever remain to the crown of Great Britain. They originally belonged to it in fact, and do of right now—All that country, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, was seized for the crown, about the close of the fifteenth century, by Sir Sebastian Cabot, grand pilot to our king Henry VII. and by him sent to find out such parts of North America as were left undiscovered by Columbus.

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THE French pretend, indeed, to a discovery of it by John Verrazan, a Florentine, but this was in—— which, being of later date, could give the French no right to it. King James I. therefore, knowing his title to be good, did, in 1621, make a grant of this country to Sir William Alexander (afterwards earl of Sterling) who settled a colony there by the name of Nova Scotia, and held possession of it several years. Yet, upon the marriage of king Charles I. with the lady Henrietta Maria, it was, by order of the king, given up to the French.

IN 1627 and 28, we got it again, and the north side of the river called Canada, was given to Sir David Kirk, who was both proprietor and governor. And the south side (called by the French Acadie) fell again into the hands of Sir William Alexander.

IN 1632, it was again given away, though the king when he found the French had possessed themselves of the whole country, declared publicly, that he had given away only the *forts*, and not the *soil*, and, therefore, attempted to recover it again, but failed: besides, the king of France obliged him to pay, in lieu of the *forts* 5000 l. to Sir David Kirk, which he never did; and his family was thereby ruined.

CROMWELL, weighing the premises, sent colonel Sedgwicke, in 1654, and retook it; and when he made peace with France the fol-

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lowing year, and their ambaffador made prefing instances for the reftitution of it, yet he would not part with it, infifting that it was the ancient inheritance of the crown of England, and did of right belong to it. Whereupon Mr. St. Eftcount, fon and heir to Mr. Claude de la Tour, a French refugee, who bought Nova Scotia of the earl of Sterling, came over to England, and making out his title, had it delivered to him, and then fold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor of it till the reftoration; foon after which, king Charles delivered it up again to the French, and Canada with it, where they both refted, to the unfpeakable los and detriment of the crown and the plantations, till colonel Nickolfon recovered the former—From whence it is evident, that both Canada and Nova Scotia were the antient inheritance of the crown of England—Wherefore, the only queftion is, whether the king of England had power to alienate thefe countries; which, being incorporated into the crown, were parts of the commonwealth, and defcended to them from their anceftors? The civilians, and all that have wrote of the laws of nations, have eftablifhed it as a rule, *non alienandæ funt imperii partes*. They exprefly fay, *That a prince can no more alienate any part of his dominions, than the people may renounce their obedience*—Thus Baldwin, Molina, Bordin, Mattheus Parienfis, Grotius, and Puffendorf,

fendorf. And, for our own laws, Sir Robert Cotton, in his preface to the abridgement of the rolls in the tower, obferves, That our parliaments have in all times, been careful to refume lands alienated from the crown, which they condemned as an undue practice, and, therefore, re-united them.

If then it was wrong to difpofe of lands that were the patrimony of the crown, how much more muft it be to give away the fubjects property, and to alienate part of the empire to a foreign power? If the former were to be inviolable, then the latter, *a fortiori*, muft be facred and unalienable—If it be pleaded, that thefe countries came to the crown by acquisition, and, therefore, may be difpofed of at pleafure; I reply; fure it is, that they were not acquired by Charles the Firft and Second, but came to them by hereditary defcent: and further, that, if acquisition gives a right of alienation, then it is within the prerogative to give or fell Ireland, and all the plantations, to any potentate in Europe, which, I believe, no lawyer in Great Britain will give under his hand for law.

OUR title appears equal on both fides of the river St. Lawrence; that is Canada on the north, and Nova Scotia, or (as the French call it) Acadie, on the fouth. But I muft beg leave to fay, that in point of intereft, the latter is of more confequence to the crown than the former: for, when that is in the French hands, it is a bridle to the eastern parts

parts of New England, where the tall pines grow, which are yearly brought home in the mast-fleet; and, indeed, where there is such a vast quantity of naval stores of all sorts, as is not to be found in any part of the world. I conceive, therefore, that, seeing naval stores are growing scarce and valuable all over Europe, and the strength and glory of our nation depend upon them, and yet we are at the pleasure of the Rus's and the Swedes, whether we shall have them or no, and that at their own excessive prices*; surely we should take care to secure what we have in America, as an inestimable treasure.

BESIDES, if we should leave this country to the French, we shall be defeated of our ends in turning them out of Newfoundland; for they will here find as good a fishery as they left there, and infinitely better harbours, and consequently, will still be able to bring their fish to Europe, and damp our markets, as formerly; and we shall have one fatal disadvantage more by the bargain, in that we remove them from the island to the continent, where they have more room to spread and encrease, to the terror of his Majesty's

* The Swedes, in the year 1710, established a monopoly of pitch and tar, and had their factories at London and Lisbon, &c. and sent the same in their own shipping to foreign markets, and set their own price upon them; which first induced the parliament of England to think of encouraging these things by a bounty, in our plantations.

subjects.

subjects. In a word then, if we do not effectually preserve and maintain every inch of land, which is comprehended under the province of Nova Scotia, our naval stores are gone, our fishery is extremely hurt, and we lose the only opportunity which we probably may ever have, to establish the peace and the security of all the flourishing British colonies on the continent; which I hope her Majesty and her ministry will, in their wisdom, consider."

"THE French (says another gentleman of great attention to these affairs) whom all the world acknowledge to be an enterprising, great, and politic nation, are so sensible of the advantages of foreign colonies, both in reference to empire and trade, that they have used all manner of artifices to lull their neighbours asleep with fine speeches and plausible pretences, whilst they craftily endeavour to compass their designs by degrees, though at the hazard of encroaching on their friends and allies, and depriving them of their territories and dominions in time of profound peace, and contrary to the most solemn treaties—For, besides their seizing on, and settling as they have done, the great river Mississippi, and some parts of the north side of the bay of Mexico, and the claim they clandestinely made to another of our southern colonies, they, in some of their writings boast, that their colony of *Louisiana* hath no other bounds to the north than the *Artic Pole*, and that

that its limits to the West, and North-west are not known much better, but extend to the *South-sea, Japan*, or wheresoever they shall think fit to fix them, if they can be persuaded to fix any at all; intending thereby to deprive the British nation of all that vast tract of land situate between the Gulph of Mexico and Hudson's bay, which includes our province of Carolina (which the French have confidently called Louisiana) the great lake, and the whole country of our five Indian nations, with the furr, the peltry, and the other trade thereof.

WE are sensible what clamours were raised at the concessions made to France, on the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht. There is scarce a man well versed in the interest of trade and plantations, but blamed the then ministry, for not insisting on the surrender of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, for the security of our northern colonies on the continent of America, and the Traffic thereof; nor ought they to have allowed them the possession of *Cape Breton*, if they had well considered or understood the nature of the fishery in those seas.

THE history of former ages, and the experience of these latter times, have informed us, that the French have ever been troublesome neighbours, wheresoever they were seated: historians asserting, that the natural levity and restlessness of their temper, their enterprising genius, and ambition of extending their

their dominions, and raising the glory and grandeur of their monarchs, contribute in a great measure to make them so.—Wherefore, it is to be hoped, that the British nation will be so far from continuing idle spectators of the unreasonable and unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French on the continent of America, that they will let them know, they have enough already of *Canada* and *Cape Breton*; and that it is expected they abandon their new acquisitions on the *Mississippi*, and the Bay of Mexico, that river and country belonging of right to the crown of Great Britain. And, I believe, it will scarce be denied, that, at present, whilst they are weak, and in the infancy, and confusion of their settlements in Louisiana *, we have a much better chance, and are in far better circumstances to put in our claim to, and dispute the right and possession of that and other lands, *than we shall be some years hence, when they have augmented the number of their inhabitants, debauched the natives to their party, and further strengthened themselves by securing with forts and garrisons the passes of the rivers, lakes, and mountains, even though they should not have obtained any advantage over the Spaniards, or enriched themselves with the wealth of Mexico.*

* How timely has this nation been alarmed, and would take no warning!

I MUST acknowledge, that, in case the British nation should be so far infatuated, as not to assert their right to this so noble, and to them so useful and necessary a colony, and endeavour to regain the possession thereof, or secure, at least, so much of it as lies on the back of our plantations, as far westward as the Mississippi: it would be much more eligible, and for their interest, that the Spaniards were masters of it than the French; we not having so much cause to apprehend the same danger, either to our colonies, trade, and navigation, from the first, as from the last; though I am far from admitting the cession of it to either of them, on any terms whatsoever, without an absolute and apparent necessity, &c. And I am apt to think that prudence or policy will or ought to prompt us to keep a balance of power in America, as well as nearer home; and that, as we have, for many years past, found it our interest to check the growing power of France, and set bounds to their dominion in Europe, we shall not easily be induced to allow them to encroach on, and deprive us of our colonies and plantations in America.

It has been said, that the Spaniards heretofore have been very uneasy at the so near neighbourhood of the French on the Mississippi, and are, perhaps, more jealous of the consequences thereof than we are, *though not more so than we ought to be*; and it is presumed,

sumed, that, on a proper application and encouragement, they will join with us to oppose and dispossess them of their settlements here, and in the bay of Mexico, lest they render themselves sole masters of the navigation thereof, and, with the assistance of the Indians, make irruptions into the very heart of their colonies, attack their towns, seize their mines, and fortify and maintain themselves therein."

SHOULD not the present then be the time, when the court of England might convince that of Spain of her danger?—Does not Spain remaining unalarmed, in all appearance too significantly indicate her secret union with France?

AFTER treating of the settlements of the French on the continent of America, it may be useful to make some observations in relation to their other settlements in this part of the world.

In 1701, the French island colonies of Martinique, Guardaloupe, Hispaniola, Cayenne, Grenade, Marie Galante, St. Cruce, Petit Guave, contained 8850 white men, and 45600 blacks, according to the representation of the French council of commerce; but by a calculation made in 1751, the French then had, in the said colonies, upwards of 51500 white men, fit to bear arms, independent of many thousands of sailors employed in the trade of the colonies, and 364800 slaves of both sexes; and since the
encrease

encrease of their colonies, they have encroached upon the English, in settling the islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, Dominico, &c.

THE great aim of the French for many years has been to dupe us by intrigue and treaty in our greatest, even our commercial interests, in several parts of America; for the French encroachments on St. Domingo, being ceded as a right, was thought of little consequence, but it has proved such, that both Spain and Britain have just reason to repent to this day; since, by that means, the Spaniards of that island are become little better than sawers of wood and drawers of water to the French; and our trade to Jamaica has severely felt the establishment of such a power, in the track of navigation through the windward-passage to Europe.

BEFORE the treaty of Utrecht was ratified, and in the very interval between the cessation of arms in Europe, and the time it was to take effect in America, a French squadron was equipped, and dispatched privately, to invade, take and destroy the British Leeward-Islands, as the much-envied rivals of France in the sugar trade; and, first, Antigua was the destined sacrifice, as the principal and most important of these islands to Britain, for excellent harbours and situation in the track of navigation to the other Leeward-Islands, and Jamaica. But Mons. Cassart, who commanded the expedition, failed in the attempt, partly by the vigilance of the inhabitants, and

and partly by some lucky accidents, but *not by our naval power*; and, afterwards, attacking Montserrat, he ruined it so effectually, that it is hardly restored to its former condition to this day.

THE plunder of that island falling very short of the expence of the expedition, and the French having found that open force could not give them a superiority in these islands, have, since the peace of Utrecht, constantly increased their possessions and power, by barefaced encroachments; first, upon Dominico, a fruitful island, in sight of Montserrat, inhabited by Indians, the aborigines of these islands, who, for several generations have been subjects of England, under a commission from lord Gray, and his successors, and the governors of Barbadoes.

IN 1722 the late duke of Montague, having obtained a grant from the crown of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent (two of the Caribbee-Islands, always included for many years in the commissions of the successive governors of Barbadoes, from the kings of England) provided ships, military stores, and much people, at a great expence, to possess those islands: but soon after landing at St. Lucia, they were forced off by the French of Martinico, pursuant to an express order of their monarch. Though, at that juncture, the court of England did not think

it advisable to resent this behaviour of the French, yet his present majesty king George II. sent the following instructions to Henry Worley, Esq; governor and commander in chief of this island, as all his predecessors had been, who were governors of barbadoes.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, &c.

“ Whereas the French have for many years claimed a right to the island of St. Lucia, and do insist, that the right of the islands of St. Vincent and Dominico, under your government, is in the Caribbeans now inhabiting the same; although *we have an undoubted* right to all the said islands, yet we have thought fit to agree with the French courts, that, until *our right be determined*, the said Islands shall be entirely evacuated by both nations. It is, therefore, our will and pleasure, and you are accordingly to signify the same to such of our subjects as shall be found inhabiting any of *our* said islands, that they do quit them till the right shall be determined as aforesaid, within thirty days from the publication hereof in each of the said islands. And you are to use your best endeavours, that no ships whatsoever frequent the said islands, during the time aforesaid, except for wood and water. But it is our will and pleasure, that you do not
“ execute

“ execute this order, until the French governor of Martinico shall have received the like directions from the French court, and shall jointly with you put the same in execution, without exception, &c.

“ 30 Nov. 1730. H. NEWCASTLE.”

FROM these instructions, is it not apparent that the courts of England and France had come to an agreement about the immediate *state* of this island, but not as to their *right*? For does not our sovereign declare explicitly that he looked upon his *right* to be wholly unimpeached by this dispute? And it most certainly was, and still so remains. This will more evidently appear from the French king's letter on this head to the governor of Martinico, dated the 26th of the month following, that the *state* only, not the *right* of the island, was the point settled.

“ Monsieur de Champigny,

“ THE English have, for some time past, formed pretensions to the island of St. Lucia, which belongs to me, and to which I have an incontestable right. They have laid the same pretensions to the islands of St. Vincent, and Dominico, which belong to the Caribbeans, natives of the country, according to the treaty of
M m 2 “ the

“ the 31st of March, 1660, and in the
“ possession of which it is my intention to
“ support them. I have, nevertheless, agreed
“ with the court of England, that, *till the*
“ *pretensions are determined, the said island*
“ *shall be evacuated by both nations, &c.*”

IN order to know the foundation of the pretensions of the court of England to this island, it may be requisite to give a succinct history thereof.

THE French authors, particularly father Labat, say, that before 1637, neither French nor English thought of settling themselves on this island, because of the common attacks they met with from the Caribbeans of the other islands; and that both nations frequented it for catching tortoise, and building canoes, as an island then destitute of governor, fort, or people. But both Labat, and Tertre, another French author, agree, that the English first settled in this island in 1637, and lived here eighteen months, or more, without any disturbance from the natives, or others, till the year 1639, when the savages drove them out, by reason of an act of treachery in an English master of a ship, who kidnapped two of the natives from Dominico, and sold them for slaves. The savages of Martinico and St. Vincent resented this treatment by a massacre of many of the English at Barbadoes and Antigua, and

and afterwards at St. Lucia, where, in the night-time, they killed the governor and most of the inhabitants, plundered the warehouses, and did incredible mischief, which obliged those who escaped to fly to Montserrat. This so terrified the English, that they neglected for some time to resettle.

IN 1664, M. de Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, sent 35 or 40 men from Granada, under M. de Rouffelon, well supplied with ammunition and provision, who took possession of the island, and built a fort. Rouffelon marrying one of their women, became beloved by the natives, and the French, till 1654, enjoyed tranquility.—But Rouffelon dying, and being succeeded by La Riviere, the savages abominating the neighbourhood of the French, resolved to drive them out of the island, and killed that French governor, and others who succeeded him.

IN 1658, Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, sent over a new governor, Mons. Aigremont. In a few months after his arrival, the English attacked the fort, but were beat off: nevertheless the natives killed the French governor in 1660.

IN 1663, the English purchased the island of the natives by a *treaty*, which was brought about by the influence of Mr. Warner, son of the governor of St. Christopher's by a Caribbean woman. That gentleman, to

M m 3 whom

whom the English had given a commission to be governor of Dominico, persuaded his countrymen to sell St. Lucia fairly to the English; and the English, in consequence of such fair purchase, sent fourteen or fifteen hundred men on board of five men of war; who being joined by 6 or 700 Caribbeans in seventeen canoes, under the command of Mr. Warner, came before this island the latter end of June, 1664, and had the fort, which was only of wood, and pallisadoed, delivered to them without resistance, on condition that Mons. Bonnart, then the French governor, with the garrison, which consisted at first but of 14 soldiers, part of whom had deserted, should be transported to Martinico, with their cannon, arms, and baggage.

A BLOODY-FLUX and famine having soon reduced this English colony from 1500 to 89 persons, among whom was the governor, Mr. Cock, and the principal officers, those who survived, abandoned the island the 6th of January, 1666, after setting fire to the fort, and dispersed themselves in the other adjacent colonies.—Two days after, a vessel arrived from the lord Willoughby, governor and captain-general of Barbadoes, and the other English Caribbee islands, to the windward of Guardaloupe with provisions, ammunition, and all necessaries; but the colony was gone.

THOUGH

THOUGH the island was thus deserted, yet even while it remained in that condition, it was always considered as a part of the British dominions, was included in every commission of the governor for the island of Barbadoes; and the governor always asserted his jurisdiction over it by frequently going thither in person with great pomp and solemnity, hoisting the king's colours, firing guns, and making all signs of sovereignty and dominion which are requisite to maintain a national right.

THE French king also, in his treaties with king Charles II. and king James II. and likewise in those of Ryswic and Utrecht, stipulated to restore to the king of Great Britain all the islands, countries, fortresses, and colonies, which may have been conquered by the French king, and such as were in possession of the king of Great Britain before the war began: which implies an apparent concession that the English first possessed this island, and had, consequently, a prior right to it, St. Lucia being included in the words *all the British dominions*. Nor could that right of theirs, we apprehend, be invalidated by their being drove out of it, and murdered by the savages, for the treacherous act of a captain of a merchant ship; much less could such right be destroyed, when it had been ratified and confirmed by

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a fair

a fair and solemn *purchase* from the natives, in whose power alone it was to dispose of the lands and sovereignty.

LABAT the Frenchman, indeed, would insinuate that the English forfeited their right to it, because, for twenty years after they were drove out of it by the Caribbeans, they neglected to send men to it; and though they say Parquet, the French governor of Martinique, made a settlement there, they took no step to oppose him, nor did any thing either on the spot or in Europe, to support their pretensions. But who does not see that this is a bare insinuation only, and does not carry the face of any thing conclusive to prove the defect of our title?

IN 1719, the French king pretended to grant this island to the marshal d'Etrees, who sent a colony to possess, settle, and plant it. But the governor of Barbadoes immediately notified to the commanding officer of the said colony, that, as the island belonged to his Britannic majesty, if the French persisted in settling on it, he should be obliged to dispossess them by force; and, at the same time, our ambassador at Paris represented the matter with so much spirit and justice, as a violation of the rights of his Britannic majesty, that orders were sent to the marshal d'Etrees colony to evacuate the island; which they did accordingly.

THREE

THREE years after this, his late Majesty king George I. granted this island, and that of St. Vincent, as we have seen, to his late grace *John duke of Montague*: and, from the deduction of the particulars before given, it appears plain enough, that the English have an undoubted right to this territory: that the French have been no better than intruders here; and, as such, were obliged to quit it in the reign of her late majesty, as they had before done in that of king Charles II.; since which, our right to this island has been ratified and confirmed by treaties: but the French quitting it in 1719, when the marshal d'Etrees evacuated the same, by express orders of the French king, is an undoubted proof of our claim: for had not their ministers been sensible of their nation's having no just pretensions to St. Lucia, is it to be supposed that they would have tamely given up their settlement, after having exerted so much vigor to prevent ours? And, as it was declared, by the mutual evacuation of this island in 1722-3, that such evacuation could not, or should not, prejudice the claim of either, can it be alledged, with any shadow of justice, to defeat that right, or be at all derogatory from it, though the prosecution of it was for a time, thereby, suspended?

THE

THE chief reason why the French ministry have pretended to dispute our possession of this island is, because of the situation of it being so near to their colonies, that the consequences, which they apprehended would follow from it, put them upon the attempt to settle here, more than any advantages they expected from their possession of it: and the excluding us from this island seems to have answered their ends better perhaps than if it had been absolutely yielded to them: for, as to its value to us, it has been computed that its product and commerce might be brought to yield 200,000 l. a year to this kingdom. And, if it had been settled as intended by the late duke of Montague, and protected with proper forts and garrisons, it would have effectually secured the Leeward islands, and even Barbadoes from invasion of war; since no armament could be made, nor any expedition carried on, by the French at Martinique, against any of these colonies, but must be known at St. Lucia, almost as soon as the design is formed, by reason of its vicinity to that island. If, St. Lucia were well inhabited by the English, the people of Martinique would know their interest better than to enter upon any expedition against Barbadoes, or the Leeward islands, when they had an enemy so near them: for they must needs consider, if their men were sent off that island,

island, to invade the leeward islands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinique, in the absence of their men; and so, if their design was against Barbadoes, the Leeward islands people joining those of St. Lucia, Martinique would be in the same danger; and, by that means, not only our plantations in these parts would be entirely secured by our possession of St. Lucia, but it would, also, be in the power of the English to disturb the French, and not in the power of the French to disturb the English; which ought to be a weighty consideration with the English to maintain their right.

MOREOVER, St. Lucia might be of the greatest advantage to us, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majesty's men of war; because from hence they might, in case of need, continually relieve each other, and keep always cruising on the French, whose vessels would, by this means, be always in danger of being intercepted by the king's ships; and the Martinicans would have no reason to boast, as they have done, that they have maintained their island, in time of war, chiefly by privateering on the English: whereas, if St. Lucia was settled, and proper measures pursued, such mischiefs would not only be prevented for the future, but the English would soon grow too powerful for the French, who,

who, at present, have greatly the advantage of the English in privateering.

THE French, also, used every artifice to prevent our possession of the island of St. Vincent, which was included in the patent of his grace the duke of Montague for St. Lucia. They poisoned the natives in our disfavour, making them believe that we came to enslave them, when our intention was quite otherwise. The like policy has been practised by this nation in regard to Dominico and Tobago.

AND are not the motives to this conduct of the French very apparent? Such is the natural situation of the Caribbee islands, that they run in a chain across that part of the western ocean which terminates upon the continent of South-America. Of that chain Antigua is the northern, and Tobago the southern link. The French being possessed, by right, of Martinique, Guardaloupe, and several small islands in the center; and, by late encroachments, have extended their possession to Dominico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago: so that France has now the whole chain of Caribbee islands *, of any value for

* Barbadoes, being to the eastward, is not mentioned as in the chain of the Caribbee islands; but yet, being one of them, is, from it's nearness to Tobago, in more imminent danger of invasion from that island, whenever it becomes well settled by the French, because an armament may be conveyed from one to the other in a very few hours; for the same reason the trade of Barbadoes must be subject to perpetual interruption from privateers.

extent

extent and harbours, (except Antigua) which are situated in the track of navigation to the coast of the Caraccas and Carthagenia to the southward; and to St. Eustatia, St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, Porto-Bello, and all the coast of New Spain, from thence to the bay of Mexico, and Mississippi, to the northward. What, therefore, can hinder the French, in time of war, from intercepting all the navigation from Europe, in the passages to these several ports, whenever the naval power of France is brought to an equality with ours? more, especially, if Antigua should also fall under their dominion, which is far from being impossible, if it's great port, called English harbour (the best of any in that part of the world for the reception and security of a British squadron) is not well fortified, and the Leeward islands powerfully protected by our royal navy. For, if Antigua should be lost, or it's best harbour ruined, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, and all the lesser islands to the westward of them, must, for want of harbours and protection, fall of course into the hands of our enemies. In that case, of what value can Jamaica be to this kingdom, when our fleets cannot pass thither without a convoy, superior to the naval power of France? And what trade can bear the immense expence of such convoys? Can Britain with safety, therefore, rest satisfied.

fied under the usurpations of France, and, by that means, give it the power of intercepting all the trade of Europe to America?

Thus it evidently appears, what influence these encroachments of France here also will have upon the whole trade and navigation of America in time of war. But this is not all our misfortune; for by these possessions the French, *even in times of peace*, cut off all supplies of hard timber, without which it is impossible to carry on the sugar-works of Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, but at immense expence, from the far distant colonies of the Dutch on the continent of South-America, Berbice and Essequibe: for neither Barbadoes nor the Leeward islands now produce large hard timber, fit for these purposes, nor even small timber enough fit for carts, and other carriages necessary for plantation use; and, therefore, *Barbadoes* has, for many years, been supplied with a good share of such timber from St. Lucia and Tobago, and the leeward islands from Dominico, till the French have pretended to lay claim to it.

As the British dominions in North-America cannot furnish timber proper for these uses *, and none now is to be had but from

* Oak, or other timber of cold countries, splits in the hot climates, and soon decays; besides being subject to be eaten to a honey-comb, by animals called *wood-ants*, more destructive of wood on shore, than worms are to the bottom of ships when in harbour.

the

the Dutch, at a great distance, it follows, that the very existence of the British sugar-colonies must depend upon the courtesy of the Dutch, and that courtesy bought at their own price, besides the expence of a longer voyage; or else we must possess ourselves immediately of all those islands which the French have unjustly usurped a right to. If this is not done, our sugar-colonies must be ruined for want of supplies of timber, even in times of peace (as has been observed) and France will, by that means, *engross the sugar-trade of the world* †.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the agreements made with the French in regard to the evacuation and neutrality of St. Lucia, &c. yet even before they declared in favour of the Spaniards in the last war, they seized the island of St. Lucia as *their own* in 1744, and sent a governor to it, and a number of men, and 40 cannon, from 12 to 48 pounders, and have since fortified it with two forts, besides batteries; and they have now between 2000 and 3000 white people upon it, and seem resolved to maintain this island, as well as Dominico and St. Vincent, although, according

† That the French have, for many years past, supplanted us in the sugar-trade at foreign markets, is certain. By what measures they gradually and insensibly did this, and greatly encreased the trade and navigation of their island colonies in general, may be easily inferred from their American policy, as we shall display it.

to

to the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle; they are obliged to evacuate the same.

BEFORE the present war the French had about 2000 white men, being French, English, and Danes, besides Indians, under a French governor, at Dominico, and erected several sugar-works on that island, and raised great quantities of sugar, indigo, cotton, and other West-India products, on this island, as well as on St. Lucia.

THEY peopled also St. Vincent's, and intermarried with the natives. They raised great quantities of tobacco, corn, and coffee, on this island: and they obtained such an ascendancy over these Indians, as to make proclamation in that island, that no English, Dutch, or Danes, should have any commerce with that island without a protection from the general of Martinique.

THEY also fortified and settled Tobago before the present war, in spite of our naval force in these parts *, and insisted on its belonging

* The following instructions were given to Robert Lowther, Esq; on the 23d of February, 1714 15, when he was appointed governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominico, and St. Vincent, and the rest of his majesty's Caribbee islands to the windward of Guardaloupe; which instructions have been continued to the several governors of Barbadoes since that time. Inst. 106. " If any of the subjects of a foreign power, or state, have already planted themselves upon any of the islands of St. Lucia, Dominico, St. Vincent, or Tobago, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same, you are to assert our right to the said islands, exclusive of
" all

longing to the French king. From this last-mentioned island they may invade Barbadoes in one stretch, and in one night, as it lies southwardly of Barbadoes, distance about 30 leagues.

THESE attempts of our rivals in times of peace were certainly undertaken with a design to supplant the English in all their sugar colonies, because they had before lands in their hands sufficient to raise West-India products wherewith to supply all Europe and America.

DID not this conduct of the French require the utmost attention? for before the present war, was it not of the utmost ill consequence to the British nation, by reason, as observed, of their situation? The harbour of Petite Carcenage in St. Lucia, will hold double the number of ships and other vessels

" all others; and in order to hinder the settlement of any colony there, you are to give notice to such foreigners that shall pretend to make such settlement, that, unless they shall remove in such time as you in your discretion shall assign, you shall be obliged by force to dispossess them, and send them off the said island."

This instruction has been looked upon, in time of peace, as insufficient with regard to our naval force, since the commanders of his majesty's ships of war have no direction from the lords of the admiralty to act in pursuance of the said royal instructions.

Inst. 109. " You are not to encourage any planting, nor to grant to any person any lands or tenements which are now, or hereafter shall be, in our power to dispose of in any of our islands under your government, except Barbadoes, until you shall receive further orders from us therein."

that ever were in all the Caribbee-Islands at any one time, and is capable of being made as strong as Louisbourg in the island of Cape-Breton, as it may be fortified so as to make it impracticable for any vessel to force it without being sunk, or torn to pieces. This will give the French such a balance of power, and such an increase of strength in that part of the world, as to endanger the loss of Barbadoes and the Leeward-Islands; and then Jamaica, on which they have long had an invidious eye, must of course become a sacrifice, as that island alone cannot withstand such a growing power, and additional strength, as must naturally be the case by neglecting this important island of St. Lucia, together with Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. What must then be the inevitable doom of our northern colonies and fisheries in America, without our British sugar colonies? And, to carry the consequence in its natural gradation, what will become of our British trade to Africa and America? Must it not unavoidably fall into the hands of the French, under the protection of a Louisbourg in Cape-Breton, in the north; and in the south, another Louisbourg of St. Lucia? If this comes to pass, will not the dominion of the seas necessarily fall into the French hands?

ACCORDING to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, it is stipulated; in the ninth article, as follows, viz.

“ THEIR

“ THEIR Britannic and Most Christian majesties oblige themselves to cause to be delivered, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the duplicates of the orders addressed to the commissaries appointed to restore and receive respectively whatever may have been conquered, on either side in the West-Indies; and *every thing besides* shall be re-established on the foot that they were, or *ought to be*, before the present war.

“ THE said respective commissaries shall be ready to set out on the first advice that their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties shall receive of the exchange of the ratifications, furnished with all necessary instructions, commissions, powers, and orders, for the most expeditious accomplishment of their said majesties intentions, and of the engagements taken by the present treaty.”

THE islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, were, *or ought to have been*, neutral, at the time of this treaty, according to a formal evacuation, by commissaries appointed in Barbadoes and Martinique, to repair to St. Lucia for that purpose, in pursuance of express orders from their Britannic and Most Christian majesties, as before-mentioned. The island of Tobago remained as it was before the late war, at the time of the treaty; but was, in barefaced violation thereof,

of,

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of, settled by the French in January, 1749-50, under the protection of two French ships of war, which were sent from Brest for that purpose: and, therefore, were not the French obliged by treaty forthwith to have evacuated this island? As they did not do it, is it not plain they never intended it?

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Kingdom from an Union with IRELAND.

B Y

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AUTHOR of the

UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY of TRADE and COMMERCE, &c.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
MARQUIS of GRANBY,

Major-General of His Majesty's Forces,
and one of the Knights of the Shire
for the County of CAMBRIDGE.

MY LORD,



It is the duty of every true friend to his country to exert himself to the utmost, according to his talents, in the public service, in such perilous times as the present are. Though my ta-

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[iv]

lents are cut out only for writing for the interest and honour of the nation, they may not be less necessary and useful to the state than the abilities of those who are formed to serve it in any other capacity.

YOUR Lordship, as well as His Grace your father, having honoured me with your patronage of my Dictionary of Commerce, and the following political Dissertations, corroborating and extending many parts of what is therein urged, they have a sort of claim to Your Lordship's countenance and protection: nor could I, consistent with that high regard and veneration that I have professed for your noble family, have addressed those discourses to others.

THERE are other motives too, My Lord, for requesting Your Lordship to accept of this fresh testimony of my regard. Your Lordship, like the noble duke your father, is esteemed and beloved by all parties; and as this treatise tends to promote an happy union

[v]

union amongst any ministry that shall be appointed, Your patronizing of this work will convince the administration that Your Lordship is a friend to that union, concord, and harmony that are so necessary at present to the prosperity and glory of the nation.

THIS work, My Lord, may be considered as a kind of *political chart*, whereby the rulers of the kingdom may steer clear of those rocks and shoals whereon their predecessors have unhappily struck.

I WILL not presume to tell Your Lordship that the chart is complete. If it shall be found pretty correct, as far as I have extended it, I may be excited to make further efforts to render the same as perfect as I am able; and I assure Your Lordship that I have great materials for the purpose; some of which I have had the honour to shew you; and Your Lordship knows that I do not want application, and I hope my health will permit me to spend the remainder of my life for the interest of my country.

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[vi]

BUT there are many things, which the course of my studies has led me to, that are by no means proper to be made public, they giving the enemy advantage over us; for that, Your Lordship well knows, which will do great public service, may be converted to do no less public injury. These things I reserve, as being fit only to be laid before the administration in manuscript; and I hope Your Lordship will act in concert with His Grace your father, that my good intentions may produce the desired effect. I am, with the highest veneration,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and

Obedient servant,

MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT.



C O N T E N T S

TO THE

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

DISSERTATION XX.

The system of policy pursued by France, from the year 1701, to the present time, in relation to her AMERICAN AFFAIRS; whereby it will appear by what steady measures that nation has become so powerful in that part of the world; being an abridgment of their statutes, with respect to those colonies; extracted from their royal ordonnances, edicts, and arrets; with suitable observations thereon, interesting to these kingdoms. p. 1.

DISSERTATION XXI.

The system of the French with regard to their African trade; wherein will appear, by what

C O N T E N T S.

what measures they have become so successful therein, and they have had so greatly the advantage over us. p. 112

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXII.

Another view of the French management of their African trade, and the foundation they have laid to obtain the whole dominion in this commerce. p. 157

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXIII.

A summary view of the commerce of France in the East Indies, and by what practice and gradations they have encreased the same. p. 173

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXIV.

Of the policy of England with regard to her management of the African trade; with considerations how the same might have been better conducted, and far more extended for the general interest of the nation; with a further comparison between our management and that of France, respecting the same: and by what means our East-India company may be rendered instrumental to the security and advancement of this commerce. p. 200

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXV.

Farther considerations on the African trade, and our East-India company; shewing wherein the latter may prove conducive, by having the trade to Africa annexed to it, as proposed in the preceding dissertation, to enable Great Britain the better to maintain the balance of trade and power against France in Africa, America, and the East-Indies. p. 230

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXVI.

The encrease of the naval power of France and Spain by means of their fisheries, and of the necessity of England's balancing that degree of naval power, by the carrying of her fisheries to the full extent they will admit of. p. 274

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXVII.

Of the European commerce of France. p. 305

D I S S E R T A T I O N XXVIII.

Of navigation, and fisheries, as they contribute to give the balance of commerce and power. p. 318

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

DISSERTATION XXIX.

Of stationing convoys and cruizers for the security and protection of our own trade and navigation, and for the annoying those of the enemy. p. 339

DISSERTATION XXX.

The ill policy of our insuring the ships and merchandizes of the enemy in times of war: with considerations on neutral powers. p. 344

DISSERTATION XXXI.

An enquiry how long France may be presumed to carry on the war from the present state of affairs. p. 353

DISSERTATION XXXII.

Some general maxims regarding the advancement of the national commerce, as founded on experience, and the opinion of the most knowing and judicious. p. 366

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

DISSERTATION XXXIII.

Of arts, and manufactories. p. 392

DISSERTATION XXXIV.

An enquiry into the reasons for Holland changing her system of late years towards the court of England; being an abstract of a certain remarkable speech said to be made at a conference by the G———d P———r of Holland, in the year, 1742, before certain British lords, who were sent on an embassy to engage them in British measures: with remarks, shewing that Holland expects Great Britain should change her system towards that republic, before she can alter hers. p. 428

DISSERTATION XXXV.

Of the conduct of the court of Spain towards that of Great Britain since the peace of Utrecht; with considerations on the extraordinary friendship that we may reasonably expect from that nation at present. p. 462.

D I S-

C O N T E N T S.

DISSERTATION XXXVI.

Of the necessity of Great Britain being more closely connected and allied with the continent than she ever has been, though upon quite different principles, and not at such an expence, in times of war, as has been the case heretofore. p. 507

DISSERTATION XXXVII.

Some general principles whereon the balance of trade is founded; with the application thereof to the present work, in a recapitulation of it's contents; the consideration of which is earnestly recommended to public regard; in order to throw the balance of trade so effectually into the hands of Great Britain as to put the constant balance of power of Europe into her hands also. p. 525

P O L I-



P O L I T I C A L
DISSERTATIONS

O N T H E

British trade, and commerce, and other interesting subjects, &c.

DISSERTATION XX.

The system of policy pursued by France, from the year 1701, to the present time, in relation to her AMERICAN AFFAIRS; whereby it will appear by what steady measures that nation has become so powerful in that part of the world; being an abridgment of their statutes, with respect to those colonies; extracted from their royal ordonnances, edicts, and arrets; with suitable observations thereon, interesting to these kingdoms.



HAVING, in our preceding dissertations, delineated with all brevity the formidable views of France in America, it will be necessary to point out the gradual steps whereby those mighty things are proposed to be accomplished

VOL. II.

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[2]

plished by the French court; for when all these things are *connectedly* laid properly before us, with their whole conjunctive force, we shall be the better capable of defeating those destructive designs, wherewith this nation is at present threatened.

THAT we may have the requisite evidence before us, whereby a right judgment may be made of the matter, it will be proper to take a retrospect of the state of the French islands and other colonies before 1701; and we can depend on no accounts thereof more authentic than those given by the French board of trade themselves, in their memorial to the royal council; which is as follows, viz.

“ WHEN once, says the board, this commerce shall be well established [meaning that of the sugar islands] and our colonies shall be sufficiently stocked, it will not be difficult for us to imitate the English of Jamaica in the traffic they have with the Spaniards. We may, by the way of St. Domingo, trade in negroes: by favour of that trade, we might vend great quantities of our goods and manufactures to the Spaniards of the neighbouring islands, and on the coast of the continent, and might get of them a great deal of gold and silver in exchange*. The grand
occur-

* In consequence hereof, before the peace of Utrecht, the French had the *Asiento* for supplying the Spanish West-Indies with negroes; which proved the means of introducing immense

[3]

occurrence of the union of France and Spain gives us hopes of an open commerce, and

immense quantities of the French manufactures into Spanish America. But when they had greatly enriched themselves thereby, and so overdone this trade as to render it good for nothing to any successor, they very wisely transferred the *Asiento*, by the treaty of Utrecht, to our English South-Sea company; and what the company and the nation got by it, as it was modelled and conducted, is too well known to need explanation. But here it may be needful to prevent a mistake in the reader, lest he should apprehend, that our obtaining a proper *Asiento* from Spain; and that conducted as it ought to be, must necessarily prove a disadvantageous contract. On the contrary, it might easily be shewn to be quite otherwise, as well to the crown of Spain as Great Britain, and might prove the cement of great friendship between those two kingdoms. And before the late peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, and the affair of the South-Sea company were settled, I was desired by a certain person of distinction to state the nature of such a new *Asiento*, in order to lay before a certain great man; which I did, and the consequence thereof will appear in my memoirs of the transactions of that certain great man.

To such a degree did the French trade in the South-Seas, by virtue of their *Asiento*, that they were enabled, by a computation made from the several registers in Spain, and remittances otherwise made (according to authentic intelligence now lying before me) to import into the French dominions TWO HUNDRED AND FOUR MILLIONS OF PIECES OF EIGHT; which reduced the Spanish West Indies to such a degree of misery, as obliged the viceroy of Peru to present a memorial to his Catholic Majesty, representing the grievances under which the trade laboured, by the French being permitted and encouraged in the carrying on such a destructive trade in the South-Seas; which had, according to the words of the Spanish memorial, occasioned—The whole trade to be at a stand—The treasure of the kingdom to disperse different ways—All commercial negotiations to be embarrassed—The merchants to be ruined—The subjects to be miserable—The quinto's (or king's duties of one-fifth) to be decreased—The duties in general to be misapplied—The public revenue in general dissipated—The traders in general to become beggars—And the French reaping all the benefit.

an easy correspondence, which may enable us to undertake any thing. We have a great many ships which lie useless in our ports, and are rotting for want of employment. The intendants of the maritime provinces can attest this truth: it is grievous to the king's subjects to see their shipping perish thus, while they might make good use of them, had they the liberty which they desire.

THEN follow the measures prescribed by this board, in order to establish the sugar-trade of France, and divers other things essentially necessary to their general commerce.

"IT is necessary to represent, continue the board, that the duties which were settled by the arrets of the 20th of June, 1698, on the white sugars imported from the islands, at 15 livres, over and above the 3 per cent. duty to the domaine of the west, are too high, and prejudicial to the commerce of France, and advantageous to the trade of foreigners, for the reasons following:

I. THE Portugal sugars, which are imported into France, pay but 15 livres the hundred weight, and are exempted from the duty of 3 per cent. of the western domaine, which those of our colonies pay.

II. HIGH duties hinder great consumption; the dearer any thing is, the more sparing are people in using it; this is contrary to the design of improving the colonies. Besides, it

it is certain, that when sugars come to sink in their price, they cannot bear so high a duty: it will, therefore, be expedient to reduce the duty of 15 livres to 8, and the duty on brown from 3 livres to 30 sols; for, at this very time, white sugars are worth but from 25 to 30 livres the hundred weight, and the brown from 12 to 13 livres.

III. WHEN the crop of sugars shall be in any degree plentiful, the enterpost ought to be allowed, to favour the vending of it, and carrying of the over-stock to foreigners. In Holland the brown sugars pay but 20 sols, and the white but 30 sols; it would therefore be convenient to reduce the duties in France to such a foot, that our sugars might be carried out with the same advantages as those of other nations.

THE royal council seems to have designed to remedy these inconveniences, by the arret of the 28th of June, 1698, which allows the carrying directly to foreign parts clayed and refined sugars, paying only the 3 per cent. duty of the western domaine.

BUT the execution of this arret would be prejudicial to the state, because the French ships, going directly from the American island to foreign ports, are necessitated, after they have unladen, to refit; this creates expence, money must be laid out in subsisting the ships companies, and in revictualling to return to France. This is consuming foreign commodities; our carpenters, sail-

[6]

makers, rope-makers, and other mechanics, who work to the sea, are deprived of the profits, which they would reap, if the ships made their voyage directly back to France.

THE crews oblige the captains to pay them their wages, it cannot be avoided, the cargo being a security for the wages of the seamen; this money is dissipated among foreigners in debauchery, and their families, which are in France, are deprived of their subsistence; in a word, this practice will ruin our navigation, instead of increasing it.

IV. THE mismanagement of the clerks (or agents) of the farmers, is very prejudicial to the commerce; they make a difficulty to return the duties (or pay the drawbacks) which they are obliged to do, when the sugars refined in France are sent out of the kingdom: they take advantage of their authority, and of the protection with which the council honours them; the length and charge of the proceedings discourage the merchants.

V. PROVISION should be made by proper regulations, against the frauds which the inhabitants of the islands are apt to commit. Care has been already taken to correct those which they used in making of sugars, by ordering every one to put his mark on the casks with a hot marking-iron, in order to discover and proceed against the culpable: it is necessary to oblige every one of the inhabitants to keep in his house a good beam

[7]

beam and scales, with weights of lead or iron, marked according to the standard, and to forbid them to make use of stillards and weights of stone. It is likewise necessary to oblige the director, who was paid a duty for weighing after the rate of one per cent. for all goods, though he does not weigh them, to send every year an expert master-weigher, with brass weights, and other necessaries, for ascertaining, and marking according to the standard, all the weights of the inhabitants, making them pay for the materials added to defective weights, and this for remedying the frequent abuses which are committed by false weights.

THE deputies are obliged to observe further to the royal council, that, for three or four years past, a duty is levied at St. Domingo of two sols per livre on indigo shipped off there. This novelty is the more pernicious, because that drug serves for dying our manufactures in blues or blacks, and because we make a considerable traffic thereof to the north. It is of great importance for the royal council to be pleased to take off this duty, which is capable of ruining the cultivation of this drug, which is very near as good as that of Guatamala.

VI. IT might be proper to add to the regulation by which the council enjoins every ship to carry a certain number of lads or fellows, who hire themselves to service for augmenting the colonies, which might be taken

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out of the Hotel Dieu, and maids brought up to, and expert in manufactures, to be married to the hired men-servants after they have served out their times; and to forbear sending the common prostitutes, who are more likely to corrupt and infect the country, than to people it; and, as there are abundance of beggars in France able to work, who live in perfect idleness, it would be essential to order the justices to cause numbers of them to be taken up, and shipped off to our colonies.

VII. LASTLY, it would be convenient to establish four consular jurisdictions, in the islands of St. Domingo, St. Christopher, Martinico, and Guardeloupe, in the nature of those established in France: they might be composed of one judge and four consuls, who might decide sovereignly all causes to the sum of —, and for the greater sums, give a liberty of appeal to the sovereign court of the place.

ABOUT forty years ago the French were little versed in commerce, and little skilled in navigation. In those days it was necessary to form companies, and to grant them privileges, in order to engage them to beat out, for the king's subjects, tracks of commerce which were unknown to them. It is expedient and very beneficial to the state to act in the like manner, as often as new settlements of colonies, clearing and cultivating of new discovered places, or new inventions are proposed;

posed; yet, in these cases, the privileges ought not to be granted but for a certain number of years: but, unless on such occasions, nothing is more destructive to a state than exclusive privileges."

No man of sense, can read these sentiments of the French deputies of commerce, which they laid before the royal council, but must applaud them, they being so well adapted to the advancement of colonies, especially, in their infancy, as it were: nay, we find, from the sense of these deputies themselves, that the whole trade of France was then but in it's infant state; for they acknowledge, that, about forty years before this, the French were little versed in commerce, and little skilled in navigation: and, although England has had the start of them in trade and navigation by some ages, yet we experience, that they have already overtaken us. Could they have possibly effectuated these great things, if the laws and regulations of their trade, and the encouragements they have constantly given within this century, were not exquisitely well calculated to answer the end proposed? They had the advantage, indeed, of our laws for their guidance; and they have shewed as much sagacity in imitating the best, as in rejecting the worse: whereby they have, in many respects, improved in their laws and regulations of commerce and navigation upon ours; and, if there is any thing importantly useful to be borrowed from

from them in our turn, it is to be hoped, that we shall not be so unwise as to condemn it, because it is of French production.

Regulations concerning hired servants, and fire-arms, exported by merchantmen to the French colonies in America and New France. November 16, 1716, registered in parliament.

Of hired or articed servants.

A R T I C L E I.

ALL captains of merchantmen that shall go to the French colonies of America, and New France, or Canada, excepting those in the negro trade, shall be obliged to carry thither hired servants; viz. a ship of 60 tons, and under, shall carry three hired servants; from 60 to 100, four ditto; and, from 100 and upwards, six hired servants.

2. The terms of carrying these servants shall be mentioned in the permission given by the admiral to the captain for sailing.

3. Those servants shall be between the age of 18 and 43, none less than four feet in stature, strong, fit to work, and shall serve three years.

4. Such servants shall be examined by the officers of the admiralty at the port from whence the ships shall sail, and those shall be rejected who are not qualified according to

to the preceding article, and of a good constitution.

5. The particular characteristics of the servants shall be minuted in the ship's book.

6. Such of them that are handicrafts-men and mechanics, useful to the colonies, shall be accounted as two, and the trade each is of shall be specified.

7. The captains of such merchantmen, as soon as arrived, shall deliver them to the commissary appointed for the purpose, who shall examine whether they answer the descriptions required, and are the identical persons who embarked.

8. The captains and inhabitants of the colonies shall agree upon the price; but, if they cannot agree, the commissaries shall oblige those inhabitants that have not the number of hired servants required by the ordinances, to take them, and settle the price.

9. The captains shall bring a certificate from the commissioners, testifying the said servants to be the same as embarked.

10. The captains, on their return to France, shall produce the said certificate to the officers of the admiralty.

11. The captains and owners of ships shall be absolutely condemned in the penalty of 200 livres for every such articed servant not carried to the colonies, without appeal.

Of

Of fire-arms.

ARTICLE I.

All captains of merchantmen who shall sail to the island colonies in America, and New France, or Canada, except those who are concerned in the negro-trade, shall be obliged to carry thither in each vessel four buccaneer-guns, or four fuses for hunting, mounted with brass.

2. The condition upon which these guns may be carried, shall be inserted in the permission given by the admiral for such ships to sail.

3. These buccaneer-guns shall be four feet four inches long, light, and carry balls of 18 to the mark pound weight.

4. The fuses for hunting shall be four feet long, and light.

5. The said captains shall, on arrival in the colonies, deposit the said arms into the king's arsenal where they shall land, in order to be examined and proved in the governor's presence.

6. If any piece shall not hold in the proof, the captain shall be fined 30 livres.

7. The said 30 livres shall be immediately laid out by the governor in buccaneer-hunting-guns, and distributed to the poor inhabitants.

8. The said captains shall leave the said arms till they are sold, or till the governor shall

shall have distributed them among the companies of the militia; in which case he, in concert with the intendant or commissary, shall order payment for the same.

9. The captains shall take a certificate from the governor, attested by the intendant, of the sending back such guns, and of the sum paid on account of not standing proof.

10. They shall also be obliged, on their return to France, and in making their declaration, to carry with them the said certificate to the officers of the admiralty.

11. The captains and owners of such merchantmen shall be condemned by the officers of the admiralty in 50 livres fine for every such gun that they shall omit to carry into the colonies, without appeal.

Of prosecutions and fines.

ARTICLE I.

ALL prosecutions, occasioned in disregard to the said regulations, shall be undertaken by the king's solicitor of the admiralty.

2. The fines made to the admiralty shall belong to the admiral; and those made by the marble-table, the one half shall go to the admiralty, the other to the king, according to the ordinance of 1681.

THE governors, intendants, or commissaries in the colonies, shall jointly transmit an account every half-year to the council of marine,

rine, of the number of articed servants and guns that every merchant shall send to the colonies, of the fums paid for defective arms, and how the arms have been employed.

In consequence of which, letters patents were granted by the king, in the manner we have before given instances of, to cause the said regulations to be duly observed in his dominions.

It is obvious enough, from the least reflection, that, (1) The intention of the preceding regulations is, to people the French colonies with a number of whites proportionate to that of blacks, that the latter might not be an over-match for the former, and disturb the plantations with insurrections. (2) That, by sending over French workmen, as articed servants, is to render labour cheaper in the plantations, and so far to instruct the negroes in such workmanship as may render them the more serviceable to the planters. And, (3) To accustom the people to the use of arms, as well to defend their colonies at the least expence to the crown, as to train them to hunting, and that not only to supply them with food at the least expence, but for the sake of the peltry trade in New France, or Canada, which is the essential article of that commerce.

Marine

Marine laws to be observed in all the ports of the islands and French colonies, wherever situated. Of January the 12th, 1717.

Of the judges of the admiralty, and their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE I.

THERE shall be, for the future, judges appointed, well skilled in MARITIME AFFAIRS in all the French colonies, and in all places where the French have settlements, called officers of the admiralty, distinct from the civil ones, who shall conform themselves according to the ordinances made in 1681, and other marine laws.

THE king's * lieutenants and sollicitors cannot be admitted till 25 years of age; if they are not graduates, yet that shall be dispensed with, provided they have a competent knowledge of the maritime laws and ordinances, in which they shall undergo an examination before admittance.

Of the methods of proceeding in the courts of admiralty and their judgments.

DEMANDS for the payment of part, or all a ship's cargo, ready to sail to France from

* A lieutenant, in this sense, is a magistrate that presides in the courts of admiralty, to see that the royal edicts, ordinances, &c. are duly put in execution.

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the colonies, shall be tried *summarily*, and executed, notwithstanding an appeal, and the detainers of such merchandises shall be compelled by the fail of their effects, and even by the detention of their person, to discharge their obligation, &c.

Of granting permissions for sailing, and reports relating thereunto.

No vessel shall sail from the ports and havens of the colonies, and other French establishments, either to return into France, or to pass from one colony to another, without permission or licence from the admiral, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, &c.

THE masters of ships whose ordinary navigation lies in carrying sugars, or other merchandises, from one port to another in the same island, as also those who navigate from island to island, and go from Martinico to the islands of Guardeloupe, Grenade, Grenadins, Tobago, Mary Galante, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, St. Alouzie, and St. Vincent, St. Dominico, and those that go from the island of Cayenne to the province of Guiana, to the coast of St. Domingo, and to the island of Tortuga, shall take licences from the admiralty, which shall be granted to them for one year.

THOSE who carry on trade from the Isle Royal, or Cape Breton, from port to port, or who go to the adjacent islands, as the island of Sable to that in the gulph of St. Lawrence,

rence, and to the coasts of the said gulph, shall likewise take out licences from the admiralty, which shall be granted them for one year; but, if they come to Quebec, they shall take out a new licence.

THE masters of the said ships, before receiving their licences, shall give security not to go into any island, or to any foreign coast, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, and a fine of 300 livres.

THE masters of ships, who shall trade in the river and gulph of St. Lawrence, shall also take licences from the admiral, which shall be granted them for a year; and those that shall go from Quebec to Cape Breton shall do the same.

LICENCES for fishing shall not be granted without the consent of the governors, who shall take cognizance of that branch of trade, that it is not abused by trading with foreigners.

ALL masters of ships arriving in the colonies and other French settlements, shall be obliged to make their report to the lieutenant-general of the admiralty, 24 hours after their arrival, on pain of suffering an arbitrary fine.

EXCEPTING only those, who arriving at Cape Breton on the fishery account, for they may enter into the ports and havens where there is no admiralty; in which case they shall make their report at the nearest place where there is a court of admiralty, and that

within one month or more from the time of their arrival, under the same penalty.

HIS majesty forbids all masters of ships from unloading any merchandises before making their report, unless in case of imminent danger, on pain as well of corporal punishment, as confiscation of the merchandises so unloaded.

THE king's sollicitor of every court of admiralty shall be obliged, at the end of every year, to send to the admiral a state of the officers of the admiralty of their jurisdiction, and of whatever has occurred of importance, as likewise a list of the ships arrived there, with the day of their arrival, and of their departure, according to the manner that shall be prescribed them.

ALL merchants, masters, and captains of ships, are forbid navigating in the American seas, to carry on any commerce with foreigners or to land with this intent on the coast or islands of their settlements, under pain the first time, of confiscation of ship and cargo, and, in case of repetition, the masters and sailors shall be sent to the galleys.

THE masters and pilots, in making their report, shall represent their licences, declare the time and place of their departure, and the loading of their ships, the course they have steered, the hazards they run, the accidents happened to their vessel, and every circumstance relating to their voyage.—They shall also represent the journal of their voyage, which shall

shall be returned to them, if desired, by the officers of the admiralty, within eight days, and without any expence, after they shall have extracted whatever is requisite to render the said navigation more secure *, of which they shall take care to give an account to the admiral every three months.

THE captains and masters of ships who arrive from the French colonies in the ports of France, shall be obliged, in making their report, in what manner they were received in the colonies, how justice was administered to them, and what charges and averages they were obliged to pay from their arrival to their departure: his majesty commands the officers of the admiralty to interrogate the masters and captains upon these particulars; to receive the complaints of the passengers and sailors, who have any to make †, and to direct a verbal process thereof, which shall be made, in order to be sent to the admiral of France.

Of the visiting of ships.

ON the arrival of ships, the officers of the admiralty shall visit them, according to the edict of 1711. They shall take account with

* This is certainly a very judicious regulation, and tends greatly to the security of navigation.

† This also is mightily well calculated for the regulation of navigation.

what merchandises they are laden, what failors they have, what passengers they have brought, and they shall signify the day of the ship's arrival, and shall verbally give an account thereof.

THE visitation of ships intended to return to France, shall be made before their loading is taken in, by the officers of the admiralty, with an approved carpenter, and in presence of the master, who shall be obliged to assist therein, under pain of an arbitrary fine, to examine if the vessel is in fit condition for the voyage intended.—They shall likewise examine into all the ship's tackle, and every thing thereunto belonging, excepting the failors and the provisions, and this before one or two captains appointed for that purpose by the officers of the admiralty, in order to know whether the ship is fit for the voyage in all respects; and the masters of ships who are preparing for their loading shall be obliged to apprise the officers of the admiralty thereof, two days before they begin so to do, under the penalty, for disregard hereof, of the expence of unloading the said ship, and re-loading of another*.

THEY shall also take the declaration of the master, with regard to the quantity and quality of the provisions, in order to judge whe-

* Is not this exquisite policy, for many reasons that will naturally occur to the judicious reader?

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ther they are competent to the length of the voyage, and the number of failors and passengers.

IF two thirds of the failors make declaration against the master of the ship and the purveyor, that the provisions are not of good quality, or that there is not the quantity mentioned in the master's declaration, the officers of the admiralty shall testify the same: and, in case the declaration proves false, the master and the purveyor shall be each condemned in the fine of 100 livres, and to take the provisions themselves as shall be ordered, which shall be prosecuted by the solicitor of the admiralty, and of another whom the failors shall nominate, &c.

THE officers of the admiralty shall prepare a verbal process of the condition of the ship, of the tackle and the provisions; a copy of which shall be delivered to the masters, who are obliged to represent the same to the admiralty at the place of their return, under the penalty of an arbitrary fine.

THEN follow letters patents of the same date, ratifying the foregoing, and ordering the strict execution thereof; of the nature of which, as we have given instances before, we shall not repeat the same.

THE king's letters patent, concerning the regulations for the commerce of the French colonies, of the month of April, 1717.

A R T I C L E I.

THE armaments of ships intended to sail to the said island colonies, shall be made in the ports of Calais, Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, St. Malo, Morlaix, Brest, Nantes, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Cette.

2. MERCHANTS, who shall fit out ships in the ports of the cities aforesaid, for the French islands and colonies, shall give security to the secretary of the admiralty, whereby they shall be bound under the penalty of ten thousand livres to cause their ships to return directly from the colonies into the same port from which they sailed, unless otherwise compelled by stress of weather or shipwreck; and the merchants shall cause such securities to be deposited in the farmer of the revenue's office.

3. All provisions and merchandises, either of the production or fabrication of the kingdom of France, even silver plate, wines and brandies of Guyenne, or other provinces, designed to be exported to the French island colonies, shall be exempted from all duties of exportation and importation, as well from those of the provinces of the five great farms, as of those reputed foreign provinces; and likewise from all local duties, in carrying merchan-

chandises from one province to another, and in general from all other duties, which tend to our advantage, those only excepted, which relate to the general farm of aids, &c.

4. All warlike ammunition, provisions, and other things necessary, bought in the kingdom for the victualling and fitting out of ships appointed for the French islands and colonies, shall enjoy the same exemption from duties.

5. The provisions and merchandises of the kingdom, appointed for the French islands and colonies, and coming from one sea-port to another in the kingdom, shall be, upon their arrival in the ports, where intended to be landed in the said isles and colonies, warehoused, and not be moved from ship to ship, on pain of confiscation, and a thousand livres penalty.

6. Merchants who shall have brought provisions and merchandises of the kingdom into the port, appointed for embarkation, shall be obliged to declare, at the custom-house of the place of their unloading, if there is any one, if not, at the nearest to the said place, the quantity, quality, weight and measure of the provisions and merchandises designed for the French isles and colonies, in order to have them visited, leaded, or marked, by the commissioners of the farms, to have their security discharged, and be obliged to return, within three months, a certificate of their being taken from the depository

warehouse for embarkation, as before declared; but such embarkation may be made without warehousing of provisions and merchandises brought by land or river-carriage.

7. Carriers shall be obliged to represent, and cause to be examined, those discharges of security by the commissioners and directors of the farms in the cities, wherever they are established; and the said commissioners shall testify, without any delay or expence, the number of tons, cases, &c. included in the said discharge, and observe if the leads and marks affixed, &c. are entire and undefaced, without minutely examining into the said provisions and merchandises, or opening the tons, bales, or cases, &c. unless the leads, &c. shall be broken, defaced, or changed.—And if, on examination, any fraud appears, the goods shall be confiscated, and the offenders condemned in 500 livres penalty.

8. The said provisions and merchandises shall, before their embarkation, be visited and weighed by the commissioners of the farm, in order to ascertain the quantity, quality, weight, and measure thereof, and they shall not be laden in any vessel without the said commissioners being present.

9. Merchants shall give security to the officer of the farms at the port of embarkation, to report, in a twelvemonth or more, a certificate of the discharge of the said provisions and merchandises in the French islands and colonies; and the said certificate shall be
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wrote on the back of the discharge of the security, and signed by the governors and intendants, or by the commandants and commissioners subdelegated in their respective districts, and by the commissioners of the farms of the western domaine, on pain of paying four times the duties.

10. Provisions and merchandises coming from foreign countries, whose consumption is allowed in the kingdom, even those which come from Marseilles and Dunkirk, shall be liable to the duties of importation due to the first office of farms, by which they shall enter into the kingdom, notwithstanding they shall have been declared to be intended for the French islands and colonies; but, when they shall be exported to the said islands and colonies, they shall be entitled to the exemptions mentioned by the third article.

11. We permit, notwithstanding, to come from foreign countries, into the ports before-mentioned in the first article, salt beef, to be sent into the said islands and colonies, and the same shall be free from all duties of importation and exportation, on condition that it shall be warehoused as aforesaid, on pain of confiscation.

12. Merchants of our kingdom shall not load for the French islands and colonies, any foreign merchandises whose importation and consumption are prohibited, on pain of confiscation, and 3000 livres fine, which shall be imposed by the officers of the admiralty.

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13. The silk, and other merchandizes of Avignon, and the county of Venaifine, which shall be declared for the french islands and colonies, shall pay the duties required at importation, and be exempt from all duties of exportation, and all others, those excepted which depend on the general farm of aids and domaines.

14. Swifs linens that are free from all duties of importation, shall not be allowed the exemptions mentioned by article the third, although designed for the French islands and colonies.

15. Merchandizes and provisions of all sorts, of the produce of the French islands and colonies, shall be warehoused at their arrival in the ports of Calais, Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Cette; to the end that, when they are unboxed to be exported into foreign countries, they shall be entitled to the exemption of duties of importation and exportation; even to those belonging to the farms of the western domaine, with a reserve only of three per cent. to which they shall be liable, &c.

16. Merchants of the cities before-mentioned, who shall export by sea merchandizes which come from the said islands and colonies, shall be obliged to make a declaration at the office of farms established in the port from whence they shall depart, of the place where they are intended to be sent into foreign coun-

countries, and to give security, within six months, or longer, to report a certificate in proper form of their unloading, signed by the French consul; and, in case of his absence, by the judges of the place, or other public persons, on pain of paying four times the duties.

17. Merchants belonging to the ports mentioned in the first article, shall be allowed to send by land, into foreign countries, raw sugars, indigo, ginger, rocou, and cacao, which come from the French islands and colonies, and cause them to pass, by transit, through the kingdom, without payment of duties of import or export, nor other duties, except those depending on the general farm of aids and domaines, on condition of declaring to the office of farms, at the port of their departure, the quantities, qualities, weights, and measures, and of having them visited and leaded, and taking the discharge of their security, and promise, within four months or later, to produce a certificate of the sending such merchandize out of the kingdom; which certificate shall be wrote and signed on the back of the said discharge of the security, by the commissioners of the last office of farms at their going out of the kingdom, after the said commissioners have allowed the leads, and visited the said merchandizes; and the carriers shall be obliged to cause the said discharges to be inspected by the said commissioners

fioners of the farms of that rout, and by the directors of the farms, where such are established: all which must be done and performed on pain of paying four times the duties, and confiscation of the carriages and horses of such who shall neglect or offend as carriers.—These precautions taken, the said merchandizes shall not be opened, and the said directors and commissioners shall verify, without any delay or expence whatever, the number of tons, casks, bales, &c. and examine if the leads thereunto affixed are whole and entire; but, in case the said leads are broke or altered, or any way defaced, then they are to visit the said merchandizes, and seize them in case of the laws being violated, the goods to be confiscated, and the offenders condemned in 500 livres fine.

18. The five following sorts of merchandizes, which shall be sent by transit into foreign countries, shall go out of the kingdom by no other places than those hereafter named, viz. those appointed for the ports of Spain, situate on the Mediterranean-Sea, by the ports of Cette and Agde.

19. Those which shall go out of the kingdom by the land for Spain, by the office of farms, from Bayonne, by the way of Beobie, Ascaing, and Dainhoa.

20. Those designed for Italy, by the said ports of Cette and Agde.—Those for Savoy and Piedmont, by the office of Pont de Beauvoisin, and of Champarillan.—Those for Geneva

neva and Switzerland; by the office of Seiffel and Coulonges.—Those for Franche Comte, by the office d'Auxonne.—Those designed for the three bishoprics, and Lorrain and Alsace, by the office of St. Minehould and Auxonne.—And those designed for the Low Countries, belonging to foreign nations, by the office of Lisle and Maubeuge.

21. We absolutely forbid the said merchandizes going out of the kingdom by other ports and offices, when they pass by transit, with exemption of duties, on pain of confiscation of merchandizes, carriages, and horses, and liable to 3000 livres penalty.

22. The merchandizes hereafter specified coming from the French islands and colonies, and allowed to be consumed in the kingdom, shall pay, for the future, for duties of importation in the ports of Calais, Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Cette; viz.

Muscavado, or raw sugars, the hundred weight, 2 livres 10 sols; 33 sols, 4 deniers of which, shall be appropriated to the farmer-general of the western domaine revenue, and 16 sols 8 deniers to the farmer-general of the five great farms.—The clay or cassonade sugars, 8 livres per hundred weight; 2 of which shall be appropriated to the farmer-general of the five great farms.—Indigo, 100 sols per hundred weight.—Ginger 15 sols per hundred weight.—Cotton-wool, 30 sols per hundred.—Rocou, 2 livres 10 sols per

100 weight. Sweet-meats and preserves, 5 livres per hundred weight.—Cassia, 1 livre per hundred weight.—Cacao, 10 livres per hundred weight.—Dry raw hides, 5 sols a piece.—Tortoise-shells of all sorts, 7 livres per hundred weight.

23. The sum total of the duties on the said nine last species of merchandize shall be appropriated to the farmer-general of the five great farms of the revenue.

24. The merchandizes specified in the preceding article, which shall be carried by sea into the ports of St. Malo, Morlaix, Brest, and Nantes, may not be brought into the other provinces of the kingdom to be consumed, but upon payment of the same duties.

25. All merchandizes coming from the French islands and colonies shall pay, upon their arrival in the said ports of Bretagne, above and besides the ordinary duties, those of provostship, such as are done at Nantes, without any drawback thereof, when the said merchandizes shall be exported to foreign countries, nor any diminution of the duties declared by the 19th article, when they are brought into the provinces of the five great farms, or other provinces of the kingdom.

26. White unrefined sugars coming from the colony of Cayenne, and entering by the ports of Calais, Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur,

Honfleur, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Cette, and intended for home-consumption, shall only pay 4 livres per 100 weight, in conformity to the arrets of the 19th of September, 1682, and the 12th of October, 1700. And, with regard to those which shall be carried into the ports of Bretagne, they shall there pay the same duties as the clay sugars coming from the other French colonies; viz. at their arrival, the duties of the provostship of Nantes, and other local duties; and, at their passing out of Bretagne to go into the province of the five great farms, and other provinces of the kingdom, for consumption, the 8 livres mentioned in article 19.

27. Merchandizes coming from the French islands and colonies, and not mentioned in the 19th article, shall pay the duties fixed by the tariff of 1664, in the provinces of the five great farms, and the local duties, as has been heretofore done in the provinces reckoned foreign; excepting refined sugars coming from the said islands and colonies, which shall pay, at every entrance of the kingdom, even in the ports of the province of Bretagne and Bayonne, 22 livres 10 sols per 100 weight, conformably to the arrets of the 25th of April, 1690, and the 20th of June, 1698.

28. The duties required by the said arret of the 25th of April, 1690, upon foreign sugars

sugars of all qualities, shall be also paid in all the ports of the kingdom, even in the ports of Bretagne, and in those of Marseilles, Bayonne, and Dunkirk, notwithstanding all privileges and exemptions before granted: and the said sugars need not be warehoused, as required by the said arret of the 25th of April, 1690, or other subsequent arrets, which shall be made null and void; except nevertheless with regard to the cassonade sugars of the Brazils, which shall be warehoused in the ports only of Bayonne and Marseilles, and shall not go out of the warehouse with exemption from the duties required by the arret of the 25th of April, 1690, but to be exported into foreign countries, &c.

29. All merchandizes of the production of the French islands and colonies shall pay to the farmer-general of the revenues of the western domaine, at their arrival in all the ports of the kingdom, even in the free ports, and in those of the provinces reputed foreign, once for all, 3 per cent. ad valorem, when they shall be declared to be exported into foreign countries.

30. We expressly forbid all the inhabitants of our islands and colonies, and all the merchants of our kingdom, to export from the said islands and colonies, into foreign countries, or into the foreign neighbouring islands, any merchandizes of the produce of the
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French islands, on pain of confiscation of ship and merchandize, and of 1000 livres penalty; which shall be inflicted by the officers of the admiralty, and the captains and masters of ships to be answered in their own name, besides imprisonment for a year, and also to be declared incapable of commanding or serving in the quality of an officer aboard of a ship; wherefore all captains shall be obliged to represent, at their arrival in France, a state of the merchandizes that shall have been loaded at the said islands, signed by the commissioners of the western domaine.

31. We prohibit also, under the like penalties, all merchants of our kingdom, captains and masters of ships designed for the French islands and colonies, from taking or loading in any foreign country, even in the island of Madeira, any wines, or other provisions and merchandizes, to be carried into the said colonies.

32. All sorts of sugars and syrups of the French islands and colonies shall be declared at their arrival in all the ports of the kingdom, by the quantity of the casks, without the merchants, captains or masters of ships, being obliged to declare them by weight; but the declaration of other merchandizes shall be made according to custom, by the quantity, quality, and weight; nor shall any merchandizes be unloaded but in the pre-

fence of the commissioners of the farms of the revenue.

33. The warehouse wherein to deposit the merchandizes and provisions of the kingdom, intended for the French islands and colonies, as also those of the produce of the said islands, of salt beef from foreign countries, and of cassonade sugars of the Brazils, shall be chosen by the merchants themselves, at their own expence, and locked up with three different keys; one of which shall be given to the commissioners of the great farms of the revenue, the other to the commissioner of the farm of the western domaine, and the third into the hands of an overseer appointed by the merchant himself.

34. The easiness of the duties of importation, by these presents laid upon all raw and muscavado sugars, coming from the French islands and colonies, the taking off the duties imposed by the arrets of the council of September, 1688, and the 1st of September, 1699, upon the footing of 9 livres, and 6 livres 15 sols, shall remain, for the future, regulated at 5 livres, 12 sols, 6 deniers per 100 weight of refined sugar, in the cities of Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Rouen, and Dieppe, which shall be exported into foreign countries; and of the said 5 livres, 12 sols, 6 deniers, there shall be restored 3 livres 15 sols by the farmer-general of the western domaine, and 1 livre, 17 sols, 6 deniers, by

by the farmer-general of the five great farms."

ON April the 3d, 1718, a royal ordinance was made, prohibiting all captains of ships who shall carry negroes to the French islands, against landing them, or any of their cargo, without leave had and obtained from the governors, in order to prevent any contagious distemper being spread among the inhabitants.

" Royal letters patents, containing regulations of trade between Marseilles and the French islands of America, given at Paris in the month of February, 1719.

A R T I C L E I.

The fitting out of vessels designed for the French islands and colonies of America, shall be done in the port of Marseilles as in the ports mentioned by our letters patents of the month of April, 1717.

2. Merchants, who fit out such ships, shall be obliged to apply to the secretary of the admiralty of Marseilles, to oblige themselves, under the penalty of 10,000 livres, to cause such ships to return directly into the port of Marseilles, unless compelled by shipwreck, or other inevitable accident, justifiable by verbal process. The merchants shall give such obligation into the office of farms, and shall not embark in the said ships any provisions

fions and merchandizes without permission first had and obtained in writing, and in presence of the commissioners of the farms of the revenue, under pain of confiscation of the said provisions and merchandizes, and a penalty of 3000 livres, which shall be laid by the officers of the admiralty.

3. All provisions and merchandize of the produce or fabrication of the kingdom, even silver plate, wines, and brandies, of Provence, Guyenne, or other provinces of our kingdom arms and ammunition, and all necessaries of our kingdom for the victualling and fitting out of ships, which shall come into the port of Marfeilles to be exported to the French islands and colonies, shall be exempted from all duties of export or import, as well as those of the provinces of the five great farms, as those reputed foreign provinces; and likewise from all local duties, in passing from one province to another, and generally from all other duties, which are to our advantage, except those depending on the general farm of aids and domains, which exemption the merchants of Marfeilles cannot be entitled to, without observing what is hereafter ordained.

4. The provisions and merchandizes mentioned in the preceding article, coming by sea from another port of the kingdom into that of Marfeilles, shall, at their arrival, be put into the warehouse of entrepost, and shall not be moved from ship to ship, on pain of confiscation, and of 1000 livres penalty.

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5. Merchants who shall cause to be brought to Marfeilles, either by sea or land, the said provisions and merchandizes designed for the French islands and colonies in America, shall be obliged to declare, at the office of farms at the place of their unloading, if such office be there; if not, at the nearest there is, the quantities, qualities, weights, and measures, to cause them to be visited and leaded by the commissioners of the farms, to take their discharge of security, and to submit to report, within three months, a certificate of their unloading into the warehouse of the entrepost, on their arrival at Marfeilles: we will and decree, that, in six months from the registering of these presents, the merchandizes manufactured in different provinces and places of our kingdom, except those in the city and territory of Marfeilles, shall be reputed as foreign merchandizes, and shall not be shipped upon vessels which shall depart from the port of Marfeilles for the French islands and colonies, without paying the duties that shall be hereby decreed, if, in the place the nearest to their unlading, declaration has not been made, that they are intended for the said islands; and if, upon their arrival in Marfeilles, they have not been put into a warehouse of entrepost.

6. The land-carriers shall be obliged to represent, and cause to be examined, their discharges of security by the commissioner of

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the office of farms, and by the directors of the farmers of the revenue, in those cities wherein they are established, through which the said provisions and merchandizes pass; and the said commissioners and directors shall certify, upon the spot, and without delay or expence, the number of tons, casks, and bales, &c. contained in the said discharge of security, and shall inspect whether the leads affixed thereunto be whole, undefaced, and unchanged, without visiting the said provisions and merchandizes, or opening the said tons, cases or bales, unless the leads are broken or altered: and, if on examination any fraud appears, the merchandize shall be confiscated, and the offenders condemned in 500 livres penalty.

7. The said provisions and merchandizes shall be, before their embarkation, visited and weighed by the commissioners of the farms, in order to certify the quantity, quality, weight, and measure thereof, and they shall not be loaded in any vessel, but in the presence of the said commissioners.

8. Merchants shall make at the office of farms their report, within a twelvemonth or more, a certificate of the unloading of the said provisions and merchandizes in the French islands and colonies; and the said certificate shall be wrote on the back of the discharge of the security, and signed by the governors and intendants, or by the commandants or commissaries, subdelegated by the

the commissioners of the office of farms of the western domaine established at Marseilles, on pain of forfeiting four times the duties.

9. Provisions and merchandises coming from foreign countries, the consumption of which is allowed in the country, and which shall be received in the port, city, or territory of Marseilles, shall not be embarked to be exported to the French islands in America, till declaration has been made at the office of farms, of their quantity, quality, weight, and measure, and that the same duties have been paid at the office as required, when they were first imported into the kingdom.

10. Foreign provisions and merchandises, which shall be consumed in the kingdom, and which, after having paid the duties of import at another office of farms, and brought into the said city of Marseilles, to be exported into the French islands and colonies of America, shall be entitled to those exemptions contained in article the 3d, by observing the same regulations, which have been before prescribed for the original merchandises of the kingdom.

11. We allow to be brought from foreign kingdoms into the ports of Marseilles salt beef, in order to be exported to the said islands and colonies; and it shall be exempt from all duties, even that of 40 sols, which is known by the farm of the gabelles, or excise duty, on condition that on it's arrival it shall be

housed in an entrepost, till embarkation, on pain of confiscation.

12. There shall not be loaded in the port of Marseilles, for the French islands and colonies, any merchandises, which import and consummation shall be prohibited in the kingdom, on pain of confiscation, and a penalty of 3000 livres, that shall be inflicted by the officers of the admiralty.

13. The silk and other merchandises of Avignon and the county of Venaissine, which shall be declared for the French islands and colonies, and which shall have paid the duties of the custom-house of Lyons, with which they are charged in going out of the said county, to come into the kingdom, shall be exempt from all duties, as well upon their entrance into the territory of Marseilles, as on their embarkation; provided, on their arrival at Marseilles, they shall be housed in a warehouse of entrepost, till their embarkation; and the same shall be observed, for the rate of the said merchandises, as has been before decreed in regard to those fabricated in our kingdom.

14. Swiss linens, which are exempted from all duties at importation into the kingdom, shall pay to the offices of farms, upon the confines of the territories of Marseilles, the ordinary duties of export, although designed for the French islands and colonies.

15. Merchandises and provisions of all sorts, coming from the French islands and colonies, shall

shall pay, on their arrival at Marseilles, once for all, the duty of 3 per cent. ad valorem to the farm of the western domaine, and that when even they shall be intended to be exported into foreign countries.

16. The merchants of Marseilles may transport by land, into foreign countries, clay and cassonade sugars, ginger, and racou, coming from the French islands and colonies, and cause them to pass by transit across the kingdom without paying any duties at importation and exportation, nor any other duties, excepting those depending on the general farm of the aids and domaines; on condition of declaring, at the office of farms, the time of their departure, the quantity, quality, weight, and measure, in order to be visited and leaded, to take a discharge of the security, and be obliged to report, within four months or longer, certificates of the exportation of the said merchandises out of the kingdom; which certificates shall be wrote and signed on the back of the said discharges of security, by the commissioners of the last office of farms at the said exportation, after the said commissioners have inspected the leads and visited the said merchandises; and the land carriers shall be obliged to cause to be inspected the said discharges of security, by the commissioners of the offices of farms lying in the rout, and by the directors of the farms, where any are established; the whole here-

hereof to be done and performed on pain of paying four times the duties, and of confiscation of the carriages and horses of the carrier so offending; which precautions being taken, the said merchandises shall not be opened, and the said directors and commissioners shall certify only, without any delay or expence, the number of tons, cases, or bales, and examine if the leads thereunto affixed be whole and entire: in case the said leads shall be broke, altered, or defaced, we do permit the said commissioners, to visit the said merchandises, and to seize them in case of violation of the laws, to be confiscated, and the offenders condemned in 500 livres penalty.

17. The said three sorts of merchandises which shall be sent by land from Marseilles by transit into foreign countries, shall not be sent out but by way of the places hereafter named; viz. those destined for Savoy and Piedmont, by the office of farms at the bridge of Beauvoisin and Champarillan.—Those designed for Swisserland or Geneva, by the office of Seiffel and Coulonges.—Those for Franche Comte, by the office of Auxonne.—Those for the three bishoprics, Lorraine, and Metz, by the office of St. Menehoult and Auxonne.—And those designed for the low countries, under foreign dominion, by the office of Lisle and Maubeuge.

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WE expressly prohibit the said merchandises from going out of our kingdom by any other offices, when they shall pass by transit with exemption of duties, on pain of confiscation of merchandises, carriages, and horses, and a fine of 3000 livres.

18. Merchandises hereafter specified, coming from the French islands and colonies, and which, after their arrival in the port of Marseilles, shall be brought into the kingdom, accompanied with certificates of the commissioners of offices of weights, &c. shall after pay only for the duties of entry, viz.

RAW, or muscovado sugars, the hundred weight, 2 livres, 10 sols; 30 sols 4 deniers of which shall be appropriated to the farmer of the western domaine; and 16 sols 8 deniers to the farmer-general of the five great farms.

CLAY, or cassonade sugars, 8 livres the hundred weight; two livres whereof shall be appropriated to the farmer of the western domaine, and six livres to the farmer-general of the five great farms.

INDIGO, 100 sols per hundred weight.—Ginger, 15 sols per hundred weight.—Cotton in the wool, 30 sols per hundred weight.—Rocou, 2 livres 10 sols per hundred weight.—Sweet-meats, 5 livres per hundred weight.—Cassia, one livre per hundred weight.—Hides, raw and dry, 5 sols a-piece.—Tortoise-shell of all sorts, 7 livres per hundred weight.

THE sum total of the duties upon the said nine last sorts of merchandises shall be raised for

for the benefit of the farmer-general of the five great farms.

CACAO, indigo, cotton-wool, and hides raw and dry coming from the French islands and colonies, shall be liable to those easy duties before decreed, only on condition that they are housed, on their arrival at Marseilles, in a magazine of entrepost, from whence they shall not be moved, but in the presence of the commissioners of the revenue-farms, to whom they shall deliver their certificates; in default whereof, the said merchandises shall pay, at their importation into the kingdom, the same duties as foreign merchandises do.

19. Cacao, and indigo, produced in the said islands and colonies, and which, on their arrival, have been housed in a magazine of entrepost, and taken thence in presence of commissioners of the farms, may be sent into foreign countries, and pass, by transit, over the kingdom, in observing what is required by the 16th and 17th articles.

20. White and unrefined sugars of Cayenne, which shall be warehoused as aforesaid, on their arrival in the port of Marseilles, and which shall afterwards be brought into the kingdom, shall pay only 4 livres per hundred weight.

21. Merchandises coming from the French islands and colonies, and not mentioned in the 18th article, shall pay, at entrance into the kingdom, such duties as before known and usual

usual, except refined loaf sugar, which shall pay at every place of entrance into the kingdom (when even they are intended for the consumption of the city and territories of Marseilles) 22 livres 10 sols per hundred weight, in conformity to the arrets of our council of the 25th of April 1690, and 20th of June 1698.

22. The duties required by the said arret of the 25th of April 1690, on foreign sugars of all sorts, shall be paid in the port of Marseilles, notwithstanding all privileges and franchises before granted to that city; and the said sugars shall not be intitled to the benefit of the entrepost, granted either by the said, or other subsequent arrets; excepting, however, the cassonade sugars of the Brasils, which shall be warehoused in the port of Marseilles, and shall not be taken out of the same with exemption of duties required by the said arret of the 25th of April 1690, unless to be exported into foreign countries.

23. We expressly forbid the inhabitants of these islands and colonies, and all merchants of Marseilles, to export from the said islands and colonies into foreign countries, or into the neighbouring foreign colonies, either on French or foreign bottoms, any merchandises of the produce of the French islands, on pain of confiscation of ship and merchandise, and a fine of 1000 livres penalty; which shall be laid by the officers of the admiralty, and against

against the captains and masters of ships, to answer the same in their own person, to suffer a year's imprisonment, and be rendered incapable of commanding, or serving again as an officer on shipboard: wherefore, all captains shall be obliged to represent, at their arrival in France, an account of the merchandise they have loaded in the said islands, signed by the commissioners of the western domaine.

24. We expressly prohibit also, under the aforesaid penalties, all merchants of Marseilles, captains and masters of ships, bound for the French islands and colonies from lading, in any foreign country, even in the island of Madeira, any wines or other provisions and merchandises to carry them into the said colonies.

25. The duties of import which shall be paid upon merchandises of the islands and colonies, shall not be drawn back, when even they shall be sent to foreign countries, and they shall be liable to the duties of exportation; excepting, nevertheless, sugars of all sorts, indigo, ginger, cassia, rocou, cacao, drugs, and spiceries.

26. Sugars of all sorts, and syrups of the French islands and colonies, shall be reported at their arrival, by the quantity of casks or cases, without subjecting the merchants, captains and masters of ships, to report them by weight; but the report of other merchandises shall be made according to ordinary

dinary usage, by the quantity, quality, and weight; nor shall any merchandize be unloaded, but in the presence of the commissioners of the farms.

27. Warehouses serving for the entrepost, required by the articles 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, and 22, shall be chosen by the merchants themselves, at their expence, and locked with three different keys; one of which the commissioners of the five great farms shall have, another the commissioners of the western domaine, and the other any overseer appointed by the merchants.--Thus we order and decree, &c.

A royal ordonnance, forbidding all governors, and lieutenant-generals, all particular governors, and intendants of colonies, from having plantations.—Paris, 7 November, 1719.—By the king.

His majesty being informed, that, among the governors and lieutenants-general, particular governors and intendants of the French colonies in South-America, there are some who possess plantations of sugar, indigo, cacao, and other provisions and merchandizes of the said colonies; and that some intend to settle new ones, which being inconsistent with his majesty's service, and, besides, their residence in the said colonies being only for a time, this may prove injurious to them in the consequences, when his majesty shall require them elsewhere for his service: his majesty

majesty has, with the advice of his uncle the duke of Orleans, regent, ordered, and does hereby order for the future, that no governors, or lieutenants-general, &c. shall purchase, or otherwise establish, any plantations of sugar, indigo, tobacco, cacao, cotton, ginger rocou, or other provisions or merchandizes of the said colonies: his majesty, notwithstanding, permits them to have gardens for fruits, pulse, and herbage, for their own use only; and, with respect to those who have plantations already, his majesty forbids them to make any increase thereunto, upon any pretence whatsoever, &c.

A royal ordonnance, issued against captains and supercargoes of merchantmen, who shall carry on foreign trade to the French islands in America. Paris, 26 November, 1719. By the king.

His majesty being informed, that, notwithstanding the great attention and care that he is desirous of taking to prevent foreigners trading to the French islands of America, the captains and factors of the ships of his subjects that go to the said islands, receive on board their vessels, in the roads, provisions and merchandizes, that are brought to them by foreign boats, and that they purchase them, either with ready money, or with French or Indian provisions, from the facility they have to unload and sell them to the

the inhabitants: it being of importance to prevent a contraband trade so prejudicial to the commerce of the kingdom, that it hinders the sale of the merchandizes and provisions brought from France, retards the vent of the cargoes of the said ships, prolongs their stay in the islands, which occasions mortality among the sailors, and great expence to the merchants: all which being necessary to put a stop to, his majesty, with the advice of the duke of Orleans, regent, forbids all captains, factors, or supercargoes of French ships, from carrying on any commerce, directly or indirectly, with foreigners, on pain of the offenders being sent to the galleys for ever. His majesty orders and commands Monsr. the count of Toulouse, admiral of France, and all governors and lieutenant-governors of the said islands, all particular governors and officers of the superior courts of the colonies, and other officers belonging thereto, to pay strict obedience hereunto, &c.

Regulations by the king, concerning foreign or contraband commerce carried on in the French colonies.—Paris, July 23, 1720.

THE king being informed that commerce with foreigners continues to be carried on in some of his colonies, notwithstanding the prohibitions to the contrary that have been made by

divers ordinances and regulations, and especially by that of the 20th of August, 1698. And being desirous to prevent the continuance of this disorder, and to secure to his subjects the *whole commerce* of all his colonies; his majesty has judged it necessary, by and with the advice of Monf. the duke of Orleans his uncle, regent, to make the present regulations.

A R T I C L E I.

His majesty orders all officers and captains of ships to seize all vessels, barks, and others, as well French as foreign, carrying on contraband commerce with his colonies in America, and to reduce them by force of arms, and bring them into the nearest island where the prize was taken.

2. His majesty permits all his subjects to steer the proper course for the taking of the said ships and vessels carrying on foreign commerce; and orders that, for the future, it shall be inserted in the commissions of ships of war and merchantmen, that shall be granted by the admiral of France, that the bearers thereof shall be permitted to run upon those ships, barks, and other vessels, as well French as others, carrying on a foreign commerce to the French colonies of America, to reduce them by force, and carry them into the islands nearest to the place where they were taken; the said commissions,

sions, however, shall not be granted without the same security being given as in times of war.

3. The prizes thus made, either by his majesty's ships, or those of his subjects, shall be judged of by the officers of the admiralty, conformably to the ordonnances and regulations made for that purpose, without appeal to superior courts; except in time of war, when the proceedings shall be sent to the secretary-general of the marine, to be judged by the admiral as usual; and, if the prize be condemned, one tenth shall go to the admiral, according to the ordonnance of 1681.

4. The produce of the prizes made by his majesty's ships shall be divided, after the one-tenth part thereof appropriated to the admiral, viz. one tenth to the commander of the ship that took the prize, one tenth to him who commanded the squadron, one tenth to the governor and lieutenant-general of the colony whither the prize shall be carried in, one tenth to the intendant, and one half of the surplus moiety to the sailors, the other to the commissioners of the treasury of the marine, for the maintenance of the colonies, according to his majesty's orders.

5. Prizes made by the ships of his majesty's subjects shall be adjudged to him who took them; except the one tenth to the admiral, and upon the surplus of the produce there shall be raised one fifth; one half

whereof shall be deposited in the hands of the commissioners of the treasury of the marine in the colonies, in order to be employed for the maintenance of the hospitals of the said colonies, according to his majesty's pleasure; and the other moiety shall be divided thus, two thirds to the governor and lieutenant-general, and the other third to the intendant of the colony, where the said vessel making the capture shall have been fitted out: and, with regard to those prizes, which shall be made by ships fitted out in France, the said moiety shall be divided, as aforesaid, between the governor and lieutenant-general, and the intendant of the colony where the prize shall be carried in.

6. His majesty orders, that the particular governors of the colonies of Cayenne and Cape Breton shall enjoy, for the prizes which shall be brought into the said colonies, either by his majesty's ships, or by those of his subjects, as also by those fitted out in the said colonies, such proportions as specified in article the 4th and 5th of the present regulation made for the governors and lieutenants-general, and the commissioner of the ordinances of the said colonies shall be entitled to those parts allotted to the intendant.

7. His majesty requires that the present regulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, notwithstanding all ordinances and regulations to the contrary, which
his

his majesty hereby makes null and void. His majesty orders and commands Monsi. the count of Toulouse, admiral of France, to have a strict regard to the execution of the present regulations, to cause them to be made public wherever needful, &c.

The king's declaration, with regard to merchandises of the French colonies.— Paris, 14 March 1722.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, greeting—Whereas by the 26th article of our letters patent of the month of April 1717, containing regulations for the commerce of the French islands and colonies, we have expressly forbid the inhabitants of the said islands and colonies, and the merchants of our kingdom, to export into foreign countries, or into foreign neighbouring islands of the said colonies, either by the means of French or foreign vessels, any merchandises of the produce of the French islands, on pain of confiscation of ships and cargoes, and a penalty of 1000 livres: and, besides the captains and masters of such ships being obliged to answer the said confiscation and penalties in their own person, to suffer a year's imprisonment, and also to be declared incapable of command, or of serving in the capacity of an officer on shipboard again: in consequence whereof, the captains are obliged to represent, on their arrival in France, a
E 3 state,

state, signed by the commissioners of the western domaine, of the merchandises which they have laden at the said islands and colonies. Although the last disposition of the said article is essential, and the greatest security that can be taken against such foreign trade, by the certification that should be made of merchandises, on the arrival of ships in France, from the state of the loading made in the islands; yet we are informed, that the greatest part of the masters of ships returning from the said islands, are dispensed with, in regard to their report of a state of their loading, according to the form required; and that the commissioners of our farms in the ports of France cannot subject them thereunto, nor proceed securely against them, apprehending that our judges will not have due regard thereunto, by reason that the said 26th article of the regulations of 1717 does not inflict any penalty against those, who shall neglect to make such report, signed by the commissioners of the western domaine, but only against those who shall carry on foreign trade; which renders the prohibitions in regard to this commerce ineffectual, from the impossibility of knowing in France, whether all the merchandises which have been loaded in the said islands are faithfully reported, at the ports of their return, and whether no part thereof has been unloaded in foreign countries; whereupon we judge necessary to
remedy

remedy the same, by a certain disposition which declares the penalties inflicted by the regulation of 1717, against the masters of ships, who shall carry on foreign commerce; that the same penalties shall be incurred by those, who shall neglect to report the state of their loading, signed by the commissioners of the French islands and colonies, &c.—For these and other reasons us hereunto moving, with the advice of, &c. &c.—We have, by these presents, signed with our hand; and we decree, will, and ordain, &c. that the 26th article of our letters patents of the month of April 1717, shall be executed, according to the due form and tenor thereof, and, in consequence of the same, that masters of ships, returning from the French islands and colonies, shall be obliged to represent, on their arrival in France, a state, signed and certified by the commissioners of the western domaine, of the merchandises which they shall have loaded at the said islands and colonies.—We decree, that on failure of the said masters making a report within 24 hours of their arrival in the ports of France, to the commissioners of the office of our farms, the said state of their ships loading, or on failure of reporting the merchandises agreeable to the said state, such masters of ships shall be looked upon as having carried on a commerce at these islands with foreigners; in consequence whereof their ships and merchandises shall be confiscated, the owners of the said merchandise and the

captains and masters of the said ships condemned in the whole fine of 1000 livres, and be liable to the other pains and penalties inflicted by the said 26th article of our letters patents of the month of April 1717. Thus we give and command, &c.

Letters patents, upon the arret, which fixes the time of a year of the entrepost of merchandises coming from the French islands and colonies into the ports therein mentioned, and of those which shall be declared by the entrepost for the said islands.—Verfailles, May 23, 1723.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, &c.—Whereas, by our declaration of the 19th of January last, we have, for the causes and considerations therein given, in confirmation of our letters patents of the month of April, 1717, for regulating the commerce of the French islands and colonies, ordered, that the merchants proprietors of the provisions and merchandises which shall be housed according to the entrepost, and designed for the said islands and colonies, shall be obliged, after one year's entrepost, to declare to the offices of farms at those places, the quantities, qualities, weight, and measure of the said provisions and merchandises, which shall remain in warehouses, which declaration shall be certified by the adjudicatory commissioners of our farms, and, in case of neglect, and false de-
clara-

claration, that the merchants proprietors of the said provisions and merchandises shall be condemned in 500 livres penalty, besides the payment of the duties of the merchandises which shall be found wanting in their declaration: and, in case of the sale of the said merchandises so warehoused, the merchants proprietors thereof shall be obliged to discharge the duties thereupon, one month after sale, on pain of the like penalty, and of 500 livres.—And being informed that it is yet necessary to limit the time of entrepost, as well for the provisions and merchandises declared and intended for the commerce of the French islands and colonies, as those which come from the said islands and colonies; in order to prevent the abuses introduced, and which will always encrease, by reason of those entreposts, if they subsist for an unlimited time: we have provided, by an arret made in our council of state, we being present, the 3d of the month and year of the date hereof, for execution of which, what we have ordered is requisite.—For these reasons, with the advice of our council, who have considered the said arret hereunto annexed, under the counter-seal of our chancery, &c. we have decreed and ordained, and by these presents, signed with our hand, we decree and ordain, that the time of the entrepost, as well with regard to merchandises, which shall come from the French islands and colonies into the ports of Calais, Dieppe,

Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Cette, Marseilles, and Dunkirk, as those which shall be declared and intended for the said islands and colonies, and warehoused in the same ports, and in those of St. Malo, Morlaix, Brest, and Nantes, shall be and remain fixed, for the future, to one year, to be accounted from the day that the said merchandises and provisions shall have come into port. And, with respect to those which are actually warehoused, they shall be intitled to the benefit of the entrepost for one year, from the day of the publication of the said arret, and of these presents; after which time, the said merchandises shall be liable as follow, viz.—Those declared and housed for the French islands and colonies, to the same duties as they should have paid, had they not been declared for the islands; and those that come from the said islands and colonies, shall be subject to the duties regulated according to our letters patents of the month of February, 1719, and according to those of the month of October, 1721.—Thus we command, &c.

AN

An arret of the king's council of state, revoking those permissions before granted to the merchants of the kingdom, to carry to Cadiz, Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, directly from the French islands of America, merchandises of the produce of the said islands. June 14, 1723. Extracted from the registers of the council of state.

THE king having been informed that to facilitate, during the time of the plague with which the city of Marseilles, and some other places of the kingdom, have been afflicted, the exportation of merchandises of the French islands of America into Spain and Italy, where the admittance of French ships coming directly from the ports of France was refused; it was allowed to all merchants of the kingdom, to send merchandises to Cadiz, Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, of the produce of the French islands of America, without putting them into entrepost warehouses, required in the ports of France by virtue of the 15th article of letters patents of the month of April, 1717. But, the motives to this toleration ceasing, it becomes necessary to re-establish the execution of the 2d article of the letters patents of the month of April, the intent of which is very important for the security of the duties of the farms, and to prevent the contraband exportation of the merchandises of the French islands

islands of America into foreign countries: against which his majesty being willing to provide, and being present in council, and having heard the report of the Sieur Dodun, counsellor in ordinary to the royal council, and comptroller-general of the finances, hath revoked and annulled the said permissions granted to the merchants of his kingdom, to carry to Cadiz, Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, directly from the French islands of America, merchandises of the produce of the said islands: wherefore his majesty orders and decrees, that all ships which shall depart from the ports of France, designed, according to the first article of the said letters patents, for the commerce of the French islands and colonies in America, as likewise those which shall depart from the ports of Dunkirk and Marseilles, in order to send the merchandises of France to the said French islands and colonies of America, shall be obliged to make their return directly into the port of their departure; and, to this end, the merchants who shall fit out the said ships, shall make the submission required by the 2d article of the letters patents of the month of April, 1717, to the secretary of the admiralty, which shall be executed, for the time to come, according to their form and tenor. Done at the royal council of state, held at Meudon, the 14th day of June, 1723.

A royal

A royal ordinance, declaring Gilles Robin, captain of the ship St. Michael, of Havre, incapable to sail, for the future, in any ship intended for the colonies, for having carried on a contraband trade at St. Domingo. The 25th of July, 1724. By the king.

HIS majesty being informed that, in violation of the prohibitions so often made and repeated, to prevent carrying on a contraband commerce with foreigners in the islands of America, several captains and traders have occasioned the loss of their ships, by foreign merchandises, which have been brought to them by foreign vessels in the roads of the said islands, which is not only contrary to the trade of the kingdom, but causes the ruin of those who fit such ships out, these captains consuming, by the long stay they make in the colonies, in carrying on this fraudulent traffic, the advantages the proprietors might have reaped, if their voyage was shorter: the above-named Gilles Robin, commanding the ship called the St. Michael, of Havre, fitted out for Leogane, upon the coast of St. Domingo, was surprized in the month of February last, carrying on, in the night-time, contraband or foreign trade, with a small English ship; upon which, he being tried in the court of admiralty of the said place, his merchandises were confiscated, and the said Gilles Robin condemned in the penalty

penalty of 2000 livres, and six months imprisonment. His majesty thinking it necessary to suppress the like abuses, by examples which may include in their consequence captains of merchantmen, who may fall under the like circumstances, he hath declared, and does hereby declare, the said Gilles Robin incapable of sailing for the future in any ship bound for the colonies.—His majesty orders and commands Mons. the count of Toulouse, admiral of France, the governors and lieutenant-governors of America, inter-dants of the marine officiating in his ports and colonies, &c. to have strict regard to the due execution of the present ordinance, which shall be registered by the secretaries of the admiralties at the ports which have permission to fit out ships for the said islands and colonies; and also read, published, and fixed in the said ports, &c.—Done at Chantilly, the 25th of July, 1724.

Royal letters patents, in the form of an edict, concerning the foreign or contraband commerce to the islands and colonies of America.—Given at Fontainebleau, in the month of October, 1727.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, &c.—The care that the late king, our most honoured lord and great-grandfather, took for the advancement of the commerce of our islands and colonies, that which we also have taken by

by his example, since our accession to the crown, the expence that has hitherto been for this purpose, and that we still annually continue, have only in view the security and the increase of the trade and navigation of the said islands and colonies: and herein we have had all the success that could be expected; our said colonies *being very greatly augmented, and in condition to carry on a considerable trade and navigation*, by the sale of negroes, provisions and merchandizes, carried thither by the ships of our subjects, in exchange for sugars, cacao, cotton, indigo, and other productions of the said islands and colonies. But we have been informed, that a fraudulent contraband commerce has been introduced, which, besides diminishing the commerce and navigation of our subjects, may prove of dangerous consequence to the support of our said colonies.—The just measures we take that they may be supplied from France, and from our other colonies, with the negroes, provisions, and merchandizes they need, and the protection we owe to the trade of our subjects, have determined us to fix, by a certain law, such precautions, and lay such severe pains and penalties upon the offenders, as may put a stop to such fraudulent traffic: for these, and other reasons us hereunto moving, with the advice of our council, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have, by

by these presents, signed with our hand, decreed and ordained, that there shall not be received, into the colonies submitted to our obedience, any negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandizes, unless carried thither in French ships or vessels, which shall take in their lading in the ports of our kingdom, or in our said colonies, and which shall belong to our subjects born in our kingdom, or our said colonies: In consequence whereof we will and decree as follows, viz.

Of ships carrying on foreign or contraband commerce.

A R T I C L E I.

WE forbid all our subjects born in our kingdom, and in our colonies, to cause any negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandizes to be brought into our said colonies from foreign countries, or foreign colonies, except salt beef from Ireland, which shall be brought in French ships, and which have taken their loading in the ports of the kingdom, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, and 1000 livres penalty against the captain, who shall also be condemned to the galleys for three years.

2. We forbid, under the same penalties, all our subjects to export from our said islands and colonies any negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandizes into foreign countries, or into

into foreign colonies: we permit, nevertheless, our French merchants to carry directly from our islands of America into the ports of Spain, sugars of all sorts, excepting raw sugars, together with all other merchandizes of the produce of the said islands, according to the regulations made by the arret of our council of the 27th of January, 1726.

3. Foreigners shall not land with their ships, or other vessels, in the ports, roads, or havens of our islands and colonies, not even in our UNINHABITED islands, nor navigate their ships within a league round those isles and colonies, on pain of confiscation of their ships and vessels, and also of their loading, and 1000 livres penalty, &c.

4. We order all our officers, captains, commanders of our ships, &c. to pursue all foreign sea vessels which they shall find within the said latitude, and even those belonging to our own subjects carrying on foreign or contraband trade, and reduce them by force of arms, and bring them into the island nearest to the place where such prize has been taken.

5. We permit all our subjects to pursue the said ships and sea vessels, and those belonging to our own subjects carrying on foreign or contraband commerce; and we decree, for the time to come, it shall be inserted in the commissions granted, either for war or commerce, by the admiral of France, that those who bear such commissions may

purſue the ſhips, and other ſea veſſels, which they ſhall find under the before-mentioned circumſtances, and reduce them by force of arms, and bring them into the iſland neareſt the place where the prize has been made; but theſe commiſſions ſhall not be delivered to them without giving the ſame ſecurity as is done in time of war.

6. Prizes made on theſe occaſions, either by our ſhips, or thoſe of our ſubjects, ſhall be adjudged by the officers of the admiralty, conſiſtently with the ordinances and regulations iſſued on this occaſion, without appeal to the ſuperior council of the iſlands or colonies where the prize ſhall be adjudged; with this exception, that, in time of war, the proceeding of the court, with regard to the prizes made upon thoſe nations with which we may be at war, ſhall be ſent to the ſecretary-general of the marine, in order that the caſe may be adjudicated by the admiral, as uſual on thoſe occaſions; and one tenth of the produce of thoſe prizes determined lawful, ſhall be appropriated to the admiral, according to the ordinance of 1681.

7. The produce of prizes made by our ſhips ſhall be divided, after deduction of the admiral's tenth. viz. one tenth to the commander of the veſſel which makes the prize; one tenth to the governor or lieutenant-general of the colony whither the prize ſhall be carried in; one tenth to the intendant; and the ſurplus of the moiety to the ſailors; and the

the remaining half part ſhall be deposited in the hands of the commiſſioners of the treasury of the marine in the ſaid colony, to be appropriated according to our orders, &c.

8. Prizes made by the ſhips of our ſubjects ſhall be adjudged to him who made them, except the tenth to the admiral, and he ſhall be entitled to one fifth upon the ſurplusage of the produce, the half whereof ſhall be deposited in the hands of the commiſſioner of the treasury of the marine in the colonies, to be employed as we ſhall judge proper; and the other half ſhall be divided, two thirds to the governor, our lieutenant-general, and the other third to the intendant of the colony where the ſhip taking the ſame ſhall have been fitted out: and, with reſpect to prizes made by ſhips fitted out in France, the ſaid moiety ſhall be divided, as before ſaid, between the governor, our lieutenant-general, and the intendant of the colony whither the prize ſhall have been carried in.

9. The particular governors of the colonies of Cayenne, Guardaloupe, and Cape Breton, ſhall be entitled for prizes carried in thither, either by our ſhips, or thoſe of our ſubjects, fitted out in France, or in the ſaid colonies, to thoſe proportions ſettled by the 7th and 8th articles of the preſent edict, to the governor our lieutenant-general; and the commiſſioners of the ordinances of the ſaid colonies

lonies shall be entitled to those appropriated to the intendant.

10. We command all officers of our troops, or militia, commanding in the different parts of our colonies, even the captains of militia in their divisions, to arrest such foreign vessels as shall be found in the ports, roads, and havens of their district, and also French ships carrying on a contraband trade in those places: and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce thereof shall belong to the admiral, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the officer who made the prize, $\frac{1}{3}$, which shall be divided in halves, between him that commands the detachment, and the soldiers or inhabitants who have composed the same. The remainder of the whole, shall be deposited in the hands of the commissioners of the treasury of the marine, to be employed according to our order, &c.

11. Ships, or other foreign vessels, either of war or merchantmen, which by storm, or other urgent necessities, shall be forced into our colonies, shall not water, on pain of confiscation of merchant's ships and cargo, except in ports or roads where we have garrisons, viz. in the island of Martinico, Fort Royal, in the borough of St. Pierre, and à la Trinité; in the island of Guardaloupe, at the road of La Basse Terre, at Little Cul-defac, and at Fort Lewis; at Grenade, in the chief port, as well as at Marie Galante; and, in the island of St. Domingo, at Petit Guave, Leo-

Leogane, St. Louis, St. Marc, Port de Puisse, and Cape Francois: at which places they shall not be stopped, provided they make appear they were not intended for our colonies; and, upon this appearing, all desirable succour and aid shall be given them. We order the governor, our lieutenant-general, or other commanding officers, to send a detachment of four soldiers and a serjeant on board the said ships and vessels, to prevent the embarkation and debarkation of negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandises, under any pretence whatever; which detachment shall remain on board such vessels, at the expence of the proprietors thereof, so long as they shall remain in the ports and roads of our colonies.

12. Captains of the said vessels thus at liberty, who shall have occasion for provisions, rigging, or other utensils, to enable them to continue their voyage, shall be obliged to ask permission of the governor, our lieutenant-general, or commander, in his absence, and of the intendant, to embark them; which permission shall not be granted till their request is communicated to the director of the domaine; and these shall be granted by the said governor, our lieutenant-general, or commander in his absence, and an ordinance made importing the said permission; and, in case the director of the domaine should oppose the same, his motives for so doing, as well as those of the governor, lieutenant-general, or commander in his absence, and the

intendant shall be transmitted, with a copy of the said ordinance, to the secretary of state for that department of the marine, to give us an account thereof: we require, however, that the said ordinance be provisionally executed, &c.

13. If it is absolutely necessary to refit or careen the ships of foreigners thus at liberty, to unlade their effects, provisions, and merchandises, the captains thereof shall be obliged to ask permission of the governor, our lieutenant-general, or commander in his absence, and of the intendant; which permission shall not be granted till the request be communicated to the director of the domaine; and there shall be granted an ordinance importing the said permission. And, in case the director of the domaine opposes the said permission, his motives, as well as those of the governor, our lieutenant-general, &c. shall be represented, together with a copy of the ordinance, to the secretary of state of the marine, to acquaint us of the same: we require, however, that the said ordinance be provisionally executed; and, in case of the landing of the said merchandises, there shall be given a verbal account, in presence of the director of the domaine, containing the quantity and quality thereof, signed by the captain of the ship, and by the said director of the domaine; which account shall be sent to the secretary of state of the marine; and the said governor, our lieutenant-general, or commander in his absence,

absence, shall place a centinel at the gate of the warehouse where the said merchandise shall be deposited, to prevent any being taken out, or sold in the said colonies; and, while the said merchandise shall remain in the said warehouse, which shall be shut with three locks, one of which keys shall be given to the intendant, another to the director of the domaine, and the other to the captain of the said ship. We require also, that, in case he has landed negroes, he shall draw up a list, wherein they shall be exactly characterized, who shall be sequestered in the hands of some responsible person, that they may be restored again, &c. the whole hereof must be performed on pain of confiscation of the value of the said negroes, and also the ship and cargo.

14. The expence of such ships or vessels in our islands and colonies shall be made there, and paid in cash or bills of exchange: and, in case the captain has not money, nor can find any one in the said islands and colonies, who will answer for the payment of the said bills of exchange, permission shall be granted by the governor, our lieutenant-general, or the commander in his absence, and the intendant, on the request of the captains of the said ships (which shall likewise be communicated to the director of the domaine) for the sale of a certain number of negroes and merchandises, to make good the said expence

permission shall be made, signifying the said expence, together with the quantity and quality of the negroes, and merchandises sold: and, in case the director of the domaine should oppose such sale, his motives, together with those of the governor, our lieutenant-general, or commander in his absence, and the intendant, shall be represented to be sent, with a copy of the ordonnance, to the secretary of state of the marine: and we require that the said ordonnance shall be executed provisionally, and that the sale, so permitted, shall not exceed the amount of the expence incurred, under any pretext whatsoever.

15. We require, that as soon as the said foreign ships shall be at liberty, and in condition to take in again their loadings of negroes and merchandises so landed, there shall be a re-examination of the same, signed by the director of the domaine, a copy whereof shall be sent to the secretary of state for the marine, and after the said embarkation the said vessels shall put to sea.—We require also, that those which shall be thus at liberty, depart the first favourable opportunity, after being in a condition for sailing, on the penalty against the captain of 1000 livres, and confiscation of ship and cargo: the governors, our lieutenant-governors, particular governors, or other officers commanding in our colonies, shall not permit the said ship to make any longer stay, than what shall be absolutely necessary to fit them for sea.

16. We

16. We forbid the captains of the said foreign ships, supercargoes, and others thereunto belonging, to land or sell any negroes, or other merchandises brought by the said ships, nor to ship any negroes or merchandises of the French colonies, on pain of confiscation of the said ships and loading, and 1000 livres penalty besides, which shall be paid without abatement by the captains and sailors.

Concerning negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandises, found on the seashores, and in the ports and havens, brought as well in French ships carrying on contraband trade, as in foreign ones.

A R T I C L E I.

1. NEGROES and merchandises found on the shores, ports, and havens, brought by French ships carrying on unlawful commerce, shall be confiscated, together with the ship and loading, and a penalty of 1000 livres laid on the captain, besides being condemned to the galleys for three years; the moiety of which penalty shall go to the informer.

2. Negroes and merchandises so found upon the shores, and in the ports and havens brought by foreign ships, shall also be confiscated, together with the vessel from whence they were unloaded, and the cargo and the captain condemned in 1000 livres penalty, which shall

be

be paid without deduction by him and the failors, and one moiety thereof shall go to the informer.

3. The said confiscations, pains and penalties, shall be adjudged by the officers of the admiralty, without appeal to superior courts.

Of negroes, effects, provisions, and merchandises, found on land, coming as well in French ships carrying on contraband commerce, as in foreign ones.

ARTICLE I.

NEGROES and merchandises found on land, brought by ships belonging to our subjects, carrying on illicit trade, shall be confiscated, together with the ship and cargo, and the captain condemned in the penalty of 1000 livres, and sent to the gallies for three years.

2. Negroes and merchandises which shall, in like manner, be discovered, landed, brought by foreign ships, shall also be confiscated, together with the ship and cargo, and the captain condemned in the penalty of 1000 livres, which shall be paid without abatement, by him and the failors.

3. Those in whose possession such negroes and merchandises shall be found, brought by French ships carrying on illicit trade, and by foreign ships, shall be condemned in 500 livres penalty, and be sent to the gallies for three years.

4. One

4. One moiety of the said fines and confiscation shall go to the informer, the other to the farmer of the revenue of our domaine.

5. Prosecution of such offenders shall be made before the judges in ordinary, without appeal to superior courts.

Of appeals in regard to sentences past, as well with respect to French ships carrying on contraband commerce, as foreign ships doing the same.

ARTICLE I.

APPEAL lodged in superior courts, with respect to sentences passed in the ordinary courts of law, or in those of the admiralty, on occasion of contraband trade being carried on by French ships and foreign ones, shall be adjudged in the following manner:

2. Our superior courts shall continue to assemble after the usual manner.

3. The sittings which they commonly hold, and during which all causes are dispatched that are ready to be heard, shall be divided into two parts.

4. At the first sitting there shall be heard as well civil as criminal causes, which concern individuals, and others that concern foreign or contraband trade, or have any relation thereunto, as foreign ships, &c.

5. All causes which concern the said foreign or contraband trade, or have any relation there-

thereunto, and likewise all those concerning foreign ships, shall be heard at the second sitting, which shall be held immediately after the first.

6. The governor, our lieutenant-general, the intendant, major, officers; those only shall assist at the said second sittings, and also five counsellors that we shall name for this purpose, the solicitor-general and the secretary; we require, that in case any of the said counsellors should not be at the said sittings, either by absence, sickness, or any other lawful cause, sentence shall be passed, when there are but three of the said counsellors only.

Of merchandizes coming in foreign ships, and brought by means of French vessels.

A R T I C L E I.

MERCHANDIZES coming in foreign ships, that shall be found in ships belonging to our subjects, shall be confiscated, and the captains of the said vessels, factors, &c. fined in three thousand livres penalty without deduction, and moreover the captains to be sent three years to the galleys, and the factors, &c. suffer six months imprisonment; the said confiscations and penalties shall go, the one half to the informer, and the other part shall be deposited in the hands of the commissioner of the treasury of the marine in our colonies, to be employed as we shall direct, either for the increasing or maintaining hospitals,

tals, buildings, or other necessary works of the said colonies.

2. The said captains, factors, &c. shall be obliged to justify by invoices, manifestoes, charter-parties, bills of lading, &c. in regular form, and this before the intendant at the first requisition, that the merchandizes sold are the intire produce of those laden in France; and, for want of those, they shall be censured and reputed to have sold merchandizes coming in foreign ships, or French ships trafficking in foreign or contraband trade, and as such shall be condemned in the penalties contained in the preceding article.

3. We refer the cognizance of causes that may require expedition, to the intendants of our colonies, and those we forbid to be tried in other courts.

4. We require, that, in cases where the said captains shall be convicted of the said offence, the said intendants shall place some reputable person on board such ships, in order to be carried into France to their owners.

5. We require, that all persons of what rank or condition soever, who shall be convicted of contraband commerce by vessels belonging to them, or that they have hired ships on freight that have favoured such trade in foreign vessels, or who have sent, into foreign countries or colonies, negroes, effects, provisions, or merchandizes of our colonies, may be cendemned, besides the penalties imposed

posed by these articles, to the galleys for three years.

6. We require, that such foreigners who carry on foreign commerce, and import negroes, and foreign merchandizes into our colonies, and likewise those who send negroes and merchandizes into our colonies, and likewise those who send negroes and merchandizes from our colonies into foreign countries, shall be liable to prosecution for the same, five years after commission, and that the proof thereof may be made within that time.

7. All contests of this kind, either as plaintiffs or defendants, shall be referred to the jurisdiction and cognizance of the intendants of our colonies, and we forbid all other courts and judges from trying the same.

8. We empower our commissaries of ordonnances, and our first counsellors in the islands and colonies, where there is no intendant, to supply their place.

Of foreigners settled in the colonies.

A R T I C L E I.

FOREIGNERS settled in our colonies, even those who are naturalized, or who may be so hereafter, shall not act as merchants, brokers, and agents, in affairs of commerce, in any manner whatsoever, on pain of 3000 livres penalty to the informer, and be banished

ished for ever from our said colonies; we permit them only to purchase lands and plantations, and to deal solely as planters in commodities produced therefrom.

2. We grant, to those who are at present engaged in trade, three months time, from the day of registering these presents, to lay the same aside, and the offenders shall be condemned in the penalties laid by the preceding article.

3. We forbid all merchants and traders in our colonies, from having any agents, factors, book-keepers, or other persons concerned in this commerce, who are foreigners, although they be naturalized: we require them to be dismissed within three months at the farthest, from the day of registering these presents, on the penalty of 3000 livres inflicted on such merchants and traders, and against the said agents, factors, book-keepers, or other persons who shall be engaged in their affairs, and to be banished for ever from the said colonies.

4. We enjoin and command our sollicitors-general, and their substitutes, to attend duly to the execution of these three preceding articles, on pain of answering the same in their own persons.

Thus we require and command all our faithful friends who enjoy superior posts in the said islands and colonies, that these presents may be known, published, and registered, and the contents hereof strictly observed

served according to their form and tenor, notwithstanding all edicts, declarations, arrets, and ordonnances, to the contrary, which we have by these presents made null and void : For such is our pleasure. And, to the end that this may be for ever in force, we have hereunto affixed our seal. Given at Fontainebleau in the month of October, in the year 1727, and in the 13th year of our reign.

An arret of the royal council of state, containing regulations on the point of contests between the admiralty of France and the farmers-general of the revenue, with regard to contraband and prohibited commerce, made as well at sea, and in the ports, havens, and water-side of the kingdom, as in the French islands and colonies of America.—Of the 25th of May, 1728. Extracted from the registers of the council of state.

THE king being in council, and the memorials presented as well by the admiral of France, as by the adjudicatory of the united body of farmers-general of the revenue, on the subject of controversies arisen between the admiralty of France and the said farmers-general, in regard to contraband and prohibited commerce, &c. And, in regard to the application of the penalties and confiscations made, which have occasioned contests between

between the judges of the admiralty and the judges of the said adjudicatory of farmers-general : his majesty, to put an end to those contests at present, and to prevent others for the future, having determined by a certain regulation what are the rights that belong to the one and the other, hath attended to the report of the Sieur Le Peletier, counsellor of state in ordinary, and to the royal council, and comptroller-general of the finances ; and his majesty, being in council, has decreed, and doth decree, &c. what follows, viz.

A R T I C L E I.

THE knowledge of offences committed, and discovered in France, on the vessels and in the ports, roads, coasts, and shores of the sea, with respect to contraband and prohibited commerce, carried on by importation and exportation of merchandizes, shall appertain to the Sieurs intendants, and commissaries, resident in the provinces and generalities of the kingdom, in conjunction with the officers of the admiralty, without appeal to the council in civil affairs, and shall be the dernier resort in criminal cases, &c.

2. The produce of the penalties and confiscations shall belong to his majesty, or to the adjudicatory of his farms, at whose request and expence all prosecutions shall be carried on, without the admiral of France

pretending any thing thereto, under any pretext whatsoever.

3. The officers of the admiralty shall have cognizance in the first instance of offences in regard to foreign commerce, as well in regard to affairs of a civil as criminal nature, and contraband or prohibited merchandizes, which shall be discovered to be carried on by ships, and in the ports, roads, coasts, and shores of the sea in the French islands and colonies, with appeal to superior courts, except those offences contained in title 5 of the letters patents of the month of October, 1727; the cognizance whereof shall belong to the intendants and officers of the admiralty, in calling to their assistance, if need be, the number of graduates, or officers, required by the ordinances in cases of pronouncing corporal punishment.

4. The produce of the penalties and confiscations arising from such offences which shall be discovered by the commissioners of the western domaine, in the ports, coasts, and shores of the sea in the French islands and colonies, shall be remitted to the account of cash of the domaine, and belong one moiety to his majesty, or to the adjudicatory of his farms, and one moiety to the informers, and employed by the domaine that shall have contributed to the discovery and the capture.

5. The

5. The cognizance of such offences as shall be discovered on land by the officers of the domaine to the said islands and colonies, shall belong to the intendants, without appeal to the council, except where corporal punishment is inflicted; in which case, the cognizance in the dernier resort shall be left to the said Sieurs intendants, in calling to their assistance the number of graduates, or officers, required by the ordinance; and the produce of the penalties and confiscations that shall arise, as well in civil as criminal cases, shall be remitted to the cash-account of the domaine, one moiety whereof shall belong to his majesty, or to the adjudicatory of the farms, the other moiety to the informers, and the servants of the domaine who have contributed to the discovery and capture.

6. The product of the penalties and confiscations which shall arise from the prizes at sea by the pinnaces and commissioners of the farm, authorized by the commissions from the admiralty of France, shall be remitted to the domaine, and be appropriated (one tenth belonging to the admiral being deducted) one moiety to his majesty, or the adjudicatory of his farms, the other moiety to the informers, and those employed by the domaine who have contributed to the capture.

7. The penalties and confiscations, with regard to affairs undetermined in France and America, shall belong to his majesty, or to

the adjudicatory of his farms, according to articles 4, 5, and 6 of the present regulations.

8. Effects and merchandizes seized, as well in France as in the French islands and colonies, by the commissioners of the adjudicatory of farms, shall be deposited only in the office of farms; and, with relation to prizes taken at sea (one tenth of which fall to the admiral of France) the adjudicatory of farms, or their commissioners, shall be obliged to secure them in a warehouse, under two different keys, one of which shall remain with the officers of the admiralty, and the other with the receiver of the depository of farms, till definitive judgment be given.

9. And, to indemnify the admiral of France for those rights which may be pretended to belong to him, as well in respect of contraband trade in France, as that in the French islands and colonies, and to put an end to the litigations which such pretensions may occasion, there shall be paid to him annually, on the first day of the year, by the adjudicatory of farms, to commence from the present year 1728, the sum of 20,000 livres; which, for the future, shall put an end to all pretensions of this nature in the present admiral and his successors; nor shall the farmers of the revenue interfere with the determinations of the officers of the admiralty,

rally, with respect to confiscations, nor any thing which does not immediately concern contraband and prohibited trade, and the care of the duties of the farms.

10. The farmer of the revenue, under pretence of care thereof, be it either for the loading of salt, and to prevent contraband trade, or for whatever other reason, shall not have, or put to sea, any vessel of what size soever, without leave and commission from the admiral of France, registered at the admiralty of the place, under the penalty contained in the ordinance of 1681; except, however, small boats requisite to visit ships in creeks, ports, and roads. With respect to the loading of salt, there shall be permissions granted for such ships every voyage: and, in relation to vessels and pinnaces that are always on the sea for the service of his majesty's farmers of the revenue, their leave and commission shall be granted them annually.

11. The adjudicatory of the farms shall be allowed to have upon the sea, and at the mouths or entrances of rivers, armed vessels, pinnaces, and shallops, on condition of the said vessels transmitting, every six months, to the secretary of the admiralty of the province, an account, certified by the commissioner-general of the farms, of the sur and christian names of all persons therein employed.

12. The adjudicatory shall be permitted to fit out the said vessels, and to chuse their failors, provided they are not in the service of the royal marine.

13. Licences shall be granted them from the admiral of France for such vessels and pinnaces which they may judge requisite for their purpose, in order to be armed upon the coasts of the kingdom; and these licences shall remain in force for one year, and be renewed annually at their expiration, under the penalties contained in the ordinance of 1681.

14. With relation to those pinnaces, boats, or other vessels that the farmers of the revenue may think necessary to arm at the island-colonies in America, to go within the extent of the limits prescribed by the regulations made in regard to vessels carrying on contraband commerce, they shall be obliged to take out a commission of the admiral of France, as required by article the 5th of the letters patents of the month of October, 1727, which commission shall remain in full force for one year only.

15. If any vessel, carrying on contraband commerce on the coasts of the islands of America, should be attacked by any armed vessel commissioned by the admiralty of France, and also by a vessel armed by the farmers of the revenue, under the like commission from the admiralty, the prize shall be divided between them, according to the num-

number of failors and cannon in the respective armed vessels, conformably to the ordinance of 1681.

16. There shall be no innovations made with regard to prizes and offenders, which concern damaged salt and tobacco, in the ports, and on the coasts of the kingdom; the full power to judge of which remaining in the officer of the gabelles, and others who have cognizance thereof, according to the regulations issued for that purpose; all which shall be executed according to their form and tenor, without deviating from the present arret.

17. Upon this occasion, our letters patents of the month of October, 1727, shall be taken into consideration, as likewise other regulations concerning contraband and prohibited merchandizes. His majesty enjoins the Sieur intendants and commissaries throughout the provinces and generalities of the kingdom, and the said French islands and colonies, to be vigilant in the execution of the present arret, which shall be executed, notwithstanding any obstructions thereunto; of which, if any arise, the cognizance thereof shall be left to his majesty in council, and all courts and ordinary judges are hereby forbid to interfere in these cases.—Done at the royal council of state, his majesty being present, held at Versailles the 25th of May, 1728.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, &c.—To our faithful friends and counsellors, concerned in our councils, masters of requests of our household, Sieurs intendants and commissaries throughout the provinces and generalities of our kingdom, and our French islands and colonies in America, greeting, &c.—We command and injoin you, by these presents, signed with our hand, to be vigilant and attentive, each in his respective station, to the due execution of the arret, the extract whereof is hereunto annexed, under the counter-seal of our chancery, issued this day in our council of state, we being present, for the reasons therein contained.—In the first place, we order and command our serjeant, on this requisition, to signify and publish the said arret, to all whom it may concern, that no one may be ignorant thereof, and to take all requisite measures to put our commands in execution, without other permission, notwithstanding any impediments hereunto; the cognizance of which we reserve to ourselves and our council, and forbid all other courts or judges any way to interfere therein.—We will and ordain, &c.”

UPON the 3d of October, 1730, a royal declaration was issued, concerning the regulation and collection of the capitation-tax at the Windward islands of America: and, on October the 4th, 1731, instructions were also issued, to facilitate the execution of the said declaration.

declaration. In regard to the first of these, although there is every thing done that could be, to prevent the evasion of the tax, and all frauds in the collection, yet there does not seem less judgment in joining moderation with rigor and severity. Example: in article the 9th of the said declaration it is said, “That such who shall break up fresh land in the French islands and colonies shall be exempted, for two years, from the said tax of capitation, not only for their own persons, but for their domestics and negroes employed therein.—Likewise those who shall establish new plantations, either for cacao or indigo, shall be intitled to the same privileges.”—These being the chief particulars which relate to traffic, we shall take no other notice of the before-mentioned declaration than to observe that the latter, viz. the instructions for execution of those of October the 4th, 1731, contain such plain and intelligible rules for the execution of every distinct article of the former, that it is not possible either for the officers of the crown to mistake their duty, or the people the intention of the legislator.

THE next essential particular that occurs, according to the order of time, with regard to the laws of France, in relation to their American islands and colonies, is a royal regulation with respect to the wheat-meal of Canada, which was issued by the king the 18th of May, 1732; and which is introduced with the following preamble:

“ His

“ His majesty being informed, that the meal sold in Canada, and which is exported thence to Cape Breton, and other of the French islands in America, is frequently of a bad quality, there being mixed therewith meal of other grain than that of wheat-corn, and that the same is barrelled up too moist, or in casks not sufficiently dried : his majesty desirous to prevent a continuation of the like abuses, which will absolutely ruin and annihilate the said commerce of meal, which is highly beneficial to the said colony of Canada : his majesty has ordered, and does order, &c. as follows, viz.”

A R T I C L E I.

MERCHANTS and manufacturers of wheat-meal in the colony of Canada shall be obliged, from the day of the publication of the present ordinance, to mark with fire both ends of the barrels wherein such meal shall be packed, before the sail or embarkation of the said barrels, on pain of three livres penalty for every barrel not so marked, that shall be offered to sale, be sold, or embarked.

2. Merchants and others shall be obliged, on pain of 20 livres penalty, to deposit the image or impression of the said fire-mark which they use (viz. those merchants and other manufacturers of meal residing in the city of Quebec, or under its government) in the rolls of the admiralty established in the said

said city ; and those dwelling in the cities of the three rivers, and at Mont-Real, or under the government thereof, shall be deposited in the rolls of the royal jurisdictions of the city, within the districts of their habitation.

3. Those who shall embark the said barrels, if meal, shall be obliged to mention, in their invoice of the said barrels, the distinct mark thereof, and to mention the same likewise in the bills of lading, on pain of 20 livres penalty for every offence.

4. The captains of those ships on which the said barrels of meal shall be laden, shall be obliged, before their loading, to certify whether the said barrels be marked ; and, in case they are embarked without marking, they shall be condemned in the penalty of three livres for every barrel so embarked.

5. Meal barrelled and offered to sale in Canada, which shall be found to be of bad quality, shall be confiscated, and the proprietor thereof condemned in four livres per barrel penalty.

6. Meal sent from Canada to Cape Breton, and to other of the French islands in America, which shall be found to be of bad quality, shall likewise be confiscated, and the proprietor thereof condemned in a penalty of 4 livres per barrel.

7. Cognizance of offences committed in Canada against the present ordinance, on account of barrels of meal being exposed to sale on the land, and before having been embarked,

ed, and which barrels shall not be marked, and on default also of not depositing the said mark with the secretaries of the royal jurisdiction, together with the bad quality of the said meal; shall belong to the intendant of New France, or to his subdelegates in his absence; but, if the said offences shall be discovered in any other places than on the keys, and in the ships and vessels, or in the warehouses wherein they shall be put from the first time of their landing; and, in case the said fire-mark hath not been duly deposited, in conformity to the present ordinance, in the rolls of the admiralty of Quebec, the officers of the said court shall take cognizance of the said offences.

8. The officers of the admiralty of Quebec, and those of Cape Breton, and of other French islands in America, shall take cognizance, each within the extent of his district, of offences committed by neglect of the fire-mark required at both ends of the said barrels, and also of the bad quality of the meal, provided the offence be discovered upon the keys, or in the ships or other vessels, or in the warehouses where they shall be deposited for the first time of their being landed: they likewise shall take cognizance of the default, in omitting to mention the mark of the said barrels in the invoices and bills of lading of the concerned.

9. The officers of the admiralty of Cape Breton shall be obliged to direct a verbal process,

cess, with respect to the bad meal; which process shall be sent to the intendant of New France, in order to be transmitted to the officers of the admiralty of Quebec: on which account the proprietors of the said meal shall be condemned in the penalty of 4 livres per barrel, as aforesaid.

10. The officers of the admiralty of the other French islands in America shall, in like manner, be obliged to direct a verbal process, with regard to the bad meal; which process they shall send to the secretary of state, having there the jurisdiction of the marine, to be transmitted by him to the officers of the admiralty of Quebec, to the end that the proprietor may be condemned in the penalty of 4 livres for every barrel of bad meal.

11. Cognizance of offences committed against the present ordinance, which shall be discovered after the landing of the said meal at Cape Breton, or at other French islands in America, and after they shall have been bought up from the keys or warehouses wherein they may have been put, shall belong to the intendant of the island where they shall have been landed, and, in his absence, to his subdelegate.

12. The intendants of the said islands, or their subdelegates in their absence, shall be obliged to direct the like verbal process, in relation to bad meal; which process they shall send to the secretary of state for that jurisdiction

jurisdiction of the marine, to be transmitted by him to the intendant of New France, to the end that the proprietors may be condemned in the penalty of 4 livres per barrel, which shall be found bad.

13. These verbal proceses, made on account of the bad quality of meal arriving at Cape Breton, and other the French islands in America, shall signify the quality and condition in which the meal shall be found, together with the mixture of what other grain shall be therein made; they shall mention likewise to what the bad quality of the said meal is to be attributed.

14. The penalties and confiscations which shall have been adjudged by the intendant of New France, shall belong (viz. for offences committed in the government of Quebec) to the general hospital of the said place; for those committed in the government of the three rivers, to the Hotel-Dieu of the said city; and, for those committed in the government of Mont-Real, to the Hotel-Dieu there established.

15. The penalties and confiscations decreed by the judge-commissary of Cape Breton, subdelegated by the intendant of New France, shall belong to the hospital of the said island; and those decreed by the intendant of the other French islands of America, or their subdelegates, shall be appropriated to the nearest hospital.

16. The

16. The penalties and confiscations decreed by the officers of the admiralty, shall belong to the admiral of France.

His majesty orders and commands Mons. the count of Toulouse, admiral of France, and the governors, his lieutenant-general, and intendants in America, to keep a vigilant eye, every one in his own person, to the due execution of the present ordinance, which shall be read, published, and fixed up in every place where needful, and registered in the rolls of the admiralty of the respective colonies wherein they have jurisdiction.—Done at Compeigne, the 18th of May, 1732.

UPON the 21st of May following the count of Thoulouse, admiral of France, issued his orders to all concerned, to have strict regard to the execution of the preceding ordinance.

An arret of the royal council, forbidding all privateers and merchants, carrying on trade in the French islands and colonies, to send stuffs or painted linnens of the Indies thither, or those of Persia, China, or the Levant.—May 9, 1733. Extracted from the registers of the council of state.

THE king causing to be laid before him the letters patents of the month of April, 1717, touching the regulation of the commerce of the French islands and colonies of America, by the 12th article of which it is declared,

declared, that the merchants of the kingdom shall not ship for the said islands and colonies any foreign merchandises, whose import and consumption in the kingdom are prohibited, on pain of confiscation, and a penalty of 3000 livres, which should be decreed by the officers of the admiralty: also other letters patents, of the month of February, 1719, including regulations of trade from Marseilles to the said islands and colonies, the 12th article of which contains the same disposition: also those of the month of October, 1721, by which his majesty granted to the city of Dunkirk the privilege and liberty to carry on trade to the said islands, and ordained, by article 14, that the general regulation of the month of April, 1717, should be executed in whatever was not repugnant to the dispositions made by those last letters patents: and his majesty being informed that the merchants who carry on the commerce of the said French islands and colonies, might export thither stuffs and painted linens of the Indies, Persia, China, or of the Levant, under pretence that these sorts of merchandises (whose use and importation are nevertheless prohibited) are not expressly comprehended in the said 12th article of the general regulation of 1717; against which his majesty desiring to provide, and considering the advice of the deputies of council of commerce, heard the report of the Sieur Orry, counsellor of state, and counsellor in ordinary to the royal council, and

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comptroller-general of the finances, the king, being present in council, has ordained, and and does hereby ordain, that the letters patents of the month of April, 1717, of February, 1719, and October, 1721, shall be executed according to their form and tenor. In consequence of which, his majesty expressly forbids all privateers and merchants, carrying on trade to the French islands and colonies of America, to carry thither stuffs or painted linens of the Indies, of Persia, China, or the Levant, under what denomination soever, on pain of confiscation, and a penalty of 3000 livres, and to be EXCLUDED from being concerned in the said commerce for the future.—The like prohibitions are made to all captains, master-pilots, marine officers, sailors, passengers, and others who make up the crews of ships designed for the said islands and colonies, to carry thither, in any shape whatsoever, any of the said stuffs and painted linens, on pain of confiscation, and of 3000 livres penalty against the captains, master-pilots, marine officers and passengers, besides their being rendered incapable of commanding and serving in any vessel whatsoever; and, with respect to sailors, and others whereof the ship's crew consists, on pain of one year's imprisonment, or more, according to the case: his majesty commands and enjoins the Sieurs intendants and commissaries in the marine provinces of the kingdom, and the officers of the admiralty, and likewise the go-

VOL. II. H vernoRS

vernors and intendants of the said French islands and colonies, or all commanders and commissaries subdelegated, to have a strict regard, each for himself, to the execution of the present arret, which shall be read, published, and fixed up, wherever needful. Done at the king's council, his majesty being present, held at Versailles the 9th of May, 1733.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, &c.—To our friends and faithful counsellors, concerned in our councils, the Sieurs intendants and commissaries, dispersed, for the execution of our orders, throughout our maritime provinces, and to the officers of the admiralty, also to the governors and intendants of the French islands and colonies, or to the commanders and commissaries subdelegated in their districts, greeting: we command and enjoin, by these presents signed by us, to have a strict regard, every one in his own person, to the execution of the arret hereunto annexed, under the counter-seal of our chancery, this day given in our council of state, we being there present, for the reasons therein contained, &c.

An

An arret of the royal council of state, which grants the merchants of St. Jean de Luz, for their whale and cod fisheries at Canada and Cape Breton, the same rights, privileges, and exemptions granted by letters patents of the month of April, 1717, for the trade of the French islands and colonies of America. —July 20, 1734. Extracted from the registers of the royal council of state.

UPON a petition presented to the king in council, by the merchants of St. Jean de Luz, containing, that as yet, with regard to the cod and whale fisheries, which is the only commerce of that city, they are under the necessity of sending ships, as well to the island of Terra Nova, which makes part of the French colonies of America, as to Davis's Streights in North America; notwithstanding they have never enjoyed an exemption of duties on merchandises designed for the French colonies, with respect both to the cargo or the victualling of their vessels; of which they have always refused the acquittance of security at Bourdeaux, under pretence that there is no warehouse of entrepost established in their port; and that in the letters patents of the month of April, 1717, containing regulations for the commerce of the French colonies, which signify the ports where vessels are to be fitted out, that of St. Jean de Luz hath been omitted: and, as that omission makes it

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impossible for them to carry on the commerce of the colonies upon an equality with other merchants of the kingdom, included in the said letters patents, they being liable to these duties, from which others are exempt: which have proved so burthensome, that they have sustained considerable losses, for some years passed, in their cod and whale fisheries: for these reasons they request, that his majesty would please to order the establishment of a warehouse of entrepost in the said city of St. Jean de Luz, for fitting out ships for the French colonies of America, and that they may enjoy those exemptions of duties, and other privileges and advantages, granted to the merchants, contained in the letters patents of the month of April, 1717. His majesty having seen the said petition, heard the sentiments of the deputies of commerce, and the report of the Sieur Orry, counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the finances, and the king being present in council, hath granted, and doth grant, to the merchants of St. Jean de Luz, for their whale and cod fisheries at Canada and Cape Breton, the same rights, privileges, and exemptions which are granted for the commerce of the French colonies, to the merchants of the kingdom, included in the letters patents of the month of April, 1717; to which end, his majesty orders that there may be established, in the said city of St. Jean de Luz, a warehouse, wherein the merchandises and provisions designed

signed for the victualling of ships fitted out for the said fisheries, shall be lodged, according to the entrepost, and in conformity to the 30th article of the said letters patents.—Done at the council of state, held at Versailles, the 20th of July, 1734.

An arret of the royal council of state, and letters patents in consequence thereof, concerning the entrepost, as well in respect to merchandises intended for the French islands and colonies, as those which come from thence.—Of the 6th of May, 1738. Registered in the council of aids.

THE letters patents of the month of April, 1717, being represented to the king in council, containing regulations for the commerce of the French colonies, by which his majesty hath ordered, by articles 5, 6, and 30, that the provisions and merchandises of the kingdom intended for the said colonies, together with those also of the said colonies, shall be warehoused, according to the entrepost in the ports therein designed, and that the warehouses for that purpose shall be chosen by the merchants, at their expence, and locked with three different keys, one of which shall be deposited with the commissioner of the five great farms, another with the commissioner of the western domaine, and the third with

the overseer appointed for that purpose by the merchants: the declaration of his majesty, of the 19th of January, 1723, which orders that the merchants, the proprietors of the provisions and merchandises designed to be warehoused, and intended for the French islands and colonies, shall be obliged, after one year's entrepost, to declare, at the offices of farms of those places, the quantities, qualities, weights, and measures of the said provisions and merchandises, which shall remain in the entrepost warehouses; which declaration shall be certified by the commissioners of the adjudicatory of the farms; and, in case of offending there-against, by a false declaration, the merchants proprietors of the said interposed merchandise shall be condemned in the penalty of 500 livres, and likewise obliged to the payment of the duties of the merchandises which shall be found wanting according to their declaration: and lastly, in case of the sale of the said merchandises, the merchants proprietors thereof shall be obliged to discharge the duties one month after sale, on pain of the like penalty of 500 livres. The arret of the council of the third of May, 1723, and letters patents, in consequence thereof, of the 21st of the said month, by which his majesty hath fixed the time of entrepost, as well with respect to the merchandises of the islands and colonies, as of those declared and designed for the said
islands

islands and colonies, shall be for one year, reckoning from the day that the said merchandises shall have been so warehoused; which time being expired, they shall be liable to duties. And his majesty being informed, that, in the cases where the farmer of the revenue, on account of the difficulties which attend warehouses under keys, permits the merchants to make the entrepost in their own warehouses, many of whom lodge the said merchandises, or change the warehouses, without making any declaration thereof to the farmer, which hath occasioned divers abuses; his majesty, being resolved to remedy the same, by adding to the abovesaid regulations fresh precautions, which may, in some measure, supply the default of the keys, which, in the terms of the letters patents of April 1717, should be deposited with the farmer of the revenue, &c. The king having heard the report of the Sieur Orry, counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the finances, being present in council, hath ordered, and doth hereby order, that, in case where the farmer of the revenue shall permit merchants to put merchandises in their own warehouses, the said merchants shall be obliged to declare, to the commissioners of the farms, the warehouse wherein they design to place them, and to give to the officer of farms security to represent them in the same quality and quantity, at the time re-
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quired, under the pains and penalties hereafter mentioned.—His majesty forbids the merchants to take out the said merchandises from the warehouses wherein they shall be deposited, or even to shift them from one warehouse to another, till they have made a declaration thereof to the said office, and taken out a licence for that purpose, &c. His majesty orders, that, in case of fraud, the said merchants shall be condemned to the confiscation of the value of the merchandises wanting, and besides in the penalty of 500 livres, &c. and, in case of a change of warehouse without declaration made thereof, they shall be deprived of the benefit of the entrepôt, and liable to the payment of all the duties, &c.

Then follow letters patents to enforce the same.

MAY the 21st, 1741, was issued an arret of the royal council of state, permitting privateers for the French islands and colonies to load salt in Bretagne, or in other parts where customary, to be employed at Cape Verde, for the salting of beef designed for the said islands, without paying any duties, &c.

ON July the 19th, 1742, a royal ordinance was made, forbidding all captains of ships disarmed in the said islands of America,

rica, from paying in the said islands the balance due to their ship's crew, and injoining them to make the discounts in the presence of the officers charged to take an account of several classes of the sailors, and regulating the peculiar forms requisite upon those occasions, &c.

JUNE the 24th, 1743, an arret of the royal council of state was issued, ordering that the merchandises of the produce of the French islands of America, intended for Cape Breton, shall be discharged, to the 1st of January, 1747, of the duty of weight of 1 per cent. and that those merchandises of the produce of the said islands, designed as well for Cape Breton as for Canada, shall be discharged, during the said time, of the duties of 3 per cent. of the western domaine, together with the duty of 40 sols per 100 weight upon sugars of the said islands, which shall be sent there.

OCTOBER the 29th, 1743, an arret of the royal council of state was issued, ordering that the merchants and privateers of Marseilles shall be obliged to bring to the office of the western domaine all merchandises coming from the French islands of America, so well as those which shall be embarked for the said islands, to be there visited, and the duties discharged.

APRIL

APRIL the 20th, 1744, an arret of the royal council of state was made, suspending, during the late war, the execution of the second article of the letters patents of the month of April, 1717, concerning the commerce of the French islands of America.

ON the 22d of December, 1750, an arret of the royal council of state was declared, containing an exemption of the duty of 3 per cent. of the western domaine, on cottons brought from the French colonies of America, for home-consumption, and to subject them to the same duties of exportation that they paid before the arret of the 12th of November, 1749. Also ordaining that the duty of 3 per cent. of the western domaine shall continue to be collected upon cotton of the French colonies exported to other nations; and that the duty of one half per cent. established by the declaration of the 10th of November, 1727, shall continue to be collected upon the cotton of the said colonies, in the same manner as collected upon other merchandizes which come from thence.

ON the 17th of August, 1751, an arret was issued by the royal council of state, fixing at 8 livres per 100 weight the duties on the exportation of cotton-wool out of the kingdom, coming from the French island colonies, and those on cotton-yarn at 10
livres

livres per 100 weight, as well for the duties of the five great farms, as for those of the western domaine; ordaining also, that the duty of one half per cent. augmentation of the western domaine shall remain to be collected at importation in the kingdom, upon cottons coming from the said islands.

WE have dwelt the longer on the laws established in France for the regulation of the trade of their American islands and other colonies, because these things seem to be little known in this kingdom, and because they point out the measures which that nation has taken, from the year 1701 to the present time, for the advancement of the commerce of their colonies. And, as the success and prosperity of this neighbouring nation, in these islands and colonies, have been so remarkable and conspicuous to the whole world, within half a century, a knowledge of those laws, whereby such great things have been effected, one should seem to think, must be acceptable to all who would enter into the causes of such unparalleled consequences.

THAT our readers may form a right judgment of these laws and regulations, we shall observe the following particulars, viz.

I. THAT they are grounded on the representations of the deputies of commerce, made, from time to time, to the royal council
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cil of state: that those deputies of commerce are persons well skilled and experienced in those branches of trade about which they lay their sentiments before the royal council.

2. THAT these laws and regulations, in general, are derived from a very exact and circumstantial state of the commerce, as carried on by the practical merchants and traders; which indicate that the legislators in all countries cannot be too well informed of all the various methods and arts made use of by traders in the prosecution of their respective branches, the better to enable them so to adapt and conform their laws to the nature of peculiar branches, that the national prosperity cannot fail of being promoted.

3. THAT the fines and penalties made on traders violating those laws are very rigorous and severe; and that the French nation are no less strict in the execution of those laws, than they are circumstantial and deliberate in the enacting them: witness the case of captain Gilles Robin, for carrying on illicit trade with an English vessel at St. Domingo.

4. THAT the laws of trade in France should seem, suitably to the nature of the constitution of their government, to be wisely accommodated to preserve the whole trade of their islands and colonies to themselves, in order to render them absolutely subservient to the prosperity of their mother-kingdom.—That,

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to this end, we find them, by their laws, extremely vigilant to prevent all contraband trade from being carried on with foreign nations in their colonies, they judging it highly detrimental to the interest of their colonies, as well as of the kingdom of France in general.

5. THAT, since the laws of France in general are so well calculated to prevent such contraband trade, we may presume that, whenever this nation permits such trade with their American colonies, they are certain to be gainers by it; otherwise we may reasonably enough believe, that they would soon put an effectual stop thereto, as the due execution of their laws could not fail of being effectual to that purpose.

6. THAT as the French encourage a trade being carried on between the British northern colonies and the French sugar-islands in America, as is taken notice of in these papers, it is to be feared that the French are too sensible of the advantages arising from that trade, or they would as little admit of that in particular as any other; and, if that proves a gainful branch of trade to the French, does it not become the wisdom of Great-Britain so thoroughly to examine into this commerce with the French colonies, as to determine whether a commerce beneficial to France can be so in its consequences to Great-Britain?

7. THAT

7. THAT the French take all proper care to promote a trade between Canada, or New-France, and their island colonies; and that it should not seem to appear bad policy in Great-Britain to promote, as much as possible, the commerce of our North-American colonies, with our own sugar-islands, rather than to permit them to carry on a trade to the French sugar-islands.

8. THAT the French have surprisngly increased in their sugar-trade, as well as in every other part of the commerce of their islands and colonies in America, is a fact uncontrovertable; and that their maritime power, in general, has augmented, in the like proportion, is as little to be disputed.

THE number of prizes that were taken from the French in the late war, and the frequent arrivals of their numerous fleets, have rouzed and opened the eyes of many that would not be convinced before: and, since our indolence is at length awakened, our security alarmed, and every breast seems to be filled with those passions which are inkindled by the love of our country, is it not full time to exert our whole strength, to reduce this nation within bounds, if possible?

IN order to answer so desirable an end, it will be necessary to search narrowly into the present state, laws, establishments, and rules of commerce, as well foreign as domestic, and to retrench what is superfluous and inconvenient

convenient in our own laws, and to supply what is insufficient by prudent regulations. But, above all, does it not behove Great Britain seriously to think of making such foreign alliances, as will enable us to humble this eternal disturber of Europe once for all? For this I will presume to say may be done: and now or never seems the time!

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DISSERTATION XXI.

The system of the French with regard to their African trade; wherein will appear, by what measures they have become so successful therein, and they have had so greatly the advantage over us.

THE African trade is estimable to the French, as well as other European nations, who have a share in it, on account of the gold, the ivory, and the slave trade. Though the commerce of this country, as it has hitherto been carried on, affords but few articles, in comparison to that of others, yet it is valuable and important; and the more so, in that it is so necessary a trade to the Europeans, as they are at present circumstanced. For

This commerce is not only profitable to the respective Europeans, in the direct way of trading from their several countries to the African coast, but is so much the more so to those nations, which have colonies and plantations to support by the dint of negro-labour, for want of a competent number of whites, for the cultivation of sugars, tobacco's

baccos, and all other plantation-productions.

How greatly beneficial this traffic has proved to the French nation in this respect, we may judge from the extraordinary increase of their sugar colonies. It is not above half a century since they did not employ above 100 sail of ships for the supply of their own kingdom for sugars; but in the late war it was discovered, that they employed above six hundred sail. This is one of the great nurseries of trade and seamen, that has rendered the French no less formidable in America than Europe.

By what means these mighty things have come to pass, cannot be so effectually represented, as by the authentic ordonances and arrets; which shews the real spirit of their laws.—We need trace these no farther back than the year 1716.

THE king's letters patent for the liberty of trade upon the coast of Africa, published at Paris, January 1736.

[The preamble runs thus, which I shall note with all brevity, for the sake of some useful observations.]

LEWIS, &c.—To all, greeting.—By letters patent of the late king, dated January 1685, there was established a company by the name of the Guinea Company, to continue for the space of 20 years, excluding all
VOL. II. I others

others the trade of negroes, gold dust, and other merchandize trafficked in upon the coast of Africa, from the river Sarraleone to the Cape of Good-Hope; and likewise granting to this company divers privileges and immunities; and, among other grants, exempted them from half the duties of all merchandizes, brought from all places within their district and isles of America upon their own account, although the time limited by these letters patents should be expired.—The late king, &c. thought good, on account of engagements this company had made, in order to supply the Spanish West-Indies with negroes by the Assiento contract, to continue to them the same privileges and immunities, under the title of the Assiento treaty, until the month of November, 1713.—The merchants of our kingdom having represented how much it tended to the benefit of trade in general, and in particular to the improvement of the French islands in America, that the commerce of the Guinea coast should be free and open to all his majesty's subjects; the late king did not think it proper to form a new company, though there were many persons ready to offer themselves, and enter into such an association; and, as we are willing to encourage the freedom of commerce, and deal favourably with the merchants and traders, who shall undertake this traffic, and afford them every thing necessary to render it more considerable than it has

has been, and by that means to provide for our subjects of the French isles in America a sufficient number of negroes, for improving the cultivation of their lands: for these and other reasons moving us hereunto, we have thought fit, by the advice, &c. And have declared, resolved, and ordained, &c. That

A R T I C L E I.

WE have permitted, and do permit, to all the merchants of our kingdom for the time to come, to have a free trade for negroes, gold dust, and all other merchandizes that may be brought from the coast of Africa, from the river Sarralyonne to the Cape of Good-Hope, provided their ships are fitted out in the harbours of Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Nantes.

2. The masters and captains who trade to the coast of Guinea, shall be obliged to declare at the secretary's of the admiralty office, established at the place of their departure, and give security at the receipt of customs, to oblige them to return into one of the ports of Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Nantes; except, nevertheless, those ships which shall go out from Rouen, Rochelle, and Bourdeaux, should be drove, at their return, into Nantes, or St. Malo.

3. The merchants of those ships that shall transport to the French isles of America negroes bought upon the coast of Guinea, shall pay, upon the arrival of their ships in the

ports of Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Nantes, into the hands of the treasurer-general of the marine in being, the sum of 20 livres for every negro that shall be carried to the said islands, for which they shall give security to the secretary of the admiralty, on their being permitted to take their leave of our most dear and truly beloved uncle, Lewis Alexander of Bourbon, count of Thoulouse, admiral of France, &c. and as to those merchants, whose ships shall only trade for gold dust, and other commodities upon the said coast, they shall likewise be bound, upon the arrival of their said ships in the said ports, to pay into the hands of the treasurer of the marine the sum of three livres for every ton his ship's burden shall contain; which twenty livres aforesaid, and three livres, shall be employed, by order of the council of marine, for the keeping in repair the fortifications, factories, and custom-houses, which are or shall be settled on the said coasts of Guinea, which expences we will defray for the time to come.

4. Nevertheless, the payment of the said three livres per ton duty is excused during the three next following years, from the day and date of these presents, to all our subjects, whose ships shall trade to the Guinea coast for gold and other merchandizes, slaves only excepted.

5. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all manner of merchandizes that shall
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be brought from the coast of Guinea by our subjects, directly to the ports of Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Nantes, we exempt from one half the duties of importation, that are farmed, or may be farmed; likewise our will is, that all sugars, and other merchandizes, of all our subjects that shall be brought from the French American islands, arising from the sale and truck of negroes, be equally exempted from the said half duties of importation, on their producing a certificate from the superintendant of the isles, or commissary-governor, or commissioner of the customs in the West-Indies, that the goods shipped at the said islands arose from the sale and barter of negroes, which the said ships had there unloaded, the said certificate specifying the ships names, number of negroes that shall be shipped to the islands, and lodged in the receivers office, who shall grant to the captains and masters a duplicate of the same, without any expence.

All our receivers, commissioners, or deputies, are forbid to take more duties, upon pain of four times the value.

6. Linens of all sorts, toys, mercery, glass-ware wrought and plain, iron-bars, plate-iron, guns, swords, and other arms, gun-flints, being the manufacture of this kingdom, shall be free from all duties of exportation, usual both in our receiver's office, and all the offices in their passage, and the ports they are bound to, on condition it is proved they
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are intended for the Guinea trade; until which is confirmed, the said goods shall be lodged in the custom-house, under two different keys; one kept by the receiver-general of our customs, the other by whomsoever the merchants shall propose, at their own expence. As for the wines of Anjou, and other products of the river Loire, bound to Guinea, they shall be under the same restrictions as those bound to the French American islands, according to the arret of council 23 September, 1710. And, with respect to the wines of Bourdeaux, we will and ordain, that they are regulated, as if shipped for the American islands, on taking a bill of loading there of the said wines, and giving them the usual security.

7. We grant to the said merchants leave to lodge, in the ports of Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Nantes, the goods called cowries, striped blue and white India cottons, printed linens, grain crystal, small Dutch looking-glasses, Dutch tobacco-pipes, and others from the north, coming only by sea for the Guinea trade: we grant likewise the same room in our custom-house for two years and no longer, from the date of these presents, for Dutch knives, kettles, and other sort of copper utensils. Provided the aforesaid foreign goods shall be specified to the commissioner of the customs upon their arrival, and afterwards deposited in the king's warehouse for that purpose, locked with two keys,

keys, one to remain in the hands of the commissioner, the other with whom the merchant shall name, all at their own expence.

8. The commissioner of the customs in each of the aforesaid ports shall keep a register, which shall be lettered and marked by the director of the customs, in which the aforesaid commissioner shall register in parcels the goods specified in the two foregoing articles, as soon as they shall be deposited in the warehouse. The aforesaid commissioner is forbid to give a certificate for their clearance, upon the security that was taken at the first office, until the proof, the register, and the unloading of them, shall be examined into in the aforesaid staple warehouse, from whence they shall not be taken until they are to be put on board the ships bound to the coast of Guinea. And, at the loading of the aforesaid goods, both foreign and French, for the coast of Guinea: our will is, that there be mentioned in the margin of the register, &c. the name of the ship they were put on board, and signed by the commissioner, the merchants they are consigned to, and the captain who receives the goods on board, &c.

9. Nevertheless, we grant leave to the merchants and traders of the city of St. Malo to fit out and equip, in their ports, ships for the coast of Guinea, and for the French coasts of America, and to make their returns to the aforesaid ports on the foregoing clauses, articles, and exemptions, already mentioned,

paying us for the goods which shall come from the coast of Guinea, and the French isles of America, the settled duties, according to the usual custom in the aforesaid port of St. Malo, for the profit of our most dear and truly-beloved uncle Louis Alexander de Bourbon, count of Thoulouse, duke of Penthièvre, admiral of France, and governor of Bretagne, &c.

So soon after, as the 27th of September, 1720, there passed an arret of the council of state, granting and re-uniting perpetually to the French East India company, the exclusive privilege of the trade of the coast of Guinea, &c.—The preamble to which, as contained in the registers of the council of state, is as follows, and well deserves the attention of this kingdom—It runs as follows, viz.

THE king's letters patent of January, 1716, being represented to the king in council, whereby his majesty permitted all the merchants of his kingdom, to carry on freely the commerce of negroes, gold dust, and all other the merchandises trafficked in on the coast of Africa, from the river Serraleone, inclusively, to the Cape of Good Hope; and his majesty being informed, *that instead of the advantages that were expected from this general freedom allowed in that commerce, there resulted three great inconveniences: viz. (1) the course of numerous different traders, who came on this coast, and their endeavours to hasten their cargoes, to avoid the expence of demurrage,*
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causing the natives of the country to fall the price of French commodities so excessively, and so greatly enhancing the price of Negroes upon the French; and also that of gold dust, and all other the merchandises of the African coast, that the whole trade became ruinous and impracticable to be carried on: his majesty has resolved to accept of the offers of the East India company, to send annually to the number of 3000 negroes at least, to the French islands in America, instead of the number of one thousand carried thither by letters patents in the year 1685; and his majesty is pleased to establish in favour of the said East India company, an exclusive right of trade to the said coast of Guinea, which will be easier for the said company, and more advantageous to the state, than the said company can otherwise afford to do; and can thereby be enabled to make such establishment, by which their ships that they send to the coast, will always find cargoes of slaves and merchandises ready for their return, and whereby they will not only be capable of supplying the French colonies in America, with negroes at a very reasonable price, that shall be necessary not only for the cultivation of their lands, but to carry thither a considerable quantity of gold and gold dust, and other sorts of merchandises fit for that traffic: his majesty upon this occasion desiring to make his intentions public, and being in council, with advice of the duke of Orleans ordains, &c.

I. His

1. His majesty revokes the liberty of a free trade granted by his letters patent of January, 1716, on the coast of Guinea, and grants and unites the trade to the East India company for ever in negroes, gold, and other the merchandises, brought off the coast of Africa, from the river Serralyonne, inclusively, to the Cape of Good-Hope, &c.

2. His majesty expressly forbids all his subjects to carry on trade and navigation to those countries under any pretence whatsoever, and under pain of confiscation of the vessel, arms, ammunition, and merchandises of the said East India company.

3. We grant to the said East India company, the full propriety of all the lands, which they shall possess within the extent of the present grant, to make such establishments as they shall think proper; to erect forts for their security, and to transport thither arms, and cannon, and settle commandants and the number of officers and soldiers that they shall judge requisite to secure their commerce, as well against foreigners, as the natives of the country: to which end the said company is permitted to make such treaties with the Negroe-princes as they think necessary.

4. All prizes taken from those who shall interfere with the company's exclusive trade, shall be judged according to his majesty's ordinances and regulations for that intent.

5. The

5. The said company shall be exempt from all duties of export on their merchandise exported to those places within the said grant, and for the French islands and colonies in America.

6. In relation to all merchandises that the said company shall cause to be brought for their account from the countries within the said grant, they shall be free from one moiety of the duties belonging to his majesty, or to the farmers of the revenue; and all such farmers, and their commissioners, and all other are obliged to demand no more, on pain of restoring the same in a fourfold degree.—His majesty commands that all sugars and other species of merchandises that the said company shall bring from the French islands of America, arising from the sale and barter of Negroes, shall be entitled to the same exemption, in proving by certificate of the superintendent of the said islands, or one of their appointed commissioners, or the commissioner of the western domaine, that the said merchandises embarked from the said islands, arising from the sale and truck of negroes that have been discharged there in the company's vessels; which certificates shall mention the number of vessels, and the number of negroes which shall have been imported into the said islands, and remain in the office of his majesty's farmers, whose receivers shall give the duplicate without expence to the captains of the said ships, &c.

7. His

7. His majesty in the like manner forbids all mayors, sheriffs, consuls, jurats, findicts, and inhabitants of the cities, to exact from the said company any duties of octroy, of any kind whatsoever, upon the provisions and merchandises that they shall transport to their magazines, and sea-ports, to lade on board their vessels; his majesty exonerating the said company from the said imports notwithstanding all arrets, and ordonnances to the contrary.

8. He discharges the said company from the duty of twenty livres for every negroe, and of three livres per ton of portage of the said vessels by the 3d article of the aforesaid letters patents of January, 1716, laid upon the merchants who should traffic to the said coast of Guinea, and gives and grants to them forever all the forts and factories erected and established upon the said coast; whereby his majesty shall be freed from all necessary expence, for the future, with relation to the support and maintenance of the said forts and factories, and that of the garrisons, and the appointments of governors and all other officers therein employed.

9. In consideration whereof, his majesty orders that there shall be paid to the said company out of the revenues of the western domaine, 13 livres for every negroe, that they shall make appear to have imported into the said islands and colonies of America, according to certificate from the intendant of the islands,

islands, or governor in his absence, and twenty livres for every mark of gold dust, that they shall make appear to have brought into the kingdom by the certificates of the directors of the mint of Paris.

10. Besides the rights, privileges and exemptions before mentioned, the said company shall be entitled to for the benefit of its commerce on the said coast of Guinea, all those which it has a right to enjoy for the benefit of their commerce to the province of Louisiana, in consequence of letters patents of the month of August, 1717, together with all those which have been enjoyed, in consequence of letters patents of the late king of the month of January, 1685, by the antient Guinea company established in virtue of the said letters patents, as fully as if they were by these presents expressly declared again, &c.

Letters patents, containing regulations for merchandises, which traders of this kingdom import from Holland and the North, for the Guinea trade. Given at Fontainbleau, September 7, 1728.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre: to all our friends and faithful counsellors, members of our court of parliament of Paris, greeting: it being represented unto us, that our letters patents of the month of January, 1716, for the liberty of commerce upon the coast of Africa; in the seventh

seventh article of which we have granted to all our merchants permission to warehouse in the ports therein mentioned, among other merchandises, white, blue, and striped cottons, printed linens, which they shall import from Holland and the North, by sea only, for the trade of Guinea: and being informed that, by the indulgence of this grant, they have introduced into our kingdom, to the prejudice of our established manufactures, India cottons, of a finer quality than what need be sent for that trade; we have provided against it by the arret of this day, given in our council of state, we being there present; for the due execution of which, we have ordered all necessary letters to be dispatched: for these, and other reasons hereunto moving us, by the advice of our council, we have, by these presents, signed with our own hand, ordained, and we do accordingly ordain, as follows:

1. We expressly forbid, and prohibit, all ships in the Guinea trade, or other kind of trade, to import from Holland, or any other country of the North, into our kingdom, to commence from the publication of these presents, under the pretence of warehousing, any white India linen, called caladaris, painted India linen, called chints, or stuffs of all silk, or half silk, upon pain of confiscation of the said goods, and a penalty of three thousand livres.

2. We

2. We permit, nevertheless, all merchants, and traders to import from Holland and the North all other sorts of linen and stuffs fit for the Guinea trade, except those comprised in the foregoing article, on condition they first acquaint the secretary of the admiralty of the place of their abode, the ship's name on board which they are laden, and the office of customs, of the quantity and quality of the linens and stuffs which they shall require to be imported from the said foreign countries.

3. The captain who, in consideration of the aforesaid declarations, shall import merchandises fit for the Guinea trade, and allowed by the above article, shall be obliged to load them on board the ship fitted out for that purpose, and send them, in six months at farthest, to the coast of Guinea, upon pain of confiscation of the said goods, and a thousand livres penalty.

4. If, nevertheless, the merchant-adventurers should be, by any unforeseen accident, obliged to alter the voyage of the ship which was intended for the coast of Guinea, he may, in the space of six months, appoint another, on board of which he shall be obliged to load the said goods, and, that time being expired, counting from the time of their goods being landed, they shall be confiscated, and the adventurers shall be condemned in 1000 livres penalty.

5. The

5. The owner of the goods ordered from Holland, or other country of the north, shall be obliged to send, by his factor or supercargo, the bills of loading, of which the captain is the bearer, the invoice of the said goods, mentioning the particulars of their qualities and quantities, the bails, chests, or casks, &c. in which they are contained.

6. In case the aforesaid invoices are not according to the declaration before-mentioned, we will and ordain that the merchandizes specified in the invoice be seized and confiscated, and the adventurers condemned in the penalty of 1000 livres.

7. We also forbid the adventurers to make any declarations, in ambiguous terms, of goods unknown, and the commissary to receive them, upon pain of confiscation of the said goods, and the commissary deprived of his place for receiving such declarations.

8. We further will and ordain, that our foresaid letters patents of the month of January, 1716, be executed, according to the form and tenor, wherein they deviate from these presents. Thus we will and ordain.

The

The king's proclamation, concerning the commerce of GUINEA; ordering that three negro boys should be paid for upon the footing of two negroes of maturity; and two negro girls for one negro. Given at Paris the 14th of December, 1716. Registered in parliament.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to all whom these presents may concern, sends greeting: the late king, our most honoured lord and great-grandfather, having permitted from the month of November, 1713, to the traders of the kingdom to go, by virtue of passports, which were delivered to them, to contract for negroes at the coast of Guinea, and afterwards to export them to the American islands; on condition of paying, for each of those as shall be sent to St. Domingo, 30 livres, and 15 for those which shall be carried to the Windward islands, according to which they are to submit; we have judged it necessary, in the month of January of the present year, to grant, by our letters patents, the free liberty of commerce to that coast (of which the Guinea company had the exclusive right of trade) till the said month of November, 1713. And, in consequence whereof, we have granted permission, by the said letters patents, to the traders of our kingdom, to send their vessels thither, to agree for the

purchase of negroes, and afterwards to transport them to the said islands; for every one whereof that should be disembarked, we ordain that they should pay to the treasurer-general of the navy 20 livres. We also ordain, by an arret of the 28th of the said month of January this year, that the merchants who have taken passports since the month of November 1713, shall pay to the said treasurer-general the sums specified pursuant to their obligations: but, the merchants having represented to us that the same duties were required for boys and girls, as for men and women negroes, although three negro boys cost no more in Guinea than the price of two negroes of maturity, and are only sold in the like proportion at the islands; and the same for two negro girls, who are bought and sold for no more than one negro; whereupon we have resolved to explain our intentions: for these and other reasons moving us thereunto, and according to the advice of our most dear and well-beloved uncle of Orleans, regent, of our most dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Bourbon, &c. we have by these presents signed with our hand, declared and ordained, and hereby we declare and ordain, That such merchants who have sent, or shall send their ships to the coast of Guinea, to contract for negroes, and afterwards transport them to the islands of America, shall not be obliged to pay for every negro boy of 12 years of age, or under, that shall

shall be disembarked at the said islands by the passport ships of the late king, only the two thirds of the duties to which they are liable for each negro; and for every negro girl also, of 12 years of age, and under, the moiety, or half part of the said duties shall only be paid; and for every negro boy of the same age that should have been, or shall be disembarked at the said islands, by virtue of the said letters patents, the two thirds of the duties shall be paid that is for each negro; and for every negro girl of the same age the moiety of the said duties, &c.

An arret of the king's council of state, concerning the commerce of Guinea, of the 13th of September, 1729. Extracted from the register of the council of state.

THE arret of his council, of the 7th of September, 1728, being laid before the king, and his letters patents dispatched upon it the same day, containing regulations for merchandise imported from Holland and the North, for the Guinea trade; by the second article of which, his majesty has permitted to all merchants and traders to cause to be imported from Holland and the North all sorts of linen or stuffs, excepting those comprised in the foregoing article; provided they first acquaint the secretary of the admiralty with the place of their abode, and the ships they are

[132]

put on board of. His majesty being informed; from the complaints of some merchants, that the officers of the admiralty retarded their voyages, by refusing to receive their declarations, upon the terms of the said second article, by reason the said letters patents were not addressed to the admiral of France, nor registered: all which we being willing to remedy, the king being in council, and attending to the report of Sieur le Pelatier, counsellor of state in ordinary, and comptroller-general of the finances, hath ordered, and accordingly orders, that the said letters patents of the 7th of September, 1728, be executed, according to their form and tenor, to the intent that they may be registered at the admiralty-board, established in the ports, destined by the first article of his majesty's letters patents, given the month of January, 1716, for the general freedom of commerce upon the coast of Africa: his majesty commands and ordains Mons. the count of Thoulouse, admiral of France, to see the present arret put in execution, which shall be registered in the admiralty, established in the ports destined for the general freedom of the commerce of Africa. Made at the king's council of state, his majesty being present, held at Versailles, the 13th of September, 1729.

The

[133]

The king's ordinance, prohibiting captains of ships that shall bring negroes to the islands, from landing, or sending their crews and cargoes thither, without permission from the governors. Of the 3d of April, 1718. By the king.

His majesty being informed that the captains of ships that bring negroes into the islands of America, have communication with the inhabitants of the said colonies, and suffer their crews, their negroes, and other parts of their cargoes, to be landed, although the negroes that they bring, and other parts of their cargoes, are infected with the plague, which it is of high importance to prevent. To the end that from the frequency of these practices the said contagious distempers may not infect the inhabitants of the said islands: his majesty, by and with the advice of Mons. the duke of Orleans, regent, forbids all captains of ships who shall import negroes into the said islands, from coming on shore, or to suffer their crews or cargoes to be landed; and likewise to have no correspondence with the inhabitants, either by themselves, or by any of their ship's crew or cargoes, without permission first had and obtained from the commanding officer of the place where they shall arrive; which permission shall be allowed them, provided there is no infectious disease on ship-board; and, in case there is, a place shall be provided for them, where they

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they might land the infected, in order to have them cured before they have the least communication with the said inhabitants. His majesty orders and commands Monf. the count of Thoulouse, admiral of France, and all governors and lieutenant-generals in South America, particular governors, and other officers, to pay due regard hereunto, &c.

An arret of the king's council of state, for the payment of the bounty of 13 livres for each negro, and 20 livres for every mark of gold that the Senegal company from the African coast shall cause to be imported into France, coming from those countries, granted to the said company by the 24th article of his majesty's letters patents of the month of March, 1696, during the establishment of the said company. Of the 22d of August, 1724. Extracted from the registers of the council of state.

UPON a petition presented to the king in council, by the old directors of the royal Senegal company of the coast of Africa, established by his majesty's letters patents of the month of March, 1696, registered where needful; containing that, by the 24th article of the said letters patents, his majesty had granted to the said company, by way of bounty, the sum of 13 livres for every negro that the said company should import into the islands

islands and colonies of America, and which should be paid to the said company by his royal treasurer, in consequence of certificates granted by the intendant of the said islands, or the governors in his absence; and, by the 25th article, his majesty likewise granted to the said company the sum of 20 livres for every mark of gold that should be imported into France, coming from those countries within the company's charter, which should be paid by the royal treasury, upon the certification of the director-general of the mint at Paris. For the execution of these two articles, his majesty granted two ordinances to the said company, the one of the 13th of June, 1717, of the sum of 34,374 livres, 7 sols, and 6 deniers, in consideration of the importation into Cape François, on the coast of St. Domingo, 2635 negroes, from the 17th of April, 1714, to the 27th of August, 1716, pursuant to the attestations of the captains of those ships by which they were imported, as well as of the directors of the said company established at St. Domingo, and the certificates annexed, of Sieur de Boismorant, chief secretary of the marine of the 15th and 16th of November, 1716, and what the said company had imported, from the 6th of October, 1715, being five marks, seven ounces, six gros, of gold dust, which were sent to the mint at Paris, pursuant to the director's certificate of the said mint: the other ordinance,

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[136]

of the 10th of June, 1718, the sum of 14,963 livres, for 1151 negroes that the said company imported to the said Cape François, from the 2d of February, 1717, to the 22d of February, 1718, according to five certificates for that purpose; two of which are from the said Sieur de Boismorant, one from Sieur Mithon, commissary-general of the marine, and two from Sieur Chastenoye, major and commander of the island of the said Cape François, bearing date 2 February, 26 March, and 30 November, 1717, and 22 February, 1718; all these certificates being dated and attested in the said two ordinances: but, as the said company are not able to produce these certificates to the Sieurs Gruyn and Turmenyes, they having been deposited in the office of marine, where they were represented; that it is impossible to obtain duplicates, as well by reason of the death as of the exchange of officers who signed them; and moreover, because it would be a great difficulty upon the said company, under pretence that the said certificates have not been given by the Sieurs intendants, governors of the said islands, pursuant to the terms of the said letters patents, but only by the principal officers, who were then on the spot: the company hope that his majesty will be pleased to order the payment of the said sums of 34,374 livres, 7 sols, and 6 deniers, on the one part, and of 14,963 livres on the other, in producing only, to the said Sieurs
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[137]

Gruyn and de Turmenyes, the said two ordinances, with the acquittances of the cashier, attested by two of the directors, without being obliged to produce the said certificates, which cannot be obtained, &c.

IN consequence of which petition of the company, the following patent passed the royal council; which shews how inviolably those acts, in regard to trade, are observed:

LEWIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c. The old directors of the royal company of Senegal, and of the coast of Africa, established by our letters patents of March, 1696, registered, where it was necessary, have represented to us, that, by the 24th article of our said letters patents, we have granted to the said company, by way of bounty, the sum of 13 livres for each negro that shall be imported into our isles and colonies of America; which should be paid to the said company by our treasurer, on the certificate of our intendant of the said isles, or our governors in his absence. And, by the 25th article, we have likewise granted to the said company the sum of 20 livres for each mark of gold that they shall cause to be imported into France, coming from places within the limits of the company's charter, which should likewise be paid by our treasurer, upon the certificate of our director-general of our mint in Paris: that, in due performance

mance of these two articles, we had granted two orders to the said company, the one of the 13th of June, 1717, of 34,374 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers, in consideration that they had sent, from those parts of Africa to Cape François on the coast of St. Domingo, 2635 negroes, from the 17th of April, 1714, to the 27th of August, 1716, according to the copies of the declarations of the captains of the ships who brought them, and the directors of the said company, settled at the said St. Domingo, and the certificates of the Sieur Boismorant, principal secretary of our marine, commissary of the port of Cape François, of the 15th and 16th of November, 1716, and that the said company had caused to come from Africa, the 6th of October, 1715, five marks, seven ounces, six grains, of gold dust, that they had remitted to the officer of our bank of Paris, according to the certificate of our director of the bank. The other order of the 10th of June, 1718, of the sum of 14,963 livres, for 1151 negroes, which the said company had caused to be brought from Africa to the said Cape François, according to five certificates, two of which were of the aforesaid Sieur Boismorant, one of the Sieur Mithon, commissary-general of our marine, governor of the said countries, and two of the Sieur Chastenoye, major of the island, our commandant of the said Cape François, dated the 2d of February, the 26th of March, and the 30th of November,

vember, 1717, and the 22d of February, 1718; all which certificates were examined and dated in our two said orders; but as the said company could not send them to the Sieurs Gruyn and Turmenyes, our royal treasurers (as mentioned in the preceding petition) being sent to the office of our marine, where they were exhibited and deposited, it was not possible to bring duplicates of them, on account of the death of the officers that had signed them, and likewise would occasion the company some difficulty, upon pretence that the certificates were not signed by our governors and intendants of our islands, in the terms of our letters patents, but only by our principal officers that were there; the said company petitioned that we would have ordered the payment of the said sum of 34,374 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers, for the one, and 14,963 livres for the other, producing only, to the said Sieurs Gruyn and de Turmenyes our said two orders, with the receipts of the cashier, examined by the two directors of the same, without being obliged to produce the said certificates, which they should have done, if they had had them, &c. Upon which our orders were granted, which were sufficient warrant and authority, to our treasurer: whereupon we have, by our arret of council of the 22d of August last, provided in favour of the petitioners, and ordered all necessary letters to be dispatched for the execution

cution of the same; which the petitioners have most humbly accepted: for which reasons, and by the advice of our council who have seen the arret, made the said 22d of August last, an extract of which is hung to the seal of our chancery, we have, by these presents, signed with our hand, conformably to the arret ordered, and we do order, that the Sieur Rolland Pierre Gruyn, our treasurer, and commissary in the office of his late father, Pierre Gruyn, shall pay unto the said company, upon the cashier's receipt, the sum of 34,374 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers, expressed in our order of the 13th of June, 1717; and that Le Sieur Turmenyes de Nointel, also our treasurer, pay the sum of 149,63 livres, mentioned in our order of the 10th of June, upon the receipts of the said cashier; which sums shall be allowed in the accounts of said Sieurs Gruyn and Turmenyes, by virtue of the said receipts, examined by the two directors of the said company only, without being obliged to produce the certificates upon which our said two orders were granted, which we have dispensed with, and to dispense with the manner in which it was done, nevertheless not to be made a precedent, &c. This is our pleasure. Given at Versailles, the 2d of December, 1724, and the 10th of our reign.

The

The king's declaration concerning negro slaves of the colonies. Given at Versailles, 15 December, 1738. Registered in the parliament of Paris.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c. to all that shall see these letters, greeting: the account we ordered to be laid before us, at our coming to the crown, touching the state of our colonies, has made us sensible of the reasonableness and necessity of those orders, contained in the letters patents, in form of an edict, of the month of March 1685, relating to negro slaves. We ordered them to be put in execution, by the first article of our edict of the month of October 1716, and it being represented unto us, at the same time, that many of the inhabitants of our islands of America were desirous to send into France some of their slaves, to be instructed in the principles of religion, and learn some art or trade, but were fearful lest such slaves, upon their arrival in France, should pretend they were free, and not slaves; we have explained our intentions upon this subject by the articles of our edict, and have laid down regulations, which we have thought proper to be observed by masters, who shall bring or send over slaves to France: We have been informed, that, since that time, there have been great numbers sent over from
thence,

thence, so that the inhabitants who have chose to leave the colonies, and are come to settle in the kingdom, keep their slaves with them, contrary to the meaning of the 15th article of the same edict, whereby many of the negroes there have contracted bad habits, and entertain notions of independency, which may be of dangerous consequence; and besides, their masters have neglected to have them taught some useful trade; inso-much that, among the numbers that are brought to France, there are but few that have been sent back to the colonies, and those that have, were of little service, and of very dangerous principles. The care we have always had, to the support and increase of our colonies, would not suffer us to let such abuses continue, which are so contrary to both; in order to put a stop to which, we have resolved to make some alterations in our edict of the month of October 1716, and to add others, that seem to us necessary: for these and other reasons of our own knowledge, full power and royal authority we have declared and ordained, and by these presents signed with our hand, we do declare and ordain, as follows:

A R T I C L E I.

THE inhabitants and officers of our colonies, who shall send over negro slaves into France, of either sex, for their improvement in the principles of religion, and instruction

instruction in some trade or employment, proper for the colonies, shall be obliged to have permission for so doing, of the governor, general, or commanding officers of the island, where they shall be; which permission shall express the owner's name who sends such slaves, or the name of him to whose care they shall be committed; the names of the slaves, with their age and marks; and the owners of the said slaves, and those who shall be charged with their conduct, shall be obliged to register the said permission, as well at the office of the place of their residence before their departure, as at the place of their embarkation, in eight days after their arrival, in the manner as is expressed in the 2d, 3d, and 4th articles of our edict of October, 1716.

2. In the registers that shall be made of the said permission, in the admiralty of the ports of France, there shall be mention made of the day of the arrival of the slaves in the harbours.

3. The said permission shall be registered again, at the marble table of the palais at Paris, designed for slaves that shall be brought into our said city, or at the register of the places where they shall be brought to reside; and it shall specify, in the said register, the trade which the said slaves shall learn, and the masters who shall instruct them.

4. The slaves, of either sex, who shall be brought to France by their master, or by whom-

whomsoever sent, shall not pretend they have their liberty, because they are come into this kingdom; but shall be obliged to return into our colonies, whenever their masters shall think proper: but, if the master does not observe the forms prescribed in the foregoing articles, the said slaves shall be confiscated to our use, and sent back to our colonies, and employed as we think fit.

5. The officers employed, by our authority in the colonies, shall have leave to come to France, and those who shall have brought slaves to serve as domestics, shall not keep them longer than the times limited for their stay; but, at the expiration, shall send them back to the colonies, upon failure of which, they shall be confiscated, and employed there, to our service, as we shall think proper.

6. The inhabitants, who shall bring or send slaves to France, to learn some trade, shall not retain them there longer than three years, reckoning from the day of their arrival in the port; such slaves as are not sent back, as aforesaid, shall be confiscated to our use, and employed in the colonies, in our works.

7. The inhabitants of our colonies, that are willing to settle in our kingdom, cannot there keep, in their houses, slaves of either sex, when they have not disposed of their habitations, in the colonies; and the slaves which shall remain, shall be confiscated, to be employed in the colonies for our use.
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They may, nevertheless, send them to France, observing the rules above prescribed, leaving the colonies to learn some employment, in order to make them more useful, at their return to the said colonies; and, in this case, they conform to the regulations prescribed in the foregoing articles, under penalty of being carried there again.

8. All who shall carry or send negro slaves into France, and shall not send them back, according as prescribed in the three foregoing articles, shall be obliged, besides the loss of their slaves, to pay for each slave not sent back, the sum of a thousand livres, into the hand of the commissioner-general of the treasury of the marine at the colonies, to be employed in the public works; and the licence which they might otherwise have obtained, from the governor-general, and the commanding officers, shall not be granted until they have given security into the hands of the aforesaid treasurer of the marine, for the payment of the said sum, which security shall be mentioned in the said licence.

9. All those who have negro slaves in France, of either sex, shall be obliged, in three months, reckoning from the day of the publishing these presents, to make a declaration of them to the board of admiralty nearest their habitation, and give security to send back, in a year from the date hereof, the said negroes into the said colonies: upon failure of which, or not giving the aforesaid

security, the said slaves shall be confiscated, and employed in the colonies for our service.

10. The negro slaves who shall be brought to France shall not marry there, without consent of their masters, notwithstanding what is mentioned in the 7th article of our edict of October 1716.

11. Masters that shall have brought slaves of either sex, into France, shall not make them free, under any pretence whatsoever, only by will; and such freedom thus given, shall not be of force, unless the testator dies before the expiration of the time, in which slaves, brought into France, ought to be sent back to the colonies.

12. All slaves brought into France to learn trades, as aforesaid, their masters who are to instruct them therein, shall take care that they are brought up in the catholic religion.

13. Our edict of October, 1716 shall be in full force, where it does not derogate from these presents.

Thus we give in command, to our friends and faithful counsellors, members of our court of parliament at Aix, ordering these regulations to be read, published, and registered, and their contents kept, observed and executed, according to their form and tenor, notwithstanding all edicts, ordinances, declarations, arrets, regulations, and usages to

to the contrary, wherein they differ from this. This is our pleasure.

An arret of the king's council of state, which prohibits GUM * from the river Senegal being exported out of the kingdom for one year, under pain of confiscation, and three hundred livres penalty, 2d November, 1751. Extracted from the registers of the council of state.

THE king in council being informed, the great quantity of gum from Senegal, that was exported to foreign countries, would occasion a scarcity of the said drug in his own kingdom, which his majesty willing to prevent: the king being in council, and hearing the report, hath ordered, and does, by these presents, order, that, reckoning from this present arret to the 1st of November, 1752, no gum Senegal shall be exported out of the kingdom to foreigners, on pain of confiscation, and three hundred livres penalty. Therefore, his majesty commands and enjoins the intendants and commissaries, in the several provinces of his kingdom, to

* This gum is an exceeding useful material in the silk manufacture of France; and, therefore, the French have engrossed almost the whole gum trade of the coast of Africa, and even prohibited the exportation of the gum Senegal, lest they themselves should have a scarcity, or rather other nations the benefit of the same in their manufactures.

[148]

have due regard that this arret of council be strictly put in execution; which shall be read, published, and fixed up, wherever it shall be requisite, and that none may plead ignorance thereof. Done in the king's council of state, his majesty there present, held with regard to the finances, at Fontainebleau, 2d November, 1751.

So well calculated for the advance of the French trade of Africa, as well as of their sugar islands in America, do these measures appear, that the rapid increase of those trades in that kingdom is not at all to be admired; and especially so, since, from the treaty of Utrecht, they have had no competitors in those trades, who have been able to do them any injury. Such has been the sinking and almost bankrupt state of our late African company, from this æra; and such the jarring interest between them and our separate traders, that France has taken the advantage of both; for they have some years since absolutely excluded our separate traders, as well as the company, from the whole trade of the Gum Coast; and, from the impotent condition of the company to support their dignity and authority, pursuant to their charter, in Africa, this nation has, by means of the great French company of the Indies, traded uninterruptedly under the nose of our British forts and settlements, while our traders have not

[149]

not been suffered to approach theirs with impunity.

CAN we wonder, then, that the French should so well stock their sugar colonies with negro labourers, as to be able, not only amply to supply their own European dominions with sugars, which they formerly took from us and the Portuguese, but to engross so considerable a share of the sugar trade out of our hands in foreign markets?

BEFORE the peace of Utrecht, the French had the Assiento for supplying the Spanish West-Indies with negroes; which proved the means of introducing immense quantities of the French manufactures into Spanish America; and, therefore, as the Assiento trade was carried on by France, it was extremely beneficial to that kingdom. But, when they had greatly enriched themselves, and thereby greatly impoverished the whole Spanish Indies, as we have shewn in the preceding discourse, and had so overdone that trade, as to render it good for little to any successor, they very wisely parted with it; and, by the treaty of Utrecht, transferred the Assiento to the English South-Sea company; and, what advantages they have made by it, is too well known to need explanation.

By the French getting rid of the Assiento, at a time when they had made it worth nothing to any body else, they received this

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advantage by giving it up; they had greater plenty of negroes wherewith to stock their own colonies, and they came cheaper to them; whereas our acceptance of the Affiento, at that time of day, rendered them dearer to the British plantations, and they have continued so ever since: and yet the French have preserved a very lucrative share of the Spanish West-India trade from that time to this.

BEFORE I quit this point of French policy in relation to the African trade and the Affiento, there occur some observations that well deserve our attention, viz.

1. THE French Affiento with Spain was carried into execution by their Guinea company, while they enjoyed the exclusive privilege of that trade, and having no competition in that trade from the French separate traders, the company purchased not only their negroes for the Affiento at a very cheap rate, but all other the merchandizes which the coast of Africa affords, and they also supplied their own colonies cheaply with negroes.

2. SUCH was the state of our late Royal African company at this time, that they were in no condition to support a competition in this trade with the French.

3. WHEN England accepted of the Affiento by the treaty of Utrecht, when the French, as has been observed, had made the most of it, England carried this contract with the

the court of Spain into execution by the South-Sea company, instead of the late Royal African company, endowed with due powers, privileges, and immunities, together with a large joint capital stock, which plain reason and national policy then dictated. For what was the consequence of giving the Affiento to the South-Sea company? Did not this create such a rivalship in the negro trade between the South-Sea company and the late Royal African company, as proved highly detrimental to both, by raising the price of negroes to an exorbitant price? Is it any wonder, therefore, that France made great advantages by this trade, while we made none? while we, indeed, ruined both our companies, as trading companies? But still to increase our disadvantage in the African trade, with relation to the Royal Affiento with the court of Spain, England laid the whole African trade open to all the separate traders; which not only completed the ruin of the late African company, but of our South-Sea Affientists; for after this, there was not only a rivalship in the negro trade between our two companies, but there commenced a rivalship between all our separate traders themselves, and between them and both these companies.—This still more and more enhanced the price of negroes from four or five pounds a head, as they formerly were, to that of thirty and forty, to the unspeakable injury of our colonies; and

'indeed to the unspeakable injury of the whole African commerce of England.—But what was the conduct of France during this time? why truly they, in the year 1716, after they had vouchsafed to transfer the Affiento to our South-Sea company, laid their African trade open too, as we had before done.

BUT when France came to experience the effects hereof they changed their measures, as we find from the tenour of their royal ordinances, which say, *that his majesty being informed, that instead of the advantages that were expected from this general freedom allowed in that commerce, there resulted three great inconveniences: viz. the concurrence of numerous different traders, who came on this coast, and their endeavours to hasten their cargoes, to avoid the expence of demurrage, causing the natives of the country to fall the price of French commodities so excessively, and so greatly enhancing the price of negroes upon the French; and also that of gold dust, and all other the merchandises of the African coast, that the whole trade became ruinous and impracticable to be carried on: his majesty grants the exclusive privilege of this trade to their present great East India company, &c.—*

HERE we find that the French did not try the experiment of laying this commerce open to all the subjects of France but four years, by finding the same destructive of the whole trade, as is expressly declared by the above
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ordonnance: and, however great a friend I am to the free liberty of trade, and an enemy to monopolies in general; yet I can't help signifying upon this occasion, that it seems to remain a matter of doubt with me, whether the French method of carrying on their African commerce hath not been preferable to ours? For, if the French experienced that trade to be ruinous and impracticable to be carried on, when it was laid open to all the subjects of France, by reason of the great and constant rivalship in that trade among the separate traders, which raised the price excessively of negroes, and all the other merchandises, on the African coast: if this proved an undoubted truth to the French, how then can we be surpris'd, that the late royal African company that existed at that time, and the South-sea-Affiento company also, who were rivals in that trade, could possibly prosper; and especially so, since these two companies likewise, were not only rivals to each other, but had all the separate traders of England to rival them both, and these to rival each other likewise? Is it to be admir'd therefore that our two companies became bankrupts, while this trade of France has proved extremely lucrative? And, by their management, under the wise regulations, which we have shewn has so surpris'ingly enriched the French sugar islands? Can we be surpris'd, that the French should so
greatly

greatly supplant this nation in the Sugar trade of Europe, when they have in the general supplied their sugar planters with negroes, at less than one third of the price that we have done, for above these forty years past?

HERE then seems to appear, (what has never been thought of, perhaps, or, at least, has never been duly represented to the public) the true cause of such a general loss in our whole European sugar trade; for, if our planters in the general have, by our method of carrying on the African trade, been obliged to pay two thirds more for their negroes than the French have done; how was it possible for them to maintain a competition in that trade with the French? So that although the separate traders, who have been concerned in our African trade, since it has been laid open, may have been greatly enriched; yet does it not well deserve consideration, whether their peculiar prosperity has not occasioned that loss which our whole sugar trade has sustained since that period of time? I mention this only by way of query, and as a matter of doubt. For, although the negro trade may have increased, since it has been laid open, yet, as that freedom of trade, has, from the peculiar nature of it's rivalry, so highly enhanced the price of negroes to the British planter beyond what the French have paid, is not this

this cause alone sufficient to account for the decay of our whole sugar trade, whether we have recourse to any other? If the African traders have gained what the sugar planters, and the nation, in other respects, have lost, does it not still shew that our foreign competitors have raised their sugar trade upon the ruins of ours? Although other causes may have concurred to the loss of this trade; yet whether this cause itself, has been adequate to the effect; we submit to future national enquiry; suggesting these things, with a view only, to be reconsidered: and, if there is a possibility of regulating our African commerce upon a footing more nationally interesting, and upon a footing that will the better enable us to compete therein, with the French; let it be thought of, and let it be accomplished. And the reader having now before him, the methods whereby the French have regulated their African, and their sugar colony trade, he may impartially compare them together, and judge for himself, and for his country, which ought to have the preference in point of national policy, the great rudder whereby I shall endeavour to steer all my labours.

MUCH I could cheerfully add, as is humbly conceived, that might tend to the happy restoration of this estimable branch of trade; but having no view, by detecting past mistakes

takes to give the dangerous enemy advantage over the kingdom, I shall say no more publicly; but when I shall be properly called upon to give my judgment hereupon in private, I shall always be ready to do it to the best of my abilities, the most to the interest and the honour of the kingdom.

D I S-



DISSERTATION XXII.

Another view of the French management of their African trade, and the foundation they have laid to obtain the whole dominion in this commerce.

BEFORE the French sugar colonies flourished, England supplied France with a great part of the sugars for their home-consumption.

SINCE the French sugar colonies have been in a flourishing state, the French have not only supplied themselves with sugars, but have greatly supplanted the English in the sale of sugars at most foreign markets.

THE trade of the French sugar colonies depends on the following distinct branches of trade, (1) the trade carried on from Old France to Africa, by means of the great French East India company. (2) From Africa to the West Indies to supply their sugar-islands with negroes. (3) From the West Indies to Old France to supply their home-consumption for sugars. (4) From the

the French sugar islands to and from their colonies on the continent of America. (5) From the French sugar-islands to and from the divers parts of Europe which the French now supply with sugars.

FROM these various branches of trade, arising solely from the SUGAR-ISLANDS, the French have since the peace of Utrecht increased their commerce, their shipping and their seamen beyond imagination: and the produce and trade of their sugar-islands daily increasing in divers other productions besides sugars, must daily strengthen the power of that rival kingdom.

THIS increase of the trade and naval power of France has been greatly owing to their African trade, which we have seen is so regulated and encouraged as to supply them cheaply and plentifully with negroe-slaves, for their making of sugars, indigo, cacao, cotton, and all other the estimable productions of their West India plantations.

BEFORE the French got possession of the forts upon the coast of Africa, in the river Sanaga, or Senegal, and on the island of Arguin and Gorée, the English traded freely and openly to all places on the said coast. Since the French have been in possession of the above-mentioned forts, they have not only taken upon themselves to exclude the British nation from those parts, and have many years, in times of profound peace, taken and confiscated all such British ships as venture

tured to go thither, but they have come uninterruptedly, though unjustifiably, to traffick within the British rights and privileges, and daringly traded even under the nose of the British forts and castles in Africa.

THAT part of the coast from whence the French have absolutely excluded the British nation from trading, is called the *Gum coast*, which extends from Cape Blanco, to the river Gambia, which is above five hundred miles.

So beneficial is the gum trade in general of this coast, that we have a recent instance of two merchants of the city of London (viz. Mess. J—and F—) who gained above 10,000 l. sterling by a loading of Gum Senega, which they obtained on this coast in spite of the French, the first cost of which, on the outset, did not amount to 1000 l. sterling.

THE gum, which the French monopolize on this coast, is called the Gum Sanagal, which is had chiefly in the river Sanagal. This gum is of such important value to the French, that it appears from their registers of the council of state before cited, there passed an arret of the French king's council of state of November 2, in the year 1751, which prohibits all gum from the said river Sanagal being exported out of the kingdom for one year, under pain of confiscation, and 300 livres penalty.

THE reason of such prohibition was, that this gum is an exceeding useful material in
divers

divers of the capital manufactures of France; such as the silk and other fabrics, which require a glossy beauty and lustre to recommend them to foreign nations. They prohibited the exportation of this commodity, not from any scarcity, but merely to prevent the English and others from rivalling them in such manufactures, wherein this gum would be necessary.

THE other particular places on the African coast, where the French have many years encroached on the British rights and privileges of commerce, are at Anamaboe, situate on the Gold Coast, within sight of Cape-Coast Castle; the principal fort in Africa belonging to the English African company: and from this place called Anamaboe the French have for many years carried prodigious numbers of the choicest negroes to be had in Africa, to improve their sugar colonies. But it is to be hoped, from the wisdom of the parliament in allowing 6000*l.* to rebuild the fort at Anamaboe, and from such other measures as shall be taken at this crisis, that our wrongs and injuries received in Africa will be redressed, as well as those in America. Another place whereat the French have of late years usurped a right of trade, is at *Whydah*, where the English have the fort called *William's Fort*, by virtue whereof the English enjoyed the sole right of trade.

In the river *Sierraleone* the French have lately pretended to a right of trade, where they

they have no fort, and where the English have *Bence-Island*: and to such an unjustifiable degree has this nation carried their encroachments in this river, that they have fired upon British ships that have the sole right of trade here, and have thereby endeavoured to exclude the English as much from the commerce of this river, which may be rendered highly more beneficial than ever it has been, as they have from that of the Gum-Coast, from *Cape Blanco* to the *River Gambia*.

THE French likewise have lately attempted to settle themselves in the river *Sherbro*, on the coast of Africa, where the English had a fort at *York-Island*, in the said river; but at present have none, the old fort being demolished, or become quite useless, in regard to a defensible and commercial intent and purpose. The motive to settle themselves in this river, is by reason that slaves, gold, ivory, bees-wax, and divers excellent woods for dying, especially that valuable wood called *Cam-wood*, are here to be had cheaply and plentifully; and because here are also a good river, a secure harbour for shipping, and great plenty of good provisions. Nor should it be forgot that the *Cam-wood* above-mentioned, which is extremely useful in the dying of our woollen manufactures of various fashionable colours, is to be had no where else in any quantities; which renders this a commodity no less valuable than the logwood for the dying of blues and blacks.

To secure this important river to themselves effectually, the French likewise attempted before the present war broke out, to settle at the Bannanas-Islands, near the mouth of the river Sherbro; which, as it is a very wholesome situation, is certainly well judged to answer their intended purpose.

NOR do the projected encroachments of the French in this part of the world end here. For they have attempted even to settle themselves at the *Cape de Verd Islands*, though they belong to the Portuguese. This they did last year, and it seems the Portuguese sent a ship of some force to prevent their intended settlement; which shews that this nation are upon their guard to obstruct such encroachment at their first appearance. But,

THIS intended settlement of the French at the *Cape de Verd Islands* at this conjuncture, is hardly done with a view to give umbrage to the Portuguese; it appears to be done rather with a view to have it more in their power to annoy the English; because their men of war occasionally, and their East-India ships constantly, touch at the *Cape de Verd Islands* for water, &c.

By virtue of *James-Fort*, belonging to the English in the river Gambia, the English nation long possessed the sole and uninterrupted right to the trade of this river: but within these few years the French have so intruded on our rights of commerce here, that

that, by means of their *Fort Al Breda*, erected towards the north-side of the river, they have shared a great part of the trade of this river with us. And moreover, as a branch of the *Sanagal river*, possessed by the French, comes into the *Gambia*, the French, by means of this communication, and their *Fort-Joseph* in the said river Sanagal, cut off a great part of the English trade from the river, and thereby render the English settlement of *James-Fort* proportionably useless.

By means of the African trade, the French have reaped the following benefits and advantages.

1. THEY have, by dint of negro labour, brought their sugar-islands to that degree of prosperity and splendor wherein we at present behold them.

2. THEY have been enabled by this trade to settle the *neutral islands* of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, &c, by supplying them with a number of negroes to cultivate the West-India productions, and a proportionable number of whites to supervise and controul them, and discipline them for defence.

3. THEY have, by means of this trade, established and upheld the credit of their great *East-India company*, which enjoys the exclusive right and privilege of the whole *African trade*, and is the principal support of their *East-India trade*.

4. By means of this trade, and their before-observed encroachments upon the English rights and privileges of commerce, the French have raised the price of negroes upon many parts of the coast from 5l. per head to 20l. and 30l. per head and upwards: and although the rise in the price greatly affects the English, yet it does not affect the French trade and planters, by reason of the extraordinary bounties, privileges and immunities which the French government allow for the encouragement of their African trade; which considered together with our too long disregard of the before-mentioned encroachments, have enabled our rivals so greatly to supplant us in this important branch of commerce, as well as in the whole sugar trade of Europe.

ALTHOUGH I have, in the arrets and ordonnances of the French relating to their affairs, given a general account of the beneficial privileges and immunities which they give for the support of their African trade; yet, as few will be capable of forming a just idea of those things, we shall explain them more specifically. They consist of,

1. AN exemption from all local and provincial duties, of any kind, upon their goods and merchandizes in France, as also from all duties for merchandizes exported to Africa, wherewith to purchase negroes, &c. which, considering the number of ships the French employ in this trade, cannot be computed at

at near so small a sum as 150,000l. sterling per annum; nor the whole exemption of duties at so small a rate as 3 per cent. thereon:

Say, however, that the whole shall 1.
be computed at no more than - - 3000

2. An exemption from half the customs on all sugars and other merchandizes imported from the French sugar colonies in America, being the produce of the sale of negroes there; the amount of which may be judged of by the following very moderate computation, viz.

Suppose 15000 negroes (whereas good judges reckon them at least 40000) are imported into the French sugar islands annually; and that 10000 of that number only should be sold for sugars to be returned to France, at the rate of 40 hundred weight of sugar only per head.

The duty on importation on sugar into France is 3 per cent. on about two thirds of the value; which is at the rate of 2 per cent.. There is also an inland duty of 3 livres, or 2s. 9d. sterling per hundred weight.

Suppose the price of sugars is computed at no more than 25s. per hundred on an average; this, upon 10,000 negroes, makes 400,000

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weight

1. Brought over - - - 3000
 weight of fugar : and this, at 1 per cent. being one half of the duty upon importation, amounts to - - - 5000
 Then 400,000 hundred weight of fugar at 1s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per hundred weight, being one half of the above inland duty of 3 livres, or 2s. 9d. sterling per hundred weight, is - - - 27500
 3. A bounty of 10 livres, or 9s. 2d. sterling, to be paid out of the king's revenue, for every negro carried to the French fugar-islands and colonies in America; which, upon the said 15000 negroes only, amounts to - - - 6857
 4. A bounty of 9s. 2d. for every ounce of gold dust that shall be imported from Africa into France. Suppose only that 5000 ounces of gold was imported from Africa into France, which is quite trifling and inconsiderable, when we are assured how rich their ships in the Guinea trade are in gold, as appeared by some captures made in the last war, is no more than - - - 2296

The total is per annum 44671

N. B. THE exemption of duties on what the other 5000 negroes produce in coffee, indigo,

indigo, cotton, cacao, &c. is left out in this account, that no exaggeration may be made. And indeed so moderate is the computation made in every article, that there is reason to believe if the total was estimated at double the sum, it would not be over rated. And if to those encouragements we add that of the exclusive powers and privileges given to their great East India company in this trade, it must give the French a great weight of influence and authority in this branch of commerce, and empower them to make such intrusion on the English rights, as before represented.

YET their encouragements to the African trade do not terminate here only: there is one single article alone, that may not be inferior in it's good consequences to all the rest; which is, the policy in that court of giving their most industrious planters credit out of the king's treasury for negroes, and other materials, necessary to the prosperity of the plantations, the management of which lies between the comptroller-general of the finances, and the East India company, that these bounties may be allowed only to persons of known probity and industry. To such also the French king grants lands in his American plantations gratis, and lends money to the planters, in case of hurricanes, which destroy their plantations, and other unavoidable misfortunes.

5. By means of this management of the African, and American trades, the French have

have been enabled, not only to supply themselves cheaply with sugars, but have supplanted the English in this great article, at most of the foreign markets in Europe.

6. By means of their African trade, the French do in a great measure, reap the benefits of an *Assiento Contract* with the court of Spain, although there is no such *treaty*, at present, subsisting between the two crowns. For, by the preceding methods of encroachment on the commerce of Africa, and also the great encouragements we have seen that are given to their African trade, the French are enabled to supply the Spaniards, by the way of St. Domingo, with negroe slaves, to work their mines in Spanish America; whereby they pour in immense quantities of the French manufactures into New Spain, under the cover of this trade, whereby the lawful British commerce, by the way of Old Spain to New, is proportionably injured: and yet so it has long been, that this illicit trade from the French colonies to the Spanish Indies is never complained of by the court of Spain, although every traffic of that kind, supposed only to have been carried on by the English, or the Dutch, is always magnified by the Spaniards.

How dependant the French themselves have long since judged their sugar-colonies to be upon their African trade, appears from a memorial presented by the deputies of the council of trade in France, to the royal council of
state,

state, so long ago as in the year 1701; from which æra we may date the prosperity of the French sugar-colonies, and all other branches of their trade dependent on that of Africa.

LE commerce de Guinée, says the memorialist, est si relatif à celui des Isles Françaises de l'Amerique, que l'un ne sçauroit subsister sans l'autre: par ses commerces nous avons retranché à nos concurrens les grands profits qu'ils faisoient sur nous, & nous pouvons nous mettre en estat d'en faire à nôtre tour sur eux à leur imitation, & sur tout des Anglois. Nous pouvons les augmenter considerablement; puisque cette nation dans les isles, avec moins d'avantage que nous, dans un terrain moins estendu, & dans beaucoup moins de temps, a trouvé le moyen d'occuper toutes les années plus de 500 vaisseaux, pendant que nous avons beaucoup de peine d'en occuper une centaine.

Tout le monde connoit l'utilité de la marine, & que le tranquillité, & la gloire d'un estat en depend très souvent; on sçait que le commerce ne peut subsister que par elle: La fortunes de negociants y est toujours attachée, elle fait vivre un très grand nombre de sujets, matelots & artisans. Personne n'ignore, que la navigation de la France ne doive au commerce de ses isles tout son éclat, qu'elle ne peut se soutenir, & s'augmenter que par lui.

Ce commerce est sans doute, de tous les commerces de long cours que les François font, le plus utile à l'état; parcequ' il se fait
sans

fans transport d'argent, fans secours des denrées & des manufactures étrangères, & qu'il n'y a que les sujets du roy & du royaume qui en profitent.

THIS was the sense of the most experienced and judicious traders in France, in the year, 1701; and have we not too well experienced all that they presaged of this trade?

SINCE then it is apparent, that not only the whole dependance of the French but of the British sugar, and other colonies is on the African trade; ought not our African affairs to have been one of the principal objects of the care of every administration? How comes it to pass that we have for so long time suffered the French to make those encroachments upon this commerce, which is the great and fundamental support and preservation of our whole American trade? Has not the great care of the French, in regard to this trade, proved, according to their own acknowledgment, one principal cause of their extensive trade and dominion in America; and has not our neglect and disregard hereof proved one essential cause of the decay of our trade and dominion in this part of the world; and, in consequence hereof, may we not reasonably enough presume, that France has been excited to turn their thoughts upon invading us both in America, and in Africa, at the same time?

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HAVE we not seen, from the before-cited French memorial, that our enemies allow the commerce and navigation of their sugar-lands has proved one of the chief nurseries of their naval power? And has not their African trade proved the only support of this great maritime nursery? What then can any man of common sense and impartiality say, to those measures, that have suffered for several years past those encroachments of the enemy upon our African trade, that has so greatly tended to render their maritime power so formidable to us, as we now experience? And has not our want of due regard and attention to the encroachment of the French in North America encouraged them to insult us there also, and provoke us to the present war? It is above seven years, since I have, with all becoming decency, and moderation, endeavoured to point out these, and numerous other great national evils, that seem to have concurred to bring the affairs of this nation into their present deplorable situation.— But we hope that things will soon take a different turn. To which end, however, it is necessary; it is of the highest concernment to this kingdom, that every fore should be laid open, and probed to the bottom; and that not by harangue, and declamation, or personal rancour, and acrimony, but from *facts*, and a plain deduction of candid reasoning deducible therefrom, that carries it's own conviction with it.—This, we are willing to hope,

hope, will prove of no less public utility, in case of a peace, than if the war should continue: for, if the former takes place, works of this kind will the better enable us to think of making a more lasting and honourable peace; and till wars cease, they will shew where the greatest strength of the enemy lies, and where is our own greatest weakness, in order to guard against injurious events.

D I S-



DISSERTATION XXIII.

A summary view of the commerce of France in the East Indies, and by what practice and gradations they have encreased the same.

HENRY IV. of France was the first who attempted a share in the trade of the Indies, which met with but bad success, till that illustrious *commercial minister of state*, *Monf. Colbert*, so deservedly honoured, by *Lewis XIV.* undertook that concern. This minister conceived the design of reviving the French East India company, notwithstanding all the misfortunes it had met with, and which had over and over, baffled the skill of all his predecessors.

BEFORE he discovered his intentions, he was indefatigable to become perfectly well instructed in the affair he had resolved to carry into execution. This he did by drawing to his acquaintance and careffing such merchants, seamen, and others, who were reputed to be the best acquainted with the subject.

ALTHOUGH this company had stood in need of no encouragement from the crown, yet,

yet, upon an enquiry into the state of the company's affairs in the year, 1684, it appeared, that they had run out to the amount of above 300,000 l. sterling, which was not less than one half of their original capital stock. These, and the subsequent misfortunes of the company, occasioned such general clamours, that induced a universal opinion that it was even impossible for the French to carry on a trade with advantage to the Indies. But these vexatious circumstances were little in comparison to the loss of their able and generous protector Mons. Colbert, who ever exerted his influence in their favour, and would have brought the company much sooner than it was into a prosperous state, had he not been cut off, before there was time to accomplish it.

MONS. Pontchartrain, his successor, who neither wanted abilities, or probity, but whose notions with respect to commerce were either crude, or undigested, or, which was worse, narrow, and obscure, could effect little. Nor, from the commencement of his administration was he any friend to the company, he countenancing every attempt to their injury, and discouraging whatever might tend to their establishment.

AFTER a tedious series of difficulties and discouragements; there still arose a new spirit in France of still further distressing this almost bankrupt corporation, under colour of augmenting the royal revenues, and protecting

testing their own manufactures, which afforded bread to the people.—Under this pretext, the company were restrained from selling chints, and other piece-goods, to foreigners; which proved not only a great loss to the company, but the nation, among whom the profits of that trade would have circulated: whereas, by the prohibition, so much money was kept out of France, and not more of their own manufactures vended in foreign countries.—They suffered divers other obstructions to their prosperity too tedious to enumerate.—And while they were envied and persecuted at home, from selfish views, they were no less maltreated and distressed abroad.

IN the year 1682, they were reduced to such an ebb, as to be obliged to enter into a scheme for the permission of private trade, upon certain conditions.—Nor did they submit to this only, but were even under the necessity of resigning the whole trade to separate traders, upon easy terms. From this expedient they found some relief, which induced to the extension of their scheme; and for the preservation of their servants in the Indies, who were above ten millions in debt, they fairly sacrificed themselves. For, in the year 1712, they entered into a treaty with some private merchants of St. Malo, by which they yielded up to them all their privileges as a company, on the best terms they could obtain, with a view to furnish

nish such as were employed by them in the Indies with sums sufficient to keep under the interest of their debts, and thereby prevent all things from running into confusion. On the expiration of their privileges, they solicited a renewal thereof, not from hopes of reviving their trade, but to renew their agreement with the merchants of St. Malo, merely for the preservation of their settlements, and prevention of the ruin of their servants in the Indies.

Thus the private traders enjoyed all the advantageous trade derived from the company's settlements, without contributing to their original expence, or even to that by which they were supported.

THE duke of Orleans, who established a new kind of government in France, sustained his authority by schemes that never attended all the victories of Lewis the Great.—He affected to act on motives diametrically opposite to those of his predecessors; he declared that the great end of government was the good of the people.—That it was impossible this should be promoted by wars.—That peace was an universal blessing to France, as well as other nations.—That commerce was the effect of tranquillity.—That the consequence of an extensive trade were more certain resources of power than conquest.—This gave the company great expectations; all which ended in the famous Mississippi scheme, to

to pay the public debts of France without money; which proved, as all such detestable designs do, a superlative bubble, like to that of our South-Sea company project, which took place almost immediately afterwards: so infatuated has this nation been to adopt every bad scheme, and reject the numberless wise and judicious, as we have seen through these papers!

THIS state of public affairs occasioned an union between the western company and this; the former whereof had swallowed up some other companies.—The edict of union extinguished the title of both these companies no less than those others therein comprised, and gave to the whole the name of the Company of the Indies, which it bears to this day.

To this new company was granted an exclusive privilege of trading from the Cape of Good-Hope to the extent of the East-Indies, as also to the islands of Madagascar, of Bourbon, and of France, and coast of Soffola in Africa, the Red-Sea, Persia, and dominions of the Mogul, of the king of Siam, and of the emperors of China and Japan, as also to the South-Seas, from the Straits of Magellan, or La Maire, to the East-Indies that way, forbidding all the rest of his subjects, and their several traders to be concerned therein, under pain of the confiscation of their vessels and effects.

To this company also was given the possessions and effects of the other companies,
VOL. II. N charging

charging them with their debts.—The better to discharge which, the edict creates in their favour 25,000,000 of new actions, to be purchased for ready money.—They have also full licence to import all sorts of manufactures of silk, silk and cotton, gold and silver stuffs, dyed cottons, as well as painted and striped, *on condition that none of these shall be vended in the French dominions, but sold to foreign nations, &c.*

THIS edict had more effect than the government expected from it; such an eagerness appeared of subscribing, that, instead of 25, the subscription amounted to 50 millions, which caused other regulations; the principal of which was, that they should take off four times of old actions, in order to be entitled to the new; so that, in order to purchase 5000 livres of the new actions, the subscribers were obliged to take 20000 of the old.

The great end proposed by all this was, to find means of *suppressing that immense quantity of paper money, which was so heavy a burden on the state.* To which end, annuities, to the value of 25 millions, were created; which not answering that intention, the new company of the Indies offered their assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the rate of 50 millions in one month; so that *the whole load of this paper money, amounting to near sixty millions of our sterling money,*

money, was to be extinguished by the end of July, 1721.

IN consideration of the zeal manifested by the company in this proposal, the king, by his arret, dated July 1720, changed the terms on which the company held their privileges, and declared them PERPETUAL, restraining himself and his successors from ever treating them as other companies had been, in order to their establishment—Thus this company acquired the title in France of the PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES, with all the privileges of the other four companies that existed prior to this, confirmed to them for ever.

IN two years time it was declared, that, in consequence of the annuities granted and assigned to the company from the crown, they should be able to assign annually the sum of 10 per cent. which should be paid duly and punctually for ever: in consequence whereof, the directors were to be at full liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their constituents, because the dividend was to be certain and regular; and they were to manage things so, as that the deficiencies of one year might be made good by the profits of another.

THOUGH this course of management had one great convenience, by ascertaining the interest to the proprietors, yet the circumstance of not accounting for the profits

proved of such ill consequence, notwithstanding the regular payment of the dividend, that the proprietors could never be cured of a suspicion, that the East-India merce had been carried on rather for the benefit of the crown than the company; and this contributed to keep their actions low, though they had such extraordinary interest paid them with great regularity.

THE grounds of this suspicion lying in the annuities paid by the crown to the company, which were sufficient for securing such a dividend, without the least assistance from the profits of their trade, made the thing not incredible; especially when the dividends remained certain for 20 years together, though the commerce of the company had been greatly encreasing.

To understand this matter rightly, as well as the true state of the company's affairs in general, and how they came to have a fund capable of discharging regularly so high an interest for such a number of years, it will be requisite to give a succinct relation of the rise and progress of the other companies that have been incorporated with this, by the before-mentioned edict, and of the West-India company in particular, wherein abundance of curious particulars will occur, that may be useful.

THE China company in France was originally set on foot in the year 1660, but was soon after absorbed by that of the East-India company,

company, which had the sanction of royal authority in 1664.—When this company declined, the old company was revived, by the crown granting their licence, which was renewed to one Monsieur Jourdan, an opulent merchant, who fitted out a very large ship for that voyage, which failed in march 1698, and returned safely the 3d of August, 1700, very richly laden.

THIS success encouraged Monf. Jourdan, and others interested with him, to fit out the same ship again, which they accordingly did in the following spring, and returned again in September, 1705, with no less advantage to the adventurers than before. One would have thought such success sufficient to have established this new company; but the general war wherein France was then engaged, rendered it impracticable: thus the company lay dormant, though possessed of its rights, which extended to the coast of China, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and the isles adjacent, till it was, for the reasons of state shewn, united to the western company.

THE company of Senegal, though under another denomination, was one of the earliest in France, being carried on by a society of merchants at Dieppe; yet without the sanction of royal authority. This company made a little settlement in an island at the mouth of the river Sanegal in Africa, and carried on no inconsiderable trade thither.—Afterwards this

[182]

commerce fell into the hands of the merchants of Rouen, who, in the month of November, 1664, yielded up the same to the West-India company.

WHEN that company was dissolved, about 10 years after, the old Senegal company was revived, and three opulent merchants undertook that commerce; which they carried on with extraordinary advantage to themselves, till the year, 1681; when the minister, Monf. Colbert, conceiving intentions to enlarge this traffic, prevailed on those merchants to accept of a valuable consideration for their privileges, and to admit of it's passing into the hands of a larger number of persons, with new privileges, which they possessed for many years. But it appearing, that their exclusive rights were too extensive for their capital stock, it was judged for the public benefit, to divide this company; and hence sprung the Guinea company of France, to whom the greatest part of their privileges was assigned, and the rest remained to the old Senegal company, which still continued in a prosperous condition.

YET, from variety of accidents this company came to be so reduced, that they were obliged to give up their privileges to some rich merchants of Rouen, who carried on this trade with tolerable success, when it became united, as we have seen, to the company of the Indies.

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[183]

THE Guinea company also had it's ebbs and flows, till the accession of Philip V. to the crown of Spain, who, in the year, 1701, granted them the liberty of the Affiento for negroes, under which it continued to flourish, to the enriching of France, and the great impoverishment of the Spanish Indies, as we have shewn in our preceding discourses.—At the treaty of Utrecht this company lost it's existence; and yet so the French managed it, that they made this loss, as England mistakenly thought it, turn greatly to their gain by vastly improving their sugar-colonies, as we have shewn.—But, when France had rendered the Spanish Affiento worth no nation's acceptance upon the footing that we took the same, it was very graciously conferred upon our South Sea company; and France took care to make the exercise of this contract a handle for heartburnings, between Spain and England; which gave rise to the Spanish depredations, and, that at length, with other pretences of illicit commerce carried on by the English, occasioned the late war, which ruined our Affiento company, and that trade has been largely carried on by France ever since, from Hispaniola to Spanish America, without any formal Affiento granted them by the court of Spain; which commerce, however illicit, has been connived at by Spain, though highly complained of if any thing of this kind is carried on our parts from Jamaica, &c.

AT this conjuncture the Mississippi scheme took place in France, the consequence of the

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pretensions of that crown to Louisiana. At this time the regent of France had under his consideration, Mr. Law's projects, which was first to reduce all the public debts in France into one form. For which purpose it became necessary to erect, under specious appearances, a new company, with such privileges as might create hopes of most extravagant gains to the proprietors.—Hereby a considerable part of the whole commerce of France was thrown into the hands of this great French company of the Indies; and the royal bank of France was united hereto to give the greater colour and sanction to this mighty Mississippi scheme; which proved at once the most iniquitous contrivance that ever entered into the heart of man; and unhappily for this nation, England did, in a great measure, follow this infamous example, by adopting of the South Sea scheme, which proved no less ignominious to this nation than the Mississippi project did to France.—Nor has this South Sea affair of ours ever yet been rightly laid before the public; but, I may one day, perhaps, open all the anecdotes belonging to this most detestible scene of iniquity.—To proceed.

THE company of the Indies at this time of day, was considered as the center of the whole French commerce; it monopolising so considerable a proportion thereof; and truly the rise and fall of that company's stock might be then looked upon as a political,

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or commercial barometer, which exhibited the state of the French trade and the public credit.—To pass over the Mississippi scheme, and stick to the progress of the company, as before observed.

THE regular dividend, made by this company had a double effect; they contributed greatly to uphold the public credit, and that of the company.—The former was necessary to prevent these confusions as long as they could, which happened on the ruin of the regent's system; which was near ruining the whole nation.—But the same regular payment of dividends was of unspeakable service to the company in their trading capacity, without which they could not have possibly subsisted; this policy keeping the proprietors from either enquiring, or receiving any *general accounts of their dealings*.—This was one of the great secrets of the French councils, and the design of restoring the affairs of the company; and is what of all other that France has conducted with the greatest address; for, by this means they gained time for the company; and, by affording them money in season, they revived their East India trade, put all the company's debts into a train of payment, replaced all her factories; and, if the last war had not broke out, would have soon placed her, as a trading company, in as good a condition in that capacity, as she was as a corporation of public creditors.—And such is the policy of France, that they have now

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[186]

conquered all things, in regard to this company, and rendered the same as substantial to their general commerce, as to their public credit.

THE effectual establishment of this great company was owing to the peaceable administration of the late cardinal Fleury; but this was no otherwise due to him, than as he continued the direction of these affairs in the hands of Monf. Orry, who, perhaps, did more service to this nation, than all the statesmen, and generals, that were employed in this reign.—Though his management was somewhat thwarted, and thrown into disorder a few years since, yet he overcame the greatest difficulty, in regard to this company, and put her concerns into such a channel, as will, perhaps, render their company formidable in comparison to any other in Europe.

THE capital of the present company, as before observed, was composed of the original capital of the western company, and of 25 millions added thereunto, upon the incorporation of the East India company therewith; but after the ruin of Law's system, and all things were in confusion, it was found requisite, that the king should make a revision of the actions possessed by proprietors, in order to distinguish between such as had acquired their property fairly, and such as had thrust themselves into the company's books, to serve the purposes of mere stockjobbing.

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[187]

IN consequence of this revision, the king fixed the actions of this company to 56,000, and which formed a capital of 112 millions; for their dividend upon which, they had a yearly revenue assigned them of eight millions four hundred thousand livres.—By another arret in 1725, 5000 of these actions were cancelled, and burnt; so that the capital of the company, by this means, was reduced to 51,000 ACTIONS, and their DIVIDENDS secured by the annual payment of eight millions from the farmers-general of the farm of tobacco, the exclusive, perpetual, and irrevocable privilege of vending which, was granted to the company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the profits arising from the furs imported from Canada; so that the fund for the payment of their annual dividends was as effectually settled, and secured, as it was possible a matter of that nature could be in France.

YET the affairs of this company went on in a very precarious way for about fourteen years.—But, in the year, 1737, Monf. Orry being at the head of the finances of France, the company fell under his care.—He saw that great supplies were necessary to extricate them from the difficulties under which they laboured, and, therefore, having made a strict scrutiny into their affairs, he furnished them
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[188]

with such sums as were necessary for augmenting their commerce; so that in the short space of two years he doubled their returns, and, in three years more, brought them to thrice as much as they had formerly been.

By the management of this able minister, the company's sales at Port l'Orient became regular and considerable, encreasing in such a manner, that the public sale in the year, 1742, produced about a million sterling; besides which, they reserved in their magazines goods, to the value of four millions of livres more; and the first ships that arrived in 1743, brought home still a richer and more valuable cargo.—This sudden and extraordinary change in the company's affairs alarmed all Europe, but more especially the maritime powers, who saw, with unspeakable concern, a company, that but a few years before was looked upon as annihilated as to it's commerce, now rising into as high credit as any in Europe; which animated the northern powers to prosecute schemes of falling into the East-India trade likewise.

But what was still more extraordinary than all the rest, upon the first breaking out of the last war, the company did not seem to be affected so much as might have been expected, their dividends being still regularly paid; and which kept up their credit to such a degree, that, at Christmas, 1744, their actions were at 2000.—But the war with Great Britain

[189]

Britain encreasing the expences of France on the one hand, and lessening her income on the other, the secret at last came out; that Mons. Orry was obliged to acquaint the directors of the company, that the king's affairs were so circumstanced, as not to permit him longer to supply the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own bottom, and carry on their trade for the future as well as they could.—This unexpected stroke reduced the actions to 800.—And, during the time of the late war, their affairs were in a lamentable condition; for that occasioned so high a demand for money in France, that it brought on a suspension of their dividends, and thereby gave a severe stroke to their public credit; and the blow struck by commodore Bernet in the Indies, and the loss of their ships we took at Cape Breton, went so far towards the ruin of their commerce abroad, that another such stroke, from Great Britain, would, probably, have absolutely annihilated the company as a trading corporation, for one 20 or 30 years at least.—But, since the peace, the company has surprisngly recovered itself*.

THAT

* Here then is a fact, with regard to the French East-India company; that by the late war it was reduced to so low an ebb, that the continuance of the war for another season would certainly have absolutely ruined this great company, and have struck such a blow to the whole public credit

THAT some tolerable judgment may be made of the progress of this company, the following

credit of France, that we might not have been obliged to have given up Cape Breton—for the sake of peace.—But how their great India might have been much sooner ruined would be very easy to shew, if I was so desired.—But

The weight of the last war, as to the enemy's part, must have been supported by one or both of the kingdoms engaged as principals, though it was reported that Spain was to have been the largest share; but how either of them were to have got money, when we had so greatly the advantage of them by sea, was the question. France, that is the richest country, seemed pretty well exhausted, at least was more ways than one vastly on the decline, both on account of the failure of her commerce, and the large drains upon her from abroad, not only of money, but of men, to the prejudice of her manufactures. The crown of Spain, it is well known, never hoard up treasures; their whole dependence is upon their American returns, which, at the time we are speaking of, were so backward, that the court was greatly distressed for their own necessary supplies; therefore could, at this time, lend France no other aid than their credit on the future return of the galleons; which, though not to be despised, was very far from answering the like purpose as their having cash of their own.

The armies of both crowns in Italy were extremely expensive, as they were generally lodged in dear and expensive countries; and as meeting many impediments by sea, they were most generally obliged to supply their army by land-carriage, and often through very rough and difficult roads.—The French army in Flanders drew considerable sums out of the conquered provinces; but as money levied that way is usually sold to the government over a gridiron, as the old phrase has it, and if they had it all, it would not have maintained a fourth part of their army, there was an absolute necessity for it that way, as well as in Italy; and that the finances fell very short, is well known. In a word, the expence of France in the last war was not short of fourteen millions sterling yearly, which no nation in Europe can afford, without constant supply by trade; the principal branches of which are the East India, West-India, North-America,

following account of the number of ships returning annually from Pondicherry, and the value of their cargoes, may be useful.

America, and Great Britain.—And all these we know were greatly distressed.—And the Spanish treasure not coming in aid, nor, as matters stood, could they have much credit abroad, as we got most of the cash which foreigners had to spare, and their old friend Genoa then in a bad state, it is very difficult to conceive how France could have subsisted her troops another season.—While the trade was open, France could not want resources infinite, more especially if allied with Spain, and the treasures of America find their way home freely; but when neither of these were the case, the notion at that time of the resources of France, seems to be very ill grounded. And therefore we appear to have been very unfortunate in making a peace with such an enemy so circumstanced, since it does not seem very easy to reduce them to the like state again.—Yet there are ways to do it, and to a much worse.

Of

Of the commerce of the French company of the Indies, shewing the number of ships returning annually from Pondicherry, and the value of their cargoes*, from 1727 to 1742 inclusive.

		Ships.	Pagoda's.
In 1727	October		
1728	January	3	248,265
	September		
1729	January	3	20,032
	September		
1730	January	3	248,083
	October		
1731	January	4	600,711
	October		
1732	January	4	302,006
	September		
1733	January	4	260,640
	September		
1734	January	4	392,987
	September		
1735	January	4	375,341
	September		
1736	January	3	223,484
	October		
1737	January	5	351,691
	October		
1738	January	5	522,315
	October		
1739	January	5	586,156
	October		
1740	January	4	485,732
	October		
1741	January	4	555,643
	October		
1742	January	7	954,376

* The reader is desired to observe, that the same number of ships were sent annually from Bengal as from Pondicherry, and

FROM what has been said, it is apparent that the French have spared no expence, nor left untried any point of policy, to uphold the company of the Indies; and, notwithstanding what it suffered in the late war, we find they are still in a flourishing condition. Nor can it be otherwise; for this company is established on so broad a bottom, that if one branch of trade proves temporarily bad, their other branches generally make them some compensation: as the interest of this corporation is so intimately interwoven with that of the state, we find, upon all critical emergencies, it stands in need of no aids which the state can afford it.

ONE of the greatest advantages that this company has been to France, seems to be the encouragement which has been given, by means thereof, to the French sugar-islands and colonies in America; for the French Senegal company (which was the African company of that nation) being united to the India company; and this company having granted them such bounties, exemptions, privileges, and encouragements, as amount to above 40,000 l. sterling per ann.

and consequently the numbers of this list are to be doubled. He is desired to take notice also, that the sums set down are the prime cost of the goods in India. — And, lastly, that the value of a pagoda is about 9 French livres, or 7 s. 6 d. sterling; by the help of which directions, this table will be found to comprehend a short history of the progress of this company.

in order to enable them to carry on their African commerce to the greater advantage of the company, as well as of their sugar colonies; it is not to be admired, that the French should make so rapid a progress in the trade of America, as we experienced they had done in the late war.

BUT what gives the French still a greater weight of interest in Africa than the benefit of these encouragements, is the company's sole privilege of this trade, exclusive of all the other subjects of France. For, by virtue of these powers and immunities, the French have supplied their colonies with 10,000 of the choicest and most robust negroes from the coast of Africa, to 1000 that have been carried by all the British traders to our own plantations.

BY virtue of this great French company, invested with all those extraordinary privileges, that we have amply represented in our dissertations on the French police regarding their African and American commerce; we cannot be as little surpris'd, that our rival nation should make such extraordinary advances in their American and their African trade, as they have done in that of the East Indies. For, however, injurious in the general monopolies certainly are to commerce, yet this French monopoly is so politically tempered, so wisely modelled, and constituted, that it's monopolising detrimental

tal edge is quite blunted; whereby this corporation has proved no less beneficial to the trade of France, than some others, have been hurtful and destructive, when not regulated by the like rational maxims and principles: which, to lay them before the reader in the light they appear to me, will fall under the following particulars, viz.

1. That the French have made their East-India company instrumental to the preservation and increase of their African commerce; wherein they have become more considerable upon the coast of Africa, than any other nation.
2. The French African commerce as it has been conducted by this company has proved the great nursery of all the French sugar-islands and colonies, by supplying them cheaply and plentifully with negroes, as we have seen, for the cultivation of their sugars, cotton, cacao, indigo, and all other the valuable productions of those colonies.
3. The French American commerce has enabled them to supplant the English in the sugar trade of Europe; and to increase in seamen, and mercantile shipping in a tenfold degree to what they were before the peace of Utrecht.
4. The French India company has maintained a competition in trade with the English in Asia; and been thereby instrumental

[196]

to encrease the French seamen and naval power no less than our East-India company has done that of this kingdom. From hence we may easily discern, how powerful the motives have been to induce the French to support and uphold this company at all events. For, we have seen from the French royal edicts and ordonnances, that after the Affiento with Spain was given to our South-Sea company, the French laid the African trade quite open to all their subjects, whereby not only their whole African trade was likely to have been ruined, but that also of their sugar, and other colonies, which depended thereon: and, therefore, to save those inestimable branches of their trade from absolute ruin, the French declare, in their royal edicts, that they were obliged to grant the exclusive privileges in their African trade to their India company, with all those immunities thereto annexed, which we have enumerated in our preceding discourses. So that the advantages arising to the trade and navigation of France from granting the exclusive privilege therein to their India company, is thought by far to overbalance all the disadvantages that might be presumed to arise from such a kind of monopoly: and, certainly, as this French company is modelled, at present, the French have not herein mistaken their true commercial interests; reason no less than experience

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[197]

having evinced the rectitude of their policy in this respect. Thus we have seen how conducive to the flourishing state of the French commerce in general, this rival nation has rendered even a monopoly! We shall now touch the progress of this French company in Asia, and view what a figure they are likely one day to make in that part of the world, if they should not be somehow checked in their career.

THE original seat of government of this company in the Indies was at Madagascar; but, after the first Dutch war, they removed to Surat, and, after that, to Pondicherry.—This was in the year, 1674; and as the company, at that time, had an extraordinary demand for piece-goods, they could not have settled in a better place.—This place they immediately well-fortified, by order of the court; so that, in the year, 1710, this place was become one of the most considerable in the Indies; and, if their affairs in Europe had kept pace with their improvements made in the Indies, the French company would soon have been upon a level with those of their neighbours the English and the Dutch.

THE settlement of Pondicherry becoming the capital residence of the French East India company, is well situated for this commerce. The town lies in the province of Gingy, on the coast of Coromandel, and distant not above 100 yards from the sea-shore.—The magazines of the company, and of private

persons, are numerous and magnificent; a spacious and beautiful market-place, six fine gates, 11 bastions, for the defence of their walls, a regular citadel well fortified; upwards of 400 cannon upon their works, besides an excellent train of field-pieces, bombs, mortars, and all sorts of military stores in their arsenal. — The governor lives with great splendor and dignity, and has, besides his own palace, another grand one, adjoining to a most beautiful garden, superbly furnished for the reception of the foreign princes and ambassadors of those parts, who, whenever they resort thither, are treated with infinite respect, and all their expences defrayed by the company; which has been found, by experience, of far greater consequence to the interest of their commerce, than the expence it occasions. No settlements in India are better regulated, or more wisely governed, than this, and it is become extremely populous by Mahomedans and gentiles, as well as christians.

THERE cannot be a place better seated for trade than this, being in the midst of the European settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and having all the bay of Bengal open before them; so that here the company's magazines are full of all the commodities and manufactures, not only of the coast of Coromandel, but of other parts of the Indies, such as Bengal, Surat, and the coast of Malabar, as also of such as are imported

ported from Persia, and the coast of the Red-Sea. — Here likewise are warehouses for all sorts of European commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence, as occasion requires, to all the markets in the Indies.

THE staple trade of the place is piece-goods, of which the finest are in Golconda, and the best painted here; they have likewise great quantities of silk, raw and manufactured, gold and silver brocades, perfumes, spices, and diamonds; in which last branch of trade they have made a great progress of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently situated, as being at a small distance from the finest mines in the Indies; and by having persons amongst them as well skilled in jewels as any in the world, they reap no less advantages in this respect than any other Europeans settled here. — And certain it is, that the India trade of France has laid an extraordinary foundation for the increase of their European trade in general.



DISSERTATION XXIV.

Of the policy of England with regard to her management of the African trade; with considerations how the same might have been better conducted, and far more extended for the general interest of the nation; with a further comparison between our management and that of France, respecting the same: and by what means our East-India company may be rendered instrumental to the security and advancement of this commerce.

FROM our last discourses, the measures taken by France to establish their African trade, which has proved the great instrument of advancing their whole American commerce, will be fresh in the reader's memory; and, therefore, by way of contrast, it may be proper next more fully to consider our own policy, in relation to the manner of carrying on this commerce.

I SHALL not enter here into a detail of the rise and progress of our late Royal African company, that being done in my Dictionary

tionary of Commerce; I shall at present only touch such essentials relating to this trade as, is humbly conceived, may tend to its better establishment, and more extensive advancement.

FOR above these 250 years past, it has been the constant practice of all such European nations as have made new discoveries in foreign parts, and gained any established power and authority in remote and barbarous countries, to build and maintain forts and castles; and, by virtue of such possession, to claim a right to whole kingdoms, and to exclude all other nations from trading in, to, or from them. Thus the Portuguese long enjoyed the whole trade to Africa and the East-Indies;—the Spaniards for many years claimed and engrossed to themselves almost the whole continent of America, and most of the adjacent islands;—the Hollanders have rendered themselves masters of the Spice-Islands in the East, and from them supply the whole world with those universal commodities by such quantities, and at such prices as they think fit.—By the like practice the Dutch, for some time before and after the year 1660, attempted to gain the absolute possession of the most valuable parts of the coast of Africa, and to exclude this nation from any share in that commerce, and thereby brought on themselves a war with this kingdom in 1664.

BEFORE

BEFORE our late Royal African company had built a sufficient number of forts and castles on the gold-coast, the Dutch interrupted our trade, and seized and confiscated our ships on this coast, and within its dependencies.—After our company built and maintained forts and castles on the Gold-coast, the said company, and other British traders, carried on a free and uninterrupted commerce here.

BEFORE the French got possession of their forts in the river Senegal, and on the islands of Arguin and Gorée, on the north coast, the English traded to all places on the said coast without molestation.—Since the French have possessed the before-mentioned forts, they have not only excluded the British nation from those parts, but have, in times of peace, taken and confiscated all such British ships and vessels as have ventured to go thither in time of peace; yet such care has been taken of this branch of our trade, that we have suffered the French to trade uninterruptedly within our sole rights of trade, and under the very nose of our forts and castles.—In those places where we have forts, we carry on trade with the natives;—where other nations have forts, and we have none, we are excluded the right of trade.—This proves the necessity of supporting our forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, and of so supporting them, that we may uphold our absolute right, our weight and dignity

dignity of trade here; or how can we expect to maintain the same? How can we expect to supply our colonies with negro labourers? How can we expect to enjoy the benefits of our sugar-islands? and how can we expect to uphold a rivalship in trade with our powerful and destructive competitors the French in all those essential branches?

WE have seen that France has upheld her African commerce by the weight and influence of an opulent company, a perpetuated company, supported and upheld by the crown of France by mighty privileges and immunities; by a company endowed with extensive privileges for ever; by a company constituted upon so firm and solid a basis, as renders it the grand support of the whole American and East-India trade of France no less than that of Africa. And have we not seen, from the royal edicts of that nation, that, if they had suffered this trade to have continued open to all the separate traders of France, not only this important branch of trade must have been absolutely ruined, but likewise their whole American commerce that depended thereon? It is, therefore, they did not suffer this trade to remain open above four years.

AND, what have the French declared by their royal edicts to have been the great cause that this trade was going to absolute ruin, while it remained free and open to all his majesty's subjects? Was it not that general com-

competitorship therein that separate traders maintained? Did not this raise the price of negroes to such an exorbitant degree, that the French planters must have been ruined in the purchase of them? Did not this enhance the price of all African commodities as well as negroes, and depreciate those of France? Does not the carrying on the trade in this manner evince this to be the inevitable consequence thereof? And did not this compel the French to give the same to their great East-India company, together with all the privileges of their four former companies thereunto annexed? Has not this given the French such influence in Africa, as to encourage them to drive the English out of the whole trade of the Gum-coast? Has not this encouraged them to rob us many years of our most valuable negroes from Anamaboe? Has not this excited them to interfere with us at Whydah, and made them insult us in the river Sherbro, and Serralione; and, in a word, to take all those advantages of us on the coast that I have before particularized in my former discourses? And how could we expect otherwise, when we fairly draw the parallel between French and British measures, in regard to the management of this trade? Let any impartial man faithfully compare our measures with those of France; let him put them in fair contrast with each other, and let him say, if his reason will suffer it, that those of France have been calculated for
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the ruin and destruction of this trade, and those of England for its preservation and prosperity, in the honest national light: no man can maintain this, though he should assert it, according to my humble judgment.

WAS our African trade ever put on so good a foundation as the French is? Had our late royal African company ever any effectual encouragement to support this trade, as the French have? Every one that is acquainted with it's history, knows the contrary. Did not the proprietors run out their fortunes to build forts, and establish settlements for the benefit of the public? But what advantages did they ever gain in trade to make them compensation? None. Where they not great sufferers by our wars with the Dutch and the French? And what recompence did the nations make them? Had this company ever a beneficial Assiento with Spain as the French Senegal company had before the peace of Utrecht? After they had exhausted their capital in building forts, making settlements, and engaging the negroe-princes in this nation's interest, without receiving any commercial benefit equivalent thereto, what public encouragement did they obtain to enable them to support the trade? Why, truly, in 1697, the parliament laid the trade open to all the subjects of England for 13 years, and imposed a duty of 10 per cent, *ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandises exported to Africa;

Africa, during that term, for the maintenance of their forts, and castles; the whole of which duties amounted to no more than 73,785 l. 10 s. 6 1/2 d., and their expence in support of their forts did not stand them in less, at a medium, than 20,000 l. per Annum, for 14 years, from 1697, which amounted to 250,000 l. in the whole.—And when the said act was expired, did not all the subjects of Great Britain enjoy the benefit of this trade; and yet the sole expence of the forts was left to the company till the year, 1730? Did not this necessarily decrease our weight and influence in Africa all this time? For the company had no power to resist the shameful encroachments of the French on the Gum coast, and elsewhere; and the nation all this time never interfered, to maintain it's dignity and honour in opposition to the French intrusion.

THE court of England by the treaty of Utrecht, accepted of the Assiento contract, when, as I have observed elsewhere, it was not worth our acceptance, under the terms we received it, France having greatly overdone that commerce beforehand. But what tendency had this Assiento to promote the African trade, upon a national footing? From this time we had two African companies, as it were, subsisting; the one the late royal African company; the other, the Assiento company. Did not this create a competition in

in trade between these two companies for a time? Did this benefit either, by raising the price of negroes on both? I am not insensible that there was an agreement between these two companies for a time, but that was so wisely managed, as to answer the end of neither, and much less that of the nation: so that our Assiento had no tendency to advantage the African trade, nor to render negroes cheaper to our own British planters. This trade being open also to all his Majesty's subjects; and a constant rivalship therein subsisting between all those separate traders, as well as between the two before-mentioned companies, what became the case of the British planters all this time with respect to negroes? Did not this great competition in the whole trade encrease the price of negroes above 300 per cent.?

WHEN the French enjoyed the Assiento, and made considerable advantages thereby, they had only one African company; and these French Assientists possessed the sole exclusive privilege of that trade; they had neither any other company to compete with them to raise the price of negroes, nor other African merchandise, much less had they the whole body of French separate traders to rival them therein, as our late British Assientists and the royal African company both had. How can we wonder then that the French should make such extraordinary advantages thereof, while our South-Sea company made none?

none? Can we, therefore, at all admire, that while the French had the *Affiento*, they were capable of affording negroes cheaply and plentifully to the Spaniards, and by favour thereof to throw into all Spanish America such immense quantities of their other merchandise, as we have seen they did, and so greatly to enrich France, and, at length, so highly to glut New Spain therewith, as to make it not worth our acceptance at the treaty of Utrecht to take that negroe-contract from Spain? It certainly was not, unless it had been modelled upon quite other conditions than it was.

I SHALL not touch upon any other conditions of an *Affiento* at present that might be apprehended to have proved more beneficial to ourselves, and have given less umbrage to the court of Spain in the exercise of that contract: I shall only here observe, that had our South-Sea company, as *Affientists*, been possessed of all our African forts and settlements, and carried that commerce on from the coast of Africa at the first hand, as the French had done before them; had this been the case under our *Affiento* company, so regulated, in relation to our African commerce, as not to have interfered with the rights of our separate traders, in supplying the British colonies with negroes: had this been done, even under the injudicious terms and conditions of our *Affiento*, the South-Sea company, as *Affientists*, might have

have greatly advantaged themselves and the nation by this commerce: our South-Sea *Affientists*, considered as a well-regulated company, in respect to the African trade, might have been able to have become the powerful protectors of our whole African commerce, as well that branch which respected our separate traders, as that which related solely to the supply of the Spaniards with negroes.—A company, like our South-Sea company, backed with an ample capital trading stock, and supported with due powers from the crown of England, would have kept the French in due subjection on the coast of Africa.—Such a company would have effectually maintained our beneficial right of trade on the Gum-coast for 500 miles, which the French have insolently excluded us from.—This company would have effectually excluded the French from trading for immense numbers of negroes at Anamaboe, under the nose of our best British forts.—They would have prevented the French from encroaching on our trade at Whydah, Gambia, Serraleone, and Sherbro.—Such an *Affiento* company would have maintained, not only all the rights and privileges of the British commerce in Africa for their own benefit, for the benefit of our separate traders, and for that of the nation in general: they would, we say, have not only supported the dignity and honour of the British empire in this estimable branch of

our trade, but they might and would have been enabled so to have extended their commerce into the bowels of Africa, as might and would have unspeakably advantaged the trade, the wealth, and the power of the whole kingdom, and have prevented all insults and encroachments by our rivals.—All this might have been done; and no less than this ought to have been done; and if those who formed our Assiento had understood this commerce as they ought to have done all this, and more, might have been done for the honour and interest of the nation in general, and no less for the advantage of our separate traders, than that of our South-Sea company.—These measures might and would have prevented the fatal effects of our never-to-be-forgotten South-Sea enthusiasm.

LET not our separate traders be so partial to themselves as to imagine that such a company, properly and wisely regulated, could have injured their private interest. On the contrary, it would be no great difficulty, perhaps, to shew how, and by what means the interest of such a regulated company might have co-operated with our separate traders to have kept the French in due subjection in Africa, to the mutual benefit of them both, for the common interest of our plantations, and the general interest of the kingdom. These things might be easily shewn.—But,

IN this place, it may be necessary for me only to take notice, that if all the negroes that the French have, in barefaced violation of our rights of trade, taken from the coast of Africa since the treaty of Utrecht, had been left to our South-Sea Assentists, and our traders of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, they would have had at their service three to one more than they have had to supply the occasions of them both;—and, by proper stipulations, regulated by parliament, between our Assentists and our separate traders, they might have purchased whatever negroes they both wanted, for at least one-sixth part of the price which they both were obliged to give; because, on the case supposed, the attentive reader will please to observe, that our Assentists, nor our separate traders would, in such case, have had the competition of our old Royal African company of England to have combated, nor the competition of the French, which has proved infinitely more disadvantageous: in fine, our Royal Assentists and our separate traders might easily have went hand in hand, and have kept the French so effectually under, as would have put it out of their power to have advanced their sugar and other colonies in America, by means of their African trade, as I have elsewhere shewed they have done; and consequently the French could neither have supplanted us in the sugar-trade throughout Europe, nor have become so formidable

to us in all America, as we, at present, experience them to be: In a word, I must beg leave to declare, from my attention to the measures of France, in regard to the advancement of their commerce, and their naval power, I cannot help ascribing the same, in a great measure, to our constant *ill management of our African commerce, and the wise management of the French with relation thereunto.* For I desire it may be remembered, as I have observed on another occasion, that although our African traders have prospered, yet our national loss of the sugar-trade throughout Europe, and our loss of the Asiento by our ill-regulation of that branch of our African trade, greatly over-balance all those gains.—And the power gained by France as well in Africa as in America hereby; the whole loss of the commerce of the Gum-coast, and the weight of the power of France in Africa, if they have dispossessed us of our forts and settlements in Africa, as we are informed they have, must demonstrate to every impartial man, that our African affairs have not been rightly conducted.

I AM too well apprized of the jealousies of our African traders to imagine, that they will easily be brought to think that they could have carried on the African trade so much to their private advantage as they have done, in conjunction with any opulent and powerful company to support that trade in concert with them,

them, though such company had been ever so wisely regulated for that purpose: but, with great deference to the judgment and experience of those gentlemen, I cannot help differing from such who may be of this sentiment. For I humbly conceive, that they might have reaped much greater advantages than they have done, provided all our rights, privileges, and immunities in the African commerce had been inviolably preserved, by the means of a weighty company; for had this been the case, would they not have been great gainers, as merchants, in the general sugar-trade of Europe, that France has, by our shameful neglect of this trade, supplanted us in? And, if the British planters had had the cultivation of double the quantity of sugar in consequence thereof, would not this have proportionably increased their demand for negroes? And if the French had not been suffered, since the peace of Utrecht, to have taken a negro from any part of the coast within the British rights, would not there have been at least above double the quantity of negroes to have been purchased? And when the rivalship of the French had been absolutely destroyed, within only our own limits of that trade, might not our separate African traders have purchased two or three negroes for the same price they have done one? For certainly it would have proved no less for the interest of the regulated company to have kept the price of negroes low to have supplied

plied their Assiento, than for the interest of our separate traders to have acted in concert with them for that purpose. Nay, might not such an agreement have been made between the company and our separate traders, that the former might always have had their magazines duly supplied with negroes, as well for the use of the separate traders, as of themselves? And might not this have been done also at certain fixed and stated prices? whereby might not our separate traders have saved all these losses they have sustained by demurrage, and from strolling from one part of the coast to another to make up their cargo, at a great expence? That this was practicable might easily be shewn; was I disposed to descend to particulars; and this might all have been done at the expence of France, not at that of the company, or the private traders.

MOREOVER, would not a great and a powerful company be capable of doing that in Africa that never can be accomplished by separate traders in their disjointed capacity? Would not such a company be able to extend the commerce of Africa into the very heart of that great empire; which can never be done by separate traders? What share we have hitherto enjoyed of this trade, is no more than a little of the coasting part; we being scarce acquainted with the internal trade for above 200 miles, and in the whole of that we have but very little experience.—

The

The trade of Africa in general we look upon even yet to be only in its infancy, in comparison to the great extent of this part of the world. Have we ever enjoyed any thing more of this commerce than the mere skimming of the coasting trade, and that under difficulties and discouragements enough, arising, as well from the interruption of the Dutch as the French?

HAVE we not all reason to believe, that Africa will admit of a very extensive and lucrative commerce, if we can propagate the same into the very heart and center of these extensive territories? We know little of that infinite variety of vegetable, mineral, and animal production, that we may presume abound in this part of the world, and which might afford an infinite variety of trafficable objects. But do we not know, from our little coasting traffic, that these countries abound with commodities of inestimable value, though we have participated of but a small share of them? Do we not know that their vegetables afford us fine woods, as well for dying as workmanship; and may we not suppose that here are as fine drugs as any in other parts of the world, if we took proper measures to obtain a knowledge of them? We know with what a valuable commodity their elephants furnish us; and what numberless other animals this country may abound, that would afford matter for traffic, we are but very little acquainted with. Certain we are

P 4

also,

also, that this country does no less abound in gold than in delicate vegetables, gums and ivory; and why not in diamonds and other precious stones, as well as innumerable fossils and minerals of inestimable worth? Certain likewise it is, that there are scarce any productions in all our British American islands but might be cultivated on the continent of Africa, and that perhaps within few miles of the sea-coasts: and if ever we should be unhappy enough to be dispossessed of our sugar-colonies, our trade in this part of the world might contribute to make us compensation: at all events, however, it is wise and prudent to make every advantage in our power that this trade will admit of; for we know not what occasion we may have to make the most of every thing we have the least claim to.

In tracing mankind as near as we can to their origin, we find them in the general to have been no better civilized, than the Africans. What has so much tended to civilize the human species as commerce? This being the parent of treasure, splendor, and magnificence, have not these prevailing motives been conducive to the general propagation of all the commercial arts? And wherever they have been duly introduced, they have scarce ever failed to polish and humanize the most brutish savages. And why not the Africans? However some countries may abound with what we Europeans are pleased

to

to denominate humane barbarians; yet, we well know, that nature is one and the same in all parts of the world, suitable to its climate and its situation; and the colour, and stature in men is as little to be despised as the soil where they inhabit, and the productions of the earth: and soils of all kinds, and in all climes are improveable; and why not the human nature? Are not the rational faculties of the negroe people in the general equal to those of any other of the human species? And experience has shewn that they are no less capable of the mechanical and manufactural arts and trades, than the bulk of the Europeans. I shall enter no further into the philosophy of human nature.

For my own part, I cannot help expressing my dislike to the slave-trade, and wish an end could be put to it; and I am inclined to believe that practicable without injury to our plantations. At present, however, we shall take things as they are, and reason from them in their present state, and not from that wherein we could hope them to be. Certain it is that wherever the commercial Europeans have humanely cultivated a trade with the most savage people, they have always reaped advantages sufficient to induce to pursue the practice. The Dutch afford us an eminent example of this in their East India settlements. Have they not by dint of trade civilized innumerable of the natives, and thereby brought them to the European way of clothing,

cloathing, and imbibed most of their peculiar customs and habits? Why then may not numberless of the Africans be brought to do the same? If their country affords productions valuable enough to pay for our manufactures, why should we neglect to induce them to a general wear of them? If they possess wherewith to give an advantageous barter for any of our productions of arts, why should not effectual policy be used with them to induce them to a general liking thereof? That they have estimable commodities that will turn to profit to give in exchange for ours, is certain; and that it is practicable to bring them to a general use of multitudes of our commodities, is not less so, from what little we have experienced of their disposition. If we could so exert our commercial policy amongst these people, as to bring a few hundred thousands of them to cloath with our commodities, and to erect buildings to deck with our furniture, and to live something in the European way, would not such traffic prove far more lucrative than the slave-trade only, or the dealing with them only for those small quantities of gold, and other commodities which we do?

If once we could propagate and establish our fashions amongst them; if they could be brought to pride themselves in living in our manner, and that it was thought disgraceful not to cloathe and live in such certain manner; would not this naturally rouse their passion

to obtain those productions of their country, to give in return for our commodities? Would not this animate and inspire them to search their countries for every thing valuable both above ground, and below, to maintain a traffic, that once became generally fashionable amongst them? And as they have innumerable things in the several kingdoms of nature, whose uses, and whose virtues they cannot be so well acquainted with, they would lay in time all nature's work at our feet; they would clear their lands; take to the cultivation of those things, we have found valuable amongst them, breed those animals we esteemed, and search, at our instigation, to the very center of the earth for all her invaluable treasures. May we not very reasonably judge that this would prove the natural consequence of cultivating such a commercial correspondence with these people? And when our people came to obtain a free and friendly trading intercourse with the natives, may we not presage that great must be the consequence? For our customs and fashions would spread from nation to nation; from country to country; till by travel and commerce, we became as familiarly acquainted with this rich and extensive country as with any in Europe.

AND what infinite advantages might arise to these kingdoms, if we should prove the first who cut out such new tracts of commerce? For the first establishers will always obtain

obtain the greatest advantages; and may fo
~~fix~~ ourselves in the favour and friendship of
 those savage nations, as not easily to be sup-
 planted by any rival traders.

By such like measures, have not all bran-
 ches of traffic with foreign countries been ob-
 tained? And what reason have we to despair
 of extending the commerce of this part of the
 world to a degree equal to that of any other
 belonging to the whole British empire? With
 a commerce that must prove of such a nature
 and extent; and so beneficial to these king-
 doms, what comparison will the mere slave-
 trade bear, and that small quantity of Afri-
 can commodities wherein we, at present,
 deal?

ARE not these motives sufficient to induce
 us to the preservation of that footing we have
 obtained in Africa? But how these great
 things may be accomplished is the next point
 that falls under our consideration.

As our African trade is, at present, car-
 ried on, we can never hope for any of
 those advantages; and, therefore, other kind
 of measures must be thought of than what
 we have hitherto fallen upon. And what
 these measures are, must, from what has been
 urged in the preceding papers, be obvious to
 every one, who has attended to the matter.

BUT before I open myself explicitly upon
 this occasion, I crave leave to premise the fol-
 lowing particulars, viz.

1. That

1. That while no other means can be
 found to supply our colonies with white
 people sufficient to perform the laborious
 business requisite in our sugar-colonies; or,
 if experience should prove that whites like
 blacks cannot sustain the heat, and the fatigue
 necessary; or, if we cannot carry on our su-
 gar-plantations to such advantage, by the
 means of whites, as our rivals in this trade,
 may do by blacks; we cannot think of giv-
 ing up the slave-trade, notwithstanding my
 good wishes that it could be done.

2. That what I am about to suggest is not
 intended to interfere with such a share and
 degree of the African slave-trade, and the
 connections this gives with the West-India
 trade, as our British separate traders, at pre-
 sent, enjoy, though it grows worse and worse
 upon their hands; and will at length, per-
 haps, become quite impracticable to be car-
 ried on at all in the manner it is, by reason
 of the greater and greater dearth of slaves
 upon the coast; unless this trade shall be
 established upon a better foundation than it
 at present is.

3. From what has been said, it appears,
 that the French African trade, and all the
 advantages they have thereby received in re-
 gard to their sugar, and other American co-
 lonies, have been owing to this trade being
 effectually protected, supported, and enlarged
 by their great East-India company; and it
 also appears, from the French royal edicts,
 that

that this nation apprehended, their African commerce could not be duly supported for the benefit of their colonies, by the means of a free and open trade; and, therefore, they assert that they were under the necessity of granting the same to a company with exclusive privileges.—These things premised, I shall now desire permission to observe what I would submit to public consideration, for the better security and advancement of this traffic; which is as follows; viz.

1. That though I would not adopt the measures of France wholly, in regard to the regulation of this trade; yet neither can I judge it eligible inviolably to adhere wholly to the present measures that we have taken for this purpose.

2. That, therefore, I would propose to adopt both; I mean that of a great and a powerful company, with exclusive privileges and immunities to propagate and establish the *inland commerce* only of Africa to the utmost; and I would propose also, that the whole slave-trade, and the connection that has with our West-India commerce, may be left, as it at present is, solely to our British separate traders.

3. That every branch of the trade to Africa, excepting that which is commonly called the slave-trade, shall be given to the East-India company *by act of parliament*, with an exclusive privilege for ——— years, with liberty, to erect such inland forts, and factories,

ries, as they think proper, and shall be invested with such other immunities, as to the wisdom of the legislature shall seem meet.

4. That the forts and castles in Africa, and every thing thereunto appertaining be vested in the East-India company, and the 10,000 l. per Annum, which is now allowed by parliament to the present African company, shall be granted to the said East-India company, in order the better to enable them to support and maintain these forts and castles already erected in Africa.

5. That certain parts and proportions of these several forts, which are already erected shall be allotted by the said act of parliament, to the sole and uninterrupted use of the separate British African traders, the better to enable them to carry on their slave-trade.

6. That in the carrying on the said slave-trade, the separate British traders shall have full and unrestrained liberty to traffic with the negroes for slaves in the same manner they, at present do; and shall not on any account, be debarred and molested by the said company, in trading with the negroes for such gold dust, or gold, or ivory, &c. as they at present do; but that this dealing shall be limited and restrained to a certain degree, according to the number of slaves, which these traders shall purchase on the coast: and that the company shall on no account interfere in the slave-trade with the separate traders.

7. That

7. That in order to render the trade the more beneficial to the separate traders, as well as the country, an agreement shall be settled between the company, and the separate traders; which agreement shall be regulated by the act of parliament, aforesaid, that the separate traders shall not give more than things of such a certain value for the goods they shall deal in besides slaves; and that the company shall be restrained to the same value in their barter; whereby the price of these commodities may not be enhanced by rivalry in trade between the company and the separate traders.

8. That the company shall always be obliged to protect the said private traders in their traffic, as much as they shall their own agents; and shall prevent all foreign interlopers attempting to trade anywhere on the coast of Africa, within the limits of the charter of the late royal African company.

9. That every other branch of the inland African trade shall be solely under the controul, direction and management of the East-India company; and the separate traders shall not interfere therein, further than they have been wont to do, in regard to the usual custom of carrying on the trade.

10. That the East-India company, when possessed, by act of parliament, of the additional powers and privileges, shall be distinguished by the name and title of the Royal East-India and African company, or by such other

appel-

appellation as the wisdom of parliament shall judge eligible.

11. That one half of the commodities *ad valorem* to be vended in Africa, shall be of British produce and manufacture, and the other half of the produce and manufactures of the East-Indies, according to invoice, and all after-charges, &c.

12. That the said royal East-India and African company shall be obliged to erect all such inland forts and factories at their own expence, as may be necessary to facilitate all trade between the interior parts of Africa and the Sea-coast; and shall be at the sole expence of making treaties and alliances with the negroe-chiefs and princes for the greater security and enlargement of their commerce.

THESE are the general heads that I would presume to sketch out, leaving them to be amended by those who are better judges. If the whole African trade, except that part commonly called the slave-trade, was absolutely vested in the East-India company, upon some reasonable terms and conditions, there is no doubt to be made, but that trade would, by means of so powerful and wealthy a company, be carried on to the very center of that great extended and populous country: and, what immense quantities of our own, as well as of the East-India commodities, might be vended among these people, is not easy to say; especially, if the natives could be gradually

VOL. II.

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dually civilized, and brought generally to wear, and otherwise consume the European and Indian commodities. But it can never be expected, without the erection of interior forts and factories; and those duly maintained and upheld by a powerful company, with a large trading stock, that this commerce will ever be encreased to the degree it is capable of. And, as it would be the interest of this company to cultivate the inland commerce to the utmost extent, as having no manner of concern with the slave-trade, there is all reason to believe, that, where we now export twenty shillings worth of commodities to Africa, we should then export one hundred pounds worth. There are considerable quantities of the East-India goods, at present, sent to Africa; but, if that company were so settled there, as to encrease the commerce in that part of the world, to the degree it is capable of, the consumption of those would certainly, as well as that of British commodities, in general, encrease beyond imagination. And we very well know, that those people have the valuable commodities of ivory, gums, dyeing woods, gold, &c. &c. to give in exchange; and doubtless, when the trade came to be extended to the degree it will admit of, there would be discovered an infinite variety of trafficable particulars, with which the Europeans at present are totally unacquainted.

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So well constituted a company, supported for half a century only, with such powers and privileges as before intimated, or with such others as shall make it for the interest of the company to drive the inland trade to it's utmost height, would be instrumental, we may reasonably believe, to make Britons as well acquainted with the interior territories of that extended country, as they at present are with the coast only. So that if the wisdom of the nation should, at any time hereafter, judge it for the public interests to deprive this company of it's exclusive privilege, and lay the trade quite open; would not the separate traders and the public in general, reap unspeakably greater advantage thereby, than they ever possibly can do, if some powerful company does not undertake the establishment of this very extensive and gainful branch of commerce?

NOR do we apprehend that separate traders can have the least reason to complain, or object against the establishment of such an extended commerce into the heart of Africa, as may easily be effectuated by virtue of a company, properly constituted and regulated for the purpose, and perhaps, by no other measures whatsoever.

HAVING endeavoured, to inform myself in regard to what has been urged against every kind of trading company that has existed in this nation; I am not unapprized of what may

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be

[228]

be objected against my own proposition, and particularly what may be offered from the consideration of the miscarriage of the late royal African company: from which some probably may please to argue, that it is impossible for any kind of African company long to subsist, without annihilation of their trading capital.

BUT, with all deference to the judgment of those who are pleased to think so, I would beg leave to remind the reader of what has been before noticed: viz.—With respect to this late company, it must be observed, that they were never bottomed upon a parliamentary constitution; that they were ever in the precarious situation of depending only upon the royal prerogative, without any parliamentary sanction. It is no wonder, therefore, that they could never raise above the capital stock of a hundred thousand pounds; the bulk of which was soon sunk in the purchase, repairs, and erection of forts and castles; and the profits of their trade sunk by the wars we had with the Dutch and the French in Africa; in consequence of which, they had so trifling a stock left wherewith to trade, that it was not possible, under all these disadvantages and discouragements, they should ever make a tolerable progress in this commerce, any way proportionate to the apparent extent it would admit of. Where is the admiration, therefore,

[229]

fore, that a company, erected upon so fandy a foundation, should never be able to support its head, and at length sink?

As this trade has yet never had a fair trial, by means of a company founded upon parliamentary authority, no man can presume to say, that what has never been tried will miscarry.

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DISSERTATION XXV.

Farther considerations on the African trade, and our East-India company; shewing wherein the latter may prove conducive, by having the trade to Africa annexed to it, as proposed in the preceding dissertation, to enable Great Britain the better to maintain the balance of trade and power against France in Africa, America, and the East-Indies.

FROM what has been already urged, no one can avoid discerning that the commerce of France, as it has been carried on in Africa, with relation to its important connection with the French sugar and other colonies, has proved the essential cause of all the prosperity and dominion of the French in America, and has greatly contributed to render their East-India company so opulent and formidable in Asia.

ON the other hand, we have seen, that England having carried on her African trade on principles diametrically opposite to those
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of France, it has, from time to time, greatly injured, and now almost totally ruined that trade as such, and the French maintain the superior dominion on that coast. It has also enhanced the price of negroes to such a degree to our British planters, that it has proved the principal cause of the loss of our sugar trade throughout Europe, and occasioned sugars to come so excessively dear to us for domestic consumption; this has also prevented the breaking up of more land in our island colonies, for the greater cultivation of sugars, by reason of the extravagant price of negro labourers necessary for that purpose. These things have done unspeakable injury to our planters in general, ruined numbers of them, and raised the price, and obstructed the production of all our other American commodities: and these have proved no less disadvantageous to all our West-India traders in general, than to the nation; for if we had prevented these evils by the right management of our African commerce, those traders would have been far greater gainers thereby than they have been, and we should have maintained such a superiority in our African, and consequently in our whole American commerce, as would have hindered the present height of the French power in America, and elsewhere, that we now experience it has rose to.

SINCE, therefore, it may be justly said, that the preservation of our whole commercial interest in America, and therefore, in

a great measure, in Europe also, depends upon the proper regulation of our African trade, I hope I shall be excused if I urge all that appears to me needful to the permanent and prosperous establishment of this so valuable a branch of the British traffic.

HAVING in the foregoing discourse, given my thoughts how I apprehend this commerce may be carried on and extended by the means of such an important joint-stock company as our East-India company at present is, in conjunction with our separate traders; it will be necessary to consider such objections as may be urged against this company; more particularly so, since I have taken the liberty, unrequested, and perhaps unthanked, to suggest the propriety of giving additional powers and immunities to this company; which, in the eye of many, is already looked upon as a detrimental and destructive monopoly; and what I have proposed further in their favour, may give a greater handle for clamour and calumny against them: and, therefore, as I have spontaneously undertaken the cause of this corporation, and to suggest the reasonableness of extending its privileges to the African commerce; I am obliged in justice to endeavour to vindicate this company against what, in the general, has been, and what may, on account of what I have now said in its favour, be urged against them.

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PREVIOUSLY to what I shall take the liberty to say in behalf of this trading company, I must desire the reader's favour to recollect the substance of what has been already said throughout the course of these dissertations; for the prevalence of truth has obliged me to maintain a connection, and I hope a consistency, throughout the whole. What I would, upon the present occasion, require the reader chiefly to call to his mind is, how greatly we have suffered in the commerce of Africa, by laying that trade absolutely open, without the existence even of any joint-stock company to uphold our commercial dignity, weight, and influence in this part of the world; while the French, by following the contrary measures, have aggrandized themselves at our expence.—We have laid before the reader likewise that system of wise laws and regulations whereby our great rivals govern their African and American trade in a manner consistent with the prosperity of both.—Whereas we seem to have paid no regard, by our regulations of these trades, to that essential and mutual dependency that subsists between them. We have seen also the difference of the constitution of our several colonies in North-America; and how, in consequence thereof, the security of the whole have been endangered;—whereas the French colonies have all one uniform constitution, and every part cooperates for the general safety and preservation

tion of the whole.—We have seen also how we have neglected to regulate our Indian affairs, and have thereby lost the alliance and attachment of those people;—whereas, on the contrary, we have seen by what means the French have gained the friendship of those people, and made them subservient to their mischievous machinations against our dominions.—These and many other are the principles of policy, the reader will recollect, that are placed in contrast in this work, to shew wherein the French have outdone us in the cabinet, as if it were an indignity to us to counter-act them in their own way.—But does not every one see the egregious absurdity thereof?

If the French can raise 100 sail of men of war at present, will any one say it is not necessary for us to have more than 100 sail?—May we not with equal wisdom say, that although the French make use of arms and ammunition in combat, that we should rashly fight them unarmed? Every one sees the folly of all this. Well then, if common sense instructs us to put ourselves upon an equality with an enemy in military concerns, why not in commercial ones? We do not say, that we are to follow France in all their points of government: that the judicious reader will discern is going beyond the standard of policy we would come to: no; our free constitution, and our religion will not, without destroying our invaluable rights and liberties,

liberties, admit of any thing unconstitutional: but our constitution will, with all safety, admit of our counter-acting France, or any other power, in our commercial system, by the same policy by which they would supplant or over-reach us.—Are not these principles the basis of all treaties of peace and friendship, and more particularly of those of commerce?

EVERY true friend to his country will desire that the due spirit of liberty may be ever cherished amongst us. I shall ever think it my duty to contribute thereto. But as our fondness for the words liberty and freedom sometimes lead to licentiousness, and even anarchy in government; so may not a too great eagerness for an universal freedom and liberty of trade carry us such lengths, that we may, at length lose all the trade we have? Though peculiar monopolies have certainly proved injurious to trade; yet is it not notorious that we owe all our trade originally to monopolies? In the striking out new and unbeaten tracts of commerce, what private people will hazard their properties therein?

As the primary motive to the grant of monopolies was to cut out, by dint of joint-stocks, new channels of traffic; so the motives to their continuance should be the preservation of such trades only, as we cannot preserve without them. When the French laid their African trade absolutely open to all the subjects of France, have not their royal ordonnances

ordonnances explicitly declared, that not only that trade, but their whole American trade would have been ruined, if they had not taken other measures? And we presume, that we have shewn the reason of the thing speaks loudly for itself. Now, if at the time the French lately commenced the carrying on this commerce by their great extensive India company, England had carried her trade on by a great extensive company too, in conjunction, as has been observed, with an open slave-trade to our separate traders; we may safely affirm that we should have preserved all the sugar and plantation trade we have lost, and prevented the growing power of the French upon the declension of our own. The reason of this has been before amply shewn.

If then we have absolutely lost all our European sugar, and a great part of our other plantation trade, by the dread of a well-regulated monopoly to support, protect, and extend the same in Africa, whereon it depends; if the French have raised their commerce and naval power in general, by the means of a joint-stock company, and have greatly reduced and almost ruined ours by the means of such a company, are we to be frightened by the scarecrow sound of a monopoly out of all our trade, when such means are absolutely necessary for its general protection? As we have lost our sugar and other parts of our planta-
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tion trade for want of a powerful company in Africa, who will undertake to insure us that we should not lose the whole commerce of Asia, if we were to annihilate our exclusive East-India company?

If it could be fairly demonstrated that the East-India trade is really a losing trade to this nation, as it is now carried on, we might be indifferent about the existence of our India company. But this has never yet been done to my knowledge; when the circle of this traffic has been impartially taken into consideration. Some, indeed, have insinuated that the whole commerce of the East-Indies is a losing trade to all the European potentates interested therein. Must we not with difficulty credit this? Is it not something extraordinary that all the great states who are engaged in it should be so blind to their advantage? If this be the case, is it not still more to be admired that such a losing and detrimental trade should draw new states into its circle? And that they all too should chuse to carry the same on by joint-stock companies, endowed with exclusive privileges? The presumption certainly is, that all the states engaged therein have found from experience that they are gainers by this trade and all its consequences in the general: and that the several companies, in the general, have been gainers thereby is as little to be doubted. If they were extraordinary losers, it could not be long concealed; and therefore we may
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reasonably enough presume, that the credit of their general account of profit and loss exceeds their debit.

BUT if the several companies therein concerned were no extraordinary gainers; yet, if the respective nations wherein they are established, experience, upon the whole, that they are gainers, would it not be impolitic to lay them aside? On the contrary, would it not be wisdom to support them?

IF it be needful to maintain a balance of power in Europe, why not in Asia among the European powers established there? Will not the rise or decline of their trade and power in the Indies effect that of their particular states in Europe? Though the companies should be losers, yet does not these trades increase the naval powers of other various European states, and thereby render them more or less respectable in the European balance of power? If so, then it is needful for England to maintain a balance of power in the East-Indies, that contributing to its maintenance in Europe.

BUT who will secure the nation that the balance of trade and power could be upheld by England in Asia, if that trade was laid absolutely open to all the traders of Great Britain? As the French, by laying their African trade absolutely open, experienced how negroes and other commodities were greatly enhanced there; and how their own commodities were depreciated by a general rivalship among

among the separate trade; so can we suppose that the French will ever try the like experiment in the East-India commerce? For would not a general competition amongst their separate traders in Asia have the same effect it has in Africa? Would they not have reason to dread the ruin of this whole trade, as they had like to have experienced in regard to that of Africa?

IN the encrease of the East-Indies, as well as in all other branches of foreign commerce, we must have an eye to the policy of our neighbours, and more particularly to that of a rival nation. And while all other nations make use of rich and powerful joint-stock companies, and those possessed with such immunities and encouragements given them by their respective nations, does it seem politic in any of the rest to affect singularity in this matter, and carry the trade on in a manner different from all the rest?

IF we should make any change in the manner of carrying on this commerce, while other nations carried the same on by the means of great joint-stock companies with exclusive privileges, all the change that we could with any safety, perhaps, make, would be by a regulated company without a joint-stock; and this might prove a dangerous experiment, if we may appeal to the touchstone of experience. For, if in Africa, which is at home, in comparison to the distance of the East-Indies, we have not been able to maintain

tain the balance of trade and power, and much less to extend the former there; if in Africa, we have lost all our weight and power among the negroe-chiefs and princes, for want of a powerful joint-stock company to uphold our interest; we have no great reason to expect, that a regulated company without a joint-stock could maintain our share in the balance of trade and power in the East-Indies. Have we not reason, on the contrary to fear too, that the trade would indeed soon prove quite ruinous to this nation, and that the whole of our proportion of that commerce would fall into the hands of our rivals? and if once we lost our settlements and our commercial connections in that part of the world, we should have no share in the ballance of trade or power arising therefrom.

IF hereafter it should be judged eligible to make any alteration in our manner of carrying on the East-India trade; it is submitted; whether private traders might not, under certain regulations, be admitted into some certain proportion of this trade, in conjunction with the present joint-stock company, without injuring either the one, or the other, and making both, by acting in concert, become more subservient to the general interest of the nation? If they could be both made to harmonize and play into each other's hands for the common interest, and to give us a more exclusive and beneficial trade there than we,

we, at present, have, and add more to our weight and influence there, in opposition to foreign competitors: If, we say, the existence of such a company, and private traders too, could be made perfectly compatible, upon fair national principles, it would certainly prove the best way to carry on this commerce.

AND whether it is practicable for a good understanding to be maintained between such a company and private traders, (the experiment being duly tried in our African commerce) would prove a good touchstone afterwards to try something similar thereto in the Asiatic traffic; for the regulation must be well adapted to the peculiar circumstances of both those trades: and although the general principles upon which the regulation shall be made in both trades may be the same; yet there may be some exception, to these general principles in the one case that may not be requisite in the other.

ALTHOUGH the government should be at the expence of supporting and maintaining forts and castles in the Indies, or impose a duty for that purpose, on the exports, or imports, *ad valorem*, &c.; yet, it is to be greatly feared, that such measures would not uphold our weight and influence to such a degree as our rivals do theirs by different conduct. This having proved our case in Africa, we must dread it from that experience.

VOL. II. R. MORE-

[242]

MOREOVER, such is the nature of traffic, that a mere military force, capable only of supporting forts and garrisons, might, from the peculiarity of the conduct of such uncommercial gentlemen, be more liable to destroy, than cultivate commercial friendships, upon a footing equal with those who constitute a trading interest at the head of their military.

A REGULATED company, duly supported by a British government, might possibly be devised for the temporary support of a general freedom of trade: but, that the nation could permanently preserve such a distant commerce, any thing like what the meanest of our rivals therein do, I have never seen satisfactorily proved; and until I do, I must, from national principles be an advocate for the continuance of our East-India company. Nor do I discern the disadvantages that could arise to these kingdoms, if our East-India company were no less powerful in Asia, than that of the Dutch; which is attended with unspeakable commercial emolument to the Hollanders.

It has been frequently said, that our East-India company does not trade to the extent of their charter; but that from an unrestrained liberty of trade, it would be drove to the full extremity; that thereby no part of the Indies would remain untraded to: I am afraid, indeed, that this trade would soon be carried to such an extremity that it would not be worth

[243]

worth carrying on at all, and that many would soon be ruined who engaged in it. But what should induce the company to suffer any beneficial trade to remain uncultivated? It does not proceed from a deficiency of capital, or credit; and why should we apprehend them neglectful of their interest? A company cannot, indeed, trade at so small an expence, and therefore, cannot afford to trade at so small profit as private traders: This is allowed in general: but the previous question is; whether we should long enjoy any share in this trade at all without such a company?

CERTAINLY the exclusive correspondence and high credit of the company in the Indies, enable them to traffic every where within their charter, where they can be gainers; and to do so where they could not, would shew no regard to their proprietors. But private traders will gain where they cannot. Is not this begging the question? When our company dropt the trade, can we suppose that the chasm of trade, which they had left, would not be instantly filled up by the other great trading company? If our traders did pick up a little poultry trade, by their strolling coasting; or, if the Indians brought trade down to the national forts and castles, whither our traders should resort, would not this general competition amongst them raise the price of India commodities, and depreciate that of our European? Has not the experience of the African trade proved the

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truth

truth of this beyond doubt? But the African traders, since that commerce has been laid open, have been greatly enriched, and why might not the private East-India traders? This does not follow. The case is not parallel in it's essentials. If the African traders lose by their direct trade to Africa, they gain by the West-India trade, and the re-exportation of West-India commodities: But has it not been shown, that although our African traders have become enriched, it has been at the expence of our planters; at the expence of the loss of our whole European sugar, and other parts of our plantation trade? &c.

If I am rightly informed, the point, in regard to the India trade lies here. Such branches of that trade, by which the company cannot gain, or are not so gainful as others they prefer, are carried on by private British merchants, trading under the company's licence. It is allowed there is a wide difference between granting licences to carry on a coasting trade in India, and a free liberty to carry on the trade from Europe to India: but these free merchants, who obtain the company's licence, and traffic only in such of our commodities as the company export, amply supply most places with our goods where there is any tolerable profit to be got. But, it is said, private traders would supply them cheaper than licenced merchants do at second hand. This is to be proved. I doubt it: private traders, perhaps, could not buy so cheap

cheap at home as the company does: nor could private traders sell to such advantage as licenced merchants do under the company's sanction, and protection; for their general rivalship would induce the Indians to treat them as they pleased.

It is of the last consequence to a nation that carries on a trade to the Indies, to have, from time to time, a distinct account of it's state and condition. But how could this be done by separate traders, who in such distant countries are presumed to have no inland correspondence with the Indian artist and manufacturers, &c.—Should it be said, that we might have British factories there, as in Spain, and Portugal. We might so; and what what would the consequence be? If the goods were left in such distant countries to be sold; our traders might leave millions of money there, perhaps, to be annihilated. But if factors make their returns by barter from voyage to voyage, will not their commission greatly diminish the profits of the trade? Besides, must there not be the expence of supercargoes likewise?

WHOEVER considers how merchandises are to be distributed in India, and affairs in general conducted there; what a connection and dependency there is between the commerce of the several countries included within the company's charter, will easily discern, that if the whole trade was in the hands of a dis-

jointed body of traders, and not under the direction of a company thoroughly experienced herein, it would certainly be difficult, if not impossible to carry the same on to advantage.

PROVIDED the forts and settlements were lodged in the crown, and the management of the trade only in the hands of a regulated company, it could not but be attended with great inconveniencies, as experience shewed, in Charles II. time, when Bombay came to the crown by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal; and, therefore, both that island, and the island of St. Helena, have been granted the company for the sake of public conveniency.

FROM the disorder of the company's affairs in that reign, as well as in that of king James, we may discover that it is greatly detrimental to this commerce, that the company should be under the power of the crown, to stand indebted to that for all encouragement, and to have no other resource in case of grievance; for, does not this, on the one hand, render the trade precarious, and on the other hand, interest a great body of people in support of the prerogative, a consequence injurious to the constitution.

HAS not experience effectually shewn the mischiefs which flowed from the subsistence of two East-India companies at the same time? Were they not convinced that nothing but their union of interests could afford a
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proper remedy? If this trade was laid open, would not this, as it were, multiply companies, all acting upon separate interests? would not this create eternal clashing of interests, and give the powerful united companies of other nations opportunity to destroy them all? Some have been so sanguine as to conceive, that by our laying this trade open, we should be able to ruin all the established companies in Asia. Let such remember the viper and the file.

UPON supposition that private traders could make it appear, that they could vend much larger quantities of our commodities in India than the company do, and that without importing larger quantities of India commodities: and supposing that proportion of India commerce neglected by the company, can be proposed to be carried on by private traders to the interest of the nation, and not detrimental to the company, why do not private traders apply to parliament with such proposition? And pray leave to carry on such neglected trade under the sanction of the company, on making them reasonable allowance for such licence?

IF on examination it should be found practicable for the company to open a direct trade, as has been suggested, in order to take off a greater quantity of our commodities, either by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the freights of Magellan, or with other parts of the Southern continent, it is right to recommend these things to the company.—And, if

found unexceptionably practicable, and profitable by competent and impartial judges, how can we suppose that the company would neglect such advantages? But, if the company, from private views, incompatible with those of the public, refused thus to exert themselves in their own, and the public interest; upon fair proof hereof made in the face of the legislature; and becoming application to the same on the part of the petitioners, I make no doubt but the parliament would indulge them to undertake these trades that the company should reject. For this, and all other companies are but so many corporations endowed with powers in trust for the public, to whom they are always accountable; and by whom they are always liable to be over-ruled, and controuled, when they act repugnant to those reasons of state whereon their charters are founded.

THE objections that have been judged by some to have been of the most weight against this company are as follow: The first is grounded on the exportation of bullion, which is stated thus: the common measure of all things in a commercial way, is silver, and consequently the great criterion of the wealth of the nation, is her extracting this common measure from other nations, by virtue of bringing the balance of trade in our favour; but the East-India trade is carried on by exporting this real, this intrinsic wealth, as it is called by some, and which never re-

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turns, but is employed in the importation of India commodities, that are not necessary, but only mere instruments of luxury.

BEFORE we proceed to answer this objection, it may be requisite to observe previously, that the necessaries of life are produced in every country, at least in every habitable country: and it is to what some call luxury, that all trade whatever is owing: so that if nations are to deal in nothing but their own productions, here seems to be an end to all commercial intercourse between foreign states: if we admit this principle, we should not only drink sage instead of green tea, but make use of honey instead of sugar, and water or beer at all times instead of wine; we should, in short, endeavour only to cultivate and improve the produce of our own country, subsist upon it, and leave all the rest of the world to shift for itself.

How consistent a maxim this would be, for people who inhabit an island, and how reasonable it is for those who derive most of the blessings we enjoy from trade and maritime power, to argue in this manner, we leave the reader to judge. But, if we set this objection so far aside, as to allow that commerce between nations giving bread to myriads of the human species, and make the country wherein the same flourishes rich, happy, and powerful, the particular trade of the East-India company becomes as defensible

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sible as any other; for if such exportation of bullion does not injure the nation, then there is no weight in the objection: that it does not under the circumstances of the present company, we have great reason to believe. For,

WHEN the first charter was granted them, lest this should prove an evil, it was properly guarded against by a proviso, that the company should be obliged to bring in as large a quantity of bullion as they carried out, in the interval between the voyages, made at the risque of the company. Nor has it ever been made demonstrably appear, that the silver this company has carried out, has tended to the impoverishment of the kingdom; for if all that silver that has been in this kingdom remained in circulation; if we had neither exported any, nor had any converted into wrought plate, would not the price of all commodities have been considerably raised, especially when added to that quantity of paper circulation that of late years has existed amongst us?

BUT, instead of impoverishing the nation, as this commerce has encreased, it should seem to have encreased the wealth of the nation in general, by bringing in, on the one hand, large quantities of silver for our Indian merchandizes re-exported, and detaining here, on the other, those sums of money which must otherwise have been exported for foreign produce and manufactures; which would have been

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worn here, if we had not long been better and cheaper supplied from India.

IT has been formerly objected, that the wearing of India-piece goods prejudiced our own woollen manufactures; but this has, in a great measure, been cured by the laws passed for that purpose. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that those manufactures are chiefly to be encouraged, which contribute to exportation; since it is certain, that the cheaper people can be clothed here, let that cloathing come from where it will, the cheaper they can afford to work upon their own manufactures; and it is the general cheapness of labour and of our native commodities, that is the essential point to be studied in a trading nation; for if we can underwork other countries, we shall infallibly undermine their trade, and extend our own; for though private people may be enriched by our home consumption, yet the public may be no gainer thereby; which consideration will enable the intelligent to discern how clamours may be raised against such trades as are highly beneficial: and this, from confounding the interest of private men, or great bodies, with that of the public. If the India trade, therefore, has in its consequences been instrumental, upon the whole, to bring in a greater balance of money than it has carried out, it has proved nationally gainful, and therefore should be supported.

MONEY

MONEY, as a medium, is necessary to the carrying on trade; for where that fails, the commercial negotiations stagnate; for credit, which supplies that defect, is the expectation or assurance of money, when demanded.—Nevertheless it is a mistake, perhaps, though a common one, to think that money is the cause of a good or bad trade; since it is not money that so much influences trade, as it is trade that discovers the money; which is the medium whereby trade is the more conveniently managed, but not the source from whence it arises: thus, when the trade is quick and brisk, then money, the medium, comes more into view than when it is otherwise; and then, by changing hands oftener, an hundred pounds makes as great an appearance in commerce as a much larger sum.

No private trader, or company, sends money or bullion into other countries, but with a view to gain the more by it. It was a maxim of the wise prince Ferdinand the first, great duke of Tuscany, who raised the commerce of his subjects to an incredible height, to lend them money, and permit them to send the same out of his dominions in the way of traffic. Mr. Mun, a very skilful and eminent English merchant, tells us, that he himself experienced the duke's liberality upon the like occasion, who lent him 40,000 crowns gratis, although he knew that he should send the whole away in specie

specie to Turkey, to purchase merchandizes; the duke being well assured, says he, that, in the course of that trade, the same would return again, according to the Italian proverb, with a duck in the mouth. This judicious gentleman further informs us, that, by this policy, the duke encouraged trade to such a degree, that, of his own knowledge, Leghorn, which was only a poor little mean town, became a great and opulent city; being in his time become the most famous place of commerce in all Christendom.

THERE has not been any point of trade more generally misunderstood, perhaps, than what relates to gold and silver, or bullion, which some would have not to be reckoned a commodity, or merchandize; and therefore not permitted to go out, when once brought into the kingdom. But those who seem to have judged the best of the matter, have been of a different sentiment, and contended for its free exportation no less than its importation.

THOSE nations that bring in gold or silver by means of their exports of variety of merchandize, are upon an equal footing with those countries that have mines in their possession, and barter their gold and silver for commodities; and, in such trading states, that have no gold or silver mines, gold and silver become a species of merchandize, as well as any other; a merchandize that may be turned in trade with advantage, and therefore

fore more valuable in such a country, than where they were first dug from the mines. Industry, and skill to improve trade, and the apt situation of a country for it, afford more real treasure to a people than even the possession of gold and silver mines: nor can any quantity thereof, that may be dug out of the mines, bear a proportion with what may be made to arise from the whole labour of a trading, industrious, and populous nation. For the national stock, though small at first, is by such means, ever increasing, and that increase still accumulating more and more; so that the augmentation arising from such accumulating increase, and the gold and silver gained from other nations in trade for commodities, makes a perpetual addition: which being permanent, such nation has no bounds to its wealth; while other countries that possess mines, and rely on their produce, generally work them chiefly for the industrious of other countries, and may become beggars, notwithstanding their first property of all the gold and silver in the world.

THE first prohibition in Spain against exporting gold and silver, was an early obstruction to their commercial industry, and rendered that treasure in a great measure useless to the bulk of the people. But if, on the contrary, gold and silver had been allowed commodities, it would of course have put them upon methods of turning them to more advantage: whereas, while their hands have been

been bound up by their own laws, the gold and silver brought from thence have been the tools where with other nations have wrought, and gained their riches. Had not this mistaken policy diverted their thoughts from an *active* commerce; they would certainly have been, at this day, a different nation to what they are. At present, indeed, they seem to be sensible of their *faux pas*, and *England*, as well as other countries, is likely soon to experience the effects of a different policy, unless the former in particular takes wise measures to prevent it, before it is too late.

SHOULD it be objected to this reasoning, that as we have a great trade for our products and manufactures, and thereby bring in a general balance of gold and silver, besides other returns in commodities for our expence; we ought only to carry out commodities in trade, and let the gold and silver remain among ourselves, and by our laws prevent the exportation thereof; which is carrying out that treasure again which comes to us by the balance of our trade.

To this it has been answered, that gold and silver are no otherwise of intrinsic value in themselves than as they are a *settled* and *constant measure*, whereby to value commodities of all kinds; which seems manifest from hence, that in such countries, as in *Africa*, &c. where they are not the *settled* and *constant measure for commodities*, they are of no more use than any other trafficable

[256]

commodity; and as particular species of merchandizes in demand throughout the world, are to be had some at one place, and some at another; so gold and silver are commodities wherein most nations agree that the difference in the barter of all other commodities is answered and made up, and thereby of general use almost every where; which being thus subservient to trade, it is highly injurious, nay, it is its very destruction, to take it from that use: but as to the imagination of retaining the same in the nation, without circulating out of it, this must be a national loss; for that is keeping such a dead stock to that value, which affords no manner of increase, and is of no more use, while it so continues, to the increase of the public capital (however shifted in private hands) than the like value of statues, paintings, buildings, &c.: the use of it among us serves to no other end than the convenient transacting of payments with one another, in our domestic negotiations; and, when that end is answered, the plenty of gold and silver will be rather a national loss (besides its lying dead) as it will naturally enhance the price of our own merchandizes to ourselves, and thereby lessen the demand for them by foreign nations; and consequently, in time, ruin the trade, and impoverish the people, by enabling them to pursue only a *passive*, instead of an *active* general commerce, as has been hitherto the case of countries

[257]

tries that have depended on their mines, and the mistaken policy of not esteeming gold and silver commodities.

BUT should it be granted convenient for us to keep within ourselves all the bullion we can acquire, yet long experience has shewn the impracticability of keeping it by any laws; that could only be effectuated by the good management and regulation of our trade. Though the Spaniards make the exportation thereof death, nevertheless, in the way of trade, it is exported at noon-day; the balance they pay for the manufactures of other countries, necessarily carries away their money, notwithstanding the rigour and severity of all their penal laws to prevent it*. It is, therefore, taking due care that the exportation of our native commodities shall always over-balance the importation of foreign commodities, which must keep our money at home, and that only can do it. For if, upon the balance of the exports and imports of our other commodities, we are gainers, and thereby payments are made to us in gold and silver, by other countries (for the balance can be paid us in nothing else at last) that gold and silver being suffered to be made a commodity to fetch goods from some other countries, whence we cannot

* This, also, shews the mistaken policy of the *Portuguese*, in regard to the treatment our merchants lately received at *Lisbon*.

have them for any thing else, the re-exportation thereof to other countries would become a beneficial article in our commerce, and return a great balance in its own kind, (our trade otherwise, in products and manufactures, still over-balancing as before) and would add greatly to the national stock; and, without such a freedom in trade, a superfluous plenty of bullion, or money, would be rather injurious than otherwise.

IF, by the wise regulation of our trade with foreign nations, the balance is on our side, and we are gainers by sending out our money to purchase such goods, that may be sold again to other countries, we must, by such an encrease of treasure as this will give us, always be masters of the exchange all over the world; which is such an advantage in trade with any nation, that although it may only be a trifle in our favour, it has a national tendency arising from itself, to augment that balance still more and more to our emolument.

FROM what has been said, it seems pretty evident, that gold, and silver, or bullion, in any shape, ought to be reckoned a commodity, and is to be made use of to advantage in trade, as well as other commodities are; and therefore ought to have a free exportation, as conducive to the increase of the capital stock of the kingdom. It must, however, be allowed in the general, that, if we carry on such a trade as importing consum-
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able commodities to be spent among us, more than our own commodities will answer in the balance, which thereby must be paid in gold and silver, this will certainly be to our detriment, by draining us, without any returns, to such an excess of our bullion and our specie, that we shall not have a competent quantity wherewith to circulate our trade, and be attended with a decay in our manufactures: but, if this should be our case, it is not to be remedied by any laws against the exportation of our gold and silver, but by the due regulation of our trade, by retrenching our consumption of foreign merchandizes; by establishing new trades, new arts and manufactures in the nation: in a word, by purchasing less merchandizes of other countries, and selling more of our own; for the exportation of our gold and silver could not be the cause of such our loss, but the effect of such our ill-managed commerce.

THERE would be little difficulty still further to corroborate this reasoning with a train of weighty arguments, and to confirm the same from the concurring sentiments of the ablest statesmen; but I think there is little occasion.

HOWEVER, since we have great reason to believe, that neither the constitution of our East-India company, nor the manner of carrying on that traffic from the first to the last, are or can be so detrimental to the na-
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[260]

tion as some have been wont to think; we ought to consider how, and by what means this company may be constitutionally improved; and especially so, if it is not so well adapted to the national interests as could be wished.—But till we had endeavoured to remove the ordinary prejudices that may have been conceived against this company, I judged it would be to little purpose to attempt to suggest a word in regard to the encrease of its powers and privileges with relation to our African commerce.

WE have seen the necessity of supporting and carrying on our African trade in a manner different from what we have ever hitherto done; and we know that no measures can extend the inland commerce into the heart and center of Africa but a great trading company: and the East-India company being greatly experienced in commerce, and their present trade having a connection with that of Africa, they seem a company the most suitably adapted for this great purpose.—And if they should be endowed with the exclusive privilege of the inland African commerce, may they not hereby be made instrumental to bring both silver and gold in great quantities into the kingdom, by means of extending the inland African commerce? For the most authentic writers inform us, that there are silver as well as gold mines in those parts. And why not diamond ones
also?

[261]

also? And what great variety of other articles of traffic this part of the world might produce, no one can say: but this we can say, with truth, that as yet we know very little of what great things this commerce will admit.

ITS situation for commerce is certainly beyond either of the other quarters of the world. It stands, as it were, in the center between the other three, and has thereby a much nearer communication with Europe, Asia, and America, than any other quarter has with the rest. For, 1. It is opposite to Europe in the Mediterranean, for almost 1000 miles in a line east and west, from beyond Tripoli to cape Spartel at the Streight's mouth; the distance seldom 100 miles, no where 100 leagues, and often not 20 leagues. 2. It is opposite to Asia for all the length of the Red-Sea north and south; the distance sometimes being not above 5 leagues, seldom 50; and it fronts all the southern coast of Asia, viz. the coast of Cilicia; and that of India, though at a greater distance, yet much nearer than any other country. It is wonderfully accommodated for commerce, by the interposition of islands from Madagascar to Malabar; and more particularly by means of the alternate trade-winds, which render the navigation safe, easy, and constant. 3. It also lies opposite to America, or about the distance of 500 to 700 leagues, including the islands, for a coast of above 2000 miles:

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whereas

whereas America no where joins Europe, except where it may be a terra incognita, under a distance of 1000 leagues, and not Asia under that of 2500.

IT is furnished with the greatest and most convenient navigable rivers, and, perhaps, with as many of them as any other of the chief parts of the world: such are the Nile and Nubia on the north shore, running into the Mediterranean-sea; the Niger, or Rio Grand, running into the Atlantic ocean, on the west-side of Africa; the Congo, the Zairi, and the Loango, three rivers of prodigious extent, south of the line, which enter themselves into the Ethiopic ocean on the same west-side, but beyond the Gold-coast: also the Natal, the Prio St. Esprit, the Melinda, and the Mozambo, all rivers of a very great length and breadth, which enter themselves into the Indian ocean to the east-side of Africa.

THESE are all rivers of the first magnitude; besides which, there are innumerable others, which, though not equal to the former, are yet very noble streams, fitted for navigation and commerce, and which, by their long courses, penetrate far inland: and was this country blessed with a people qualified for trade and business, they might become the medium of an endless commercial correspondence.

THE country is populous beyond credibility, the soil fruitful, the season, for the greatest part

part, mild and clement, and the air salubrious: and, if once a turn for industry and the arts was introduced among them, a greater quantity of the European produce and manufactures might be exported thither, than to any other country in the whole world. And, as the natives in general stand in great need of European commodities, so they have the most valuable returns to make for them. This the Europeans experience, from the share of traffic they carry on with them at present.

TO what a great degree this country abounds in gold, we have not only the testimony of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, as well as English, who have settlements on the coast of Africa, but the vouchers of the most authentic historians.

THERE is no country in the world, says the historian Leo Africanus, richer in gold and silver than the kingdoms in Africa; as those of Mandingo, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Quiticui, Monomotopa, Cafati, and Mehenemugi. By means of settlements of strength on the continent of Africa, adds he, the Europeans might, by the exchange of their commodities, draw into their hands all the gold of those countries. And here is a prodigious number of elephants, which would not only facilitate the inland intercourses of commerce, but also afford a very beneficial branch of traffic, in the teeth of these notable animals. In the same historian are

numberless passages relating to those rich mines, and shewing how easy it would be for the Europeans to carry on a very extensive traffic with that part of the globe.

THIS account of the great treasures of Africa is confirmed likewise by the *Nubian geographer*, who somewhere says, that the king of Guinea, the greatest city in all the countries of Negroland, has a mass of gold of 30 pounds weight, as it was naturally produced in the mines; which is completely pure, tough, and malleable, without having been smelted by the ordinary arts of refining that metal from its native ore. Father Labat, a modern French author, has descended to a very minute specification of great variety of rich mines, which he says are very shamefully worked by the Negroes, by reason of their being totally ignorant of the nature of mining: nor have they ever yet come to the main vein of any of their mines.

THE copper is the next valuable ore found in this part of the world. The quantity of this metal is not fully searched into, though there is great reason to believe it is exceeding great: so great, that it is commonly said amongst them, that the mountains, which we call Atlas, are all copper. Thus much, however, is certain, that the quantity is extraordinary great, that is discovered in several countries distant and remote from each other; as in Fez, Tunis, Abyssinia, or Ethiopia; and

and it is allowed to be the finest copper in the whole world.

ON the northern coasts they have such plenty of corn, that their fields, though but very meanly cultivated for want of a knowledge in agriculture, yield them an hundred-fold encrease. Gums, ivory, wax, civet, ostrich-feathers, are in such quantities, that any expence of them can scarce ever be missed.

AND, in these warm climates, the country, besides what nature has of herself disseminated, is, and must be, capable of improvement, in all the nicest and most estimable productions, which the well-cultivated world supplies us with, from other places in the same latitude.

IT cannot be doubted, but the fruitful rich lands, every-where to be found upon the coasts, and within the country, upon the banks of the rivers near the gold-coast, and the slave-coast, would produce all the richest articles of the East- and West-India commerce. Doubtless the spices of Banda, Ternate, and Amboyna, might be produced on the rich and fruitful shores of Melinda, on the east side, or, of the slave-coast on the west-side, of Africa; and that as easily, and to as great advantage, as where they are now produced; the latitude being the same, and the soil not unlike.

THE cinnamon of Ceylon, the tea of China and Japan, and the coffee of Mocha would

[266]

would all there be produced, on the same coast, from the Rio de St. Esprit, and southward to the river Natale; a temperate, fertile, healthy, and manageable soil.

UPON the foundation of these facts, nothing seems wanting to render Africa equal by nature, if not in many respects superior, to any of the three parts of the world. For although the middle of it, lying between the tropics in the torrid zone, and under the line, is exceeding hot; yet even in the hottest part it is habitable, and inhabited; and the people who dwell in these extreme hot climates, do abound in plenty, have cattle, corn, cooling-fruits, shades, rivers, &c. and live very agreeably and healthy; as in the island of St. Thomas, under the very line, also on the gold-coast, and in the kingdom of Benin, and Angola on the west shore; and in Ethiopia, Melinda, the coast of Zanguebar, and several of the more intemperate places on the eastern shore.

BUT, making allowance for some of the inland countries remote from the sea, which we are told are without water, and therefore desert, yet they are not equal to the uninhabited wastes either of Europe, Asia, or America. Notwithstanding this, Africa, in one respect, has greater advantage than the other parts of the world, for it feels no cold, the most northerly latitude being about 37, and the most southerly about 35 degrees, so that infinitely

[267]

infinitely the larger part enjoys the finest and most temperate climate.

IT is melancholy to observe that a country, which has near 10,000 miles sea-coast, and noble, large, deep rivers, should yet have no navigation; streams penetrating into the very center of the country, but of no benefit to it; innumerable people, without knowledge of each other, correspondence, or commerce.

AT the entrance of these rivers into the sea are the most excellent harbours, prodigious in number, deep, safe, and calm, covered from the wind, and capable of being made secure by fortifications; but no shipping, no trade, no merchants, even where there is plenty of merchandises. In short, Africa, though a full quarter of the globe, stored with an inexhaustible treasure, and capable, under proper improvements, of producing so many things delightful, as well as convenient within itself, seems utterly neglected by those who are civilized themselves, and it's own inhabitants quite un solicitous of reaping the benefits which nature has provided for them. What it affords in it's present rude, unimproved state, is solely given up to the gain of others, as if not the people only were to be sold for slaves to their fellow-creatures, but the whole country was captive, and produced it's treasures, merely for the use and benefit of the rest of the world, and not at all for their own.

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WHETHER, instead of making slaves of these people, it would not rather become such nations that assume to themselves the name and character of Christians, to give them a relish for the blessings of life, by extending traffic into their country in the largest degree it will admit of, and introducing among them the more civilized arts and customs, may be submitted to consideration.

THE Dutch, by recommending their dress, and introducing their customs among the natives, have prodigiously improved the commerce of the spice islands, and wonderfully humanized the inhabitants, who were as savage in their manners as the negroes.

BUT it is to be feared that, while the slaving trade with these people continues to be the great object of the Europeans, it will ever spirit up wars and hostilities among the negro-princes and chiefs, for the sake of making captives of each other for sale. This, therefore, will ever obstruct the civilizing of these people, and extending of the trade into the bowels of Africa, which, by the contrary means, might be easily practicable.

THE obtaining a competent number of servants to work, as the negroes at present do, in the colonies belonging to the several European potentates, who have settlements in America, does not seem at all impracticable. Europe in general affords numberless poor and distressed objects for that purpose; and, if these were not over-worked, as the
negroes

negroes particularly are in Martinico, and in other the French colonies, the Europeans would make as good servants for the American planters as the blacks do: and, if also all the Europeans were upon a level in regard to the price of labour in their colonies, we cannot but think they would all find their account in laying absolutely aside the slave-trade, and cultivating a fair, friendly, humane, and civilized commerce with the Africans.

TILL this is done, it does not seem possible that the inland trade of this country should ever be extended to the degree it is capable of; for, while the spirit of butchery and making slaves of each other is promoted by the Europeans among these people, they will never be able, perhaps, to travel with safety into the heart of Africa, or to cement such commercial friendships and alliances with them as will effectually introduce our arts and manufactures amongst them.

WE must, however, at present, take the state of the trade as it stands, and men as they now are: these hints may possibly some time or other rouse some noble and benevolent Christian spirit to think of changing the whole system of the African trade, which, as things are now circumstanced, may not be so easily brought about.

THIS trade, in it's present state, is of as great advantage as any we carry on, and is, as it were, all profit, the first cost being some things of our own manufactures, and others
generally

generally purchased with them, for which we have, in return, gold, teeth, wax, and negroes; the last whereof is a very beneficial traffic to the kingdom, as it occasionally gives so prodigious an employment to our people both by sea and land. These are the hands whereby our plantations are at present improved; and it is by their labours that such quantities of sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, fustic, and indigo are raised, which employ a great quantity of shipping for transporting them hither; and the greater number of ships employs the greater number of handicraft trades at home, spends more of our produce and manufactures, and breeds more sailors, who are maintained by a separate employment; for, if every one raised the provisions he eat, or made the manufactures he wore, traffic would cease; which is promoted by a variety of employments men have engaged in, which constitutes a mutual dependence, without invading each other's province. Thus the husbandman raises corn, the miller grinds it, the baker makes it into bread, and the citizen eats it; thus the grazier fats cattle, and the butcher kills them for the market: thus the shepherd sheers his sheep, the spinister turns the wool into yarn, the weaver makes it into cloth, and the merchant exports it; and every one lives by each other: thus the country supplies the city with provisions, and that the country with necessaries.

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ON the whole, the African trade, both for exports and imports, and also as it supplies our British plantations with labourers, and advances navigation, is certainly very beneficial to this kingdom: but that the laying this trade absolutely open, while our rivals carry the same on, by the means of great trading companies with joint-stocks, will prove the most effectual means to promote our share therein, is greatly to be doubted.

CERTAIN it is, that this way of carrying the trade on can never tend to it's advancement into the interior parts of Africa. And why should we not attempt this? Will not whatever encrease we make herein prove a new acquisition of trade to the kingdom? And if our private traders cannot accomplish this, why should we not establish a rich and powerful company that can? What motive can private traders have to deny, or envy that trade to a company, which they can never obtain themselves? But, if once this inland trade shall be thoroughly settled, and the nation shall think fit to lay the same again open to all his Majesty's subjects, then our private traders will be gainers, by virtue of the foundation which such company shall have laid. Was not the foundation of all our present trade laid, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by joint-stock companies with exclusive privileges? Why should not the same reason rule now for the propagation of any new trades that will not be undertaken by private traders, because

[272]

because of the hazard that attends it? Why then should not the East-India company have annexed to it the exclusive privilege in all the inland trade of Africa, if they should think proper to accept of it? Would not a measure of this kind, uphold our balance of trade and power in Africa, in a manner equivalent to the weight of the great French India company? And whatever tended to add to the wealth and the power of our India company in Africa, would not this spread it's happy effects into Asia, and enable the company the better to maintain our national balance of trade and power in India, also in opposition to our formidable rivals? And our American trade greatly depending upon our African; by these means it should seem that this our India company might be capable of sustaining our commercial weight and dignity in America, Asia, and Africa, as does the French East-India company; and by their timely watching, and timely checking for the future, all insults and encroachment in those trades under their peculiar care, might they not become greatly instrumental to the prevention of future wars, and thereby save an immense expence to the nation? Or, if it should be judged, that such an additional power would be too much to be given to the East-India company, why should not a new company be established to carry on the inland commerce of Africa to the utmost extent it will admit of? But for the reasons before given
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[273]

our East-India company being well experienced in commerce; and the India trade being connected with that of Africa, they would be reciprocally beneficial: and, if our India company brought us silver as well as gold from Africa, this would help their India commerce, and take off that odium under which they labour for exporting our silver in the present way of their traffic.

VOL. II.

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DISSERTATION XXVI.

The encrease of the naval power of France and Spain by means of their fisheries, and of the necessity of England's balancing that degree of naval power, by the carrying of her fisheries to the full extent they will admit of.

IN queen Anne's wars, when the French king was importuned by his people to admit the Dutch and English fishing boats into Dieppe, Dunkirk, St. Vallery, and other ports, with their herrings, the king answered, NO! BY NO MEANS; IF MY PEOPLE WILL HAVE HERRINGS, WHY DO THEY NOT CATCH THEM, AS THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH DO? Upon which, the merchants of those parts immediately fitted out vessels, and took herrings sufficient for all the country.

FROM this time the French have taken every measure to improve their fisheries; in which capital article of commerce, they have been encreasing ever since the treaty of Utrecht, and have become our most dangerous rivals

rivals herein. The French have a considerable whale-fishery, and the French fishermen of St. John de Luze, Bayonne, and other ports in that part of the bay of Biscay, are become the most expert harpooners in the world, without excepting the Dutch, and the Hamburgers.

BUT the French have not only encreased in the whale-fishery, but, which is of far more consequence to Great-Britain, they have exceedingly encreased their fishery to Newfoundland, as well on the coast as on the great bank. The consequence of this encrease of their fishery we have, to our sorrow, too sensibly felt. Nor do they fish only on the great bank of Newfoundland for such fish which are cured without drying, as the Dutch do in their white herring fishery in the open sea, but have had the address to obtain that the island of Cape Breton should be yielded up to them, to fortify, and do what they please with; where there may, and doubtless will, make a second Dunkirk, as I have observed upon another occasion, and where they may carry on their dry fishery, as well as at Placentia. But, as if this was not privilege enough for them, they have obtained that, in the fishing-season, they may resort to the very island of Newfoundland itself, and erect stages, &c, to cure and dry their fish at *.

* Ought not this to be guarded against in making a peace with France?

[276]

BUT this is not all; the world is well amended with the French since the time that they paid a tribute for the liberty of curing and drying fish at Newfoundland, which was granted them by king Charles I. in the 10th year of his reign. At this time the French are not only exempt from tribute, but, by their neighbourhood at Cape Breton, will oblige us to keep large garrisons as well at Nova Scotia, as Newfoundland, if we will prevent our being surprized; where at Newfoundland they have the liberty of the fishing season equally with us, from Cape Bonavista northward to the northern point of the said island, &c. by which situation they are also become our rivals in another branch of our fishery; that of salmon: for, at the harbour of Bonavista, which is to the northward of the Cape, and therefore within their limits, is an extraordinary good fishery of salmon.

HAD the late king William granted the Dutch any one of the islands of the Orkneys, in propriety to fortify, or a liberty of resorting to, or erecting drying-houses necessary to cure red herrings in any such island, or in England, or Scotland, it would have been remembered, with good reason, a thousand and a thousand times over. But the French have had the cunning to procure for their fishery such liberties and privileges as can scarcely be consistent with our safety, or interest; and, therefore, the world may be left to judge who are our GREATEST and MOST

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[277]

DANGEROUS rivals in the FISHERY. They are now become so much our rivals in this trade, and are increased to such a prodigious degree, that they employ yearly above 500 sail of shipping from St. Malo, Granville, Rochelle, St. Martins, Isle of Rea, Bayonne, St. Jean de Luze, Sibour, &c. to carry on their fisheries on the great bank of Newfoundland, and on the coast of that island; that is, in their wet and dry fish: nor do they now only supply themselves with the fish they formerly had from us, but furnish many parts of Spain and Italy therewith, to our prodigious loss.

THEY have the properest salt of their own, which renders their voyages much shorter than ours; for, we have been obliged to go from hence to Rochelle, Olleron, St. Martin, &c. to fetch that commodity, which they have at their own doors; and thereby we have most frequently spent a month or six weeks more in our voyage than they do.

THE French are so sensible of the prodigious advantage of this fishery, and so very intent upon pursuing it, that, from their first attempts to make themselves considerable at sea, they have had it perpetually in view.— They first obtained leave to fish at Newfoundland, upon paying a duty of 5 per cent. afterwards they got that acknowledgment relinquished: but, at the treaty of Utrecht, they went far greater lengths; for thereby

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they

they procured a cession to be made to them of Cape Breton, a maiden fishery, that had scarce ever been touched; whereas Newfoundland was greatly exhausted, and also several islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence. Not content with that, they further obtained a liberty of curing and drying their fish, setting up stages, and resorting to our island of Newfoundland, during all the time that it is of any use to resort thither; which is during the fishing-season.

THEY, indeed, delivered up to us the possession of Placentia, and some other places in Newfoundland; but then they took care to have a much better place for their fishery yielded to them, in lieu thereof; with this extraordinary favour to them, more than to us, that they have the liberty granted them to frequent our island of Newfoundland, and erect stages, &c. thereon, for curing and drying their fish; but we have not the privilege allowed us of doing the same on any of their islands, or on the island of Cape Breton, while they have express permission granted them to fortify as they please.

THUS the French are become our rivals in the FISHERY by our own consent; which is the more wonderful, in that it is owing to this fishery, that they dared to contend for the mastery at sea with the maritime strength of England and Holland united.

IT is true, the English and Dutch are most frequently called the maritime powers; but we

we think it a jest, at this time of day, to appropriate the name of maritime powers to Great Britain and Holland, exclusive of France, when we consider what a figure that nation made at sea before the battle of La Hogue in 1692, and what a figure they are able to make at present from the daily increase of their marine, since the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

THE history both of France and England will shew us, that since the former procured leave to fish at Newfoundland, and their settlement and fishery at Cape Breton, they have grown very formidable at sea, and that their royal navy has augmented in proportion to the number of ships employed in these fisheries.—What have we not to expect then, since they have obtained a right to a better place for their fishery, in the opinion, even of the French themselves, as the reader will soon see by the inclosed letter, written by a minister of state in France, to the duke de Gramond at Bayonne? The occasion of it was, that the people of St. Jean de Luze and Sibour (two places in the county of Sibour) being under apprehensions that their fishery at Newfoundland was to be delivered up wholly to Great Britain, the duke wrote a letter to Paris to be rightly informed, and received the following answer.

Copy of a letter written by Monsieur de Pontchartrain, to Monf. the duke de Gramond, from Fontaineblau, 19 September, 1713.

“ I have received, Sir, the letter you did me the honour to write me the third of this month, with two letters that were directed to you by the inhabitants of St. Jean de Luze and Sibour, upon the subject of their fishery of dry fish. From the account I have given the king of their demand, his majesty directed me to write, by his order, to Monf. the duke d'Aumont, his ambassador extraordinary at London, to ask of the queen of Great Britain a permission for them to go the next year to Placentia, and the liberty to continue their fishing in ALL the ports and harbours upon the coast of Newfoundland. I shall do myself the honour to acquaint you with Monf. the duke d'Aumont's answer.

I agree with you, Sir, that the country of La Bour will suffer much, should they be deprived of their liberty of carrying on their fishery of dry fish; and you will be persuaded of the attention I have to procure to the merchants that drive this commerce, the means to continue them in it, when I have informed you, that the king sent from Rochford, in the month of May last, one frigate, to go and lay the first foundation of an establishment in the island of CAPE BRETON, where

fish is MUCH MORE ABUNDANT than at the island of Newfoundland, and where one may make the fish, and manage the drying thereof easily. This frigate arrived June 26 at Placentia, from whence she was to continue her course for Cape Breton, to which place I have caused to be transported 100 men, to begin the settlement. His majesty will send, in the beginning of the year, three ships, to transport thither the garrison of Placentia, and the inhabitants of the island of Newfoundland, and to put the last hand to the establishment of that port. The merchants of this kingdom may then send all such ships as they shall think fit to order, for the fishing of dry fish, and for the oils that are made from the fish on the said island. This favour ought to animate the merchants that drive this commerce, to carry it on with vigour, from the advantage they will draw from it. This is all I have been able to do in their favour. I desire you to be persuaded of the great sincerity wherewith I have the honour to be ———”.

FROM this letter it is plain the French never intended to quit the fishery of dry cod, and that they have, from this period, very much rivalled us therein, to our great detriment, and their unspeakable emolument.— And, with regard to their herring-fishery, have we not frequent accounts of many hundreds of their buffes being upon our coasts in the season? which may one day prove highly dangerous

dangerous to this kingdom upon other occasions, as well as injurious to our own fisheries of that kind.

THE present commercial system of Spain being grounded on that so zealously recommended by that great Spanish patriot and statesman Don Geronymo Utzaritz, we shall shew his sentiments in regard to the fisheries which he exhorts his countrymen to strike into.—After having shewn the advantage which the Dutch, the French, and the English have reaped from their fisheries, he takes no little pains to animate the Spanish nation to pursue the like policy; and he even asserts, that the Spaniards have a right to fish at Newfoundland: so that we are one day likely to have rival upon rival in this branch of our trade.

“It ought to be a principal concern of the government, says this politic Spaniard, to prevent foreigners from enervating the the kingdom so much as they do, by the importation of salt-fish, and the great consumption it meets with in Spain, that of bacalao in particular, which is known to be so considerable a part of the food of all its provinces in general.

IN order to calculate the consumption, it is to be observed, that, in the provinces of the crown of Castille, the fast-days amount to a hundred and twenty in a year, and that they exceed a hundred and sixty in those of the crown of Arragon, and in Navarre, where
flesh

flesh is prohibited on Saturdays, which is not the case in Castille. The computation may be a little over or under, on account of some variation there is in the devotional fasts. But, if we rate the number to be a hundred and thirty in the year, one kingdom with another, throughout Spain, upon a moderate supposition that every family, one with another, shall expend four ounces of bacalao every fast-day (which is not an ounce to one person) there will be consumed, in a million and a half of families, six millions of ounces, which amount to 3750 quintals per day; and for the hundred and thirty fast-days in a year, 487,500 quintals; which, at the rate of five dollars, the current price, a little more or less, when foreigners sell it to us, amount to 2,437,500 dollars. And, if we add the great quantity of cured salmon, herrings, pilchards, and other fish from abroad, which is also expended in these kingdoms, one may reasonably imagine, that the money they annually drain from us, by this article, is above three millions of dollars: and it is one of the principal causes of our unhappy situation.

I AM aware there is no small number of persons who, for want of health, are dispensed with eating fish upon days of abstinence; but there are also many convents of men and women, some of which live upon fish every day in the year, others the greatest part of it; so that what these societies exceed the
hundred

hundred and thirty days of abstinence, may be a balance for such as eat flesh on those days.

THIS general calculation I have thought proper to give, in order to have it more clearly seen how much of our substance other nations drain from us by the sale of cured fish; though I do it with some reluctance, because I am to draw precise conclusions from principles doubtful, and incapable of being ascertained. But, should any one think I run far wide of the truth in my estimate, either exceeding or falling short of it, every one will be at liberty to correct them, and form others more exact from better information, and clearer notions of this matter.

I AM also very sensible, that bacalao is a diet of great relief to those parts where fresh fish is scarce; but we should not, on that account, throw off all thoughts of repairing the great injury they do us by the sale of this and other salt fish, and neglect to avail ourselves of such measures as prudence shall dictate, in particular the advantages which our OWN SEAS afford, and some other prudent considerations invite us to, and flatter us with an easy way to supply our wants, if not wholly, at least in a great measure; since it is well known what plenty of fish there is on the coast of Spain, especially that of Galicia; as is also certain, that, on the coast of the Andalusia's, there is abundance of tunnies, sturgeon, lampreys, cuttle-fish, chevins,

and several other sorts of wholesome fish, some of which salted, and others dried, are kept whole years, not only for a supply to those provinces, where there is a great consumption, but also to furnish us in the inland parts; and the only thing we want is to encourage a fishery, both on our own coasts, and in other seas; and in this sort of commerce by his majesty's subjects, I shall, therefore, proceed to point out such measures as seem to me most prudent, and likely to take effect.

IN chapters 73 and 74, I recommend the stationing of guarda costa's, and shew that, among other great advantages, they would be a means to enlarge our fisheries on the coast of Spain and elsewhere. To their contents I refer for what concerns the encouragement and security of those fisheries, and intend only to add, that I esteem it a very prudent step to lay as heavy duties, as treaties of peace and commerce shall allow, upon the importation of bacalao, and other salt-fish into Spain, without any abatement or indulgence whatever, not excepting the voluntary and accidental allowances which of late years have been made to fish, and some other things in the customhouses of Catalonia, on their importation, besides their not being charged in that principality, or the kingdom of Valencia, with the duty of the millon, which most part of the salt-fish pays in the ports of Castille.

It

It will also be proper for salt-fish to pay intire the duties of the alcavala and ciento's, in all places where it should be sold, or the sale repealed, guarding it with necessary precautions, whether the towns be under composition or administration. This is to be understood of the provinces where those duties are established.

IN chapter 23, giving examples from the French, I set forth some of the immunities which his Most Christian Majesty, in the year 1713, granted to bacalao, and oils proceeding from the fishery of his subjects; and also observe, that they were allowed to export stores, arms, ammunition, utensils, and provisions for the ships, or vessels, intended for the said fishery, and even the salt that should be wanted to cure the fish. To this I may add, that in several articles under tit. 15, of the ordinance of 1680, in respect to the settling of the gabel, or revenue of salt in that kingdom, are also found many indulgences, and other encouragements granted for curing of bacalo, salmon, herrings, pilchards, and other sorts of fish; in particular the abatement of the price of it, and also the rules and precautions necessary to prevent frauds, set forth at large.

THE 24th chapter contains a prohibition, that was made in France, against the importation of pilchards from foreign countries, in order to favour their own fishery, and the trade

trade of his majesty's subjects in this commodity.

IN chapter 28, where I produce some examples taken from the English, it is observed, that the duty upon salt used in curing white herrings was taken off in that kingdom in the year 1722, as also what was charged upon the exportation of the same herrings.

IN chapter 36, which treats of the measures employed by the Dutch, mention is also made of some indulgences, and other encouragements, in favour of their fisheries.

UPON the foundation of these examples, taken from three nations that best understand commerce, and most prosper in it, and what one's own reason suggests as proper to be done, I am of opinion we should give leave to all his majesty's subjects that go to the fishery in their own vessels, whether on the coasts of Spain, or in the Mediterranean, to carry out, free of all duty, at least biscuit, all sorts of pulse, dried or green, and salt-fish caught in the Spanish fisheries, and even a certain quantity of oil, vinegar, and brandy, in proportion to the number of hands and days, a few over and under, that they shall be employed in the fishery, being fully convinced that the subjects of other powers, upon no pretence whatever, can fairly claim an equal privilege in this case with his majesty's people. For all conventions, or treaties of commerce, even though they should be strictly observed, were made for very different purposes.

purposes. Nor shall I stay to explain this matter, as the motives, cases, and other circumstances that distinguish the two things, are invariable and manifest. But it is further observable, that, for these indulgences to the fishery, and his majesty's subjects, there will be no reason to make an allowance to the farmers of the revenue, both on account of their trifling value, and because they must experience, from the great improvement made by this means in the fishery, and trade of the towns, where the revenues are farmed, a considerable encrease of them other ways, as has been already shewn in the case of manufacturies. And, to take away from the farmers all pretence for it, there should be an exclusive article to this effect in their contracts for the kingdoms of Mercia, Granada, Seville, Galicia, the Asturias, and the four towns; for in the provinces upon the coast, the provincial revenues are never farmed, nor the customs any where else.

THE navigation and commerce (says the same eminent Spanish writer) of these provinces [meaning Biscay and Guipuscoa] by sea, have been much impaired by losing several ships in the expeditions of the late war: for they have not yet been able to replace them, and build others, as they have had very bad harvests, and are not yet paid the whole of what was due to them for freights and other things: so that it will be very reasonable and expedient to order the balance
of

of their accounts to be paid immediately, that they may be enabled to build and fit out other vessels, and thus revive and improve their fishery and commerce by sea.

As it is also certain that money is now very scarce in Guipuscoa, where the principal disbursements were usually made for building ships, and other necessary and chargeable preparations for a fishery that is any ways considerable, I should apprehend it a very good piece of policy to make them a tender, out of the king's revenue, of 25 or 30,000 doub-
lons, without interest, for their first expences, which usually run high, upon condition of their repaying it in six years. My intention is, that in the two first years they be not obliged to return any part of it; but, in the four following, to do it in equal payments, till the whole be discharged; and, for a security that the loan be repaid in the form and manner that shall be stipulated, let the province of Guipuscoa stand engaged for it, besides the joint bonds given by the private persons who are to receive the money. That the distribution of the money, the execution of the bonds, the securities, and other points, may be well conducted, and with all the precaution that is requisite on such an occasion, let there be chosen out of that province, or sent from the court, a minister of known abilities and public spirit, charged with this commission; and, to dispose their minds to it, encourage associations, and every thing
VOL. II. U that

that should tend to enlarge the fishery of bacalao, on the banks of Newfoundland, as also the fisheries for whales, herrings, &c. in those parts where found to be in plenty.

SHOULD the English, in opposition to all the reasons above-mentioned, still persist in disturbing his majesty's subjects in this fishery, and it be not proper to employ force in order to take satisfaction, and maintain their just rights, till we have first tried all the gentler methods which prudence dictates; in my opinion, they should also be given to understand, that his majesty, among other expedients, may avail himself of the sovereign right he possesses to prohibit the consumption of bacalao in all his dominions. This too is a measure very practicable, and may be done without any great inconvenience to the common people, whenever the fishery of his majesty's subjects, both on *our own coasts*, and in *other seas*, shall be encouraged and enlarged in the way I propose, and also supported by the provisions I before recommended on the subject of guarda costas. For as the fishery of bacalao was not begun, or even discovered, in Newfoundland, but since the year 1500, and Spain, though much more populous, was able to support herself for above a thousand years without this commodity, and all the time observe the vigils and days of abstinence in the Catholic religion; it should, methinks, be no extraordinary or difficult thing to maintain ourselves without it, and so well as to

find

find no want of it. But I should not advise this step till the other, which I have pointed out as a means likely enough to relieve, in a great measure, the misfortune we sustain from the large consumption of salt-fish from abroad, prove to be insufficient for the purpose.

IN chapter 29, which treats of the conduct and practice of the English, and the vast sums of money they drain from us by the sale of bacalao*, and other salt-fish, I introduced a few remarks and observations upon this calamity, and the means which might be employed to prevent it in a great measure, and which I was led into by the reflections of an English writer, well affected to the crowns of Spain and France, in his treatise, under the title of *The interest of England ill understood in the war of queen Anne*. And as we should never lose sight of the principal of those observations and reflections, which are the foundation of the particular provisions in support of the fisheries, I have thought proper to repeat some part of them in this place.

THIS minister invites the bishops to allow, throughout the year, the use of certain kinds of food prohibited upon particular days; and means,

* If the Spaniards should attempt to lay any prohibition, or higher duties on our fish, than what are now laid by subsisting treaties, they may soon be convinced that the crown of Great Britain has it in her power to retaliate upon them, by proper measures to be taken in regard to the regulation of our own commerce.

no doubt, eggs, cheese, milk, and butter, which some religious foundations are restrained from many days in the year. In all probability he would also insinuate, that the prohibition of flesh might be moderated, as it is in the provinces of the crown of Castile, in respect to Saturdays, and may be extended to the town of Arragon. In all these measures he apprehends the pope will readily concur, for the reasons he there gives, and others hinted at; and, without daring to speak out, was, in my opinion, willing to tell us, that if by such means we would reduce the consumption of bacalao, and other cured fish, which they bring us from the north and Newfoundland, we might take away this great advantage from the English, and other powers, who, by the sale of them, drain us of millions of crowns, increase their own strength, and ruin us. These great disadvantages so very much interest our conscience, as well as all good policy, that they deserve the particular attention of all Catholic princes, and especially the pope. From the pious zeal of this holy father we have reason to flatter ourselves, that as soon as he shall be informed of these inconveniencies, he will allow, and even encourage, the measures that tend towards a remedy, even though it be necessary to substitute, in the place of numerous fast-days, another species of abstinence and restraint, that equally administers to the mortification of our souls, and does not turn out so much to the advantage of the rivals of the crowns

crowns and the Catholic church, as those frequent fast-days do, by opening a way for the importation and consumption of their salt-fish, which is a main branch of their commerce, and a great foundation of their riches and strength.

THOUGH I have some reluctance at the thought of giving my sentiments as to the generality of these points, that are of so delicate a nature, methinks I may, without any scruple, decide in one particular. It is to solicit the permission of his holiness to allow of flesh in the kingdoms of the crown of Arragon, and in Navarre, upon those Saturdays that happen not to be particular vigils, under the restraints, and as it is practised, in the provinces of Castile. This I propose, both on the strength of the solid and well-known motives already given, and because it would be no more than what has been established for many ages, and is now practised in most parts of the kingdom of Spain, &c.

As to the measures insinuated in the reflections of this writer, which regard the taking off in part the prohibition of flesh on some other days in the year, and permitting religious houses certain sorts of food, which they are restrained from, besides flesh, during the whole, or most part of the year, I judge it a point of greater moment, and to require more deliberation. The utmost I shall have courage to offer is, that there be laid before his holiness the reasons already given, and others that will occur, in particular the in-

crease of strength, and other advantages, which several nations, by means of the great consumption of salt-fish in Spain, acquire and employ against the Catholic church itself; that, in his wisdom, he may vouchsafe to determine upon, and establish those provisions, which he shall judge most effectual, and proper for a remedy; so far at least as to take off part of the inconveniencies that have been described. For never shall we be able to find a more sure way to succeed in redressing either the grievance itself, or its accidental circumstances, than by referring it entirely to the great piety, holy zeal, and infallibility of his holiness." Vide *The theory and practice of commerce and maritime affairs*, written in Spanish, by the late Don Geronimo de Uztariz, member of his Catholic Majesty's privy council, of the royal board of trade and the mint, and his majesty's secretary in the council and chamber of the Indies.

Thus have we given an idea of the nature and importance of the fisheries to Holland and France, as also of the measures that are likely to be taken in Spain in relation to the same branch of commerce. What seems to confirm this to be the real intention of the court of Spain, is their apparent endeavours to increase their royal navy, by enticing away numbers of our ship-builders for that purpose: and, if they are determined to increase the number of their men of war, and likewise to establish fisheries in
order

order effectually to man them, is it not time that we should be upon our guard, as well with respect to Spain as France? There are, it seems, also other powers that are attempting fisheries; and aiming at the acquisition of some share in maritime commerce.

THESE are facts, not groundless conjectures. In regard to the pretended claim of the Spaniards to fish upon our coasts of Newfoundland, it may not be useless to observe, that there was no more care taken of that fishery in the Utrecht treaty than before; for they went so far, that they sent one Gillingham, at this time an Irish papist, to our court, to get the liberty of fishing at Newfoundland. That this Gillingham was far from being snubbed by the then ministry, for coming about such an impudent business, is well enough known. Nay, the lord Lexington, who had not refused the embassy to Spain, when that monarchy and the West-Indies were about to be ravished from the house of Austria, and given to the duke of Anjou, thought this Irish papist was so welcome to the ministry, that, in his letter to the lord Dartmouth, then one of the secretaries of state, he frequently excuses himself for not writing upon that subject, because they had full accounts of the matter from Gillingham. Nay, the queen's plenipotentiaries, the earl of Strafford and Dr. Robinson bishop of Bristol, went so far, as to suffer a clause to be inserted at the end of the

15th article of the peace with Spain; whereby, to use the words of the secret committee, they gave a pretence to the Spaniards to claim a right to fish at NEWFOUNDLAND, contrary to the 7th and 8th articles of the treaty made with that crown by Sir William Godolphin.

THE board of trade being consulted upon this occasion, made the following answer to the lord Dartmouth, dated January 13, 1712-13:—"We have considered the extract of a memorial from the marquis de Monteleone, relating to a claim of the inhabitants of Guipuscoa to fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and thereupon take leave to inform your lordship, that we have discoursed with such persons as are able to give us information in that matter, and we find that some Spaniards are come hither with passes from her majesty, and others may have fished there privately; but never any, that we can learn, did do it as of right belonging to them."

WE see by this, that, even before the conclusion of that French peace, the queen's passes had been given to the Spaniards, to take the benefit of the most profitable branch of the English commerce; but the Spaniards have not carried their point in it; and, by the 4th article of the treaty which Mr. Dodington made in December 1713, some of the ground lost to them by the Utrecht peace was recovered, and all innovations made in

in-trade were to be abolished; the most scandalous of which was their fishing at Newfoundland.

THE policy of other neighbouring nations who have long established fisheries, and others who are daily attempting the same, at the expence of Great Britain, should effectually rouse and alarm us, not only to preserve that share in the fisheries we already have, but to excite and animate us to make the utmost advancement in this invaluable branch of traffic that we are capable of; more especially so, since we have it in our power, by a natural right, to fish upon our own coasts, and perhaps have an equal right to hinder and prevent all other nations from doing so.

I SHALL not here, however, enter into the sole right of Great Britain to the sovereignty of the British seas, though a great fund of argument might be urged on that head. What I shall observe at present is, that, although it may not be advisable, at this conjuncture, to attempt to put an absolute stop to all other nations from fishing upon our own coasts; yet it is to be hoped, that this indulgence to others is not to prevent ourselves from making the best advantages that God and nature has given us, by storing our coasts with such immense plenty of fish.

NOR can we see reason for indulging any other power to make free with our coast-fishing except our ancient and natural allies the Dutch; but, if they will not act vigorously

ously in concert with us against the common enemy; if they will allow themselves to be so far influenced by France as to suffer their own state as well as ours to be ruined and undone; if our old friends and allies will turn our enemies, and suffer the whole protestant cause to sink together with themselves, and England; how can the Dutch reasonably expect, that we can cordially grant them any indulgence in trade that is in our power to deprive them of? On the contrary, if the Dutch will at present remain refractory, and deaf to all the remonstrances of the court of London, touching the preservation of the whole protestant interest; will it not, at the proper time, become the wisdom of the court of England to change her system with regard to the Dutch, and grant them no favour whatsoever that is in her power to deprive them of? And how England may be enabled to do this, and that with advantage rather than any injury to herself might be here shown, if it was prudent: but that I leave others to think of, whose duty it more particularly is.

FOR my own part, I have for many years past endeavoured to show, the necessity, the indispensable necessity of a stricter union between Great Britain and Holland than ever yet was; and I am willing to believe, that when I have the honour to submit my private memorials to the consideration of such who will make the right use of them; the ways and means will

will appear no less practicable then rational, and perfectly compatible with the interest of the two states, and preservative of the protestant cause in general.

So greatly have the principles which I have endeavoured to propagate upon this point affected the court of France, that they have employed, it seems, one or more of their ablest writers * to blunt the edge of all that I have urged, in regard to a topic of such weight and importance.

WE have now taken a view of the measures, which the court of Spain is about to pursue, with respect to the advancement of fisheries; and we have also seen how the French have actually increased theirs, and in consequence thereof their whole maritime power. Let these facts be weighed, with their united effects, and no friend to the liberties of Christendom, will say, that it can be for the interest of Great Britain and Holland to be divided, or become lukewarm to each others interests, either about the fisheries, or any other point of commerce. But, it is well known, where machinations have been eternally hatching to distract both England and Holland at home, and divide them from each other, in regard to their interest abroad, by groundless jealousies. Is it, how-

* L'observateur Hollandois—Said to be wrote by the abbé de la Ville, late minister from the court of France to the States General of the United Provinces.

ever,

ever, less impolitic in Holland to listen to such destructive suggestions with relation to our fisheries, than it would be in England, till sufficiently provoked to deprive the Dutch of the privilege of fishing on our coasts?

IF the Dutch are so unhappily circumstanced as to be divided and unsteady in their councils, dwindling in their marine, and in danger of losing for ever their barrier: if Holland shall lose all her weight and influence in Europe, as a protestant potentate, it is necessary, it is wise and politic in Great Britain to encrease in her power, her weight and influence, as Holland shall decline: it will be no less for the interest of Holland than Great Britain that the latter should encrease in her fisheries, and every branch of commerce, if she alone is to support the protestant cause, and Holland among the rest. While Holland shall depend upon England for her security, she can have no cause to complain, if England was to deprive her of such branches of her trade, as she has no right to: but this is not her case, with regard to her own coast fisheries: and, if she indulges Holland therein upon the same conditions as she does her own subjects, as being a natural and ancient ally, and always expecting her friendship; Holland can have no sufficient grounds for resentment against England on this occasion; and, therefore, ought she not to despise all insinuations on the part of the common enemy to divide us on this account?

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IF these intrigues to divide us are not seen through in Holland, it becomes the more necessary, that this kingdom, for her own safety as well as that of the Dutch, should see for them, and improve their own coast, and other fisheries to the utmost. And, if Holland is displeas'd at this, do they not act upon the same principles that the enemies to us both do? For, they know the consequence of improving our fisheries, is improving the British maritime power; and, if the Dutch suffer their royal marine to dwindle, England should be on her guard to advance hers at least in the like degree; and, especially so, since that of the common enemy is daily encreasing. While this is the case, the common enemy well know that they will with difficulty enslave the republic, while Britain shall maintain and duly exercise a superiority of naval dominion.

IF the Dutch will neglect their safety, is there not a greater necessity for us to take care of our own? And gain in trade and power what the Dutch shall lose? And have we not the most natural right to it, who are oblig'd, though for our own safety, to protect them, while we are able? Had Britain neglected her marine as the Dutch have done; had she been regardless and inactive with respect to France as the Dutch have been, must it not have proved fatal to them both before this time? As it seems inexcusable in the states of Holland to suffer that, so it would
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be inexcusable, from that motive only, in Britain to neglect the most extensive improvement of her fisheries, that thereby she might be capable of advancing her marine, as the Dutch shall disregard theirs: and in this light, let every patriot Dutchman look upon our endeavours to improve this amongst other branches of our commerce: but whoever looks upon this in a light to divide us and the **DUTCH**, can be no friend to either, nor to the liberties of Christendom.

WHEN the Dutch were at war with England, and they wanted to man twenty or thirty sail of men of war, it was only having recourse to their fisheries, and in a few days, they were in a condition to give us battle, the seamen being only transferred from a smaller to a larger vessel on the same element. It is to be hoped, therefore, that since Great Britain has undertaken the protection of the British herring-fishery, she will never suffer it to drop, although the Dutch should resent it; which, from what has been said, it does not appear to be their interest, notwithstanding their apprehensions to the contrary.

AND here it may not be improper to observe, that there are, in the humble judgment of the writer of these papers, ways and means to remove all umbrage from the Dutch on this, and some other occasions, that has prevented their acting in concert with us: but these I durst not publicly declare, lest

the common enemy should take advantage of it.

THE benefits arising from our herring-fisheries are extraordinary, if we consider the number of people therein employed; as seamen, fishermen, ship and house-carpenters, smiths, sawyers, coopers, caulkers, butchers, bakers, brewers, carmen, boatmen, sail-makers, net-makers, block-makers, trinel-makers, rope-makers, pump-makers, compass-makers, basket-makers, hook-makers, packers, dressers, sorters, labourers, tanners, and spinners of net-work, and sails.—Several of which trades are effected by children, the lame, the blind, and the aged.

“WITHOUT primary encouragements, (says a judicious writer in the year 1680, who intitled his work *Britannia Languens*, &c.), and superintendance of the government, it will be hard to nourish up any new branch of trade, &c.

Amongst the exportations, the fishing-trade ought not to be forgotten, since according to modern calculations *, the mere fishing-trade for **HERRINGS AND COD**, on the coast of England, and Scotland, employs above 8000 Dutch ships, or vessels, 200,000 of their seamen, and fishers; and the her-

* See Mr. Smith of improvements, &c. page 268-9-70, who computes the whole profits of this fishery to be, in his time, ten millions sterling per annum, and in a manner all gained by other nations.

rings and cod sold by the Dutch in foreign countries, do bring an annual profit of 5,000,000 l. sterling to that nation: besides which, it is accounted that there are at least, 25,000 people more employed and maintained at home about this particular navigation, as in making of fishing-nets, and the curing, ordering, and preparing of the fish, &c. besides the Iceland, Newfoundland, and Greenland-fishings, of very great advantage."

ARE not these considerations motive sufficient to animate us never to suffer this fishery to sink? While our common enemies are raising their maritime power by means of their fisheries, shall not we uphold ours to the utmost? Will not this greatly contribute to enable us to maintain the balance of maritime dominion, on which our security chiefly depends?

D I S



DISSERTATION XXVII.

Of the European commerce of France.

HAVING taken a view of the commerce of France in America, Asia, and Africa, and of the wisdom and policy of that nation in carrying on the same; and having shewn likewise, by way of comparison, wherein the measures taken for their prosperity therein, seem to be in many respects preferable to ours; it may prove no less useful to take a succinct survey of the commerce of this kingdom, as it stands connected with the chief states of Europe: my intention being to shew what an extensive foundation they have laid for commercial dominion; and, in consequence thereof to convince us, that we can never expect to withstand the power of France, unless we put bounds to her trade and navigation. And, however well many may apprehend they are thoroughly acquainted with the commerce of France and England, from a general idea only thereof; yet to make a precise judgment, they

VOL. II.

X

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[306]

will find it necessary to enter into the details, and to penetrate into that police that has raised each to the pitch we find it. For, by so doing, we shall easily discern their mistakes or our own, and be the better able to rectify them in our own system.

THE French European trade being closely connected with those of Africa, America, and India, it was previously requisite to consider these latter, as being a great foundation of the former. We shall now enter upon their commerce in Europe, and begin first with that between Great Britain and France. And, if we take a retrospect hereof from the peace of Utrecht, we shall find that we have been great sufferers hereby.

FROM this period, France has taken from England coals, and allum, copperas, and vitriol, tobacco, some lead, and tin, flannels, and corn in time of scarcity; but all these articles have of late years greatly decreased. Yet we have imported from France, since the same time, wines, brandies, linen, fine laces, fine canbricks, cambrick-lawn, to a prodigious value, brocades, velvets, and many other rich silk manufactures, which have either been run in upon England, or come by the way of Holland.

WE have before represented the detestable scene of smuggling French commodities that has long been, and still continues barefacedly to be carried on at the island of Man; from whence it has spread itself all over the North
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[307]

of England, and to Scotland, and Ireland. And is it not notorious enough that the smuggling of wool from Ireland is not the least branch of the French trade that has been carried on with Ireland? Nor has the trade carried on between our continent colonies and the French sugar-islands proved of little disadvantage to us in the general balance of our trade with France. Such, in a word, has been our taste for French products, French manufactures, and French fashions, that we have been frenchified out of more, at an average, than half a million per Annum, in our balance of trade with France, since the Utrecht peace; which amounts to above 20 millions sterling, gained from Great Britain and Ireland by France. Nor do we hear of any smuggling of British commodities and manufactures into France, to compensate for these outgoings to that kingdom.

So bewitching is our French taste, that the British, and Irish money, spent in travel there can hardly be so little one year with another as 200,000 l. sterling per annum, balance against us in this article; the French spending little here, in comparison to what our gentry do in France.

THE commerce of France with Holland is prodigiously to the advantage of the former, the Dutch paying to France in the balance very considerable sums; the reason whereof is, that the Dutch take off immense quantities of wine and brandy from the
X 2 French,

French, as also of silk manufactures, wrought glass, and very great variety of other commodities of that nation; which they carry for sale to most parts of the trading world, either for Dutch account wholly, or for Dutch and French account in company, according to the merchants usage, the Dutch sailing cheaper than the French. They have done great business for French account wholly; on the other hand the Dutch carry little of their own to France, except fish, train-oil, whale fins, pantiles, and spices; all which excepting the latter, are greatly diminished, since the peace of Utrecht.

THE Dutch likewise trade in large quantities of French manufactures to Spanish America from Curaçoa, Surinam, Barbice, &c. And the great inducement to give their manufactures the preference proceeds from the two following causes. (1) The greater cheapness of French commodities in general than English. And (2) their greater variety of fashions that take of late years more with the Spaniards than ours do; wherein the French are always beforehand with us. The Hollanders too take no inconsiderable quantity of French manufactures for their East-India trade.

THE trade of France with old Spain we have all reason to fear has been greatly encreased of late years, to the disadvantage of that of England. Has England at present near the number of British merchant's houses of trade

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at Cadiz, or any other of the chief trading ports of Spain, that she had thirty years ago? If I have been rightly informed, the French have considerably more than we, though we used to have above ten to their one. And we well know that French factories will not vend British commodities, while they can be well supplied from their own country.

LET the value of the foreign merchandizes not only consumed in old Spain, but sent from thence in Spanish bottoms to new Spain, be estimated, and we shall know whether the trade of France has not been more favoured by the Spanish nation than that of England; we shall then know who are most interested in the galleons and flota, the French or the English. Though England may have a right by treaty to be no less favoured by Spain in trade than France; yet, by certain secret encouragements given to the trade of the one, in opposition to that of the other, treaties of commerce may be evaded, and rendered useless. If the commerce from France to Spain has encreased to the advantage of the former, and that of England has declined, it must be owing either to certain mercantile machinations, under secret influence, or to the greater cheapness and delicacy of the commodities of the one, which gives them the preference to the other. If the latter is the case, we know the remedy; if the former, we must use the same arts that our rivals do to uphold our trading influence.

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WITH regard to the commerce of the Spanish Indies, it is well enough known what a scene of trade the French have carried on there from their Mississippi settlements over the gulph of Mexico, though the Spaniards have been very complaisantly silent upon that occasion. Nor is it less certain that the French have long exercised a beneficial trade from St. Domingo to the Spanish main; and yet we have heard of no umbrage taken at those practices. We do not hear but the Spaniards have a plentiful supply of negroes for the working of their mines in America; and from whence do the bulk of them go, but from St. Domingo? And, under the cover of this negocié, we can hardly suppose but other is carried on. Thus may the French enjoy all the advantages of an *Affiento*, without any treaty for the purpose, though we had little benefit with one. So it is, that we never hear of any complaint by the Spaniards of illicit trade on the side of France, though great clamours are made against the English about a little logwood, which they have a right to cut too.

THUS, though England may flatter herself that she is as equally favoured in her commerce by Spain as any other nation; yet, by management, treaties may be evaded; and, instead of being upon a level in trade with nations the most highly favoured, we may be the most disfavoured: and I wish this may not be our case. To save appearances,

ances, treaties may subsist: but we have seen how they may be rendered a dead letter. Spain is certainly a great gainer by the commerce of Great Britain; her loss by the French trade is very considerable. The French are no less rivals to Spain than to England. And is not Spain at present bent upon the establishment of manufactures of her own? If they shall soon be able to supply themselves with one part of their manufactures, and the French shall be artfully suffered to supply them with the other part of their wants, what will our treaties with Spain avail us? Is not Spain likewise striking into an active commerce? Nothing, therefore, can save our trade from ruin, as well with Spain as other states, but the ability to sell as good a commodity for as little money as our rivals do.

WE are dazzled with the splendid appearance of Portugal gold, as well as Spanish pieces of eight, and are apt to think that we are mighty gainers hereby. Our trade with Portugal has heretofore been very lucrative; but this, like that of Spain, is greatly upon the decline; the French having wormed us out, and themselves into a considerable part of this trade which we enjoyed. The French now send to Portugal fine woollen cloths, various kinds of stuffs, particularly a sort of black goods called *DRUGGETS*, of which they sell immense quantities for the habits of the clergy (having thereby destroyed the English

crapes, once a very important article of our trade) wrought silk, a great quantity of linens and cambricks, dressed CALVE-SKINS (another lost article of the English commerce) also HATS, SILK STOCKINGS (both which articles they are getting from us every day) all sorts of toys, furniture, ribbands, and most of the ornamental parts of the female dress; grain of all kinds, when the French have it to spare, and sometimes in immense quantities; claret, champagne, and brandy, though prohibited, are smuggled into Portugal in great quantities; as are flowered and figured silks, gold and silver lace, India goods, and other contraband commodities: they likewise import from France printed books, some ordinary sorts of cutlery ware, and abundance of smaller articles, too tedious to enumerate. By the help of wool smuggled from England and Ireland, the French have made attempts to rival us in Portugal in our very great article of the trade in LONG BAYS; but hitherto without success: but it is to be feared that their vigilance and policy, aided by our inattention, may bring this design to bear; and thus we shall imperceptibly lose the Portugal trade too.

THE Italians import into Portugal immense quantities of wheat, a great deal of barley, and also a good deal of Levant rice, vermicelli, and oil. They likewise import prodigious quantities of writing-paper, abundance

dance of wrought silks and velvets, coral, and many expensive curiosities, toys, and other inferior articles, not to particularize religious traffic, which is very great and public.

THE Italians also export from Portugal, hides, a considerable quantity of sugars and tobacco's, cocoa-nuts, pepper, ordinary spices, elephants-teeth, brasil-wood, some drugs, and an immense quantity of bullion. Infomuch that of late years, while gold has bore a high price in England, it has been a drug all over Italy: a circumstance that has been well worthy of British attention. And our balance of some trades in Italy being thus paid us in Portugal gold, we have flattered ourselves that all the gold of that country has been owing to our direct commerce with Portugal, when the fact has been otherwise; and if our Italian trade declines from the loss of Minorca, or from any other cause, we shall soon experience a scarcity of Portugal gold.

How well the port of Marseilles is situated for the whole Italian, the Turkey and Levant trade, and what a considerable share they have obtained therein, is well enough known in the general.

FRANCE was the first nation that made treaties of commerce with the Porte: they were the first likewise that established a court of justice, under the title of that of consularship, to maintain a good harmony between their own subjects and the Turks, and obtained

[314]

tained the whole trade, as it were, to themselves for many years, and other nations traded under their banner.

SUCH an ascendancy have these rivals got in the Turkey trade, that they have reduced our sales of above 30,000 woollen cloths a year to about 7000; whilst the French cloths have encreased from a sale of 2000 a year to above 50,000: and the advance the French has made in the Italian trade in general, is too well experienced by our merchants who are concerned therein. That the measures we have taken to restore this trade will effect the end aimed at, a little time will shew. The measures we depend upon for success herein, are laying the trade open, thinking that a competition amongst our traders is the sovereign remedy to make our commodities cheaper, and to supplant our foreign rivals; but I am afraid that our advancement in the Turkey trade will rather depend upon abilities to sell our commodities in general as cheap as France can afford to do, and not upon our traders underselling each other: the only maxim, it seems, we depend upon for outdoing our rivals; a maxim that will prove no less ruinous to the trade, I fear, than a monopoly.

So greatly have the French encreased their trade since the peace of Utrecht, that they now carry their wines and their brandies in their own shipping into the Baltic, where, before the Dutch sent them in Hollands bottoms;

[315]

toms; and they bring their naval stores from Petersburg and Livonia in their own vessels, where before that treaty, no French ship had scarce ever been seen. Nor have the Hansetowns any share like what they had in furnishing France with iron and copper, or timber, pitch and tar, as they heretofore had.

THEY also carry on a beneficial trade with Dantzic, and have greatly increased their commerce in Muscovy, as well as Denmark. Their trade is likewise greatly extended through many parts of Germany within these twenty years.

WE have now before us a general view of the trade of France, as connected with the chief states of Europe; and it would be no great difficulty to shew that the particular balance is considerably in favour of France with most, if not all of them; and the general being great, it is no wonder that they figure it as they do, and find themselves as capable as disposed to yoke Europe.

IF the efforts of this nation to encrease their commerce and navigation, were designed to promote the happiness instead of the misery of other states, I could rejoice at their success, and would endeavour to promote rather than obstruct it. But the case is otherwise; they make the benefits of their trade and navigation a stalking horse to enslave mankind. It is certainly, a virtue in a state to promote industry, encourage arts, multiply traders, and extend commerce, provided

vided it be done to make the people happy. But if we examine the politics of the French, we shall find these beneficent motives, the least of their regards. No, the vain-glory of their monarch, acquired by cutting throats, and ravishing the territories of their neighbours from them, whilst even their own lie uncultivated, and neglected, are the motives which induce them to favour arts, and promote commerce: commerce is to support conquest, and conquest is to extend commerce, but pride and vain-glory are the *primum mobile*, not the happiness of society, and the good of mankind; though the French most blasphemously rob and plunder their neighbours under those pretences.—Commerce brings them in the treasures of all the Indies; and these are employed in raising armies, and in making the world their own; and I am apt to think there is but one way to prevent it; and this very way will make France infinitely more happy and more opulent than it is; for I would conquer the enemy by these arts rather than by destructive measures; providence having afforded treasures to mankind infinitely beyond their wants; and, if it please God to prolong my life for the purpose, I shall have little difficulty to convince them of the truth of the assertion.

HOWEVER severe many may think my writings sometimes appear against the French; yet the wife will not construe them as a conceived antipathy against that nation: on the

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contrary, I profess myself a great admirer of the wisdom and policy of that nation. If they were no less faithful in their treaties, than they are artful in violating them, their statesmen would not be less admired for their honour than their nation is for it's profound sagacity and politeness. But it is time to tie the hands of their perfidious ministers, in order to spread general felicity over the whole French nation: and this may be easier done, than is imagined.

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DISSERTATION XXVIII.

Of navigation, and fisheries, as they contribute to give the balance of commerce and power.

HITHERTO we have seen how agriculture maintains and employs men; and how the ingenious arts multiply their conveniencies, by forming and working up the productions of nature, and introducing into a body politic, a double encrease of the means of occupying it's members: so that those two branches are mutually dependant on each other, and their connections cannot be broke through without hurting the perfection of both; nor consequently without depriving society of a great part of their utility. That perfection cannot exist without the help of the greatest foreign consumption possible. A communication between the several parts of earth surrounded or divided by seas, supposes navigation, or the art of crossing those seas.

WE will consider that art at present, so far only as it establishes a lucrative communication

tion between different people; because the benefits resulting therefrom sufficiently prove the necessity of a national communication not subject to precariousness.

WE say a lucrative communication; for a navigation undertaken in order to import foreign commodities only, cannot be justified but by absolute necessity, or so far, as it may be the cause of a greater exportation.

IN this sense it is plain, that the object of navigation is to transport the superfluities of a nation to others, and to bring back proper and necessary commodities in exchange.

BEFORE we consider the principles that emanate from the object of navigation, it is proper to know the various effects that result from it's operation.

THE operation of navigation should be considered in two lights. The art of sailing furnishes employment for a class of men called seamen, or sailors: the building of the ships in which those men cross the seas, is properly a manufactory. As such it is subject to the laws and principles of manufacturies: it has the same effects, for it affords employment to builders, carpenters, caulkers, sail-makers, rope-makers, weavers, smiths, and an infinity of other men; if the earth produces iron, hemp, wood, pitch, and tar, those materials being used in the building of ships, their value is thereby increased: in short, that manufactory is carried to perfection by the

the same means that others are, and deserves the same encouragements.

NAVIGATION, considered in these two joint lights, affords a great multitude of men, the means of consuming the fruits of the earth, and of procuring the conveniencies invented by useful and ingenious arts. The wages of the men, and the price of the materials employed in navigation, either as an art or a manufactory, is necessarily paid by the consumer of the goods exported. For the charges are always a part of the value of a commodity: nay, the charges of freight are more sure to be paid, than the first value of the goods. For example; if a merchant sends goods to a foreign market, he is sure that the freight or hire of the ship and sailors who carry them, will be paid in full, though he is not sure that the goods he sends will produce, when sold, so much as that freight amounts to: that has been the case in some sudden revolutions of trade; and we see every day instances of goods bearing a lower price abroad than their intrinsic value at home; the freight, however, is paid at all events, without abatement or delay.

THE profits of navigation are, therefore, as clear, as those of agriculture, and manufactories. Consequently navigation encreases the real and relative strength of a body politic.

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EVERY nation that lets another carry on a navigation which she might do herself, diminishes in proportion her real and relative strength in favour of her rivals.

THE intent, or object of navigation affords two principles, from which many consequences may be drawn.

FIRST, a nation that has no superfluities to export, would have no navigation, unless she were to carry for others.

SECONDLY, superfluities would be of no value to a nation that did not cultivate the art of navigation; or, if superfluities had a value, that value would absolutely depend on people who are navigators.

FROM the first principle it must be inferred, that agriculture and industry are the basis, or motive of a solid navigation. Whatever hurts the true principles of the two former, is destructive of navigation, and deprives society of its real and relative effects.

THE motives of navigation cannot possibly be encreased without navigation's being so too, if no inward defect prevents its progress.

If the motives of navigation have suffered no change, its decline is a most certain sign, of the diminution of foreign consumptions of the productions of art, or nature, of the subject's being less employed, and consequently less able to live comfortably.

If the motives of navigation are changed, that is to say, if one commodity ceases to be exported at the same time that another new

VOL. II.

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commodity is exported; or, if one exchange in return, is substituted in the room of another; the balance of trade in money may have encreased, though at the same time, neither more ships, nor more sailors, are employed: and, on the other hand, navigation may be encreased, though the balance in money be not; that will depend on the diversity of bulks and intrinsic value.

CONSEQUENTLY, the number of tons of shipping employed by a nation, cannot be a general rule, whereby to judge whether the balance of it's trade was more in it's favour at one time than another. For the same reason we cannot judge by that comparison of the real riches of the trade of two nations.

SUPPOSING all things in other respects equally advantageous between two nations for some navigations; we may determine by the number of ships each employs, whether the one makes a better use of it's advantages than the other.

FOR, if the one drew from it's colonies, masts, wood, pitch, tar, rice, and tobacco, and the other neglected those branches of navigation; it is certain, that the former would have a superiority of trade, and of relative strength.

LASTLY, if the combination of the exchanges a nation makes in the whole extent of it's commerce, be very complicated; it may, by the encrease of it's luxury, have exported more specie than productions either of
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it's lands, or industry. Consequently, the encrease of it's navigation cannot be a real and certain indication of the advantage or disadvantage of the balance of it's trade, as Sir Josiah Child, and other writers, have said. That uncertainty would be still greater, and of longer duration, if, by measures taken at home to support the public credit, the nation was prevented from perceiving easily the diminution of it's mass of treasure.

THE second principle is, that a nation's superfluities would have no value without navigation: or, if they had a value, it would depend absolutely on people who are navigators.

WHENCE it follows, that, if agriculture and manufactures are the basis and motive of navigation, they are not less mutually interested in it's preservation and progress.

IF a nation navigates for another, or monopolizes it's commodities, which is the same thing, the agriculture and manufactures of the latter will be checked or encouraged, according as it suits the interests of the former; that is to say, the labour of the people, and consequently, the populousness and resources of the state that sells, will be in the power of the state that navigates. By the same reason, if the dependant nation wants foreign commodities, it will receive only that quantity of them, which it suits the other to furnish, or, at what price that other shall think proper to put on them.

THE profit of the navigating nation will be the amount of the difference between what the goods cost, and what they are sold for : and that profit will be so much lost by the dependant nation.

UNDER those circumstances, than which worse cannot be imagined, the political interests of the dependant nation must, by it's wants, be subordinate to the political interests of the navigating nation.

As it is a maxim in practical trade, that they who have the greatest capitals trade with most advantage, and have the preference ; so it is evident, that the longer a nation has been dependant on another for the exportation of it's superfluities, the more difficult it will be to shake off that yoke ; unless the navigating nation loses it's advantage by it's own fault.

THOUGH a nation should not be quite destitute of navigation, yet, if that nation does not extend it's navigation to the utmost of it's power, it will still labour under the difficulties we have been speaking of, in proportion to it's degree of neglect. Whence it may be inferred that the welfare and preservation of a state require, that strangers be never permitted to rival our own navigation in the exportation of our own productions, or the importation of necessary commodities.

SUCH is the intent of our excellent act of navigation in England, to which we owe all our trade and maritime strength. But all circum-

circumstances do not admit of an equal application of the same maxims. If every nation with which England traded, had made at that time such an act with regard to her, she would have lost several profitable branches of her trade ; such as that to the Levant and East-Indies. And some branches did suffer till she got a sufficient number of ships, though her docks were then very numerous.

ALL nations are now too intent on their commercial interests, for any one of them to venture on so bold a step : it would no longer be prudent to lay duties on foreign ships, nor to raise those that are paid on what is exported, or imported, by those ships. But another more gentle and more certain method might be taken.

I SAY nothing of the just prohibition against making use of foreign ships to carry national commodities from port to port, and along the coasts of a state, because that is indispensable, and cannot be complained of in any shape : besides, the like treatment in return would not be dangerous, if one were forced to put a stop to the progress of that toleration. The only effectual way to avoid the superiority of foreign navigators, is to promote the greatest rivalship possibly in our own navigation.

THAT rivalship regards two sorts of persons : navigators, and those who employ them. The rivalship of those who employ them, that

that is to say, the merchants, depends on several circumstances.

THE number of good harbours in a country, is one of the greatest encouragements to navigation: for the easier an undertaking is, the more it will be attempted: consequently, supposing things equal in other respects, that country which has the greatest number of harbours has it in its power to carry on the greatest foreign trade.

FROM this incontestable maxim follows the necessity of supplying as much as possible by art, what nature has been deficient in; of keeping up those harbours, and especially of not laying the navigation of any one of them under the least restraint or difficulty. That would be depriving ourselves of our own natural advantages, of the rivalship of capitals in trade, of the benefits of fitting out ships, of seamen; and, in short, it would be stripping the poor of one of their kinds of occupation, the most absolutely necessary.

THIS general rule can admit of only one exception: that is, when a state has instituted *free ports*, in order not to be deprived of the advantages accruing from the re-exportation of foreign commodities, not permitted to be used within that state. If the navigation of those free ports be not laid under some restrictions, they will not fail to leave their re-exporting trade for other more profitable branches; and all the use they will make of

their privileges will be to ruin other rival ports by the sale of the commodities of which they have the monopoly. The intent, therefore, of the state will not be answered; and the equilibrium so necessary between the subjects occupations, and the several counties of the state, will be destroyed.

ACCORDINGLY, in order not to restrain any part of navigation, some nations have thought it better to let goods be deposited in their ports, than to grant those immunities in favour of any in particular. If that manner of depositing them facilitates commerce, and renders it more general, it must likewise be granted that the preservation of some branches of re-exportation becomes more difficult thereby, or that they are less easily made to agree with the laws of home trade.

REASONS which require the deepest combination, seem to contend for preference; we will at present take notice only of the exception which results from the principle in favour, even of its preservation.

THE rivalship of merchants depends particularly upon the personal advantages they find in that profession. Few would embrace it in a country where they should not have room to hope to be distinguished, in proportion to the services they render; where the retailer and mechanic should be put on a level with him that supports them. In short, where that profession could not be safely or peaceably exercised, either on account of en-

quiries into their gains, or the instability of the laws. The profession of a merchant must likewise be in general lucrative, because gain is the motive as well as the reward of his labour. It cannot be lucrative, if the interest of money be much higher than what is paid by merchants in other countries; if the law subjects navigation to expences unknown elsewhere; if inland duties, or duties on exportation, prevent the sale of a commodity at foreign markets; if the formalities to be observed at customhouses are multiplied without cause, or depend on the pleasure of a clerk, whom it is not thought worth while to bribe: in such cases it is necessary to call to mind Cassiodorus's reflection, 7. cap. varia. 9. *Avara manus portus claudit; et cum digitos contrahit, navium simul vela concludit: meritò enim illa mercatores cuncti refugiunt quæ sibi dispendia esse cognoscunt.* "A covetous hand shuts up ports, and furls the sails of the shipping: for merchants always justly shun what they know to be attended with expence."

THESE general observations naturally lead to this maxim; that navigation, like all other parts of trade, cannot be safely guided without the help of calculation. Every operation that promotes the advantage of other nations in point of rivalship, is destructive of the riches of the subject, and of the state; every operation whereby their advantage is promoted,

moted, is, to the body politic, a source of new prosperity. It is in consequence of this principle that skilful nations lessen, in favour of what is exported by their own ships, a duty, generally more hurtful than advantageous to a state; and likewise favour them in licit importations in proportion to the want of the things imported. It is, however, still more injudicious to suppress entirely all duties on the exportation of national productions, and to let the duties already laid on importations subsist in full; but most of all, to grant our own national ships a reward or bounty of so much per ton, in order to enable them to compete with foreigners in such branches as it is our national interest to encourage and support. By that means a nation may form in a short time a great maritime strength, without being exposed to the resentment of other states, and without suspending the course of its sales. It is by risking large sums that merchants grow rich: states must submit to the laws of trade, if they would reap the advantages of it.

A COMPARISON of the methods practised by two nations cannot be otherwise instructive than by comparing their effects; for their principle may be the same, tho' their practice be different: the best is that which most fully answers the intent and object of the principle. We must, however, agree with that excellent writer, that the custom of
classing

classing seamen affords greater resources for the public service, and that it is most reasonable to acquaint men with the duties of their station. In all cases, the less the duty incumbent on a profession is burdensome, the more easy it will be to establish and maintain an idea of equality of treatment among those who follow it, and the more men will be ready to embrace it.

THERE is, among such seamen as are classed, a rank of men destined to govern and command the rest, distinguished by their views, fortune, birth, and education: it is equally just and important to make a difference between them and common sailors, as we cannot, without danger to the public welfare, confound the farmer with the plowman, the manufacturer with the workman, or the merchant, who fits out a ship, with the carpenter that builds it. It is not riches that entitles them to such distinction, though some regard ought to be paid to that; for if the rich man does not enjoy his ease in his own country, he will carry his fortune to another, where he can. But it is the degree of general usefulness that the state receives from the talents or qualifications of its subjects that ought to make them be considered and respected in proportion. The experience of all ages, and of all countries, shews, that numbers of the best hands are not always sufficient to replace one good head.

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IF the profession of seamen, destined to be captains of trading ships, was to be depreciated or slighted without very strong personal reasons, no man of middling birth would follow it. That would be destroying the seminary, in which numbers of great and brave men have been formed: by lessening their ideas of honour, their views and undertakings would be more circumscribed; there would be fewer privateers in time of war, and the enemies of the state would be less molested in their trade; in peace, fewer would be ready to undertake those great voyages which require strength of genius and knowledge superior to what is found in him who is generally called a good sailor; the subordination, so necessary, and so uncommon in merchants ships, would degenerate into licentiousness, and the common men would always be ready to mutiny against their officers; in short, the children of seamen being discouraged from following their father's profession by the prejudice against it, their situation would certainly be less favourable, and the principle of their emulation viciated. The profession of sea-officers in the merchants service is honourable in itself, on account of the dangers to which they are exposed, and lucrative without requiring any great stock of money. Far from encouraging any prejudices against those people, the skill of the legislator consists in taking advantage of

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of their foible, and in guiding men towards what ought to be their end, by the very means by which they are led astray.

It must have been after repeated experiments, by which men grow by degrees more familiar with the sea, that they ventured to cross that element: the first rules of that art probably arose from fishery. That precious branch of employment still maintains its rights over navigation, by being always the nursery and best school of seamen. We have made no distinction between them, in order to conform ourselves the more to the generally received ideas, and not to interrupt the chain of our arguments.

It is evident, from the history of trade, and that of all maritime powers, not one excepted, that great fisheries have always been the epocha of a great trading navigation, and of a great marine. The example of Holland is too well known to require our entering into a detail about it: their herring-fishery alone is valued at about three millions three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year.

BESIDES the advantage which a state receives from its fishery, considered as a branch of the art of navigating, and of the manufactory of ship-building, it likewise encreases the value of salt-pans in countries that have any. It produces every where a considerable value, which before did not exist, in return for an inconsiderable exchange: for the seven

eights at least of the value of a fishery centers in the hire of men and money. Whence it follows, that a nation that sells abroad the produce of its fishery, gains as clear a profit as if that nation sold wine or corn of its own growth; with this difference only, that, value for value, the fishery will have employed most men of different classes; that the lands of a state are limited, and can employ but a part of the inhabitants; whereas the fishery has no bounds, but every man may be a sharer in the profit in proportion to his money. In a word, we need not scruple to say, that fishermen are in navigation as useful and necessary as husbandmen in the culture of the lands, and that they deserve, in their way, to be as much regarded and encouraged.

THE home and foreign consumption of fish, dry and salted, is the measure of the decline or increase of a nation's fishery.

THE home consumption depends on the degree of ease of the common people, by whom the greatest quantities of plain and ordinary things are consumed; and likewise on the duties, which the commodity pays before they have it. In a country where dry and salt fish should be found to have paid half the amount of its value between the sea and inland parts of that country, it is probable that, by reducing those duties to only a quarter part of the value, which is still too much, double the quantity would be consumed, the revenue would be the same, and the number

ber of fishermen would be as many again. The home consumption would likewise be encreased, in proportion to the means taken to prevent the importation of foreign fish. The more a state is deficient in its marine, the more strict it ought to be in so sure and advantageous a way to encrease it.

FOREIGN consumption depends on cheapness: since the seven-eighths of the value of a fishery centers in, or is to be imputed to, the hire of men and money, it is plain that the rate of the interest of money must have a great influence on the price. So that supposing things equal in all other respects between two nations, rivals in their fisheries, that which pays the highest interest will have the disadvantage in its sales; or rather its traders will speculate no farther than the home consumption, and employ the rest of their money in more lucrative branches. Bounties only make up for that difference; for the sea produces for all alike: the best methods for fishing, and curing fish, can never remain a secret long, and they are practicable by all nations who have any share of navigation.

RIVALSHIP of merchants is likewise an effectual way to equal other nations, and to save in a short time rewards or bounties on exportation. That rivalry will be promoted by the motives already spoken of, and in proportion to the degree of home consumption, which is
always

always a present inducement to speculation.

AN inestimable advantage to nations, who know how to procure wherewith to form a great navigation, is, without doubt, to have within themselves, or in their colonies, materials fit for building and fitting out ships. This is a self-evident truth; and the administration of affairs both at home and abroad, equally concurs to establish this maxim, that a people never is stronger than when it least depends on others for its wants. Agriculture, therefore, again comes in here to the aid of navigation, and in her turn receives her reward from it. The advantage of the lowness of the interest of money is of to both, is again evident on this occasion. If, for example, we suppose a country where the interest of money is at five per cent, a thousand pounds put out for 40 years, and interest upon interest added, the capital sum will produce 6,810 l. If a thousand pounds in wood, are not likely to produce their owner the same encrease in the same space of time, every one will chuse to put his money out at interest rather than to have the trouble and run the risk of planting: very few will let their woods grow till they are fit to cut.

SINCE the establishment of European colonies in the East and West-Indies, the navigation of the countries, by which they were founded has been considerably encreased. Its
object

object has from that time been extended farther, it's effects have been multiplied; and the application of it's principles has become more important, as we have observed, in regard to colonies. Mother countries, who understand their interests, have thought it a point of prudence to include, even their colonies in their restrictions relating to navigation: their conduct in that respect is founded on sound policy.

EVEN, though a nation could be neither traders, nor conquerors, it would be difficult to conceive how it could support itself without a sea force against the ambition of it's neighbours, if they had any: now, it is certain that a state which has neither fishery, nor foreign trade, can have no maritime force. But if that nation has colonies, or fisheries; if it has a great superfluity of productions to export, either of it's own growth, or arising from the labour and ingenuity of it's inhabitants; the preservation of those concerns becomes a chief part of it's political interests. All that it gains on that side is a diminution of the real and relative power of it's rivals; who consequently gain on the other hand whatever the other loses. These respective interests oblige states to keep up fleets and a naval strength at a great expence, that they may be able at the same time to protect their own labour and industry, the sole support of that strength; and to molest, or even ruin the industry

dustry the sole support of that strength; and to molest, or even ruin the industry of their enemies. Commerce is what on those occasions gives life and motion to those forces by the number of seamen, which it brings up and forms during the time of peace.

SUPERIORITY of naval strength ought naturally to decide the contest. But it is very proper to observe, that the superiority of naval strength between two nations does not absolutely consist in number and strength of ships, if other circumstances are not equal.

THE proportion between the marine of two states compared together, is a political problem not easily solved; the combination does not, however, seem impossible. This is not a proper place to attempt it; wherefore, we shall only observe, that in order to determine the proportion it is necessary to know the uses that may be made of the respective naval forces of each, the necessity, or occasion for those uses; how far a less strength may be able to reduce a greater to an inability of acting, by the advantages of it's situation and proper distribution of it's forces.

THAT proportion being once settled with regard to any supposed numbers, may easily be applied afterwards to any other numbers.

IF the proportion be always exact between the marine of two states, the superiority of the one over the other will depend on the dispatch and secrecy, with which they arm;

on the capacity of their commanders, and the experience, courage, and intrepidity, both of their officers, and sailors; on their manner of fighting; on the superior degree of care taken in victualling and providing proper stores for their fleets, squadrons, and arsenals; and on the best combination of their reciprocal expeditions.

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DISSERTATION XXIX.

Of stationing convoys and cruizers for the security and protection of our own trade and navigation, and for the annoying those of the enemy.

UNDER the article ASSURANCE, in my univerval dictionary of trade and commerce, I have very fully stated the practical nature of insuring ships and merchandize, to which I refer the reader, who would thoroughly understand this subject.

By the tables therein represented, the difference between an high and a low insurance will very plainly appear, and consequently the advantage the British nation may reap from the superiority of her naval force, in time of war, by a wise regulation of our convoys, and cruizers, in order to protect our own commerce in the first place, and then to annoy that of the enemy; as the one will lower the insurance on our trade, in proportion to the care that shall be taken of it's preservation; and the other will raise the in-

insurance on our enemy's trade, in proportion to the force that shall be properly stationed to annoy the same. From whence it appears of what prodigious consequence the proper or improper direction of our naval force is in the article of insurance only;—not to mention the national gain by captures, the property, lives, and liberties of multitudes of his Majesty's subjects that may be thereby saved as well as a great proportion of the public revenue, besides the reducing our enemies to great distress.—That an idea of the high concernment hereof may appear, it may be proper to observe, how, in time of war now with France, a few ships of war may be employed to answer those purposes.

SUPPOSE a convoy should go from England every four or six months, for Africa, America, and then home to Great Britain, besides the convoys that shall go at proper times directly to America.

SUCH convoy may see all the trade that are ready to sail to the south-west at a proper distance, and, particularly, the trade to *Portugal*, as far as their respective ports; the *Streights* trade as far as Gibraltar, or Cape St. Vincent; and then to proceed to Africa, and relieve such ships of war as shall be before stationed there; which relieved ships may proceed with the trade from *Africa to America*, and relieve such ships of war as shall be stationed there; which relieved ships may convoy the trade that shall be ready to sail

sail from their respective colonies for Europe and North America, as far as their respective tracts, or latitudes.

THE ships of war that may be thus appointed convoys, will sail in such tracts, as will give them frequent opportunities to annoy the enemy, and gain great advantages to themselves, as they may be from four to six months cruising on the coasts of *Africa*, and as long or longer in *America*.

THE ships bound from *Africa* to our western ports may rendezvous at Plymouth, Falmouth, Cork, or Kingsale.

THE advantage of such a rotation of convoys will be very great, with regard to easing freights and insurance, two very sensible articles in trade in time of war; and the markets on all sides will be more regularly supplied.

FREIGHTS, by the means of frequent and certain convoys, and quick voyages, will be lower, at least, one quarter, as there will be great savings in seamen's wages, victualling, demurrage, and the preservation of the ships, by means of quick dispatch.

SINCE this rotation may, by means of thus exchanging stations, be performed in five or six months, it is apprehended that a few ships of war, over-and-above what are necessary to be stationed in *Africa* and *America*, will answer all these advantages: and, moreover, this will, in a great measure, prevent the decay

cay of his Majesty's ships, by keeping them too long in *Africa* and *America*.

THE practice in queen Anne's war was to let the convoys to the trade to America go out one year, and return home the next, after being relieved by other convoys, whereby they usually remained in *America* 14 months; but of late years, most of our ships of war have remained in *America*, and particularly in the *West-Indies*, about three or four years: wherefore it is submitted whether the method above-mentioned, is not to be preferred to the other? Since his Majesty's ships will then cross the western ocean oftner, which will afford much stronger, and more frequent, more certain and more regular convoys, and our trade would be much better protected, than it was in the late war with *France*, and that with the same number of ships as we employed in that service; and the ships would be fitted for the sea, with more expedition, and at less expence, after their arrival in England.

THE strength of France may be depressed by keeping cruizing squadrons at Gibraltar, and on the coast of Portugal. And as our ships of war may be encreased, it will be proper to have a great many ships of small force in fair weather, in a constant course of sailing to suppress privateers, and seize our enemy's trading ships.—The commanders of such small ships should be accountable for their time*.

* Why may they not be always at sea for a certain fixed time, as well as other ships trading some where or other?

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The accounts of their remaining in harbour, &c. may be transmitted to the government by it's civil officers. As large squadrons of men of war have not many opportunities of engaging with our enemy's ships of trade, those small ships will be highly serviceable: one squadron of those cruizers, well made for expedition, and well appointed and regulated, carrying about 12 or 14 guns may be stationed about the islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, there being good harbouring; and they might be a very proper additional force to our cruizing squadrons of small ships at Gibraltar, and on the coast of Portugal, and others may be steddily cruizing on the most convenient parts of our own coasts, where we may intercept the enemy's ships.

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and to improve the art of navigation, and to
increase the number of our ships and
merchandizes, and to improve the art of navigation,



DISSERTATION XXX.

The ill policy of our insuring the ships and merchandizes of the enemy in times of war: with considerations on neutral powers.

IT is to be feared that all our endeavours to encrease our maritime strength, and to annoy the trade of the enemy, will little avail us, if the practice of our insuring the ships and merchandizes of the enemy shall prevail, either directly or indirectly. We may as well, we apprehend, insure all their royal navy, perhaps, as their mercantile commerce and navigation. A matter of this concernment in time of war, being closely connected with the scope of our intentions, it is conceived that this work would not be so useful as we are ambitious it may without it; and therefore shall give a summary of the argument with what brevity and perspicuity we can.

THOUGH insurances in general are both useful and necessary, we beg leave to say, that

that those made for British account on the shipping and merchandises of enemies in times of war, seem to be attended with very bad consequences. During the late war in 1747, the parliament of England, when they prohibited all commerce with France, took into consideration, whether the insurance of goods, imported into, or exported from France, and her colonies, should not likewise be prohibited? Several magnified the advantages arising to the nation from this branch of insurance: and several of our eminent insurers very patriotly speeched it in parliament upon this occasion, as they had done before in the year 1741. But the substance of what was urged in favour of the essential point then under consideration seems to be badly grounded. For all parties agreed that no assistance should be given, or measures ought to be taken on our part, to enable the enemy to carry on the war to greater advantage than they could do without such assistance and measures on our side. The insurers, whose immediate interest it was to execute the orders for these insurances for the enemy, insisted, with confidence, that they were attended with large profits to the nation, that is, to themselves; and that the making such profits on the enemy ought not to be neglected, and transferred to other countries, by a prohibition here. Several worthy members of parliament enquired strictly into the true

[346]

true state of this business, in order to discover whether the nation was so highly benefited by these foreign insurances as was asserted; and many disinterested merchants impartially declared their opinions thereon to the following effect:

1. That the supposed profit of 3 per cent. on a premium of 30 per cent., said in some of the above-mentioned speeches, and calculations of profit to be made, is quite uncertain: that, in proportion as the number of the British ships of war and privateers increase, much more may be lost than supposed to be gained; and that when only 18 per cent. premium was paid for insurance here, the insurers, as well as others, actually know they were great losers by such risks.

2. THAT no merchants, by their skill in computing of chances, can demonstrate what the profits on any voyage will be; and all that can be known is, that those alone have reason to promise themselves advantage from insurances who do or do not underwrite greater or lesser sums, in proportion as the premiums shall rise or fall, and the circumstances shall be more or less dangerous.

3. THAT we have more or less reason to expect profit or loss from foreign insurances, in proportion as there is a greater or less number of persons who have sufficient experience, and know how to make the proper choice.

4. THAT

[347]

4. THAT it is evident, if more clear money be paid for losses upon foreign insurances, then the gross sums received for premiums and all charges amount to, the articles set forth by the advocates for the practice of commission, brokerage, and deductions are by no means to be considered as indisputable items of profit: for although they bring clear sums into the pockets of the factors, or brokers, who negotiate such insurances, the losses paid by insurers may greatly exceed the whole foreign disbursement, and consequently the balance will be a national loss.— This point, therefore, as mentioned above, is extremely difficult to ascertain: but there is a plain and incontestable argument against foreign insurances being made for an enemy, which will always subsist so long as Great Britain maintains the superiority of naval power; which is, *That the great object of a maritime nation should be, to take advantage of any rupture with another trading state, to destroy and distress their shipping and commerce, and to cut off all resources for naval armaments. But to permit such insurances is manifestly to defeat this end, and is contradictory to common sense: for the government and private merchants are, on the one hand, fitting out vessels at a great expence to make captures, and to annoy and distress the enemy; whilst another set of merchants make good the losses, and furnish means for the continuance of their commerce.*

5. WHEN

5. WHEN orders come for insurances from places where the eager pursuit of premiums is as strong as it is here in England, it shews that a high premium has been there insisted on: and as people on the spot can be better judges of the nature of the concern, the navigation, ships, commanders, &c. than those at a distance, there can be little hopes of profit of insurances which foreigners have rejected.

6. THAT as it is now customary to accept of estimations, in which the foreigner insured, in case of a loss, finds his account better than if the vessels had not been lost or taken; nay, it is agreed to pay such a sum insured, whether on board the ship or not; it is evident that such agreements have a bad tendency, as they give so much room for frauds.—That no person ever *had proved to a certainty, whether by insurances on foreign trade, more, on the whole, had been gained than lost.*—That it was contrary to sound and good policy, to grant assistance to undertakings which were contrary to the general interest, and diametrically opposite to the intention of *prohibiting the trade with France*, the natural consequence of which should have been the prohibition of insuring their ships and goods. This is to be understood only in times of war; for in those of peace, such insurances should be considered as a business that is to be left to the free will of the merchant.

FROM

FROM the superiority of our maritime power in the last war with Spain, we might have gained far greater advantages over them than we did, had it not been for the practice of our insuring their ships and merchandize; nay, we must have subdued them, and subdued them perhaps without a battle, and without the possibility of resistance; for against such an enemy as we then were, their courage or their discipline was of little use; they formed armies, indeed, which only stood on the shore, to defend what we had no intention of invading, and beheld those ships seized wherein their pay was treasured, or their provisions stored.—Such was our natural superiority over the Spaniards, a species of superiority that must have inevitably prevailed, if it had not been defeated by our own folly; and certainly a more effectual method of defeating it the Spaniards themselves could not have discovered, than that of insuring their ships amongst our merchants. When a ship thus insured was taken, we examined her cargo, found it extremely valuable, and triumphed in our success, by cavalcades of wagon-loads of money through our streets; we not only counted the gain to ourselves, but the loss to our enemies, and determined that a small number of such captures would reduce them to offer us peace upon our own terms.

SUCH

[350]

SUCH were the conclusions made, and made with reason, by men unacquainted with the secret practices amongst ourselves, and who did not suspect us to be stupid enough to secure our enemies against ourselves; but it was frequently found, upon a close examination, that our ships of war had only plundered our own merchants, and that our privateers did indeed enrich themselves, but thereby impoverished their country: for it was discovered, that the loss of the Spaniards was to be repaid, and perhaps sometimes with interest, by our British insurers!

IF it be urged, that we ought not to enact any laws which may obstruct the gain of our fellow-subjects, may it not be asked, why all trade with Spain in time of war with them is prohibited? May not the trade be equally gainful with the insurance; and may not the gain be more generally distributed, and therefore be more properly national? But the trade with Spain at such times is prohibited, because it was more necessary to our enemies than to ourselves; because the laws of war require, that a less evil should be suffered to inflict a greater: it is upon this principle that every battle is fought, and that we fire our own ships to consume the navies of our enemies. For this reason it appears to be evident beyond contradiction, that the insurance of Spanish ships ought to have been prohibited in time of war with
that

[351]

that nation; we should indeed have lost the profit of the insurance, but we should have been reimbursed by the captures, which is an argument that cannot be produced for the prohibition of commerce in time of war.

IT has been said, and insisted on by some, though never made appear, that our enemies may insure their ships in other countries; but this, if true, would lay them under the necessity of establishing a new correspondence for the purpose: and would not this prove at least such a temporary obstruction of their trade, which, though of short continuance, might lay them at our mercy during the interval of such establishment. But let us consider the weakness of this argument.—They *must* be allowed to insure here, because they *may* insure in other places.—Will it not be equally just to urge, that they *must* trade with us, because they *may* trade with other nations? And may it not be answered, that, though we cannot wholly suspend their commerce, it is yet our interest to obstruct it, as far as we are able? May it not be farther affirmed, that, by insuring in other nations, they may injure their allies by falling into our hands, but do not the less benefit us? That, if they do not grow weaker, we are, at least, strengthened; *but that, by insuring among us, whatever steps shall be taken to put a speedy*

a speedy end to the war, the equilibrium of it is still preserved the same?

WE have introduced this topic among others, to show how industriously we have laboured to strengthen and enrich our enemy the better to enable them to humble us. —*Risum teneatis!*

D I S-



DISSERTATION XXXI.

An enquiry how long France may be presumed to carry on the war from the present state of affairs.

WE have seen upon how extensive a bottom the commerce of France stands, and how invincible she must, at length, become by peace, if she meet with no remora to her progress in commercial dominion. Let us penetrate her cabinet now in time of war.

SHE has not a grand alliance now to cope with. Her trade and navigation being at present carried on chiefly by neutral states, it is not in our power to reduce her revenues; for what she loses in freight, she in a great measure, saves by insurance. Nay, the general commerce of France is more extensive now than in time of peace; for their neutral carriers, as well for their own as for French account force the sales of French commodities more than the French themselves do in times of peace by their cheapness; for the Dutch themselves cannot work so cheap as the

VOL. II.

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French, though they can and do sail cheaper. For, as an ingenious gentleman has observed *, " Bread, in Holland, such as our manufacturers in England eat, is commonly at 3 d. a pound sterling; flesh at 9 d. such as is sold in England at 3 d.; labour as high as in England: whereas, in France, in the provinces, bread is in common at one half penny sterling per pound, or at least at about half the price it is at in England; and flesh in the same proportion. Labour in France, likewise, is but from 3 d. per day, of 14 hours, or from five to seven o' clock, in the cheapest countries, and at about 7 d. half penny in the dearest: in manufactures, at but half the price as in England. Sailors wages a-board the French navy, but from about 8 to 12 s. per month; whereas in England, a sailor has 20 s. per month a-board king's ships. Must not this render their commodities exceeding cheap in comparison to ours at foreign markets?

AND here it may be observed, that this cheapness of labour, provisions, and commodities, was, at first brought about by the sole artifice of the enhancement of their money from 27 livres, to 50 livres the mark of eight ounces of silver troy weight; and this has been done since the beginning of the confederate war in 1702. It is true, this caused

* The progress of the French in their views of universal monarchy.

great

great convulsions in the kingdom at first, but in the issue, it has been the instrument by which they have sapped the foundations of our trade; and, if a remedy be not applied, this artifice of the French will worm out British manufactures by gentle degrees in every market in the world: and that no less in time of war than peace, by virtue of neutral powers carrying on their trade for them; which they cannot do to such advantage by British commodities, by reason of their greater dearth.

By this artifice they have rendered their labour so cheap, that they reap a plentiful harvest in every country, *where they pay but the same customs as the English*, whilst the English merchant is obliged to wait for the gleanings of the market, after the Frenchman has finished his sales.

THE project of the enhancement of money, has given an undue preference in France to money, above land and commodities: but where lies the disadvantage at present, if the gentleman receives but a hundred pound weight of silver for his lands, where he used to receive two hundred pound, if, at the same time, he can purchase as many commodities with a hundred pound, as before the enhancement he could with two? It is certain it would only affect his foreign consumption. By this scheme the French have restrained the bulk of the people to the consumption of their own manufactures, and commodities, and have prodigiously extended

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their commerce, by underselling all nations. This has enabled their islands to send home sugars, indico, &c. so cheap, as to rival us in all the European markets, and in the Levant: and all this they do, though their manufacturers pay six times as much in taxes on the necessaries of life as they do in England.

DuRoiT says, the price of bread, corn, and provisions, is no greater now than in 1683; though in this last year the mark of silver was but 27 livres *, and now 50 are coined out of it. This circumstance, as observed, has rendered their commodities so cheap, that they undersell us, and engross all the markets in the world from our merchants. It is likewise this enhancement of their coin, and the consequent cheapness of their commodities, which has enabled our smugglers to carry on such an advantageous trade with them. If but 20 l. 5 s. were now coined out of their mark of silver of eight ounces troy weight, which was the case in the year, 1660, the French would not be able to sell a gallon of brandy under 5 s. sterling, which now they can sell for 2 s.; nor a pound of tea under 7 s. 6 d. sterling, which they now sell for 3 shillings; nor a yard of silk damask under 12 s. 6 d. which they now

* When the mark was at 20 livres about 1660, labour was dearer in France than in England.

sell

sell for 5 shillings; nor a yard of cloth under 15 s. which they now sell for 6 shillings, abating only in the manufactures, the difference made in the price of those manufactures, with regard to the raw-materials, which cost both French and English men much the same, though the raw silk comes to them cheaper from their Turkey-traders; and their wool used in their fine woollen stuffs dearer from our smugglers than to us.

BUT, though they have got, by this, and the other schemes of policy, that we have represented throughout these papers, the greatest part of the trade to Spain from us, the Turkey trade, the Italian trade, and great part of the East-India and African trades; the northern and cod-fishery and furr-trades; yet they cannot be easy, but must attempt to rob us also of our colonies; our trade to which is the only valuable branch we have left, except that of Portugal, where we have seen they are ruining us by their black druggets and by every imaginable artifice.

THE immediate design of the French in their encroachments upon our territories in North-America, and in their approaches towards our colonies, is to open to themselves a communication through those colonies to the Mississippi, and Canada.—They regret the advantages we have in the tobacco trade, and intend to establish plantations for that

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commodity in the fertile plains between the river Mississippi, and our settlements in Virginia; though all these lands belong to us.

Is it, therefore, to be wondered that the commerce of France is so greatly advanced throughout the world, as we have shewn it really is? What can hinder that nation from obtaining the commercial dominion they so zealously aim at? Nothing can prevent this effectually but our capacity to sell our commodities as cheap and as good in quality as this rival nation does. But how can this be ever accomplished, if we continue to encrease our public debts and taxes? Our constitution and public faith will not admit us to play such tricks with our money as the French have done. What then ought we resolve to do? The answer is now obvious. Let the measures be taken, that I have faithfully and impartially laboured to recommend in this and all my other writings for the public interest and happiness, or such other as shall be more eligible: Let such a quantity of more land be taken into cultivation as will fairly render things as cheap in England, as in France: and let the whole, or a considerable part of the supplies to carry on the war be raised within the year, without perpetuated taxes still further to enhance the price of our arts, and manufactures: and let the public debts be put into a certain way of redemption: let also England and Ireland be united; and

and our plantations properly regulated: and let smuggling of every kind be extirpated, especially, that to the isle of Man, by annexing the same to the crown: let every wise domestic measure be taken that tend to the encouragement of the commercial arts: Let the society for the advancement of arts, and trades, be incorporated and supported by parliamentary authority: and after all; let such a system of foreign affairs be adopted by the crown of England as will put it long out of the power of France to disturb our tranquillity, or that of Europe: and let not this humble attempt be slighted and contemned, because it comes from a private person, because it is not impossible but a private speculative man may happily fall upon that which may escape the most public active person of infinitely greater abilities, and only, because he is too much absorbed in public business.

FROM the death of Philip the fourth, king of Spain, to the league of Augsburg in 1683, Mons. Colbert took care to encourage arts, diffuse manufactures, promote fisheries, and inland commerce, and all with a view to raise a powerful marine to rival the united forces of the English and Dutch. This was the principal part of the plan of conquest; and this the French succeeded in to their wishes; so that in a few years we saw France alone contend with the united squadrons of

the English and Dutch for the empire of the main.

HOT-HEADED Lewis would never have attained his end, had it not been for the prudent counsels of his minister Colbert, who addressed him in this manner when he was venting his spleen against the Dutch, who obstructed his conquest:

“THE advice I would presume to give your majesty is, to disband the greatest part of your forces, and save so many taxes to your 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 subjects: this will make you the most powerful prince, and your people at the same time the richest of all nations.—There never will be wanting fools to purchase the manufactures of France; but France must be strictly prohibited to buy those of other countries. 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 among his courtiers shall purchase the reversion of his crowns, with all the treasures of the Indies, and then the world is your own.”

THUS commerce is to bring in riches, the treasures of the Indies; and these are to be employed in raising armies and navies, and making

making the world their own. Here the end the French pursue in promoting commerce is avowed, viz. that they may be able to plunder their neighbours, and rob them of their territories, that they may recover the empire of Charlemagne, or all that lies between the Baltic and the Adriatic, and from thence to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic ocean, after which, *the world is to be made their own.*

CONQUEST is the design of the French; trade is only attended to as the instrument. The French raise armies, build ships, erect forts, and favour manufactures and commerce, not to make their people happy, but to be in a condition to take advantage of every conjuncture for extending their dominions, and robbing their neighbours. Colbert avows this, and that the dominions of the French king are too great, and make him too powerful to fear any insult from *his neighbours.* And their other politicians say, one state is weak, *another* divided, *another* slothful, and from thence encourage their princes to make a prey of all. And if the commerce is aided and assisted by neutral potentates during a war, will not their revenues be kept in good plight, notwithstanding we may take more of their ships than they shall do of ours; and especially so if we insure them?

WE have seen how their connections in trade with the Spaniards are managed; and

provided Spain shall join them against England, how shall we be able alone to withstand their united power? Do we not experience that our royal navies have not hitherto been able to do them any significant mischief? Nay, they seem to despise our maritime power. And if the whole maritime power of Spain should unite with that of France against us, what head can we expect to make against both, when we have done so little against France alone?

THE royal navy of Spain is said to consist at present of the following ships, viz. one of 114 guns, six of 80, thirty-seven of 70, four of 64, six of 60, one of 54, one of 50, five of 30, four of 26, four of 24, four of 22, five of 16, four packet-boats, mounting 16 guns each, thirteen xebeques of 24 guns, four bomb-ketches, each carrying 12 guns, and four fire-ships; in all *one hundred and three* sail.

I WOULD be the last person in the kingdom who would spread false alarms; but I would be one of the first who would apprise my country of danger, in order to prevent it. And all I would intend by these representations is, that we might prepare against the worst; and I wish the king's ministers would think of the most effectual measures to reduce the power of France within such bounds that we may obtain an honourable and a lasting peace: but this does not appear possible

possible, in my humble judgment, according to the fashionable politics of the day.

FOR how can we expect to deal with France without any maritime allies, when they are such greater gainers in their trade by neutral states than we can possibly be, as our commerce is at present circumstanced? The trade and navigation of France was never till now brought to the height it is; the foundation for commercial dominions was never so formidable as at present. If, when this nation was less powerful, and we millions less in debt, and formed the grand alliance for our security, we could not easily cope with them, what reason can we have to flatter ourselves that we can so easily defeat all their designs at present?

WHILST France continues to enjoy so extraordinary advantages in her trade as we have seen she does in every part of the world, she will have great resources to continue the war, while ours will every day diminish, by reason of the great activity of the neutral carriers in favour of the trade of France, and their inattention and disregard to that of Great Britain; for this plain reason, that the dearness of our commodities renders them not worth their while to deal in them, while they are great gainers by trafficking with those of France. Thus all the neutral powers contributing to the advancement of the commerce of France, while ours is more
and

and more loaded with tax-incumbrances, it does not seem possible for England, under such circumstances, to be able to reduce France to a lasting and an honourable peace: for although his Prussian majesty shall attempt to make all the head he can against France; yet this will not help our trading interest: he will not be able to cut off all essential resources, which enable France to carry on the war. We see by what interesting ties, the ties of a commercial neutrality, that the Dutch have reason to be attached rather to France than England.

TILL, therefore, we can so change the system of Europe, as to raise such powerful allies to act vigorously and faithfully against the power of France, and those allies which she may further draw into her measures, what reason can we have to amuse ourselves with a peace that is likely to be either honourable or permanent? I wish this could be satisfactorily demonstrated to the public. But I am very doubtful that it cannot, without some essential alteration is made in our foreign system; and this alteration, we humbly judge, not impracticable: we apprehend, on the contrary, that such a change might be effected with far less difficulty than the old system can be supported to check sufficiently the career of France.

BUT

BUT till something of a new foreign system shall be happily adopted, we humbly recommend these dissertations to the consideration of the public: if they are right in the general, they will live; and if they are wrong, it is to be hoped that the intention will atone for mistakes.

D I S



DISSERTATION XXXII.

Some general maxims regarding the advancement of the national commerce, as founded on experience, and the opinion of the most knowing and judicious.

THE history and nature of commerce furnishes us with three important reflections:

1. **PEOPLE** have been seen to make up, by dint of industry, for what was wanting in the productions of their own country, and thereby possess more of what men have agreed to call riches, than those who were proprietors of natural riches. But that industry always consisted in supplying one country with the natural riches of another, of which it stood in need: and on the other hand, without industry, no people ever possessed any plenty of gold and silver, which are what men have agreed to call riches.

2. **A NATION** loses its commerce insensibly, when it does not carry on so great a trade as it is able to do. Every branch of trade supposes a want, either real or imaginary:

nary: the profits arising from them are a means of undertaking more; and nothing is so dangerous as to force other nations to supply their wants themselves. The greatest industry has ever been the effect of the greatest necessity: the prodigious efforts it occasions are like the flowing of an impetuous torrent, whose waters beat with violence against the banks that confine them, till at last they force them down.

3. **A COUNTRY** in which a great trade flourishes, a constant indication of which is its opulence, will always be most populous. It is certain that the conveniences of life are what most attract mankind. Let us suppose trading people surrounded by others not traders: the former will very soon bring over to them as many of the latter as can reap a profit by being employed in their trade.

THESE three reflections indicate the principle of commerce in a body politic in particular: agriculture and industry are the essence of it: their union is such, that if the one prevails over the other, it destroys itself. Without industry the fruits of the earth can have no value: if agriculture be neglected, the fountain of trade is dried up.

THE intent of commerce in a state is, by labour to maintain in ease and plenty as many men as possible. Agriculture and industry are the only means of subsistence: If both of them are advantageous to those that follow

follow them, inhabitants will never be wanting.

THE effect of commerce is, to give a body politic all the weight and strength, influence and dignity it is capable of receiving. These consist in the number of inhabitants attracted by its political riches, which are at the same time both real and relative.

THE real riches of a state are its superior degree of *independence on other states* for necessities, and the greater quantity of superfluities it has to export. Its relative riches depend on the quantity its trade procures of what men have agreed to call riches, compared with the quantity of the same kind of riches brought into neighbouring states by their trade. A combination of these real and relative riches is what constitutes the art and science of the administration of *political commerce*.

EVERY operation in the commerce of a state contrary to these principles, is destructive to commerce itself.

CONSEQUENTLY, all that can be said on this head is founded on this fundamental maxim, that there is a beneficial national trade, and a national trade which is not so. To be convinced of that, it is necessary to distinguish between what the merchant gains and what the state gains. If the merchant imports foreign goods, by which the consumption of the national manufactures is hurt, it is certain that, though the merchant gains

gains by the sale of those goods, the state loses, first, the value of what they cost abroad; secondly, the wages which would have been earned by divers workmen in fabricating those goods at home; thirdly, the value of what the first materials would have produced to the planters of the country or colony where they grew; fourthly, the benefit of the circulation of all those values; that is to say, the ease and convenience, the consumption of them would have afforded to numbers of others; and fifthly, the assistance the prince has a right to expect from the affluence of his subjects.

IF those first materials are the produce of its colonies, the state likewise loses the benefits of navigation. If they are foreign materials, this last loss still takes place; and instead of immediately affecting the produce of the lands, will fall upon the national commodities, which would have been exported for those first materials.

THE gain of the state is, therefore, exactly what we have just said it must lose on the foregoing supposition; the merchant's gain is only what he sells his goods for more than what they cost him.

ON the other hand, the merchant may lose when the state gains. If a merchant sends imprudently manufactures of his own country to another where they are not wanted, he may lose by the sale of them: but

still the state will gain so much as they are sold for abroad; the circulation of what shall have been paid the land for the price of the first materials, the wages of the workmen employed in manufacturing them, the value of the navigation, if they are exported by sea, the benefit of circulation, and the tribute which the public wealth owes to the state.

WHAT the merchant gains by his fellow-subjects is therefore absolutely indifferent to the state, which gains nothing by it; but that gain is not indifferent, when it increases the debt due by other nations, and is an encouragement to other undertakings lucrative and beneficial to society.

BEFORE we examine by what means legislators fulfil the intent and effect of commerce, I shall observe that there are nine maxims, which our English commercial laws have adopted, whereby to judge of the advantage or disadvantage of a trade.

1. THE exportation of superfluities is the clearest profit a nation can make.

2. THE superfluous produce of the land is exported to most advantage after it is worked up or manufactured.

3. The importation of foreign materials for manufacturing, unwrought instead of importing them ready manufactured, saves a great deal of money to the nation.

4. Ex-

4. EXCHANGE of merchandize for merchandize is advantageous in general; but not in cases where it is contrary to the foregoing maxims.

5. THE importation of foreign commodities, whereby the consumption of national commodities is hurt, or the progress of a nation's manufactures and the culture of its lands prejudiced, must necessarily bring on the ruin of that nation.

6. THE importation of foreign commodities of mere luxury, in exchange for money, is a real loss to the state.

7. THE importation of things absolutely necessary, cannot be thought an evil; but the nation is not less impoverished by it.

8. THE importation of foreign goods, to be afterwards re-exported, leaves a real profit behind.

9. To hire out one's ships for freight to other nations is a beneficial commerce.

THE general operation of commerce ought to be directed by this plan.

WE have defined that operation to be the home circulation of the produce of a country, or its colonies, the exportation of its superfluities, and the importation of foreign commodities, either to be consumed at home, or re-exported.

THIS definition naturally divides trade into two parts, home and foreign. Their principles are widely different, and if not distinguished

guished from each other, must occasion great confusion.

THE home trade of a nation is that which the several members of a society carry on among themselves. It holds the first rank in trade in general, because what is necessary is more esteemed than what is superfluous, which is not for that reason less in request.

THIS home circulation consists in the consumption of the produce of the country, and of the industry of the inhabitants, of which that consumption is the soul and support. We have already observed, that the real riches of a nation are at their highest period when that nation has recourse to no other to supply its wants. The rules established in consequence in different states, vary according to the greater or less abundance of their natural riches; and the well-judged industry of many has compensated for what nature has refused them.

THE value of a home trade is exactly the sum to which the private expence of every inhabitant amounts, for lodging, food, cloathing, and the conveniencies and superfluities of life. But whatever is consumed of foreign commodities must be deducted from that value, as a real loss to the nation, so far as it is not compensated by a foreign trade.

THE populousness of a state is the soul of this home consumption, the perfection of which consists in a plenty of commodities of the

the national growth, adequate to the want and demand for them: its preservation depends on the profit which those commodities yield to the proprietor of them, and on the encouragement given them by the state.

So long as the lands receive their greatest and best culture that can possibly be given them, the use of articles of convenience and luxury cannot be too general, provided those articles are of the growth of the country, or its colonies.

THEIR value increases the amount of private expences, and is divided among the several inhabitants employed therein.

IT is good for a state not to want any of the sweets and conveniencies of life, because that people is more happy by possessing them than it would be otherwise. It would cease to be so, if those conveniencies exhausted its riches: nay, it would soon be quite deprived of happiness, because real wants are impatient and tormenting creditors. But when those articles of convenience and luxury are the produce of the country, the pleasure they procure is attended with several advantages. They are an allurements to other nations, who are taken with them, and procure the state that possesses them wherewithal to increase its exports. Let me be allowed to extend this maxim to the liberal arts and sciences: they cannot be degraded by being considered in a new light of commercial utility. Men require instruction and amuse-

[374]

ment: every nation that is obliged to have recourse to another for those instructions or amusements, is so far impoverished thereby, as the expence on that occasion amounts to, which is so much clear gain to the nation by which they are furnished.

WHAT to the eye of reason might seem a most frivolous-art, or a most trifling commodity, is a very essential object in *political commerce*. Philip II. though possessed of the mines of Potosi, issued two edicts during his reign, only to forbid the importation of all foreign dolls, glass-ware, combs, and pins, especially French.

ALLOWING fashions, and the continual changes of them, to be the effect of the levity and fickleness of a people; yet it is certain that people could not act more wisely for the benefit of its trade and circulation. Those only are to blame who follow them when not able to afford it: the real ridicule consists in complaining of fashions or finery, and not in abstaining from them.

IT is, however, far from being impossible, or even difficult, to carry luxury to too great a height; the consequence of which would be, that the lands and most necessary arts would be much neglected, and other less useful arts and less necessary cultures applied to.

It is always in the legislature's power to check that excess, by striking at its cause: they will always be able to maintain a just equilibrium

[375]

equilibrium between the several occupations of the subject, to ease the part that suffers by granting privileges and immunities, and to make the taxes fall on the home consumption of articles of luxury.

THAT part of trade falls properly under the cognizance of the particular laws of the body politic, in whose power it is to encourage, restrain, or absolutely prohibit the use of commodities, either national or foreign, according as the welfare of the state requires. For that reason it is that all colonies are under a state of perpetual prohibition.

LASTLY, it must always be remembered, that the home-trade of a country, is what particularly keeps up the real riches of the state.

FOREIGN trade is that which a political society carries on with others: it tends to the same end that the home-trade does, but is more particularly calculated to procure relative riches. For, if we suppose a trading people abounding with commodities of which foreigners make but little use, the home-trade of that people will keep up the spirit of culture and industry by what is consumed among themselves; but the foreign trade will go no farther than barely to favour it, without sacrificing to it any opportunity of encreasing the relative riches of the state, by the sale of any other commodity more suitable to a foreign market. This part of trade is so closely

connected with the home-trade, that it is necessary to consider them together.

[376]

connected with the political interests of a state, that it partakes of their nature.

PRINCES are always in a forced state when considered relatively to other princes; and those who would procure their subjects any considerable export of their commodities, are obliged to consider the circumstances, maxims and interests of other trading nations, as well as the taste and caprice of the consumer.

THE operation of foreign trade consists in supplying the wants of other nations, and drawing thence wherewith to answer one's own. The perfection of that trade consists in supplying others with as much as is possible, and in the most advantageous manner that can be: its preservation depends on the manner in which it is carried on.

THE produce of the land and of industry is, as we have before said, the basis of all trade. Fruitful countries have consequently an advantage for exportation over barren ones: and the more a commodity is necessary and perfect, the more other nations must depend on it.

To be very populous is one of the advantages, by which a nation is enabled to supply to the utmost the wants of other nations: whilst on the other hand its foreign trade employs all the hands which its home-trade could not have maintained.

A NATION will be more or less populous according as its inhabitants are more or less able

[377]

able to subsist by their labour, and as their property is more or less secure. If their labour does not afford them the means of subsistence, experience shews they will seek it in other countries. Accordingly, when by extraordinary circumstances that is like to be the case, the legislature takes care to prevent the evil by finding employment for the subject. From the necessity of a country's being well peopled, it follows that idleness ought not to be suffered.

ONE country can not supply another with any commodity, which it does not sell as cheap as it can be bought elsewhere: if cheaper, it will always be preferred at home. Four things are sure to constitute that cheapness: rivalship in trade, oeconomy of men's labour, small charges of exportation, and low interest of money.

DOMESTIC rivalship in trade produces plenty; and plenty cheapness of provisions, of the first materials, of labour and of money. Rivalship is one of the most important principles of trade, and a considerable part of its liberty. Whatever cramps or hurts it in these four points is ruinous to the state, and diametrically contrary to its intent, which is the happiness and comfortable subsistence of the greatest number possible of men.

THE oeconomy of men's labour consists in substituting in its stead that of animals and machines, when it can be done either with less expence, or more safety to the men.

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[378]

Far from preventing, it is a means of encreasing the populoufness of a state. The mistaken notion of it's being a hindrance to the propagation of the human species prevailed longest in those countries whose trade was confined within themselves. And, indeed, it must be allowed that where there is but little foreign trade, the general intent would not be answered, if the home-trade did not employ as many men as possible. But, if foreign trade, that is to say, navigation, the colonies, and wants of other countries, is able to employ still more men than are to be found, it is necessary to oeconomise their labour that it may answer all those ends as far as it possibly can. Experience shews, that a nation loses it's trade when it does not carry on so great a one as it is able to do. It is evident that the strength of a body politic depends on employing in the best and most extensive manner whatever men are invited thither by it's political riches. A consideration it is necessary never to lose sight of. To oeconomise the labour of men cannot, therefore, hurt the encrease of the species, when the legislature only directs with prudence their labour from one object to another, which is properly the business of particular laws and regulations.

THE smallness of the expences of exportation is the third source of cheapness, and, consequently of the vent of the productions of a country.

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[379]

THOSE expences are the charges of carriage and duties outwards. The carriage is either by land, or water. Land-carriage is known to be by much the dearest. For which reason, canals to supply the want of navigable rivers, the keeping up and rendering convenient rivers that are navigable, and an absolute freedom of inland navigation, are an essential part of the administration in a trading state.

DUTIES, either inland, or on exportation, laid on the produce of a country, are of all charges those which foreigners are most unwilling to pay. The merchant looks upon them as an enhancement of the real value of a commodity, and policy considers them as an encrease of relative riches.

WISE nations either suppress those duties when commodities or manufactures of their own produce are exported, or proportion them to the foreign demand for those commodities. Above all they take care to compare the price of their goods delivered at the market where they are to be disposed of, with the price of the same kind of goods sent thither by their rivals in trade. Such a comparison is of great importance. Though the quality and prime cost of a commodity be the same in each of two manufacturing nations, yet the duties outwards ought not to be equal, if the charges of carriage be not the same too. The smallest difference influences the market.

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[380]

SOMETIMES the legislature instead of laying a duty on the exportation of some goods encourages it by granting a bounty. The intent of that bounty is to add to the profit of the labourer, or workman, when that profit is not otherwise sufficient to support a useful industry, in opposition to other nations. If the bounty be such as lessens the price of the commodity, the preference foreigners will give it in a few years will be sufficient to establish that new branch of trade, which will afterwards be able to support itself. The effect is certain; and the practical part cannot but be beneficial to a body politic. It is like the warmth which, in a human body, one member communicates to another when in need of it.

A NATION could not be said to supply another with as much as possible, if it was to trade in nothing but commodities of its own growth. Every one knows by experience that it is natural to go for what one wants to the shop that is best stocked, and that choice of goods often makes customers want what they did not think of before. The case is the same in trade in general. Trading nations go to other nations for what they want, in order to sell them again to the consumers. This kind of trade, generally called the carrying trade, may be very properly called *economical*. A prudent nation will foregoe no branch of trade; and though its articles of luxury do run high, yet, if it has plenty of inhabi-

[381]

inhabitants, and store of money at a low interest, it is evident that nation will be able to carry them all on successfully. I will go farther; the moment when its merchants find their account, will be the most certain epocha of its riches.

IN order not to deprive a nation of the profit to be made by foreign goods, but on the contrary to encrease its relative riches, some states have opened ports in which the importation of whatever it is advantageous to re-export, is allowed free of duty: they are called *free ports*.

IN other states goods are only deposited; and, in order to facilitate the general exportation of even permitted foreign commodities, either the whole or part of the duties of entry are repaid on exportation.

THE foreign trade of a nation cannot have attained its greatest perfection, if its superfluities are not exported, and what it wants imported in the most advantageous manner possible.

SUCH exportations and importations are performed either by national ships, or foreign, and by traders either denizens, or aliens.

THERE is, therefore, an active, and a passive commerce. It is plain that a passive commerce lessens the advantages of exportation and enhances the price of importation.

IT is contrary to the intent of commerce in a state, by depriving the subject of his labour and means of subsistence; and prevents

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[382]

it's effect by lessening the relative riches of that state.

A PASSIVE trade is productive of another disadvantage: the nation that engrosses the active trade of another, keeps that other in a state of dependance: whenever their union ceases, that which has only a passive trade, loses all it's vigour. It's Agriculture, industry, and colonies, are in a state of inaction; the number of it's inhabitants decreases, until it recovers an active trade; which it is never sure of doing, and must at all events be a work of time.

THE difference that results from the exports and imports during a certain time, compared, is called the *balance of trade*. That is always paid or received in money, because the exchange of commodities, or metals, by which they are represented, is indispensable when one has no other equivalent to give for them. States balance with each other just as private men do.

ACCORDINGLY, when the balance of trade is in favour of a nation, it's capital stock of conventional riches is encreased by so much as that balance amounts to: when that balance is against a nation, it's amount is a diminution of the capital stock.

THIS balance ought to be considered as particular, and general.

THE particular balance is that of the trade between two states; it is the object of the treaties they make with each other, in order

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[383]

to establish, as nearly, as possible, an equality of commerce. Those treaties stipulate the kinds of commodities they are allowed to supply each other with; the mutual convenience and advantage of importing them; and the duties such goods are to pay.

IF two nations had only the same kinds of productions to communicate to each other, there would be no other treaty between them than what humanity dictates, to use each other well; because that of the two which had the advantage over the other, would, at last, engross it's trade both home and foreign. The trade between two such nations would then be reduced to that, which a third would give them room to carry on by the re-exportation, before mentioned.

PERFECT equality of trade between two nations, implies equality of value, and of the number of men necessarily employed by each. It is hardly possible for such a thing to be in reality; for which reason, equality of value is what is usually calculated.

THOUGH the numbers of men employed be not reckoned, one would incline to think it ought to be considered, according to the reciprocal necessity of the exchange. If the balance is not equal, the difference of the number of men mutually employed is not to be considered by the gainer; because it is certain that the sum received in money will increase the nation's home circulation, and

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[384]

consequently procure a greater number of men the means of subsisting comfortably.

IF a foreign country is in absolute want of a commodity, the success of the means by which it is intended to bring it near to an equality in trade, depends on the degree of competition in that article; for if other nations having an equal quantity of the same commodity, offer better terms, that which is less advantageous will be excluded the market. If that foreign country has nothing to offer in exchange but goods of the same kind and species with those we are in actual possession of, it is proper first to compare the product and advantages that may be made by the sale of our own commodity, with the loss that may result from the importation of foreign commodities; and in the next place, by what means to prevent their interfering at home. Circumstances, which now no longer subsist in Europe, might formerly require a different policy in the case we are speaking of: when one or two nations, exclusive of others, carried on the general trade, it was not always proper for them to refuse the commodities of a third, because that would have been laying that third under the necessity of encreasing its own correspondence and navigation.

THE finishing of such a treaty of commerce requires also a thorough knowledge of the trade of the two contracting nations,

[385]

of their mutual resources, their populousness, the price and quality of the first materials, the price of provisions and labour, their kinds of industry, reciprocal wants, particular and general balances, their finances, and the proportion of the interest of money, which being too low with one, and high with another, makes the latter lose where the former gains.

IT may happen that the balance of trade with a country is disadvantageous, and yet that trade may be useful; that is to say, it may be the cause and necessary means of another trade, which more than compensates for that loss.

THE general balance of the trade of a nation is the profit or loss resulting from the particular balances compensated with each other.

THOUGH the amount of the general exportations should be lessened, if that of the importations be likewise lessened in proportion, the state cannot be said to have lost any part of its useful trade; because it is, generally speaking, a proof that a greater number of hands are employed in its home trade.

By the same reason, though the general exportations be less, if the importations have lessened more than in proportion, it proves an encrease of useful trade.

IT is plain that of several nations, that whose general balance is always most in its

[386]

favour, must become the most powerful. It will have most conventional riches; and those riches, by circulating at home, will maintain comfortably a greater number of inhabitants. Such is the effect of trade, when carried to perfection in a body politic: to procure those advantages is the aim and object of the government: and to succeed therein requires very superior views, and the utmost vigilance in watching over the steps, regulations and motives of rival nations; together with a thorough knowledge and exact calculation of real and relative riches compared. Circumstances vary continually, but the principles are ever the same. He who considers them in all their lights, will know how to apply them.

THE restrictions under which trade is laid for political reasons, cannot be said to cramp it. Freedom of trade, so much talked of, and so little understood, consists only in carrying on with ease that trade which is consistent with the real general interest of society.

WHATEVER extends beyond that is a licentiousness destructive of trade itself. I say, the real general interest, because what seems an advantage does not always prove so.

DECEIT and fraud cannot be too severely proscribed: formalities are requisite to enquire into them. All excess of them is destructive of liberty, and to neglect them entirely, introduces licentiousness. Those formalities

[387]

ities ought, therefore, not to be quite laid aside; but care should be taken to keep them within due bounds, and to provide for their being properly observed.

THERE is a necessity of domestic rivalry in commerce: it is the soul of freedom properly understood.

THAT is one of the nicest points in government: its principles will ever be a part of the plan by which a state obtains a general balance more advantageous than its neighbours.

WE have purposed examining trade as the occupation of a citizen. We will consider it in that light in relation to the body politic.

TRADE being the soul of that body, the profession of a trader is commendable, as is every profession useful to society. Every member of society ought to be distinguished in proportion to the services he renders; and trade cannot be encouraged in a country where such distinctions are not made.

A MAN may be personally concerned in trade three ways.

FIRST, by purchasing the productions of the land, and of the industry of its inhabitants, to sell them again in small quantities to his fellow-citizens. Dealers that way are called *retailers*.

THIS business, more convenient than necessary to society, promotes circulation at home.

[388]

SECONDLY, the industry of the citizen may be exerted in guiding and directing the labour of a number of other citizens, to prepare and form the first materials. Those who apply to that branch are called *manufacturers*.

THIS kind of industry is very necessary, because it increases the real and relative riches of a state.

THE third kind of trade, in which a citizen may be engaged, is, the exportation of the productions of his country, to be exchanged abroad for other necessary productions, or for money. That trade, whether it be carried on by sea or land, in Europe or to the extremities of the world, is distinguished by the name of *wholesale trade*, and the person that carries it on is called a *merchant*.

THIS profession is very necessary, for it is the soul of navigation, and increases the relative riches of the state.

THE strictest probity is a duty incumbent on, and gives life to these three ways of trading: their object is the same, gain: their effect different, as it contributes more or less to the general effect of trade in a body politic.

THIS effect is what the state ought to distinguish them by, and esteem each individual in proportion as he co-operates more or less.

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[389]

NOT that the immediate design of the legislator is to have merchants immensely rich: he values them because they have contributed greatly to the success of his views; but it would be still more useful, in case where trade is limited, to have many rich, rather than a few very rich. Twenty merchants with ten thousand pounds each, do more business, and have among them greater amount of credit, than five with forty thousand pounds a-piece. Besides, fortunes divided among many are a much greater help to the circulation and real riches of a country. A great disproportion of fortunes in trade is not, however, a burden to the state, because they generally circulate wholly to the advantage of useful arts; it were even to be wished they were to remain in trade, because they settle numbers of factors or agents abroad; those factors increase the branches of trade of their nation, and likewise procure it the advantages they make in the trade of which the country where they reside is susceptible. Such fortunes would not be taken out of trade, if the condition of a merchant was as much respected as it ought to be. As to the great undertakings in trade for a government, its own credit is sufficient; if the security be good, and a profit can be made, a sufficient number of solid undertakers will soon be found.

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To know how to trade, or how to direct trade, are two very different things. To direct it properly, requires a knowledge of how it ought to be done; a man may gain by trade, without knowing how it ought to be directed. The merchant's science is in the detail of his particular business: the political science consists in the use that may be made of all those details. It is therefore necessary to know them; but that knowledge cannot be gathered but from merchants. One cannot converse with them too much in order to learn; but in deliberating, their advices are to be received with caution. We have already distinguished between the merchant's gains and the gains of the state;— and it is plain that the merchant, taken up with his own detail, seldom has an eye to what is general, unless he happens to have acquired that turn by travel, or an extensive experience on which he has meditated and reflected: such as are so qualified in that case may decide safely. The more there are of them, the more the profession of a merchant will be respected by the state, and deserves to be so. I may likewise add, that the several branches of general trade will increase thereby.

To send from one foreign country to another the goods that are wanted there, although those goods be prohibited by the society of which one is a member, cannot be deemed an act contrary to the love we ought to

to have for our country. It is plain that since those goods were necessary to gain what would have been gained by the country that produced them, had that country sold them herself, is adding to the relative riches of one's own country.

to have for our country. It is plain that since those goods were necessary to gain what would have been gained by the country that produced them, had that country sold them herself, is adding to the relative riches of one's own country.

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DISSERTATION XXXIII.

Of arts, and manufactories.

MANUFACTURE, or ingenious labour, is the art of working up the productions of nature. Desire of convenience and of a more comfortable being, gave birth to this art, and preserves, and promotes it: the productions of nature are the matter on which it is exercised: the elements, the animal creation, and, in short, all that exists, are the means by which it is exercised. We will, at present, consider ingenious labour only in regard to the effects it has in the body politic; we will afterwards endeavour to shew what are the principles, which most certainly conduce towards a society's enjoying the benefits of those effects.

OUR physical wants are so few that, strictly speaking, corn, (or even roots) fruit, water, milk, and the flesh and skins of beasts, are sufficient for the calls of nature. If, therefore, men could be content with what is absolutely necessary, they would desire no other productions from the earth, except it be what
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little iron is necessary to enable them to till it. Nor do I say, they would be less happy if their desires extended no farther.

If we suppose for a moment all the inhabitants of the earth in that first state of simplicity; and that some one nation should set about to work up and fabricate the productions of the earth; the consequence would be, 1st, that that nation would raise a greater quantity of productions on it's lands.

2dly, That the culture of those productions would required a greater number of hands.

3dly, That the art of forming or fabricating those natural productions, would be to the inhabitants of that nation, an encrease of occupations, or of means of subsisting comfortably.

4thly, That when ever other nations should become acquainted with the productions of that new art, the natural desire of living comfortably would give birth to new desires.

5thly, Those desires could not be satisfied, but by an exchange of commodities. Now, as art gives an additional value to the productions of nature, it follows, that the industrious nation would receive in exchange more than it would give. Such exchanges of commodities becoming troublesome, and scarce metals being substituted as their common measure and equivalent, the same proportion would still take place in favour of the industrious.

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[394]

6thly, The nation, in which that industry, or ingenious labour, is promoted, abounding most in natural commodities, or money, the measure and representation of them, several members of other societies would flock thither to have a share in the conveniencies resulting from such labour.

7thly, The number of inhabitants encreasing continually in that industrious society, it would become stronger and more powerful than others.

THOUGH no civilized nation is now a stranger to ingenuity: it is not the less evident, that the real and relative effects of the foregoing hypothesis must take place, in proportion to the greater or less progress of that ingenuity.

OF two nations the superior progress of the one in ingenious labour, depends on it's superior degree of consumption, either home, or foreign.

THE principles of both are in some respects the same; in other respects each has it's distinct, but never contradictory principles. We will begin with the latter.

Two things evidently concur to constitute a superiority of home-consumption between two societies. To attain that superiority it is necessary, 1st, that a society should have in proportion to it's populousness and the extent of it's lands, a greater number of men able to consume the productions of art, than another has: 2dly, that it consume less than
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[395]

the other does of the produce of foreign ingenuity.

THE first condition demonstrates, that if in a nation a multitude of men should require nothing beyond the absolute wants of nature, ingenious labour would fall short of it's perfection, in proportion to the number of those men. Now since, as we have seen, productions of the earth are the basis of ingenious labour, and as the use of those productions is multiplied by that labour, we may justly infer, that in such a nation agriculture would likewise fall equally short of perfection.

FROM the second condition it follows, that those manufactures, which serve for what is most generally wanted, are the most useful, and the first that ought to be established. The use of a thing is more common in proportion to the greater necessity for it, either real, customary, or imaginary, for the latter is looked upon as indispensably necessary by the generality of mankind. Even though the value of commodities should be but small the repeated consumption would make the aggregate value very great; and in the meantime a great number of hands will have been employed, and a great quantity of the natural productions of the country used; both which objects are the most essential a state can have in view. We may likewise add, that if a nation was to abandon it's more common arts, and apply to others of less general use, the riches of its trade would dwindle
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away imperceptibly; just as that man would soon want, who should turn into parterres, or groves, part of that field on the produce of which he subsists. To prevent that evil, the legislator restores a just equilibrium by various means. The most usual is to raise the price of those superfluities, but, at the same time without hurting the nation's foreign trade, which it must be owned is a very nice and delicate point. The surest way of all is to attack the source of the evil: for no remedy can be efficacious, which does not reach the cause.

In order to consume as little as possible at home of the produce of foreign labour, every state has enhanced the price of such articles by duties of entry, or has absolutely prohibited them.

A RIGHT of so doing cannot be disputed in any free society, unless the treaties of commerce, by which that society has entered into engagements with other nations, stipulate the contrary.

But such duties and prohibitions, though lawful and often necessary, are not always what most suits the real interest of a state. For, if it be natural for a nation to make as little use as possible of foreign manufactures, it is certain, that foreigners have a reciprocal right to lay the manufactures of that nation, under equal restrictions. Before such a thing be put in practice, it is, therefore, proper to examine carefully, whether the amount of the importations intended to be forbid, exceeds

ceeds that of the exportations a nation should, in consequence thereof, be deprived of. National enmities have sometimes carried those duties and prohibitions to too great a height, when all either party has got by it has been to cramp it's trade, or make room for a third to share it's profit.

It is undoubtedly fit to settle duties on both sides, in order to encourage the subject's labour; but it might, perhaps, be very possible, in general, to fix reasonable bounds to those duties. A manufacture, even in it's infancy, seems not to have any reason to fear foreign competition, when the duties of entry are at 15 per cent; for the charges of carriage, commision, and others, will come to four or five per cent. more. If 18 or 20 per cent, besides the foreign manufacturer's profit, do not content the home manufacturer; one may readily conclude, either that such home manufacturer wants to gain too much, or, that his undertaking is badly managed; or, in short, that there are some obstacles in the way at home, which must be removed before success can be expected.

In all states very profitable branches of trade have been lost, or missed being established, for the sake of things, which never were compassed, or which might have equally well been brought about by more gentle methods. Such problems are always very intricate; but, with the help of good principles, and a competent knowledge of the particular details

details relative to the object proposed, the solution of them is far from being impossible.

It is, however, a generally received maxim, that each nation ought to endeavour as much as possible to do without the produce of the labour or ingenuity of others. The principle is very just, if this essential clause be added to it, *without forcing those other nations to do without one's own.* In that the skill consists; there are proper ways of doing it, of which we shall speak hereafter.

ONE only thing can secure to a nation a superiority over another in the foreign consumption of its manufactures: that is, *the art of seducing, or pleasing to a higher degree the consumer of every kind.*

THIS principle is the same with that between one workman and another in matters relating to home-consumption; it becomes that of the state, with regard to foreign consumption. For, in this case the legislator is divested of his character, and becomes merchant. He may govern and direct his manufacturers as he pleases, and dictate to them what law he thinks proper: but, if he intends to sell his goods abroad, his counsels, directions, and laws must be agreeable to the taste and caprice of the independent consumer.

THAT taste changes with the climate, customs, and richness of the countries, where the goods are sold: each must, therefore, be

consulted. From these truths, so clear in themselves, several important consequences ensue.

1st, The same stuff ought to contain more or less matter, according to the climate of the country to which it is sent, the oeconomy of the inhabitants of that country, and the particular use it is designed for. An intelligent buyer generally explains those points in the orders he gives; and a judicious seller will not execute those orders, till he knows perfectly well how to do it, for fear the goods should remain for his account, or that his correspondent should apply to him no more.

2dly, It is not always adding to the perfection of a manufacture to sell its productions dearer, even though they be finer, or more lasting; because it is not certain that those who took them at one price, are either able, or willing to purchase them at a higher price.

3dly, There are in every country people as well of different abilities as of classes: to tempt and please them all, it is proper to offer them assortments of every kind proportioned to their different abilities in point of purchase. Besides that general advantage, assortments of each particular kind of goods have likewise another in the operation of trade. The merchants, in the country where the goods are consumed, chuse always to buy what best suits the taste of that country, and yields them the most profit. Assortments of
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[400]

different prices of the same stuff, are a very proper means of helping them to a reasonable gain; and that motive is alone sufficient to determine than to promote the consumption of it.

4thly. A STUFF of the most inferior quality may be called perfect in its kind, as well as that of the most superior quality, if both are equally worth their prices.

5thly. A wide difference ought to be made between the perfection of workmanship or labour; and the general perfection of the manufactures of a state. The latter, without doubt, consists in obtaining the preference of every class of consumers.

A STATE attains a general perfection of its manufactures by two means. The greatest variety possible in its kinds of works; and a great number of factories in foreign countries.

It plainly results from the principles before laid down, that choice of various kinds of goods multiplies the desires of other nations. Of the new inventions, which the active genius of workmen will produce, some will be of short duration; that is, their business. Materials will still have been used, men employed, and wages paid. The legislator is the guardian of society in general; and if he sometimes enters into particular concerns, it never can be attended with benefit, but so far as he protects or favours in par-

[401]

particular such establishments as to him seem most conducive to the general interest.

FACTORIES in foreign countries are the surest way of increasing our own sales by a natural chain of consequences, and a more exact knowledge of the several tastes of the consumers. Settlements of this kind are of such important service to the trade of a nation, that they cannot be too much encouraged, nor too numerous.

BESIDES the particular riches arising from the taste of consumers in each foreign country, there are likewise several rules, calculated equally to facilitate the consumption of goods in all countries; those rules are likewise applicable to home consumption.

WHAT strikes the buyer's eye being always most apt to tempt him, it is necessary to study particularly how to make goods look well.

THE faith of a nation is most certainly concerned, in not suffering the buyers to be deceived by what his eye cannot discover; security and honour, in that respect, is a great help to consumption. For which reason too great care cannot be taken to see that the stamps, or other marks affixed to goods, indicate no more than what is in reality to be found. As to visible defects, they can never be called deceit: the buyer ought to be a judge, and the legislator would have too much to do, if obliged to lead every man by the hand from shop to shop. These Platonic ideas,

[402]

ideas, in the general police of nations kept the arts a long time in a state of thralldom.

CHEAPNESS is always a temptation to the buyer, and is consequently one of the great advantages manufactures ought to have.

THE words *cheap* or *dear*, when applied to a commodity, relate to its kind, quality, and goodness of fabric; they likewise often signify the great or less value of a thing, abstracted from all comparison. To remove all doubt, we understand in general, in this work, by those words, the higher or lower price of a commodity, compared with another of the same kind, quality, and perfection of workmanship. We must, however, add, that if it be impossible to afford a commodity equally well wrought, as substantial, or as fine as that of others, at a lower price than they do, the surest way is to let the quality be rather inferior, in order to bring it to a lower price: the reason is plain. 1st. The generality of buyers are influenced and determined by the look of a thing, and its cheapness. 2dly. The purchase of a fine, solid, and well-finished thing is, as I may say, a piece of oeconomy in rich people: consequently few (in comparison to the multitude of consumers) are able to afford it. The interest of a society is plainly to sell to the greatest number possible: a greater quantity of materials is used; more men are employed in working them up, in their carriage, and in their navigation.

[403]

tion. 3dly. The luxury of buyers in general is excited by lowness of price. The mechanic's wife will not buy a damask of fifteen shillings a yard; but will have one of eight or nine: she does not trouble herself much about the quality of the silk; but is satisfied with making as fine a shew as a person of higher rank or fortune.

MANY things contribute to the cheapness of goods; plenty of the first materials, rivalry of workmen, cheapness of provisions and labour, and easy charges of carriage.

ALL that we observed to be conducive to the progress of agriculture, is productive of plenty of first materials. From their plenty ensues their cheapness; from their cheapness the progress of manufactures; and by that means the greatest consumption of the productions of the land.

THE mutual dependance of all the branches of occupation among men on each other, and the active spirit and motion given them all by the same principles, is well worthy being attended to. It is a demonstrable proof of the excellence of those principles, and of the closeness of the ties and connections by which the welfare of each class of people is cemented with that of every other class.

FROM this observation it may be inferred, that it is not in reality a way to favour manufactures to prohibit the exportation of first materials, unless those materials be the only ones of the kind, and the culture of them

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[404]

elsewhere is not attended with those conditions which render the consumption of them necessary.

FROM what has been said in the preceding part, it is plain that agriculture cannot flourish, when not considered as an object of trade. If that maxim be true with regard to corn, it must consequently be so in other productions of nature: and if first materials are the food of manufactures, as corn is that of men, it must be proper to employ the same methods to proportion the means of subsistence of the grower of those materials, with the subsistence of the manufacturer.

IF, from a calculation of the prices of those first materials on an average for several years, a certain price was fixed, under which the exportation should be permitted, our manufacturers would always be supplied at a cheap rate; cheaper at least than strangers would, who are obliged to pay carriage, freight, commission, and other charges. Some small duty might, if thought proper, be laid on the exportation; provided always that the price of those materials be such, as that foreigners will find their account in preferring ours, and thereby enrich our husbandmen. All that need be done in such a case, would be to calculate the average price of the same materials in such other countries as are rivals in those branches, together with the charges there, and other considerations of trade, in order to compare them with
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[405]

the same circumstances at home. The product of that comparison will be the true medium by which it will be proper to regulate the duty on exportation, or suppress it. Profit is what animates culture, and every class of occupations among men; if any one of those occupations be deprived of that hope, it must perish. The loss of it would be sooner or later felt by every other; for the effect is sure: and when agriculture is the part that suffers, or that gains the least, it almost instantly affects all the rest at once. Accordingly, if the medium prices, I am speaking of, were fixed with regard to the exportation of first materials, it would be indispensably necessary to raise them in proportion to the increase of the expences of cultivation, or as the gains of other professions grow greater by the increase of conventional riches. If the prohibitions we are speaking of have sometimes succeeded, yet no consequence ought to be drawn from thence against the principle here laid down, unless the kinds and circumstances be particularly distinguished; and, on a due examination of them, they will be found to coincide with what is advanced.

ALL countries do not produce all things; consequently there are materials which some manufactures require being supplied with from abroad.

IF the entry of them is attended with higher duties in one country than in another,

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[406]

it is plain that, supposing all other things equal, what is made of those materials must be so much dearer in the former country, as the duties amount to more than in the latter: for which reason, wise trading states allow the importation of first materials, free of duty.

It is, however, proper to lay duties on the importation of foreign first materials in two cases. 1st. When we have reason to expect a sufficient quantity of them of one's own growth, and that nothing is wanting but to help the price a little to promote the cultivation of them: the duty ought then to be proportioned to the degree of want the manufactures are in, and to the encouragement wanting to assist the cultivation of those materials.

2dly. When a first material of any kind is imported, after having undergone some kind of dressing or preparation abroad, which might as well have been done by the nation that buys it, it is not just for it to be imported subject to no greater duty than if not wrought at all.

THESE remarks are a necessary consequence of the foregoing principles: manufactures ought to give the lands of a state to the highest value possible, and its men the greatest plenty of work possible.

SOME nations have laid pretty high duties on the re-exportation of such foreign first materials; but that seems in reality to be

[407]

be depriving manufactures of a more useful rivalship in favour of one less useful, which is thereby avoided. It is offering up an apparent sacrifice to them, at the expence of navigation, and of which they in reality bear the loss.

WHEN a nation is so happy as to procure foreign materials so much cheaper than others can, that rival nations find their account in purchasing them from her, it is evident that not only her national manufactories will be well supplied, but likewise that the greater plenty of the commodity must make it bear a less price. For in that case, the rivalship of the buyers is seldom so great as that of the sellers, who are always animated more and more by the profits they make. We have already observed, that what a nation fabricates with foreign first materials, must, supposing all other things equal, be dearer than if fabricated by that nation from whom those materials were purchased. If that nation who procures such first materials cheap enough to sell them back to others, chances to meet with difficulties in that trade, it is clear that her ships will no longer bring any more than just what is necessary for consumption. The rivalship in those materials decreasing, the price of them must increase; fewer ships will be employed, freight will consequently be dearer, and the commodity must pay it. Nor is that the only disadvantage: it may happen that the measure of ex-

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[408]

changes being no longer the same, the owners of the first materials will consume less wrought goods than they did before, when their own sales were more considerable.

TRADERS of other nations will likewise be forced to send their own ships to purchase those materials at the first hand, and endeavour to introduce their own manufactures in exchange. The freight being then divided between what is imported and what is exported, they will be able both to buy and sell cheaper.

THUS one single step would be the ruin of a useful branch of trade and navigation; manufactures would feel the disadvantages of an increase of price in the first materials, and of a new rivalship in the sale of their productions. Domestic rivalship among workmen is absolutely necessary to make manufactures cheap and elegant. That rivalship will be established first by the progress of the home consumption of a commodity; next, by the rivalship or plenty of the first materials of that commodity; and lastly, by the quantity of foreign consumptions. So, on the other hand, it may be said, that all these things will afterwards increase by the competition or rivalship of workmen.

BUT that rivalship of workmen will not take place, if their condition be not comfortable and happy, in proportion to the pains they take. To that end industry must be safe,

[409]

safe, the whole of what it produces must belong to him that is possessed of it; that part excepted, which he shall of his own accord lay out for his necessary subsistence and convenience. Just as a fortune possessed by a man without the privity of others, ceases to be a fortune in their eye, so, the superfluous expences of artificers, and workmen, will always be in proportion to the ease and safety they enjoy. On the other hand, the price of the necessaries of life, is less considered by workmen, as a diminution of the progress of their industry, than as an indispensable reason, why they should exert that industry. And, accordingly, in those two respects, a well judged regulation of the finances makes a country ample amends, by the smallness of what is demanded, and the care that is taken not to overburden the subject.

A MAN cannot be said to enjoy a certain, nor a happy state, if the profession he embraces be cramped, or the profits attending it limited, when there is nothing in them contrary to strict justice. As a farmer would be discouraged, if he was forced to sow a field with hemp, which would produce him more if planted with hops.

RIVALSHIP of workmen, or mechanics, would be badly established, if it cost much money for liberty to apply to any kind of ingenious labour; because most of those, who do apply to working trades are poor. Consequently,

frequently, the easier workmen are introduced into a comfortable business of livelihood, the more they will encrease.

FROM the same consideration of poverty we may conclude, that few men would betake themselves to laborious trades, if they could not be bound apprentices, till past their youth. Parents who are poor, would be afraid of having children to bring up and keep so long: if any came, those children, oppressed by want, would chuse easier ways of subsisting. Every useless way of living is unfortunately of that kind, and the number of them is terrible. Perhaps too, the children so abandoned might take to begging. I do not mention the resource of husbandry, because though that be often left for other kinds of occupations, yet those occupations are never left by any to turn plowman: a fatal experience, and well worthy the most serious attention!

IN short, if the hands we are speaking of were not lost to useful labour, they must at least have lost a most valuable time: for it must be in their tender years, that men imbibe a real inclination to work, which afterwards stands them in lieu of pleasure the rest of their lives.

To tolerate those private regulations, by which the number of apprentices each master of a trade may take is limited, is another bar to the emulation, or rivalship of workmen.

men. It would, on the contrary, be of great service, to oblige every master to have a certain fixed number of apprentices, within a limited number of years; and on failure to forfeit a sum to be distributed among such as should have exceeded the number appointed by law. But to suppress apprenticeships, as burdensome, would be the greatest fault to the principle of rivalship: they are still farther useful for two reasons.

First, the business of the mechanics is, in general, less laborious than that of the husbandman; it is, therefore, proper, in order to put them on a level, that it should be most easy to subsist by tilling the earth.

Secondly, It is of moment to the state to have it's mechanics excel. Not that the legislator is obliged to enter into the particular details of each family, but, because the reputation of a nation's artists and mechanics is necessary towards extending her trade; for, if her workmen are not ingenious and skilful, they will not be able to hit the taste of foreign purchasers; to tempt them with new inventions, or imitate those of other nations; nor, in short, to satisfy the various humours and caprices of consumers. The workman, who does not fall in with this taste, will not be able to sell his goods; without doubt that is a punishment to him: but, if he be not intelligent enough to alter his method, and follow the advice that is given him, a whole family is deprived of work: the state

shares that punishment with him. If the workman be master of his business, every neglect of labour in him will be punished, either by loss of trade, or diminution of his profits; but the community will be no great sufferer thereby, because he will amend his faults.

APPRENTICESHIPS are, therefore, not so burdensome as they are useful and necessary: the fault would be in making them too long, and in the manner of serving them. Though a seven years apprenticeship, as is customary with us in England, may be thought hard, yet it is, perhaps, not too long to learn a trade, or business in the least complicated. If it be to the woollen branch, for example, that a man would apply; he ought, in the first place, to make himself a thorough judge of the qualities, properties, and effects of wool: to that end, a great deal must pass through his hands, and he must likewise be assisted by his masters instructions. He must begin with cleansing and beating the wool; after which he must learn how to comb or card it. Those instructions will require some time, and he will thereby gain a more perfect knowledge of the qualities and properties of that material. From thence he must proceed to a knowledge of spinning, the various kinds of which will require fresh application. The knowledge of that is the true principle of fabricating well, and of the profit attending it. During this time the apprentice will have become acquainted with the several tools and instru-

instruments used in preparing the materials employed, the looms, and various parts of which they are composed; he will understand the working of them, their perfection, or defects. Without these preliminary requisites, which are more or less rapid, in proportion to their difficulty and the learner's parts, a workman can never know how to mount his loom to the best advantage, make the most of his materials, or direct how to prepare them; much less will he be able to invent, or strike out new roads for the improvement of his workmanship.

THE quantity of what is consumed is so much greater in Holland, than the quantity of what the land produces, that agriculture is one of the most lucrative professions there. For which reason the equilibrium naturally subsisting in that republic between the cultivators of land, and the manufacturers, required no precautions to be taken on that head. The Dutch had no reason to invite men to embrace one profession more than another.

MANUFACTURES were not invited into Holland nor did they spring up there, but fled there for shelter from every country, where workmen have been molested in their liberties, fortunes, or religion. Those workmen could not be subjected to serve an apprenticeship to a trade, or art, which they brought with them, no more than the French could require it from an English workman, who

who carried over to them the art of calendring, or watering silks.

THE manufacturers, who were received in Holland, naturally instructed, as apprentices, their children, relations, friends, and fugitive countrymen: as their trade encreased, they were probably obliged to instruct and bring up others, who have all continued to work as they were taught, or have improved their art. It was of less importance to the state to have the most famous and most excellent workmen, than to acquire new men, who brought into it's trade values, which before were in the trade of other nations: such is still and ever will be the policy and interest of Holland.

THE Dutch have, indeed, given a great proof of their wisdom in not suffering any monopolies to be established among them; I mean, in not allowing those regulations of workmen, whereby the number of hands to be employed in a profession, and even the quantity of work, is limited. But a mastership, which cannot be refused any man capable of working, is attended with none of the inconveniencies of monopolies: and it may be of some moment to the public welfare, to know those who have embraced each kind of profession.

IT is plain that the so essential emulation amongst workmen is incompatible with the exclusive privileges of which we shall speak presently. It is not less so with the immu-

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nities granted to some towns and cities preferable to others. If it be once admitted that it is of advantage to a state to have manufactories: it follows, that it must be so to multiply them in as many places as possible, in order to establish a natural and indispensable equality between all the children of the same father. The state is always a gainer by multiplying emulation and rivalships, amongst it's artificers of every rank, because it's foreign sales are thereby encreased, as well as the subject's abilities to subsist comfortably.

THE emulation of capitals in trade, the natural effect of public credit, and the lowness of the interest of money, are two of the surest ways to procure emulation amongst workmen; but both those objects deserve to be considered separately.

CHEAPNESS of workmanship is as much the effect of the emulation amongst workmen, as of the lowness of the price of commodities of the first or most absolute necessity towards subsistence: for such emulation lessens the profits, or improves the work, in order to preserve the profit it does yield. It is, however, evident that such lowness of price contributes greatly to it. In regard to the laying of taxes upon native commodities, if this policy should be always judged requisite, there are two general rules that seem necessary to be observed. The first is, to continue raising the duty in proportion as the commodity becomes less absolutely necessary: the

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the second, to proportion, in every place the value of the duty on commodities of the first or most absolute necessity, with the lowest price of hire, or wages; for, by that means by only reckoning the number of day's work, the workman's clear profit is seen at once.

IN order to enjoy the benefits of cheap living, manufactures still stand farther in need of the rivalry of cultivators of land, and of cultivated lands: whilst, on the other hand, both those rivalships will be promoted by that of workmen grown rich. But a wide difference must be made between a commodity's being cheap, and its bearing no price at all; for, in the last case, the cultivation of it would be neglected, and manufactures consequently hurt.

FROM the necessity of keeping the price of subsistence at a moderate rate, it may be inferred, that manufactories are never established to advantage in capital cities, or great towns, unless they are inhabited by manufacturers only. Besides its being impossible for things not to be dear in places where extraordinary quantities of them are consumed, it is farther to be observed, that example never fails to introduce superfluous wants, which soon become necessities in the opinion of men; example too introduces dissipation, and neglect of work, much more dangerous than expensive living. If the manufactories thrive, notwithstanding these inconveniencies,

niencies, yet a real disadvantage still results to the state: higher wages tempt workmen from places where they earned less: industry is absorbed by a few towns, instead of promoting a circulation in every part of the state: in short wages of all kinds, even in the country, rise; and if the natural equilibrium be properly maintained, the value of all commodities must rise too.

ANOTHER way to procure cheapness of labour is to encourage and reward all inventions tending to abridge or ease the labour of men. The skill and rivalry of artists naturally lead to it; and that is the utmost period of perfection of the manufactories of a state.

SUCH discoveries are not, as may be thought at first sight, contrary to the object and first intent of manufactories, which is to employ the greatest number of men possible. They will, on the contrary, be found, with very little reflection, to tend to that end, by multiplying works, and increasing the produce of the balance, which never ceases to increase home consumptions.

BEFORE principles are applied, it is proper to distinguish circumstances. A nation destitute of all foreign trade would be secured by a perpetual state of prohibition, and would find it advantageous to multiply all opportunities, even of superfluous labour, in order to preserve the greatest number of men possible. Accordingly it has been observed, that the prejudice against the means of abridg-

ing labour subsisted longest in those countries, where trade is most recent, and in the minds of those whose knowledge of that subject is least clear.

BUT in a nation where men are wanting for several kinds of labour (and that must always happen where there is great variety of labour); where it appears plainly by the sales rival nations make, that somewhat may still be added to one's own, either by ruining their manufactures of the same kind by *underselling them*, or by substituting the productions of our own labour in the room of other kinds possessed by them, but which we have not ourselves: such a nation need never fear having too many hands, if her police be good.

IT is true, that changes of this kind, if considerable, require being managed with due circumspection and prudence. The workman will certainly be alarmed, if told of them, because it is not his business to calculate: it will even be impossible not to excuse his fears proceeding from his ignorance and personal feeling. The blame and punishment ought, in such a case, to fall on those who foment those fears out of sordid views of interest: for it is proper always to remember, that rivalry, so favourable to the trade of a state, lessens the trader's profits.

BUT it is indifferent to the state, whether a manufactory be in one town, or fifty miles
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off in a village, which will become a town in its turn. Experiments are there made quietly, by a small number of chosen workmen, and their example by degrees invites others thither. It is proper to observe, that these kinds of changes are always supposed to facilitate the art; otherwise there would not be such clamour against them as there generally is. What is practised there may become general, without the least prejudice to the order of things. A prudent police, likewise, takes care to have work ready, or at least to have in the mean time a subsistence to offer such as may chance to want it. We say such as may chance to want it, because that want can never proceed from any thing but a false terror or obstinacy, when matters are properly prepared before hand for such a change, and it is brought about by degrees.

WE do not see any objection that can be made to the oeconomising of time, or facilitating the work of manufactories, which may not be equally well made to all inventions of new fashions, or of new stuffs, by which the old are forgot. And yet such changes do happen every day without the least prejudice to society; and I believe no man will say it is the interest of a nation to prohibit new manufactories, in order to favour the workmen employed in the old.

IN short, the prejudice we are speaking of is incompatible with the preservation of the

[420]

foreign trade of a state ; for the steps a state takes must be guided by those *which foreigners take*. Even supposing the exportation of manufactured goods not to be increased thereby, the home consumption will at least be more considerable.

IF we could object against any of the machines made use of in fabricating, it would be those that are used in the making of rich stuffs. I might ask whether it be possible for them to equal with their hard motion (for if not hard it would not long be even) the suppleness, softness, and pleasing gloss given by the hand of a skilful and careful workman ? Would not those machines be fitter for thread and woollen than for silk ?

WE must add one word more to clear this subject of all doubt. Care must be taken not to judge of the machines made use of in manufacturing, as one would of such as might be invented to abridge the tillage of the earth.

MANUFACTORIES are at most but a precarious and accidental income to a state : *the utmost industry, vigilance and care, are requisite to keep them from foreigners*. When so rich a treasure once passes into their hands, the men therein employed, and thereby maintained, soon follow. The legislator cannot, therefore, act more wisely than to increase the number of home wants, or the quantity consumed by the subject, in order to preserve, at all events, the greatest number possible of manufacturers. The home circulation

[421]

tion can never be better secured than by the increase of that class of men, who are the fund of the populousness of a state ; I mean *the cultivators of its lands*. Every machine tending to diminish their employment would really be destructive of the strength of society, the mass of men, and home consumption.

WE have before observed concerning the quantity of men, which the effectual culture of the earth furnishes every other kind of occupation with ; it will be easily perceived, that the use of mechanics in manufactories tends to preserve populousness ; and that there are, between these two objects, differences essential to their nature.

BUT to come to the fourth cause of cheapness of workmanship.

THE charges attending the carriage of a commodity are so much added to its intrinsic nature : consequently the lowness of those charges is of very great importance, with regard to the cheapness of manufactures, relatively to other nations, rivals in the same branches. The state may provide for that, partly by laying no duties at all on the exportation of them ; by the greatest possible competition or rivalry of navigators ; by keeping up properly or improving the roads and navigable rivers ; and, in short, *by all the encouragements that can be given to agriculture*, because plenty of forage will keep that forage cheap, and plenty of carriages will increase the consumption of it.

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In judging of the superiority of manufactures between two nations, it would be dangerous to lose sight of this maxim, that the seller is in a state of dependance on the buyer: whence it follows, that the steps taken by a trading nation ought to be regulated by what is practised, not only in the country where the commodity is to be consumed, as before observed, but likewise what is practised by its rivals. It is necessary to know what are with the latter the cost of first materials, the expence of delivering them at the manufactory, the price or wages paid for the fabricating each branch, the price of commodities of absolute necessity, as well as of superfluous commodities, how much of either kind is generally consumed, in what manner the materials are employed; and lastly, the charges of carriage of the goods, when fabricated to the place where they are to be consumed.

NOR is this the whole requisite to be comprehended within our consideration: the superior degree of cheapness of work between different nations depends in a great measure on the better or worse terms each of them may have been able to make by their *treaties of commerce* with other nations. The conclusion of such treaties requires a deep combination, not only of the general and reciprocal interests of the two contracting parties, but likewise of those of other rival nations. Nor is it enough to know those general

ral interests: it is likewise necessary to be acquainted with the detail of the particular operations of the merchants concerned in each branch, in order to foresee what use those merchants may make of such or such a clause; wherein such or such conditions may be disadvantageous to them; and in short, the various revolutions which the circumstances of things seem to promise in their commercial negotiations. A good *treaty of commerce*, independent of the art of negotiation, may be said to be a masterpiece of skill. That which England made with Portugal in 1703, and with Spain in 1667, are most excellent models.

WHAT we have hitherto said of the means by which a nation may acquire a superiority over another in point of perfection in workmanship, proves that manufactures cannot support themselves in a flourishing state without some assistance. They are indebted for that state, partly to the concurrence of several various causes, always collected in one point of view by the legislator, whose wisdom and vigilance direct them equally towards the same end.

WHATEVER care the preservation of so rich a mine requires, the greatest difficulty of all lies in the first finding out and opening of it: the strongest efforts are never too great then. Rude and ignorant men are to be instructed, and their hands taught to have more intelligence than their heads are suscep-

tible of; and those novices are to be made not only to equal foreign rivals consummate in their art, but even to influence and seduce those who are to judge between them.

IN times of ignorance, exclusive privileges were granted under pretence of rewarding undertakers of new manufactures, for the risk of what they advanced, and to secure them a profit in return for their zeal. That was renouncing in favour of a few, all rivalship of first materials, workmen, capitals, and, in short, the perfection of the art and cheapness of its productions; which can be the fruit of those rivalships only. The undertakers themselves often felt the weight of those chains, with which they intended to fetter commerce: misunderstanding, the usual concomitant of bad success, or bad management, stopt the progress of those undertakings. The privilege, however, remained; and private workmen, blameable enough for having stolen or imitated our art, become useless, and were subject to fines and forfeitures. The misfortune was much greater, when those manufactories were brought from other countries: for, in that case, if new workmen, often more skilful than the old, invited by their hopes of making more speedy fortunes, offered; they were forced to carry elsewhere their labour, industry, consumption, and good will. The loss of one single family often occasioned that of many more, deterred from leaving their country by so fatal an example.

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WHETHER matters turned out well, or ill, the interest of the undertakers being to gain time, the art was but little improved at the expiration of the patent, or privilege. Sometimes too, if matters did not succeed well for want of good management, those to whom the miscarriage was owing, blasted the art so as never to be retrieved in that country.

THERE is, however, perhaps, a kind of mitigated patent, or exclusive privilege, with regard to manufactories, which would not deprive a state of the advantages of rivalship. That is, when the patent is limited to a small number of years, and to one, or at most two counties, or provinces, in order not to raise the price of either first materials or workmanship too much at once. And even then it is proper, that such a favour should be purchased by an increase of population and industry; that is to say, the undertaker ought to be obliged to bring from abroad, and maintain, a certain number of foreign workmen, and likewise take a certain number of national apprentices.

THE means generally made use of in France to encourage the establishment of manufactories, are to purchase at the *public expence* the particular secrets, either for preparing or dyeing materials, or the engines, whether new, or not known there before; and to grant rewards proportioned to the importance of such new undertakings. Those rewards, always judged necessary, are personal distinctions

tions and prerogatives granted to the directors of the undertaking; funds advanced; proper places allotted to save expence at first, till the profits became certain; the purchasing of what is manufactured, or wrought, at a fixed price during a certain time; a thing by no means to be slighted, and of which great advantage has been and may be made; or lastly, a bounty on the exportation of those productions, until they are able to compete with foreign productions of the same kind at their proper market.

THE expence of maintaining skilful foreign workmen in all branches, is not less necessary towards the preserving of manufactories, than towards the establishing of them. Small causes will always be productive of great effects in that respect: for example, it is probable that the maintaining of a few women, good spinsters, in different parts of the country, which might be done at a small expence, would contribute infinitely to promote manufactories, by inculcating in the wives and daughters of husbandmen and other labourers, a spirit of industry, which would not interfere with any thing else they may have to do.

No part of the state, but the stockholders, can find fault with those expences; because they are the only men, who would not be repaid their disbursements with usurious interest. That remark alone sufficiently shews that

that states have not any more certain way to encrease their riches.

A LAST way to encourage manufactories, is to annex an idea of merit and distinction to the profession of manufacturers, or of those who by their extensive correspondences procure a vent for their productions abroad. That is but just; since those men, the merchants, are the dispensers of employment and food to the industrious workman, and of the cultivator's reward. The state is in a manner partner in the merchant's profits, without sharing the hazard he runs, or the fatigues he undergoes; and, therefore, ought never to slight him, but cherish, care for, and honour him. The productions of labour and ingenuity may, in general, be compared to a-piece of clockwork; the springs of which relax and spoil, when not taken care of, and which at length stop if not wound up in time. The men who keep those springs in order, who compose, connect, and put them in motion, ought to be distinguished by their country and by every citizen who is a friend to it.

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DISSERTATION XXXIV.

An enquiry into the reasons for Holland changing her system of late years towards the court of England; being an abstract of a certain remarkable speech said to be made at a conference by the g——d P——r of Holland, in the year, 1742, before certain British lords, who were sent on an embassy to engage them in British measures: with remarks, shewing that Holland expects Great Britain should change her system towards that republic, before she can alter hers.

MY LORDS!

“**A**FTER so many solid reasons, (says the Dutch politician) heretofore assigned by the ministers of Holland, for not entering into any *offensive alliance*, it should seem unnecessary to add any thing on the subject: but since the uncommon eagerness with which such an alliance is still pressed, requires a clear and definite answer, it becomes incumbent on those in the direction of public affairs in this republic, not only to give such a final answer,

answer, but their reasons at large for their disinclination to their contracting any new engagements that might throw the States into measures of violence and expence, without any views of advancing either the immediate interest of their country, or that of those who would provoke the same, from motives that are no way interesting to Holland.

THE deference due to the august princes from whom the overture comes, requires that our refusal of the alliance in question should be so justified, as that not only the nations immediately concerned, but all Europe may perceive the rectitude of our conduct, from the force of our reasons in support of it.

BUT though the nature of my subject requires that I should explain myself with freedom, I shall carefully avoid all personal reflection; a caution, which, I am sorry to say, has not been observed with regard to the chief ministers of Holland.

THOUGH, we Dutchmen, whether from discretion, or phlegm, hold or seem to hold a deaf ear to all tale-bearers; yet are not the less acquainted with the secret calumnies of them who make us openly the warmest profession.—But, I hope to make it evident to the world, that no French gold, the dread of a stadholder, nor that of being stripped of power, have had any the least influence on our conduct by not chiming in with the views of a neighbouring ministry.

If from what I shall say on the subject of the proposed alliance, it shall appear to be destructive of the tranquillity, trade, and interest of the Republic, I hope disapprobation will not be imputed to either the influence, or the gold of France. I will not take upon me to charge either the late or the present ministers of L—n with being pensioners to that crown; but, I say, that they could not have served her more efficaciously, had they tasted liberally of her bounties*, &c.

BUT the being pensioners to France is not the only charge industriously whispered against the ministers of the Republic. The dread of a stadholder is imputed to them as the most heinous crime. How great has been the pains, how refined the address, to insure the people, on this head, with sentiments injurious to the honour and probity of those in the administration of our affairs †?

THE dread of being stripped of power, or rather the lust of power, is the third charge privately suggested against the ministers of the Republic. They little know how greatly the toil of office in this country exceeds the emoluments that accrue from it, who arraign Dutch ministers of unfaithfulness to their

* I have here omitted more severe reflections on the British ministers at the time, as tending not to answer my purpose of unanimity and concord in this nation so desirable at present.

† I shall not repeat what was urged on this occasion, it not being consistent with my view.

country

country in order to continue their power. It is not here as with those who artfully seek to discredit us with our fellow subjects. We have no immense public revenue to count over a gridiron; every town in each province having its own distinct receivers; and the revenue of each applied under their own particular inspection.

FROM this short but faithful pourtraiture of the ministerial function here, you may perceive the justice of the odium secretly endeavoured to be fixed upon those in the administration of our affairs, for supporting the interest of the Republic.—It is an ungrateful task to rake into the misconduct of others, particularly, of those whom one is inclined, for interest, as well as choice, to think well of; but, since speaking without disguise is become of absolute necessity, in order to justify the conduct on this side the water, I hope I shall stand excusable for what the nature of my subject requires I should consider with plainness and freedom. Here, was I inclined to lay open old sores, might I prove, from the several gradations of misconduct in the cabinet of L—n since queen Anne's death, that the present power of France, the inability of this Republic, and that of B—n itself, the misfortunes of the heirs of Austria, and the distractions of Europe, are not so much the effects of chance and French politics, as of B—h blunders, and corruption. Of the latter I am satisfied the ministers

sters of this Republic may be acquitted : but I am sorry I cannot so justly acquit them of error in embracing too implicitly many of the false maxims of their neighbours.

THE late ministers of the Republic, who alone are accountable for a mistaken deference to the cabinet of L—n in the late reign, might be excusable for supposing that a new family would take no step to irritate or weaken the *only powers* they could depend upon, much less court and aggrandize those whom they had most reason to dread and guard against.—Our late statesmen might be deceived in concurring with a court where their interest was now become *the same with the republic's*. This was the foundation they built upon in acceding to the *quadruple alliance*, and the treaty of Hanover.—Here arise many other rancorous reflections upon the conduct of the court of England ; which, as I conceive they will answer no end to either nation at present, I have expunged only reason for hinting what has been urged in favour of the conduct of Holland is to shew, that the cabinet of Holland think that we have not acted upon a right footing of policy with them : and does not this seem to point out the necessity for the court of England *to change her system towards the Dutch* ? It certainly does : but how that system may be happily changed, so to content the Dutch as to draw them absolutely into the British scale of power, seems to be

be the great political problem necessary to be investigated, for the mutual security of both *.
—*That Holland has changed her system towards Great Britain is certain ; and that if Great Britain would effectually induce Holland to fall in with her measures ; there is a something wanting, that neither court seems yet to have fallen upon. But, if Holland had hit upon the one thing needful ; unless the court of England were ripe for it, Holland would never suggest it ; the proposition would never come first from the cabinet of Holland to that of Great Britain : no ; the latter must take the lead ; England must herself hit upon the grand arcanum of union between the two states, and Holland will cheerfully embrace it ; if it is conducted with the address requisite on an occasion so importantly interesting to both potentates.*

BUT to continue the Dutchman's reasons for change of conduct in the States General towards this nation, leaving out every thing acrimonious, that may irritate rather than conciliate.—The English ministry, continues this statesman, do not, or, perhaps, will not see that the unequal load [meaning their public debts and taxes] is, and always must be a drawback upon the credit, or influence of that country while she continues to

* Here again arising further reflections contrary to my intentions, I pass them over.

be burthened with them. *What nation, says the Dutch minister, in Europe can reckon on Britain's supporting a war against France with the necessary vigor, while she groans under the weight of fifty millions sterling of debt? Here let Englishmen seriously, reflect upon the Dutch ministers reasons.—* As our public debts and taxes are in the road to be doubled the above sum before the war is ended, should not this rouse and animate us to change our *domestic* as well as our *foreign system*? From these motives, I laboured the last year, to show the indispensable necessity of raising the supplies within the year, in order to put a stop for ever to the encrease of the public debts, and taxes ||; than which nothing will give greater weight, with Holland, and other powers, and induce them to listen to what may be urged in favour of a new foreign system.

“ HOWEVER drained and impoverished, continues the Dutch minister, France has been painted of late in *memorials* and *speeches*, we, in these provinces are too well acquainted with her natural and political strength, not to dread that she will, as in her late wars, when she had all Europe for enemies, be able to wage a ten or twelve years war, if ever she should be forced into one, by either one or both the maritime powers. In such case, what must become of Britain, that power which is expected

|| See my Great Britain's true system.

will

will always bear the greater part of the expences of such a war: what, I say, must be her condition then, if even now all Europe see her drop under the weight of her present debts, taxes, and the decay of her trade, and industry? In such a situation, how feeble her efforts in the general cause of liberty; how mistaken would they be, who should reckon upon her being able to defray her proportion of the expence of a war, which the misconduct of her cabinet had brought upon all Europe? Is it not more natural to suppose, that once mighty and powerful state would become bankrupt in the course of so long and expensive a war as that with France would necessarily be? Would not this be more likely, than that she should be able to maintain so vigorous a war with that crown as might induce her to sue for peace with humility, as in the days of Anne? Should not these severe reflections excite us to form such a system of power as will enable England and her allies to cope effectually with this great leviathan?

“ Upon recollection, says he, I don't know but I might have been guilty of a breach of charity in imputing to one man all the misconduct of the cabinet, which he was supposed to direct. For, though it be criminal to concur in destructive measures, yet, as there are degrees of guilt, he who only concurs, cannot be deemed as highly criminal as he who lays the plan and directs. If, there-

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fore, the great delinquent was under any controul, he may be looked upon as an accessory rather than a principal; and, though by the civil law there are no accessories, in cases of homicide all are principals; it is not so in treason, either against a single magistrate, or the state. In these cases, the first mover is the most obnoxious.

If then the favourite was obliged to steer by the lights set up by his immediate predecessors in the administration; if he was compelled to walk in the paths chalked out for him, he was guilty, but not superlatively so. He was criminal for stooping to *addresses*, or shrinking at *frowns*; he was guilty for having soothed the *passions* of any man or men in violation of his allegiance to his country, or regard to the freedom of mankind, but still is less guilty than——

THE successors to that great man's power may possibly, on the strength of his strain of reasoning, plead the same excuse in bar of any exceptions which may be taken to their conduct, since he has laid down. But their own *opposition* to the late ministers administration, *cuts away all ground of excuse for their shaping their conduct by his, &c.* [Here the Dutch statesman speaks out; he declares the necessity of a change of measures in the British court; that a change of men only can answer no end: but here seems to arise a difficulty; raw, fresh men, unexperienced in public business do not seem capable of changing

ing the British system as they should do: however good their hearts may be; and, however great weight and influence they may have in parliamentary debate; yet, when they attempt a new plan of government, and come to carry it into execution; they often find themselves in a labyrinth, and incapable of forming such new plan of power, that shall remedy the defects in the conduct of their predecessors; and, therefore, however public spirited and glorious their intentions may prove; yet, if they are found unequal to the forming of the proper plan or plans themselves, requisite to extricate the nation from those difficulties under which it may labour, they are bound in duty as cheerfully to give up the helm, as they were ready to embrace it: or, to endeavour at a hearty *union* with the more experienced statesmen, and with an amiable and true patriot-condescension communicate to them their oversights, and join their hearts as well as their heads with the more experienced, to save their sinking country: let these true friends of their country lay aside all private resentment, and let them call into their aid all who may prove any ways assisting, in the divers branches of the ministerial function. And, if they know the integrity of their own hearts; if they are sensible that their intentions are to rectify past mistakes in the government, or to eradicate all malversation; it is no less their duty to call into their assist-

tance all persons of any talents to be useful to the state, than to aim at taking the lead? A minister may act with great abilities and dignity in a particular department, because he may be more than equal to the same in all respects: but, when he grasps at being premier, and undertakes the whole ministerial duty upon himself, and to direct and controul all subordinate to him, it is impolitic to reject and contemn services that are tendered him, where they promise any thing consistent with the public felicity: because such who are able to serve a wise and a faithful minister, may be provoked to do otherwise from motives of resentment. Men of capacity, and of malignant spirit may, from revenge, lay schemes to clog the best and wisest administration; and, although this is a detestable principle; yet it being too prevalent, the profound statesman will guard against evils of this kind, and cherish, instead of despise merit, because it must at length, bring scorn and contempt upon themselves, and indicate that they are no thorough paced politicians.

BUT, if there is a necessity of alteration of measures, in regard either to our foreign or domestic concerns, why cannot the ministers experienced in public business as well undertake the requisite reforms, as those who have never been tried? Do not all men acquire knowledge by experience? If the statesman has once experienced that he has committed mistakes, is there not more discredit to per-

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sist in them, than rectify them? And how can they better be convinced of this, with respect to Holland, than to find it's cabinet so refractory to British influence?

To return again to the Dutch minister, waving all particulars consistent with the then state of public affairs.—“As for this Republic, urges he, though the late minister paid her not so open court, nor was so lavish of his professions to her, as the successors; yet I must say in his behalf, that if he did not behave towards her with so great politeness, and ceremony, he was not less candid and sincere. If she found him no courtier, she could not prove him a hypocrite.”

BUT it is needless to descant more minutely on the situation of foreign affairs at the time when the minister laid down; there is none here can be ignorant of it! It is more to our purpose to take a view of affairs as they stand at present.

THE new ministry were no less esteemed abroad than at home. Their ability was not doubted, and their virtue not so much as suspected. They had the hearts of their countrymen with them, and the wishes of all Europe, except the partisans of France. So pleased were we in Holland with the change in London, that public rejoicing had been made on the occasion by some, if our more moderate magistrates had not thought them indecent, as being obliquely reflecting on the judgment of one whose character they were tender of. Great men seldom make a

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wrong choice; but, if they do, they soon rectify their error. Resolution in some often degenerates to obstinacy, and then ceases to be a virtue.

THE eyes of Europe were upon the successors of the removed minister. France trembled that so powerful a neighbouring nation should be wisely *conducted* and become *united*, as there was scarce a doubt that they would by their new leaders. Spain began to repent that she had formed any schemes on Italy; in short, every prince, every state that had been inveigled into the schemes of France was in dread that new salutary measures in the cabinet of L——n would be the certain consequence of the late ministers removal.

THE independant friends of universal freedom, on the other hand, expected *a change of measures in E——d*; but far from dreading any evil consequence that could attend such change, they doubted not that it would tend *to the cementing such an alliance as must have a view to stopping the career of France, and securing the liberties of Europe.*—But we of these provinces out-went all others, in hopes that we might now safely rely on the wisdom, steadiness, and integrity of a cabinet, which we could not reckon upon for upwards of twenty years before.—We saw France extending her power; and we saw the necessity of checking her ambition, *but could not with any hopes of success enter into any measures for the purpose, whilst the late minister*

minister presided over the councils of the only nation in Europe most capable of aiding in the glorious design.

BUT now the scene was changed: we saw a set of men rise to power that had for many years professed to have *opposed* the late minister, solely on account of his misconduct at home, his subserviency to France, and his neglect of *all the natural allies of his country.* As from such men all that was great and glorious might have been expected, no wonder that we were as sanguine in our hopes of their conduct as all their own fellow subjects were. They might have influenced us here in Holland as easily as their own countrymen; and might have as readily brought us into alliance, as they commanded the treasure of their own nation: such was the high opinion conceived here, as well as at home, of their virtues and abilities.

BUT how delusive are hopes built upon probity of men! Scarce had we the pleasing news of the advancement of the late *opponents*, but we had advice that they *capitulated* before they were advanced; that they were not only to secure the retreat of the late minister, but embrace his maxims, and steer as he should direct from behind the curtain. Though this piece of intelligence came confirmed to us from those whose fidelity we had no reason to suspect; yet were we slow, and I the slowest of all my colleagues, in believing any thing so injurious to the characters
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of the rising statesmen, &c.—I was, however, mistaken. I too fondly supposed that sensible men would act as it became them to do.—Mistaken notion, particularly with regard to a *neighbouring nation!* *To judge of them with any certainty, in their political capacity, the safest way is to suppose they will always act in direct opposition to the true interest of their country.*

If the cabinet of Holland has judged of the British ministry according to the undisguised sentiments of the Dutch statesmen, it is no wonder that they do not draw with us; and that all harmony between us is destroyed: and that they do judge so in reality, their constant conduct has too long significantly declared;—and this effectually accounts for their measures.—It seems then that the *ministry of England has not yet happily struck upon the right system to gain over the Dutch; and the latter, as we find, represent it as if they had been under the same French influence, with which many in England have suspected the Dutch ministry to have been.*—For my own part, who have no reason to be partial towards either, I cannot help declaring, that I am rather inclined to think this general charge on either side to be groundless and defamatory: I rather attribute suspicions of this kind to the difficulties that the men in power in both councils have found, in falling upon those measures that can produce and cement the desired good understanding, union
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and friendship between Great Britain and Holland; and the lucky policy of France in projecting such as have tended to divide them.

THE ambition of France, continues our Dutch orator, and the distractions on the continent, required *domestic unanimity*, without seeing which confirmed, the states of Europe could not safely rely on the alliance of B—n, &c. [This gives us the natural idea of the sentiments which the Dutch entertain of our eternal ministerial distractions; what high dishonour do they not reflect upon the king's councils, and the glory of the nation. While things are so, is it to be wondered that we can neither influence the Dutch, or any other cabinet of Europe to good purpose? If the axe was once laid to the root of these evils, we might expect things to go better with us; and ministers get more wealth (if that was their idol) as well as more lasting glory to themselves and families.]

AFTER leaving out much of Mynheer's matter that was agreeable to the then circumstances of affairs, and that bears extremely hard against our English ministers, the gentleman proceeds thus:—"The late minister having been universally condemned for stooping to French influence, it was thought necessary that his successors should shew that they were men of high mettle, and more exalted virtue. But as nothing could more effectually remove all suspicion of being held
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in the late minister's leading-strings, as taking, or at least affecting to be inclined to take, young Lewis by the whiskers, it was resolved they should assume a *strutting* air, stamp the foot at the old cardinal, call him hard names, and tell him he must be civil, or — what? Why that the simple Dutch would be forced, if they proved wise enough not to see the fallacy, to join against France in spite of their teeth: that the best troops of B—n would be transported to Flanders; with some reflections that I choose to omit, as thinking them unseasonable, as well as indecent, upon — Here was the scheme, says the ministerial Dutchman; and it must be owned it was specious and artful.

Who could imagine that there was no intention of a rupture with France, when so many engines should appear at work for tearing her to pieces? Who could suspect a court of having absolutely determined to break with France, unless she should attempt an invasion in favour of the p—r, who should send one of the principal nobles to press and bully the States General into an offensive alliance against that crown? With much more to the like purpose, turning our whole conduct into a frenchified farce.—

THEN he goes on again:—"The scheme was well concerted, and executed so speciously, that all Europe began to think that a rupture would necessarily ensue; but, my l—ds, *we of the state had quite another idea of the*

the warlike preparations of your country. We saw, as has been observed, a new ministry under an absolute necessity of appearing to swerve from the measures of the former minister, become universally hated, more from his cringing subserviency to the house of Bourbon, than even to his corruption, and profusion of public money.—We soon discovered the drift of those hostile preparations, which so much employed the thoughts of the politicians of Europe, and diverted those of the subject at home from observing that the cabinet was still influenced by the late minister, and that the new leaders had servilely adopted all his maxims. We could perceive the new ministers implicitly bowing to every desire of the court for requiring power; but still covering themselves under the shelter of succouring the queen of Hungary, and distressing France. [Heavy charge, and betrays great disgust against England.]

WE saw, my l—ds, your court, as most courts are, enamoured more with the power of doing harm than good. We saw her all along grasping at all that could make her dreaded at home, and flighting all that might acquire her the good confidence and affection of the people. This was the light we viewed your court in, when we heard of your embarkations for Flanders; nor did we alter our opinion when you urged us so eagerly to act jointly with you against France. Even now we see no reason for altering our sentiments.—[He then proceeds to support his charge

charge against our British ministers, by an induction of particulars, and endeavouring to make them act in disguise, and from quite other motives than appeared to the people; and goes on as]—I have made a cursory mention of the motives, which, I think, induced the court of L—n to press us so earnestly into an *offensive alliance against France*; I shall now endeavour to point out our motives for declining to contract any engagements that seem to threaten the tranquillity of the republic.

“ I HAVE taken some pains to trace out the conduct of the late minister, in order to shew that the republic could, with no safety imaginable, contract with, or rely on, the court of L—n, whilst he was at the helm: and I have observed succinctly on the conduct of the *new ministry*, and compared it with the late, that it might be seen whether or no the reasons still subsist, which induced the states to harbour a diffidence of the virtue and wisdom of their ancient allies. If the conduct be the same, as it seems to me evident that it is, the same reasons still subsist for our distrusting the court of L—n at present, as much as during the public influence of the late minister; and that the conduct of the late and present ministry is the same, appears, I think, manifestly from the consequences.—[Here the Dutchman is again excessively severe against our ministers, and then proceeds:] My l—ds, at the time

that we engaged with B—n against France there were no divisions, no discontent that could possibly obstruct a vigorous prosecution of that just and necessary war, &c. In those days your debts were not great, and your taxes were moderate; your trade was beneficial, your industry was quick, your luxury was a pigmy, if compared with what it is at present. Sure I need not shew how greatly the same is altered of late: I need not be at the pains of pointing out what every one knows; what all Europe knows.

WE cannot but see what all the world sees, that B—n has neither s—n to direct her councils, nor generals to fight her battles, except your l—ps. We cannot avoid seeing the *decrease of her trade, the weight of her taxes, her luxury, and her debts, which might have been paid off before now; and we must be infatuated not to perceive, that she is infinitely in a worse plight at this time than when we entered into an offensive alliance with queen Anne.*

IN those days we could rely on the wisdom of B—n, her steadiness and regard for the liberty of Europe, and the Protestant interest; but can we do so now, after so many repeated tests of her bad conduct? Can we shut our eyes to her conduct towards her natural allies, since the death of that excellent princess, who was the soul of the late general alliance? Have we not seen the late emperor, the princes of the empire, the king of Sardinia, and

and this republic, slighted always, often irritated, whilst servile court was paid to France, &c.

“ THE fatal consequences of so mistaken a conduct are too visible to be overlooked. We see them with that sincere concern which friendship dictates. We see a divided, discontented people, overburdened with taxes, groaning under the pressure of debts, decay of trade, luxury, and penal laws.—We see this people not long ago the terror of tyranny, and the delight of the virtuous, now become the object of general scorn and derision, and

You may perceive, my l—ds, from what I have said of the conduct of your cabinet, and the situation of your country, that I don't hold it prudent or safe for this republic to embrace the overtures you are pleased to make us. I observed that it may be necessary for the ministry to seem to be inclined to a war with France; but that in reality they never intended it. But supposing that the tongue had spoke the sentiments of the heart, how unfaithful should we be to our mother-country, should we involve her in an unjust quarrel, to sooth the present peevish humour of those whose misconduct has precipitated a daring, powerful, faithful nation into irresolution, poverty, and perfidy? *Can we venture on your councils, or your efforts in the prosecution of a French war, when we see how you have misapplied your force and your time in carrying on your present war with Spain? To*
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embark the republic in an expensive dangerous war, in conjunction with a divided, discontented, debilitated, burdened, ill-conducted nation, would be a weakness, removed but by a very slender partition from madness. Forbid it heaven! that the servants of the state should be enemies and betrayers of the republic. [May we not reasonably believe, from the conduct of the Dutch, that these sentiments, however false they may be in the opinion of some, still prevail in the cabinet of Holland? And, if they are false, should we not thoroughly convince the Dutch of their mistake, by our manifest contrary conduct? for that only will have weight with them.—Then he proceeds again:]

IF Britain, who prides herself in being empress of the ocean, makes so miserable a band of a war on her favourite element, what a scurvy figure must she make in a foreign land war, against the powerfulest nation in the world?—[Are not these powerful motives for the Dutch to act as they have long done, and still continue to do?]

But, my l—ds, are you in earnest when you tell us that France is reduced? What are her debts? I'll answer they do not amount to a fourth of what Britain owes. What are her taxes? Not half what is paid in England. The trade of France is visibly increased; that of Britain is absolutely decreased. The gasconade of pulling down France, this eagerness to press the republic
VOL. II. G g into

[450]

into an offensive alliance against that crown, may serve the purpose of the B—sh ministry; their measures may require such props. But, my l—ds, the servants of this republic want no such aids. They have no views, no interest separate from the good of their dear country. They serve her to the best of their skill, and the utmost of their power. They have not, nor ever will, put their country to an immense or any expence, in order to share of the spoil, or delude their countrymen. Had the servants of B—n observed this wise and patriot maxim, their country would be at this time as powerful as she is otherwise, and France as impotent as she is falsely painted to be.

TO put an end to the conference, which we hope will be the last on the present subject, I must freely declare, that the conduct of B—n all along has been such as would deter us from entering into new contracts with her, supposing they thought her in earnest. But as there is room for believing that all her late bustle and outcry are calculated to some certain domestic purposes, we desire to be excused from having any hand in countenancing ministerial collusion.—The neutrality of the Netherlands is so much our interest, 'tis much the interest of Europe, that we are resolved to preserve it at all hazards. Therefore, my l—ds, to convince you of our candour, we plainly tell you, that we shall look upon those who commit hostilities in the Netherlands as enemies to the republic,

[451]

lic, and treat them as such to the utmost of our power.—Your l—ps will be pleased to look upon this as the *final answer* to the proposals you have made us from your court. I am now to beg your l—ps pardon for having taken up so much of your time, and particularly for my harshness of expression, to which the nature of the subject obliged me.”—The end of the abstract of the Dutch minister's speech.

Other REMARKS.

WE find that the Dutch minister roundly charges the British ministry with being quite frenchified ever since the treaty of Utrecht.—That they have *pretended* only to go to war with France, but were never since in earnest.—That they have increased the public debts and taxes, not to humble *France*, or right ourselves with SPAIN, but to answer other domestic purposes, which the Dutch refused to countenance.—That it is the interest of the republic to adhere to their *neutrality*.—That it would prove ruinous to them, if they were to be influenced to follow the *offensive measures* that may be necessary to the views of the British ministry.—That our wars by land and sea have been so illy conducted, that they cannot safely ally with us against any enemy.—That though ministers have been changed, there has been no change in our measures.—That our measures have been such, that they have brought an indignity

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and contempt upon the British nation at all the courts in Europe. That our commerce has decayed, while that of France has increased.—That we grow poorer and poorer, and France richer and richer; and that while Britain pursues measures so destructive to her interest and her honour, the Dutchman bluntly tells our noble lords, that the cabinet of Holland will never be swayed by this nation to come vigorously into any war with us against France; and therefore, that if we are brought into any broils, we must get out of them ourselves as well as we can, and not depend upon their assistance; for that they cannot depend upon our fidelity or ability.—That they think themselves able to take care of themselves, with what other allies they can obtain, whereon they can better depend than on Britain. This seems to be the substance of Mynheer's speech; from which I have expunged such matter, as I thought might tend, at present, rather to widen than heal our domestic breaches.—This I have done to shew my moderation at so critical a conjuncture; and yet have gone so far as may be requisite to remind us of what may be necessary to be done, to wipe off those reflections of the Dutch; and that not only from a motive to the re-establishment of old friendships between Great Britain and her ancient and natural allies the Hollanders, but to dissipate every evil impression that may be made on other courts to the dishonour of our own;

own; for if we lose all our weight and dignity with the States General, we cannot expect to maintain them in any other courts; because the political contagion will inevitably spread itself throughout Europe; and what must prove the consequence? Why truly we must exhaust our vital treasure, while we have a shilling left, to purchase the friendship of every court, that may have it in their power to do us the least mischief; because, according to the Dutch minister's sentiments, they look upon us with contempt, and as an ignominious milch-cow. Whereas, a nation that sustains its honour and dignity with foreign states, and is famed for the wisdom of its councils, will do more with a nod, than the other can with her millions.—Let these reflections of the Dutch be true or false, they have done unspeakable injury and dishonour to these kingdoms, because we know they have been industriously propagated by our enemies at all the courts in Europe. If the Dutch have been imposed upon, why have they not been unanswerably refuted? Why has not the whole republic been convinced of the falshood of those accusations, and those prejudices conceived in Holland against this nation eradicated? For they have done infinite mischief to this kingdom in point of trade, as might be easily shewn.—But, on the contrary, if these charges are true, and will hold good against former ministers only, why

[454]

why is not our mistaken conduct rectified? Why do we not instantly convince the Dutch, and all the world, that our ministers are not a frenchified crew, as to pretend only to declare war against that nation, but with no intent to fight or hurt them, our views being solely, as the Dutch minister barefacedly asserts, to raise immense sums of money for the sake of domestic plunder, and to participate of French gold too! For a charge of this nature to be made against British ministers, by our most ancient, our most natural, and our most important ally, must greatly concern, if not shock, every true friend to these kingdoms. And what can dissipate these notions, at home or abroad, but a thorough change in the whole British system? If those who shall take the helm are not able to effect this, they should not attempt it; for nothing else will retrieve the interest and the glory of the nation. But I hope the nation has those who are not less able than willing to retrieve the honour and glory of these kingdoms, and every honest man will lend them their aid.—Such, and such only, I shall be ambitious to serve as a private man.

To lay a foundation for the desirable change that seems absolutely necessary, has been the end of all my poor political labours; but the superstructure can never be erected by scribbling alone; that must be accomplished by other measures, designed to be communicated

[455]

cated to such only who are no less capable than willing to set about the great work in earnest: and it is to be hoped that heaven will soon raise up in this kingdom ministers of state that will cordially and cheerfully embrace the tender of my service upon this and some other occasions, that I humbly apprehend will be attended with consequences importantly interesting to the kingdom, and no less honourable to themselves.—

LET me not be misunderstood here, that I mean only measures, whereby Holland alone must be convinced of the rectitude of our intentions, and her patriots in power influenced to acquiesce therein. No; we mean much more than that: for the whole power of Holland alone, as it stands at present, being united with that of Britain, would not answer the end of reducing France as should be done, to procure a lasting and an honourable peace: we propose likewise such an increase to the power of Holland, as will soon give that republic much greater weight both by sea and land than those out of the secret can conceive.—Nor is this all; we aim at nothing less than the bringing such other allies into the British scale, as will answer the end aimed at: and, what will not easily be credited, I am sensible all that we humbly pretend to may be accomplished at one third part of those continental expences that have only brought about rope-of-sand confederacies,

[456]

deracies, and been productive of nought but temporary amusements; nought but a peace liable to be broke, as it were, the succeeding year.

BUT if the Dutch, upon the system intended, be deaf to their interest, it may be executed without them: so that the court of England would not depend upon the Dutch; she would then have many strings to her political bow, and Holland would be glad to make one amongst the rest, when that republic shall be convinced that she could not act with security, but in concert with Great Britain, who then would fully have it in her power to discover infallibly which was the real frenchified court, either that of London or the Hague. But if the States General, in such case, should still prefer a neutrality, that would no less determine her to be under French influence, than her throwing her whole weight into the French scale against Britain and her allies: and if she did do so, she would run the hazard of absolute ruin, and that none but faithless ministers would suffer, and they would certainly suffer for it, from the just resentment and indignation of the people, who would be no less sensible than the wisest patriot of the interest and glory of their state, when the court of England should undertake to render it more than ever the High and Mighty States of Holland: and this appears, to my humble judgment, to be
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in the power of Great Britain to accomplish, and that with as much interest and honour to herself, as to the States General of the United Provinces.—And I will presume farther to declare, that all this may be done without any objection from the most sanguine ante-stadtholderian.

I AM too well acquainted with the present strength and power of France, to imagine she is to be so easily reduced within the bounds needful for the security of Great Britain and Holland, and the liberties of all Christendom; and I have too sufficiently proved, in these discourses, the commercial broad-bottom, that crown has established, for the future augmentation of her trade and her maritime power, to think that we shall be ever able to reduce her within the requisite preservative bounds, unless we do it by the present war; apprehending that any peace we can expect to make with them now, must prove far more disadvantageous and dishonourable than the continuance of a war; especially if it be not conducted upon other principles than it has ever yet been: and for not carrying on a war upon the principles hereby hinted at, I am certain that no ministers in this kingdom have ever been blameable, because I am too sensible that such is the nature of the design, that it never so much as entered into their imagination; and, therefore, there could be no guilt where
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[458]

there was no knowledge; for we cannot put certain undiscovered maxims of policy upon the footing of discovered and promulgated laws; for although *ignorantia juris non excusat*; yet it is quite otherwise with regard to the measures we allude to; nor have they, I am confident, been less thought of by the Dutch ministry, than the British; if they had, we may presume they might and would have found ways to have suggested them to our own; unless indeed they have had indubitable reasons, in a long course of negotiations with the king's ministers, to know that they really are as hearty friends to the French as the Dutchman would have us believe they have been enemies to his country: but this cannot easily be known to others. However, if the states of Holland have heretofore had reason to know, or even to imagine, that the court of England has used them ill, and been more in the interest of France than in that of their natural ally, we cannot blame the Dutch for acting the part they have done, and which they at present do: but it is to be hoped that we shall soon have a ministry at the head of the king's affairs, who will dissipate all those evil impressions in Holland, by convincing them that they are not of the frenchified stamp.—The nation expects to see a truly patriot ministry; such a ministry as shall have well studied, not only the essential political lines of public

[459]

public business, as well with regard to foreign as domestic concerns: a ministry also thoroughly instructed in all the various departments, and all the practical subordinate dependencies and connections: a ministry that will court and not despise useful information from all quarters, and who are so happily turned for the administration of national affairs, as to be capable of superintending every department, and directing the rudder of the whole: a ministry who will scorn to screen themselves by urging that this was not done within my department, this is out of my province, I am not answerable for it, &c.—We say, it is to be hoped, that the king will make choice of such able ministers for the chief domestic officers of state who have wise heads, as well as honest hearts, to conduct public business with ease to themselves, general satisfaction to the people, and joy to our aged sovereign, and dignity to the heir apparent to the crown. And as the state and management of our home and foreign affairs is closely connected, it is likewise to be desired, that we may have a ministry no less skilled in foreign than domestic concerns; a ministry as well acquainted with the finances of other countries as of their own, and no less informed of the trade and the arts of other states and empire than of those of Great Britain.—A ministry thus informed in the state of foreign nations, will always be able to treat with them to the advantage and honour

nour of their country, and to make such treaties of commerce, friendship, and alliance, as will prove the mutual steady support and prosperity of these kingdoms, and all with whom they shall ally.—This being the case, Great Britain will have no occasion to expend *millions* in the purchase of alliances: on the contrary, every state will court our friendship, and be led by the wisdom of British councils; because such councils will consult the prosperity and happiness of our natural allies, in conjunction with our own: for upon the basis of reciprocal interest only can solid and permanent treaties subsist.

STRANGE it is that there should be no observation more common amongst our neighbours abroad than this, That the people of England, of all others, are the worst reasoners on foreign affairs; and this I fear is as just as it is general: for our situation, which deprives us of easy intercourse, and happily saves us from any *immediate* connection with the people of the continent, renders the study of their interests and policies at once more difficult and less interesting; while the few who have had the opportunities of being well informed in these things, instead of making the proper use thereof, have turned their thoughts to other kind of reflections: and, indeed, if the ground-work is not well laid before travel, it

it is rare that any solid knowledge is gained by tour after tour; for the substantial of treaty-making are not to be acquired, we apprehend, by the mere converse of the world, that scarce ever entering into its fundamentals, whereon it essentially depends.

It is not that the mind is not capable of receiving the most accurate and extensive information, but that the mind is not directed to it. The mind is not directed to it, because the mind is not directed to it. The mind is not directed to it, because the mind is not directed to it.

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DISSERTATION XXXV.

Of the conduct of the court of Spain towards that of Great Britain since the peace of Utrecht; with considerations on the extraordinary friendship that we may reasonably expect from that nation at present.

IT has been no uncommon thing for us to have from three to four, and even sometimes five hundred vessels, great and small, of these nations in several ports of Spain at once; and seldom, throughout the whole year, less than two hundred at a time. It has been common to see a hundred, and often two hundred sail of British and Irish ships in the Bay of Cadiz at a time. Two thirds of our Newfoundland and New England trade for *fish* depended on *Spain*; nor were we less obliged to that kingdom for the great advantage that accrued from our being their carriers of Europe, during times of peace with that nation.—We traded with the Spaniards, and for them, from *Hamburgh*, *Holland*, and from all the East and North seas; and

and to and from the extended coasts of *Italy*, *Turkey*, *Barbary*, as well as from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.—We shared in the *Spanish West-India* trade as largely as any nation in *Europe*;—and the balance of trade between *Great Britain* and her other dominions, and the kingdom of *Spain*, was considerably in our favour, and it was well worth the while of this kingdom to maintain a strict friendship with this nation, for the sake of our commercial connections; when the old *Spanish* proverb we know was, *Paz con Anglaterra con todos otros la guerra*. Peace with *England* and war with all the rest of the world.

BUT so it is, the case is greatly altered of late years. *Spain* has greatly decreased in her imports of *British* manufactures, as well to *old Spain* as to *new*; and yet our imports from thence have been far from declining in the like proportion; the *French* have not only greatly supplanted us in the *Spanish European* trade, but have obtained by far the greatest share in the supply of the galleons and flota, they being of late years by far more highly favoured than *Britain* in their commerce to *old Spain* as well as *new*; their woollen manufactures are become now far more in vogue there than the *English*; and their linens, silks, and gold and silver manufactures are no less acceptable to the *Spanish* dons. The *French* also have cut us out in a considerable part of the supply of the

the Spaniards with fish.—And that our whole trade with Spain must daily decline no one can doubt, when he considers that the Spaniards, though long reproached for their commercial indolence and inactivity, having now struck into an active commerce, are determined to become their own maritime carriers, are striking into fisheries, and are taking every wise measure to establish nurseries for seamen, in order to raise a formidable royal navy.

THEY have likewise settled manufactories of almost every kind; they have allured away our woollen and filken manufacturers, and even our ship-carpenters, who, it seems, have already instructed the Spaniards in those our most inestimable arts, and they appear resolved to raise themselves into a great manufactural and commercial state; the foundation of which was laid by the Dutchman the duke de Ripperda, who succeeded Alberoni as chief minister in Spain; and his scheme has ever since been gradually carrying into execution, as is manifest from the testimony of that patriot-Spaniard, Don Geronimo de Uztariz, whom I have frequently cited upon this occasion.

IN Madrid, says he, has been set up a manufacture of tissues, lutestrings, and other silks, no less curious in the workmanship, than in the colours and mixtures, in imitation of the fabrics of Lyons in France; and this

this manufacture has produced such as the king himself was not ashamed to wear.

THIS successful establishment in Spain has been owing to workmen, and a famous dyer from the city of Lyons, procured by his majesty, at the charge of his own royal revenue; and to the encouragement of a house and supplies of money, which he ordered to be advanced in the infancy of the undertaking, giving also a monthly pension of 15 doubloons to the master-dyer, and 12 doubloons to the head manufacturer.

WITHOUT the gates of Madrid has been raised also a fabric of prime tapestry, in imitation of those of Flanders, by a master and workmen, whom his majesty procured from that country, at the charge of the treasury; and they continue in this important manufactory, working for his royal palaces, having the encouragement of houses, workshops, and indulgences, which his majesty has granted them.

AND notwithstanding there is not yet in either of the fabrics a competent number of masters and workmen, for the considerable consumption of this kingdom: yet the main difficulty has been surmounted, which is settling and bringing the manufactures to the perfection already mentioned; *for it is an easy thing to enlarge, or add to what we have begun, and already established upon a good footing.*

By this plain fact, says a celebrated Spanish author, IN THE VERY FACE OF THE COURT, many persons might be undeceived, who believe and propagate a notion (upon what grounds I know not) that in this kingdom we cannot arrive at the perfection we have seen in these and other manufactures, either on account of the delicacy of the work, as if there was neither genius to invent, nor hands to execute in Spain; or for colours, as if his majesty's provinces did not really supply the principal and best materials for them; or from our water, which they suppose not proper for them, even when both the declaration of foreign artificers, and experience, shews it to be very fit for dying all sorts of colours; and it is also certain, that, notwithstanding foreigners introduced these curious fabrics, *many SPANIARDS now join in them, and already make them in equal perfection* *.

THE grand fabric of fine cloths at Guadalaxara is wholly owing to the vigilance and protection of his majesty, though there has

* By these very measures the great Colbert laid the foundation for the present flourishing trade of France. And, by these and the like maxims of policy, Spain is likely to raise her trade and navigation to what pitch they desire. Do we not see that Spain is daily drawing away ingenious artificers from various parts of Europe, as well as Great Britain? Wherefore, is it not the interest of these kingdoms to give all fitting encouragement to ingenious artificers and mechanics, to keep them at home, to prevent their loss from impoverishing our own nation, and enriching our rivals, by their commerce and navigation?

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not been yet, in the management of it, the good oeconomy, which is requisite, and has been directed by his majesty's orders. *But one great point has been obtained; that many of the good workmen employed in these manufactures are SPANIARDS, and some, who have been bred up in them, have dispersed into other parts of the kingdom, which is the principal advantage resulting from the arrival and introduction of foreign masters and workmen; therefore no scruple ought to be made of bearing the expence of their journey, and their first settlement.*" [BRITONS! permit me to do myself the honour earnestly to recommend to you to cherish and care for your ingenious ARTIFICERS, your MECHANICS, your MANUFACTURERS, that no inducements may prevail with these most useful subjects of the three kingdoms to abandon their native country, to enrich others, and ruin their own!]

“AND it well deserves our notice (continues this wise Spaniard) that it has been found by experience in Guadalaxara, and other parts of Spain, that the Spanish women, and even the very young girls, spin wool better and quicker than the mistresses of foreign families that instructed them, and were brought over for that purpose.

By means of due supplies and encouragement from his majesty to Don Joseph de Aguada, knight of the order of Calatrava, for the fabric of cloths in Valdemero, the Spaniards have also gained the point of manu-
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facturing them in that town, as fine as those of ENGLAND, and of good colours and mixtures; as is manifest from the approbation they have received from his majesty, who has worn them himself upon several occasions*.

THIS is but a slight sketch of what is doing in Spain, in regard to their trading interests. Hear what this noble Spaniard further urges, and which is now duly attended to at the court of Spain.—“It is out of dispute, says he, upon another occasion, that the commerce, we have many years carried on with other nations, has been very injurious to the Spanish monarchy; and the cause, whence our damage has arisen in the same commerce, has been pointed out. So that it will be easy to conceive, that, in order to promote our own interest, and possess the great and happy consequences, which we aim at, and we are invited to, and enabled to obtain from the great plenty, and superior quality, of our materials and fruits, we ought to labour, with zeal and address, in all these measures, that can avail towards selling more commo-

* This again is following the example of Lewis the 14th of France, who, by the very same means enabled his subjects, first, to supply his own kingdom with the woollen manufacture, and afterwards encouraged them to supplant us at foreign markets. It is certain, from this policy of the court of Spain, that we must lose the greatest part of the trade of both *Old* and *New* Spain. Does not this merit the consideration of the wisdom of the nation?

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dities and fruits to foreigners, than we buy of them, *for here lies all the secret, good conduct, and advantage of trade*, or, at least, that we be upon a par in the barter of commodities, which might be even sufficient for the constitution of this kingdom. For, by virtue of it, there would be detained, in Spain, the greatest part of the wealth that comes from the Indies, and these kingdoms be constantly rich and powerful. Nor ought we ever to lose sight of this maxim, that the vast treasures, which arrive at Cadiz from these parts, contribute nothing to our relief, or advantage, but will rather be turned against this monarchy, so long as they pass, directly from the same port, to the rivals of the crown, &c.”

I AM satisfied, says he again, that there are now in the kingdom of Valencia above 2000 looms of silk and wool; in the principality of Catalonia, above 500; and, in the kingdom of Granada, 1000, including both sorts; and there are also in other provinces manufactures of silk, though not very considerable; and, in almost all of them, no contemptible number of looms for the several fabrics of wool, such as the middling and coarse cloths, bays, ferges, camblets, druguets, &c. One may, I think, without rashness, suppose the filken and woollen looms, that are now in Spain, to be 10,000. Now these, with the 60,000 new ones that have been imagined to be set up, would amount to 70,000; and one may

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reckon 14,000, or about one fifth part of them to be filk looms: and the remaining 56,000 of fine, middling, and coarse wool, of which last there is no less consumption.

I HAVE already remarked, that in every filk and woollen loom, taken together, there might be yearly manufactured to the value of 700 dollars, including the expence of materials, and dying goods. In this estimate I am moderate, as well to stand clear of every thing that might seem forced, either in the facts, or the reasoning. But, as preciseness is necessary in calculations, I shall here produce that made, a few years ago, by the president and inspectors of the filk manufacture in the city of Seville, which is as follows:

THAT, in every loom of entire tiffue, there is yearly wrought up 100 weight of filk, and 220 ounces of leaf silver, or gold, more or less. These manufactures yield 150 yards, which, at the moderate price of 3 doubions, amount to 450 doubions.

In each loom for middling tiffue, 150 pounds of filk, and 150 ounces of metal yearly, and these wrought up yearly 190 yards, which, at the rate of 2 doubions a yard, amount to 380 doubions.

In every loom for brocades, 200 pounds of filk, and between 70 and 80 ounces of metal, which are manufactured annually into 300 yards, and, at a doublon and a half per yard, make 450 doubions.

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IN a loom of double taffeta, there is used 280 pounds of filk annually, which wrought up produce 1800 yards, and, at the rate of 10 reals de vellon, will amount to 300 doubions.

IN every loom of single taffeta, is expended 200 pounds of filk yearly, with small difference, and they yield above 3000 yards, which, at the rate of 6 reals de vellon, are worth 300 doubions.

IN every loom of plain or striped fattins, there is used yearly 200 pounds of filk; which woven yield 1200 yards, and at the rate of 16 reals a yard, one with another, the whole amount will be 300 doubions.

IN every loom of damask, there is yearly expended 280 pounds, which wrought up produce 1200 yards, and at the rate of 29 reals, one with another, are worth 400 doubions.

THOUGH some persons, continues our writer, may be a little jealous of these calculations; and willing to reduce them even one sixth, or one fifth, it must be acknowledged, that after this reduction, there will be manufactured annually in every loom, one with another, to the value of 1000 dollars, including the price of the materials. So that in the 14,000 looms appropriated to filk, out of the 70,300 for this commodity and wool, there would be manufactured to the amount of 14 millions of dollars; not forgetting that there is a fluctuation in the prices from year

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to year, according to the quantity of filk and fruits, and from other accidents, that usually raise and fall the markets.

From the information of people of experience, and to be relied upon, we find that in every woollen loom, one with another, allowing for the difference between fine, middling, and coarse cloths, there can be yearly manufactured to the value of above 700 dollars, including the materials. Hence there would be annually wrought up in the above 56,000 woollen looms, to the amount of 39 millions, which, added to the 14 millions produced by the filk manufactures, would make 53 millions of dollars.

It may be observed, indeed, that all positions, founded on principles that are not quite determinate, are liable to some uncertainty: however, they do not fail of affording light, by their approaches to truth; especially, when some of the principles whereon they are founded are certain.

From what I shall offer elsewhere upon the number of inhabitants in Spain, it will be found that it contains near 7,500,000 souls; and though there be many of these that yearly expend in manufactures of filk and wool, or of both sorts, above 100 crowns, without any regard to linen, it is also known, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of both sexes are found to be dressed in middling and coarse cloths, and that every suit lasts them about two years: and when we consider

that the country people, and mechanics, take up for a suit six yards of ordinary cloth (which is narrower than the fine) this, at 15 reals a yard, will amount to six dollars, and that two dollars more will be necessary for linings, the whole commodity will cost eight dollars yearly: and, upon supposition a suit of cloath shall wear two years, there will be expended by every individual four dollars a year. But, as it is also certain that many of these wear a cloak, and a cap, the annual expence of every one of this class may be stated, in these commodities, at five dollars.

Nor should it be unobserved, that younger boys, and girls, of the lower class, will not expend, in cloaths, four dollars yearly; the same, also, will happen to a great number of women, exclusive also of linen; but, in consideration there are many of both sexes that yearly expend in commodities of filk and wool from 20 to 100 dollars, and more, I am persuaded that, for every one of the 7,500,000, one with another, we may fairly calculate their annual expence, in both commodities, at four dollars and a half, which, for the whole, will amount to something above 33,000,000 of dollars: and, if we deduct this sum from the 53,000,000, the supposed value of the fabrics manufactured in the above 70,000 looms, there would remain to us, of both commodities, the value of 20,000,000. And, by means of this over-

overplus, one may, I think, furnish his majesty's Indies both with the silks they are in want of, and also the fine cloths that go thither from Europe, since they have no occasion for ordinary cloths, by having them in plenty from their own fabrics. Nay, I am apt to believe, that, after the necessary supplies from Spain and the Indies, there will still remain considerable quantities of the above silks and fine cloths, for exportation to several kingdoms and countries in Europe, especially those of the North, that yield no silk, and but very little of fine wool.

By this, and other wise provisions, we should accomplish the grand point of selling others more commodities and fruits than we buy. For, even by the single provision of setting up the 60,000 looms abovementioned, there would be, after supplying the kingdom of Spain, and the Indies, so many goods left, as would suffice, and even be more than a balance for the spices, linens, bacalao, and other cured fish, we are obliged to have from foreign parts, for our fast-days; though the last article from abroad might be considerably reduced, by taking such steps as shall be proposed in another place.*

AFTER the supposed exportation of our silks and woollen cloths, we should still have the benefit of our wines, brandies, oils, rai-

* These we shall occasionally shew, with humble expedients proposed, to guard against any injury that this nation may sustain thereby.

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fins, and other fruits, that are more than we consume ourselves, and go abroad in considerable quantities; besides a great many small wares, that might be made of the excellent iron of Biscay, and other provinces, both for home and foreign consumption; and great quantities of crystal and soap, that might be manufactured in these kingdoms, by means of the sosa and barilla, which they abound with, and are acknowledged to be of such superior quality, that these two ingredients are eagerly desired by all nations in Europe, and in preference to all other sought after, and exported from Spain.

“MOREOVER, the quicksilver, copper, tin, and other profitable metals, which his majesty's dominions yield in great plenty, merit our consideration; as also, that in many parts the soil is peculiarly adapted to the growth of flax and hemp, materials very advantageous, and will furnish us with rigging and sail-cloth, both for our own, and the supply of other countries.

By these natural means, and which the constitution of these kingdoms renders very practicable, there would not only be prevented the extraction of many millions of gold and silver, but there might come in from foreign countries a considerable quantity of money.

BUT, should we succeed no farther than to detain all, or a moiety of the treasures that come

come from the Indies, and have hitherto gone directly to other kingdoms, Spain serving them only for a passport, we should then have that plenty, increase of people, strength, and other advantages we are now destitute of, by the desertion and decay of the manufactures above-mentioned, and which it is in our power to revive, enlarge, and improve, by granting some indulgences, and making a *judicious reform of the duties upon exports and imports*. For though the commodities now exported from Spain are few, there would then go abroad large quantities; and, were they to pay no higher duty than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their value, the customs would yield more than at present. Nay, as the country would be rendered more populous by means of the manufactures, there would ensue an increase of the revenue, arising out of the more frequent sales and purchases, and a large consumption of commodities and fruits: and, what is a natural consequence, a better cultivation and produce from our lands, and an improvement in all *mechanic arts*. To all which ought to be added, as a sure and settled principle, that, though the treasury should not be so visibly augmented, and go hand in hand with the wealth of the subjects, it would not be possible, under the obligation and tender regard we have for the king, to leave him poor, while we ourselves are rich.

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MOREOVER, let us always recollect, when we think of this essential point, of re-establishing and enlarging our manufactories, that we ought not to be discouraged by the language of certain low-spirited persons, that believe there is not a sufficient number of people in Spain to execute this *grand project*; for it shall be demonstrated, that, by means of those that now are here, and such as commerce will always bring along with it, there will be a sufficient number for this, and other provisions for the relief of the kingdom."

THIS is a sketch only of what is about to be done in Spain; and ought it not to rouse and alarm us?

WE shall now consider what mighty advantages we have obtained by the commerce of Spanish America, and particularly by that intended to have been carried on in the South Seas, which gave birth to our present company of that name.

THIS company was established by act of parliament, in the ninth year of the late queen Anne, entitled, An act for making good deficiencies, and satisfying the public debts, and for erecting a corporation to carry on a trade to the South-Sea, and for the encouragement of the fishery, &c.

MANY of the most judicious in commercial affairs looked on this company, considered as a joint-stock corporation for carrying on trade, as a chimerical project; and so it proved at length; but not from the nature and design

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of the institution as a trading society, if the same had been wisely projected, and its trade carried into execution as it ought to have been. For such a powerful company would have paved the way for an immense scene of trade to have been cut out into the South-Seas, which might have been carried on by separate traders, to no less benefit to themselves than the nation, when it might have been necessary to have dissolved this company, as a trading one, exclusive of all other his majesty's subjects. For this, and this only, is the motive for our ever favouring any joint-stock monopolies for foreign trade; and this idea I intreat the reader he would always take with him, when he observes me to say any thing favourably of such like trading corporations.

THE preamble to the establishment of this company, in relation to its trading capacity, runs thus: "Whereas it is of the greatest consequence to the honour and welfare of this kingdom, and for the increase of the strength and riches thereof, and for the vending the product and manufactures, goods and merchandizes of or brought into this kingdom, and employment of the poor, that a trade should be carried on to the SOUTH-SEAS, and other parts in America, within the limits herein after mentioned; which cannot be so well carried on as by a corporation with a joint stock EXCLUSIVE OF ALL OTHERS: now, for the better encouragement

ment of all and every the person or persons, &c."

Is it not plain from hence, that the company, by its first institution, was to have an exclusive trade within the certain limits particularized in the said act? and that our people of Jamaica, by the very act, were to be deprived of the trade to the South-Seas, which was, before this, carried on greatly to the advantage of themselves and the nation? But so wisely did the Spaniards manage this matter, that they got this company in England converted from a trading corporation (which they apprehended might too much benefit England, and too greatly detriment them in the Spanish West India commerce) into a mere Assiento for negroes, and a 500 ton annual ship. Was not this giving up the certain profits of our Jamaica trade to those imaginary ones, with which the nation were only amused?

It is true, the Jamaica traders were not excluded, but only from Buenos Ayres, southwards, and from the South-Sea; they had still left the places in the Atlantic ocean for themselves: but the profit they and the nation before annually derived from the South-Seas was considerable; and Spain found means, by tampering with the ministers of those days, to have all these advantages given up to the company, as an expedient, that the company, as such, might be the more easily brought to give them up to Spain; which

which the nation would never have done, had it not been for this chimerical amusement of mighty things to arise from this company. Hereby we lost the substance for the shadow, and what did Spain give us as an equivalent? Why truly that court very liberally bestowed upon us a scandalous and ruinous Affiento contract; a contract to sell the Spaniards 4,800 negroes per annum, together with a permission to send 500 tons of goods to Porto Bello! Thus all our solid advantages, that we might have reaped from a South-Sea trading corporation, vanished into this pauntry Affiento! an Affiento abounding with stipulation contrived purposely by the court of Spain to quarrel with us whenever they thought proper; for so greatly did the Spaniards over-reach us herein, that they were sure always to have the company's merchandises in their possession; which were often kept three years in the king of Spain's warehouses, and under his own lock and key. Hereby did one half of the company's goods often perish in so hot a climate, and how could they ever be expected, under such restrictions, to be brought in the general to a good market? Or how could the Affientists ever hope for profit from their negroes, that were to pay a heavy load of duties to the king of Spain? A treaty could scarce have been contrived of so little benefit to the nation.

WOULD not one have thought, that after those pompous declarations, which we have
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seen in the preamble to the South-Sea act, that some attempt at least should have been made, by way of experiment: but so amazingly were we duped by the court of Spain, in concert with their fellow-treaty-makers, the court of France, that we wickedly gave up all our pretensions of trading to the South-Seas, as well from Jamaica as by the company, for an Affiento chimera! Is not this the more remarkable, since neither the Dutch, nor the French, nor any other nation, has restrained their subjects from trading to those parts; nor did they neglect to carry on a trade thither with a great profit to themselves; whilst the subjects of Great Britain, by means of the South-Sea company, were denied this!

HAD the South-Sea company put their original plan in execution with vigour and honour, it would certainly have proved a benefit to the kingdom, by the increase of our exports and navigation; but the sending an annual ship under such limitations as was done, though a new method of trade, could not possibly prove of national benefit, it lessening our exports, at the same time, by the way of old Spain. Cadiz, Seville, Port St. Mary's, before the South-Sea company was erected, were the places where our Spanish merchants, trading to the Spanish Indies, informed themselves what species and quantities of goods were shipped off from time to time; but on sending of the annual ships by the South-Sea company, they were under

such uncertainties, that they very greatly declined dealing in our manufactures by those channels. This gradually and insensibly gave our rivals in this trade an open opportunity to establish houses of trade or factories at these ports; and by exercising the commerce to the Spanish Indies, in a way the most agreeable to the court of Spain, laid the foundation to supplant us so greatly as they have done, not only in the Spanish West-India trade, but in the whole trade of old Spain.—This was not the essential fault of an *Affiento*, but the fault of being over-reached in the stipulations thereof, that we have become such sufferers thereby.

BUT even this *Affiento*, however beneficial it might have been rendered, both to the nation and the company, if the court of England had duly supported her dignity with that of Spain, was, by mismanagement, rendered quite otherwise; it was for many years like the dog in the manger, it neither traded itself, nor suffered those who would have done so in the like branch of commerce. The act for erecting this company deprived Jamaica of trading to the South-Seas; but the *Affiento* contract shut them out of the commerce of the Spanish Indies. Thus Spain got their ends by excluding us out of the trade of the South-Seas, and at length has deprived us also of the *Affiento* contract, which we weakly supposed was to make us more than an ample compensation for giving up the whole
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South-Sea trade, which we intended to establish, *risum teneatis!* Whoever considers the coasts, countries, and islands, the product, trade, and the then state of all the places within the limits of the act of parliament, which constitutes the South-Sea company, must allow the aim was great, and the benefits might have proved no less so: but what a ridiculous exchange did we make for such an *Affiento*? In a word, it is apparent, from this plain and impartial state of the case, that our misunderstanding with the court of Spain may be justly attributed to those who made the *Affiento*, and the treaty of Utrecht; all which might have been avoided, if the nature of the Spanish West-India and South-Sea trades had been then better understood by our ministers of those days. But it is no easy matter for subsequent ministers to rectify such capital mistakes, committed by their predecessors. And these things being candidly and dispassionately recommended to consideration, may help to guard us against being thus imposed on in future.

THOUGH I do not at present intend to enter into the causes of the late war with Spain, yet there is one particular that may be necessary just to mention: that at the making of the late peace, and before we had absolutely settled the business of the *Affiento* with the court of Spain, it was a little unhappy that the *logwood affair* also had not been finally settled, that being one cause of the late

war, and may be productive of ill blood hereafter. If we have no right to carry on that trade in any shape, it would have been better to have explicitly renounced such a claim by treaty, than to leave the matter doubtful, that our traders therein might know upon what footing they stood in that respect: if we have a right to cut logwood, it is to be lamented that such right has not been expressly ascertained by treaty.

WE have never heard that the French or the Dutch pretend to any such claim to this trade as the English have; and yet, while I am writing these papers, we have an account, it seems, of a French ship being taken in coming from the Mississippi, that has a large quantity of logwood on board. So that this logwood trade, as carried on by the French, we find is winked at by the Spaniards, while we have had frequent accounts that they threaten to destroy all our people who are any way concerned in this commerce.

WE have for some time been amused with the Spaniards entering into a strict neutrality during the present war. I am afraid that we shall not be greater gainers by their neutrality than we are by those of the Dutch, the Hamburgers, Danes, &c. For hereby will not the ports of Spain be free and open to export all Spanish commodities to Great Britain, and a great part in their own bottoms too, since they have commenced an active com-

commerce; while the Spaniards shall carry, and cover under Spanish names, all French commodities? For there is no end of the deceits practised by neutral carriers in times of war. In a word, as our commerce is circumstanced, in regard to that of France, (with relation, I mean, to the difference in price between their commodities and ours) the neutrality of maritime carriers must prove very destructive to the trade of England, because those neutral powers will not traffic in British goods, as I have elsewhere observed, while they can in French to much greater advantage. Besides, ought it not to be considered whether the neutrality of Spain may not prove far more beneficial to France than even Spain declaring war against us likewise may be? For may they not, under colour of such neutrality, supply them with the treasures of the Spanish Indies to ruin us? I am much afraid that a Spanish neutrality, and a French war will prove more destructive to Great Britain than a war both with France and Spain.—But I shall not enter into a discussion of this important point: I cannot, however, avoid expressing my fears, and leaving the matter to the animadversion of those, whose duty it is more than mine to enter deeply into those delicate concerns.

WE have shewn, on another occasion, how large a fleet Spain has now ready for action; and if they sign a neutrality, will this preclude them from selling their ships of war to France?

Or, will it be reckoned an infraction of such neutrality for Spain some how to dispose of this fleet for the assistance of France? Can we suppose the Spaniards so weak as to put themselves to such great expence for nothing? Let us only suppose (for I would not presume to go farther than bare supposition) that France proposed to Spain, after they have signed a neutrality, to give them up Minorca, if they will give them an equivalent in men of war, and the naval stores they have now ready for action. Could such an agreement be construed a violation of the Spanish neutrality? Minorca is, by conquest, at present the absolute property of France, and they can dispose of it as they please; they may give it, or sell it, to whatever power they shall think proper; and why not to Spain, for what they may think a valuable consideration? If the neutrality of Spain takes place, I wish this may prove imaginary. But the short question is, whether this policy is not far more for the mutual interest of France and Spain, than Spain to join with France against England? If they find it so on deliberation, I make no doubt but we shall soon hear of a Spanish neutrality. But from whose instigation is this neutrality to take place? We can hardly believe it can proceed from the court of England.—Would not this betray our weakness as well as our dread, no less than the distraction of our system? Is the Antigallican prize to be made the tub to decoy us into these snares? Or, is advantage to be taken of the

the present unhappy situation of our domestic affairs? Or, have we not reason enough to believe that France has made secret overtures to Spain to come into a neutrality? Let it proceed from whatever cause it may, if Spain makes choice of such a part, we must certainly be stone-blind not to discern that this is brought about by the councils of France and Spain acting in secret concert. But what is the cover? Where lies the deception upon poor old England? Here it lies, I am much afraid--the Antigallican affair, and some other pretences, are to be made the motives to England for suing to Spain for her own destruction!

It will be asked, perhaps, why should we dream of Spain's exchanging her royal navy to France, or signing a neutrality? From some motive or other, we will not say what.—If not from those we have suggested, are there no others to induce Spain to assist France in her trade, and even with her marine, under the pretext we have mentioned? And may it not be secretly agreed between those two courts, on consideration of such artful assistance on the part of Spain, that France shall exert such Spanish naval strength, in conjunction with their own, to wrest Gibraltar out of our hands, as they have done Minorca? And, after the affair was over, would it not be very easy for those two powers to make an exchange again; the French to give up Gibraltar to Spain, and Spain return Minorca to France? And may not all this be done under cover of a neutrality! But while France

and Spain were playing this game, could not Spain underhandedly assist them also by land in the acquisition of Gibraltar, while France were acting by sea with the combined fleets? And if England complained of this, as a violation of the Spanish neutrality, what satisfaction would she have by it? The business might be over before our remonstrances might be listened to at the court of Madrid; or so delayed as not to prevent the execution of the scheme projected. And Spain then would declare war against England also, and bid us defiance. In this manner may Great Britain be duped out of her most invaluable rights and possessions, and out of the whole commerce of the Mediterranean, the Turkey, and Levant trades: and after this, what might not the combined powers effect, by such artful machinations? Are not these powerful motives for France and Spain thus to unite sword and purse, if not sword and sword, to obtain these great points? Can we still be weak enough to amuse ourselves that we have the least favour or friendship to expect from Spain, either from her neutrality or otherwise? But why are we to expect such tenderness from Spain as some people flatter themselves with? Have we had the least experience of it since the peace of Utrecht to the present tense? Ah, but she is a great gainer by the trade with us, and not with France, and she will not quarrel with us. Nothing more true; she is a much greater than she deserves to be, by a nation
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she has so much insulted, and on whose traders she committed such scandalous depredations, without provocation any way adequate to the resentment shewn. Well! but say others again, though in contradiction to the former, we are so great gainers by the trade of Spain, that it is not our interest to quarrel with her at any rate. This appears to be a great falshood, and an egregious imposition upon those who think so; and let any impartial man consider connectedly what I have said upon this topic, and he will find his mistake; but I will say no more here at present: in short, the balance of trade between England and Spain turns daily more and more to our disadvantage; and it will soon appear more conspicuously so to the eyes of those who will not see at present. The great point, however, submitted to consideration is, whether it may not be more for our interest to have a war both with France and Spain, than with France alone, and Spain to remain neuter?

Is it time to speak out, or shall we refrain till the nation is undone? However unpaid, or unthanked, I will throw in my mite to save the sinking nation; for sinking we certainly are, in the opinion of all candid and impartial men; in the opinion of all who will be honest enough to speak what they think. But certainly some people must not think at all, or think only like superlative traitors to their country, who insinuate, that, for peace sake, we should not scruple even to
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give up Gibraltar itself to Spain! How can we expect things to go well with us, while principles of this kind shall be adopted? If complaisance would effectually attach that court to our interest, have we not already sufficiently shewn it? Have we not given up the trade of the South-Seas, and also that of the Affiento contract, to oblige Spain? And have we not been the chief instruments of settling two Spanish monarchs in Italy? And after all, did they not insult us, and obstruct our commerce and navigation to and from our colonies to such a degree, as at length forced us into a war with them? Can we suppose, therefore, that if we were so further complaisant to them, as to make them a present of Gibraltar, and Jamaica too, that they would use us the better, by reason of our greater impotence to resent their wrongs and indignities? No man can seriously think so. That the mistakes of such who are really indifferent in regard to Gibraltar, the following reasons are humbly submitted to their candid consideration, for our preservation of that important place.

(1) BECAUSE Gibraltar preserves to us the conveniency, protection, and security of our commerce to the streights, above that of all other nations, more especially in regard to the Algerines and Salleemen, who are influenced by it to keep their treaties made with us; which they never do longer with any other

other nation than till they find it their interest to break them.

(2.) BECAUSE in respect to the great advantage which the possession of that place hath already given us, when in war with France and Spain; and, consequently, will always give us again upon the like occasion, whilst we continue to keep it.

(3.) WITH regard to our trade in general up the Mediterranean: for, as it commands the passage or entrance of all our navigation into that sea, both in time of peace and war, so it is equally necessary, and as much our interest, to keep it ourselves, as for any gentleman to keep possession of the gate which leads to his own house; it being in the power of those who possess this port, at all times, to interrupt, annoy, or hinder whom they shall think fit in their trade, by keeping a few ships of war constantly on that station; in the same manner almost as the Danes, by the possession of Elfsineur command the passage into and out of the Baltic: so that, if this port and fortification were in the hands of any other nation, it would be in their power likewise either to permit us to navigate our trade within those streights, or not, as they should think fit, unless a very strong squadron was constantly kept at the entrance of the streight's mouth, to secure the passage, and to be relieved, from time to time, by fresh ships, which would put us to a much greater

greater expence than we are now at in keeping this place.

(4.) BECAUSE, before England was in possession of Tangier, on the opposite side of the streight, we were never able to deal with the Algerines, and other Turkish rovers; who, for near a century, had carried on a successful piratic war against the commerce of this nation, and never could be reduced till, by the situation and our possession of the abovementioned place, we distressed them so much, not only by taking their ships going in and coming out of the streights, but also by retaking such of their prizes as they had taken in the Ocean, that at last they were forced to be content with such a peace as we would give them; the continuance of which is owing to nothing so much as to our having been, for many years passed, and, at present, in the same condition to chastize those rovers, by the possession of Gibraltar, as we were before by the possession of Tangier.

(5.) BECAUSE the security of our Italian, Turkey, and fish-trades entirely depends on our possession of this place; and, should we ever lose it, or part with it, it is very reasonable to believe that both the Algerines and Salleemen would soon break with us again: so that, in such a case, the abovesaid branches of trade would almost wholly fall into the hands of our rivals, the French from Marseilles, who, by their situation, are always

ways ready at hand to furnish those markets, as soon as they are in want, while we, on our part, shall be obliged to carry on that trade by the tedious methods of fleets, and convoys, and at last, perhaps, come long after the market is supplied by our rivals. Besides all this, the article of insurance, which would certainly run much higher than usual under these circumstances, would prove a heavy charge on our goods, more than those of foreign traders, which would thereby very much affect those branches of our trade and navigation.

(6.) BECAUSE the mischief would not stop here: for, as the Algerines, of late years, often cruize at the mouth of our channel, and as some of them have also heretofore come into our very ports two or three years successively; so it is possible that, if we should lose Gibraltar, they may become, being so well acquainted with our channel, a much more dangerous enemy to us than ever they were formerly, and may attack all our trade in general, as the St. Malo privateers did in the wars of queen Anne, whenever they shall find that they can carry home their prizes without any interruption; which is not to be done, unless we should be dispossessed of Gibraltar, and thereby take the bridle, which has hitherto restrained them, out of their mouths.

(7.) BECAUSE, in respect to our neighbours, Gibraltar is situated in such a manner, that

that it is in the power of the present possessors to cut off any naval communication between one port and another, of each of those very powerful kingdoms: with which we have had such frequent occasions to be at war for almost these fifty years past; who would soon turn the tables upon us, if they should recover this place out of our hands, especially in time of any rupture between us; nothing being more self-evident than that it gives, to those who are masters of it, especially in conjunction with Minorca, the sovereignty and command of the commerce and navigation of the Mediterranean sea, and makes it almost impracticable for any other nation to trade there with safety, without their leave. And farther, by our possession of this place, all nations within the Mediterranean will be obliged to court our friendship, or fear our power, particularly, the piratical states, who, beholding vengeance so near at hand, will be thereby deterred from attempting to interrupt our trade, while they are destroying that of all others.

(8.) BECAUSE this advantage is not all that we reap from the possession of Gibraltar; for it hath put into our hands occasionally a great proportion of freight-trade into the Mediterranean, especially, that of the Hamburgers, and Hollanders, who have made use of British bottoms to carry on their commerce in those seas, till the Dutch obtained a peace with the Algerines; whereby we lost one great advantage that belonged to the navigation

tion of Great Britain, which we before enjoyed, whilst those merchants made use of English ships, finding it dangerous to venture their estates in any other.

(9.) BECAUSE, laying aside all other considerations, there cannot be a stronger proof of the importance which the possession of this place hath proved to us, than that it hath been a formidable check to the naval power of France, from the hour of our taking it, to the conclusion of the last French war: nor, indeed, could they ever send any naval stores round about into those seas, without an apparent danger of their falling into our hands in going through the streights. And, had not such unhappy misunderstandings fell out as did between two admirals in the late war, we should have more feelingly experienced the invaluable benefit of this possession, which would have prevented a war for many years to come.

(10.) BECAUSE it's proximity to Cadiz, the great mart and center of almost all the riches of Spanish America, gives us the greatest opportunity of commanding that port, and the trade frequenting it from the West-Indies; which, in time of war with Spain, may be reckoned of no small consideration, or importance.

(11.) BECAUSE, as the advantages of Gibraltar which result to this kingdom from the foregoing particulars, are fully confirmed and demonstrated by the experience of many years past, so the preservation of it, at all times, is

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of much greater concernment than it was ever before, as will appear by considering the present state of public affairs: particularly, that many capital manufactures are springing up in most parts of Europe, and are grown to a great height as well in Spain as France, and that several other powerful states are endeavouring to vie with us in commerce and a maritime force; which ought to put us on the strictest guard, and determine us not to part with a place which is manifestly of so much advantage, by securing and improving our own trade and navigation, as well as by defeating the attempts of our enemies and rivals therein.

(12.) BECAUSE Spain and France in conjunction, if not others, will ever have their eye upon this possession, in order to wrest the same out of our hands, to ruin the whole maritime power of Great Britain.

(13.) BECAUSE Gibraltar lies at hand to intercept their East-and West-India fleets, with the spoil and riches of both worlds: it separates and divides Spain from itself, and hinders all communication by sea from the different parts of their dominions, and, consequently, must keep them in a perpetual dependence, and put them under a necessity to court our friendship, as well as fear our enmity, if our naval strength is once duly exerted: it gives us an opportunity to pry into all their measures, observe all their motions, and, without the most stupid remissness on our part, renders it impracticable to them to form any

any projects, or carry on any expeditions against us or our allies, without our having due notice.

(14.) BECAUSE it may be made highly useful to check the rise of the naval power of France, which can never be above our match at sea, if uncorruptly exerted, whilst Gibraltar remains in our hands. It hinders the communication between their ports and squadrons in the Ocean and the Mediterranean: it makes it impossible for them to supply their southern harbours with naval stores either for building or repairing of fleets; of which they were so sensible in queen Anne's war, that, as soon as Sir George Rook had possessed himself of it, they saw themselves under a necessity to lay aside their usual caution, and dare him in open battle; and, not meeting the success they hoped for, the very same year, to the unspeakable prejudice of their other affairs, besieged it in form, and lost a French and Spanish army before it, and never afterwards appeared with a fleet upon the seas again during the whole war, but suffered their great ships to moulder and rot in their harbours, for want of the means to fit them out again.

(15.) BECAUSE long experience has evinced, that we can never, with security, depend on the faith of France: and, therefore, if Britons are determined never to become vassals to the dominion of that crown, they can never part with any thing that is so substantial a preservation of their maritime power,

and, consequently, of their liberties and properties, as that inestimable fortress of Gibraltar.

(16.) BECAUSE it appears throughout this work, from a series of facts incontestable, that the commerce and navigation of France have been encreasing ever since the time of that great and able minister Mons. Colbert: and that they have now settled the same upon so broad a bottom, and with such peculiar and extraordinary advantage for their daily rise and encouragement, that, if Great Britain gives up Gibraltar, she may be so eternally embroiled in wars with that nation, as to encrease her national debts and incumbrances to a degree so enormous, that her whole trade must inevitably sink under them.

(17.) BECAUSE a right use made of the possession of Gibraltar will always give us reputation and figure in those seas, which are always rewarded with power and riches. It will oblige all nations who trade in the Mediterranean, or have empire there, to court our friendship, and keep measures with us. It will awe even the courts of Rome and Constantinople, and make them afraid to disturb or provoke us.

(18.) BECAUSE the charge and expence of keeping Gibraltar bears no proportion to the advantages we reap by it, and the detriment and injury our trade and navigation must sustain, if ever we part with it.

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(19.) BECAUSE if Minorca should be restored to us, PORT-MAHON cannot possibly answer all the purposes of Gibraltar: which must be evident to any one, who but looks into the map; for the island of Minorca lies many hundred miles further up towards the gulph of Lyons, and, in truth, out of the road of all ships trading to Sicily, the Adriatic, the Levant, or Africa. It is situated at such a distance from France, and Spain, that the greatest fleets can escape unobserved, unless we keep perpetually before their ports to watch and pursue them; which is exceeding dangerous, if not impracticable in those seas. We shall be out of a way of all intelligence. But as we have lost Minorca, there is still a greater necessity for our keeping Gibraltar.

(20.) BECAUSE nothing is plainer, than that it will be exceeding difficult, if not impossible, to keep the island of Minorca, if restored, without the possession of Gibraltar; at least it will be more expensive to us than both would be, especially, if France and Spain should join again; which event, I think, we ought to keep always in view, for then Gibraltar will be the only resource we have to carry on any trade in the Mediterranean, and to prevent the union of the French and Spanish fleets with themselves, or each other.

(21.) BECAUSE all the objections, made against the facility of a communication of the different ports of France and Spain with one
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another, will be stronger against us; for they have others near to Gibraltar, where fleets may lie safe, and have a chance to escape us, by catching at favourable opportunities; and the advantage of winds; whereas we must run all hazards, and trust to our strength alone, without any harbour to retreat to, in case of storms or other accidents.

(22.) BECAUSE we have no means of sending naval stores and recruits to our garrisons, and often provisions for them, without a port to protect us during a thousand leagues sailing. Portugal will not be suffered to receive, or relieve us, and then we must run the gauntlet by single ships, with scarce a chance to escape, or send convoys upon the smallest occasions, capable of fighting the united French and Spanish power.

(23.) BECAUSE we ought not to be surprized, if the nations of Europe and Africa should wish it in hands less potent at sea, and who could consequently enjoy it more harmlessly to its neighbours: it must be undoubtedly an awe to any people who would be our rivals in trade or naval power, or, indeed to any state that aspires to empire, which can never be accomplished without fleets as well as armies.

(24.) BECAUSE, if we part with Gibraltar, to what purpose have we made war? To what purpose bestowed great sums, and gained great victories? Did we beat the enemy, and force them to beg peace, and yet must
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bribe them to accept of it? Have we conquered, and shall they give terms, and get towns by losing battles? Or, if we do not part with Gibraltar for the sake of peace, pray what consideration are we to receive for the sake of Gibraltar? What can be given as an equivalent?

(25.) BECAUSE there can be no substantial reasons to take such a thorn out of the foot of Spain and France, and to remove such an obstacle to their greatness: the enterprising genius of the latter is as well known, as it is formidable to all its neighbours, but, in particular to us. And Spain, we have seen, are taking large strides to raise manufactures and maritime power. And do we not know by experience, what help we are to expect from our allies, when we have no more millions to give. We are not able to keep great standing armies at home, nor is it consistent with our liberty to do so; and, therefore, we ought to take every measure to encrease our naval strength, and to put new bridles upon those who are, or may soon be, our rivals therein.

(26.) BECAUSE the nation in the world whose power we have most reason to guard against, is that of France; and yet I don't know by what fatality it has often so happened, that we have been the unhappy instruments of promoting it. Oliver Cromwell gave the first rise to its greatness at land, and king Charles II.

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at sea: the late queen, by an ignominious peace, restored it, when it was reduced to the lowest extremity, and must have submitted to any conditions she had thought fit to impose. But sure it will never be said that any British ministry, who profess to be the patrons of liberty, the constant and declared enemies of those proceedings, should act so far in defiance of all their known principles, as, voluntarily and unconstrainedly, to throw away any part of that national security, which are the only rewards and recompence of a tedious, successful, and glorious war, carried on at an immense expence of blood and treasure, of which we and our posterity shall long feel the severe effects.

(27.) BECAUSE there seems to be more reason for our being tenacious in preserving this possession, at this time, than there ever was since we had it; for, it is to be feared, that we are the only maritime power that must alone stand against those of France and Spain, and such allies as they shall be able to influence; since our old and natural allies, the states-generals of the United Provinces, do not appear to be at all inclined, as heretofore, to unite with Great Britain, and act with vigour, when occasion may require, but on the contrary are, by their neutrality, greatly aiding to the encrease of the commerce of France, and thereby enabling her the better to continue the war.

(28.) BE-

(28.) BECAUSE the Spaniards give more encouragement to the French in their trade, by the way of Old Spain to New Spain, than they do to the English; and, in consequence thereof, our commerce in that channel declines, while that of France advances. And the Spaniards to favour the French in the S—h W—t-I—a trade, which they carry on from their colonies, to the Spanish main, both from the Mississipi, and St. Domingo, while they are always pecking at the English about a little paultry logwood, which affair they ought long to have finally settled, but have always declined the same.

(29.) BECAUSE the too frequent unkindly treatment of the English in particular, by the Spaniards at present in America, is said by some to be with a view to compel us, at length, to give up Gibraltar; which, for that very reason, we ought to be the more sanguine to preserve.

(30.) BECAUSE Great Britain has already done enough in favour of the court of Spain without sacrificing Gibraltar, to induce them to desist from their obstruction to our trade and navigation to and from our own colonies, even, if we had no right whatever to cut logwood.

THE conduct of Great Britain towards Spain, in order to influence them to preserve a good understanding with them, is notorious to the whole world, and may be chiefly comprehended under the following articles.

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(1) Our giving up the trade of the South-seas in exchange for the Asiento contract. (2) Our giving up the Asiento contract itself for a song for peace sake. (3) Our being the chief instrument of making two Spanish sovereigns in Italy.—To which may be added (4) Our being the best customers for Spanish wines, fruits, &c. that Spain has to her back. And, if Great Britain should even acquiesce to the creating of a third sovereign to gratify, and to give up Gibraltar also, what security should this nation have, for the friendship of Spain?

ONE part of the grand system of the court of Spain, in the time of Alberoni, was to preserve the rights of Spain and of the house of Parma to Spanish princes; and to make a settlement for Don Charlos and Don Philip worthy of their birth, out of the states which the emperor possessed in Italy: and has not this part of the system been steadily and successfully pursued? But how could these sovereignties be effectually secured, says a certain prince, without the possession of Gibraltar? This, therefore, was a point to be gained, in order the better to secure the other. The system, at present in Spain, is bottomed on the same principles; it is not only to provide for a third prince in Italy, or elsewhere, but to fall upon the establishment of manufactories, with a view to supply their extended American colonies themselves with their own merchandizes, and those of France, instead of taking them from the other nations of Europe.

Will

Will not this affect Great Britain, in proportion to what she now supplies Spain with? Some accounts from Spain about two years since tell us, that it appeared, by an authentic list of the ships which entered the Spanish ports that year, their number amounted to 1142: of which 643 were English, 277 French, 148 Dutch, and 74 of different nations.

SUPPOSING this to be true, some people may infer from hence, perhaps, that the trade of England must be far superior to any of the rest: so it is, indeed! But what sort of trade are we carrying on with that nation? We are sending 6 or 700 ships or more annually to purchase their wines and their fruits, while France sends between 2 or 300 to carry their own manufactures. If this be the case, does not France, therefore, gain far more by their smaller quantity of shipping, than we do by double the number? The fact is, that we decline in our exports to Spain, and encrease in our imports; while France encrease in their exports to Spain, and decrease in their imports from thence. Have they not allured away our manufacturers and shipwrights out of the kingdom, with a view to turn the hands of our own artists against us?

WHAT is urged in divers other parts of this work, will enable us to judge, whether it can ever be adviseable to acquiesce in the giving up Gibraltar; and, especially so, if we add to these considerations what we have said also in regard to the commercial dominion of

FRANCE:

FRANCE; because we shall find, that SPAIN is now following the example of France, in order to ruin the commerce and navigation of these kingdoms: for the system of the two courts seems really to be what is said in a tract lately printed, called the Political Testament of cardinal Alberoni. "While the navy of the two crowns [meaning those of France and Spain] says the writer, is not superior to that of the English and Dutch together; while MINORCA and GIBRALTAR are not in possession of their proper masters; while DUNKIRK is not raised from the state to which it was reduced by the treaty of Utrecht, a descent on the coast of ENGLAND and IRELAND, will be always ineffectual, &c."



DISSERTATION XXXVI.

Of the necessity of Great Britain being more closely connected and allied with the continent than she ever has been, though upon quite different principles, and not at such an expence, in times of war, as has been the case heretofore.

IT has, doubtless, cost this nation an immense profusion of blood, as well as treasure, to preserve the liberties of Europe, by forming such alliances and confederacies as have been occasionally necessary to withstand the torrent of arbitrary power of those nations, who have brooded schemes of ruin and destruction to their neighbouring states.

OUR allies also have been at as great a proportion of the expence as they could well afford in the same good cause, notwithstanding the large subsidies wherewith we have been obliged to supply some.

THE great public debt, and the burdensome taxes with which our commerce is hereby become incumbered, to our unspeakable detri-

detriment, in consequence of those measures, make it necessary for the court of England to change this *old system*, and adopt such other as may exempt her and her allies from those prodigious expences which have hitherto proved necessary. Those potentates who have disturbed the tranquillity of Europe, have been chiefly such who are interested in the cause of arbitrary and tyrannical rule, the enemies of liberty, and the enemies of mankind; and they have been withstood chiefly by the Protestant potentates, the friends of liberty, and the friends of mankind. And the glorious stand made by those states having hitherto preserved the liberties of Christendom, and maintained the balance of power; the expence, be it what it will, is no way disproportionate to the important and invaluable blessings it has hitherto procured. For what avail all the treasures of the earth, if we are deprived of the only solid felicity that life affords; the freedom of thought, the toleration to worship our maker according to the dictates of our reason and conscience, and the full enjoyment of property, and every right and privilege that human nature can wish or desire. Certain then it is, that the expence of this nation, however great it has been, bears no comparison to the inestimable purchase that we have obtained as an equivalent. This no free Briton will gainsay.

THE argument, therefore, with respect to our connections with the continent, is reduced

duced to this single question: whether Great Britain could have proved the happy instrument that she has been in preserving the liberties of Europe, at less expence than she has been put to? If she could, this is to be laid at the door of those ministers of state, who have been too profuse of the public treasure. Whatever proportion of the expence we have been at, might have been saved to the nation, must be attributed to the bad measures of those who have had the conduct of our public affairs from the revolution to the present time: the fault lies not in the cause for which we have contended, but in the exorbitant expence to which we have been put; which cause might have been as effectually supported, in my humble opinion, at a far less expence than it has been: no man will undertake to ascertain exactly how many millions might have been saved to this nation, and yet the liberties of this kingdom, and the balance of power in Europe, have been no less secure than they are at present. For my own part, the work * I drew up the last year for the public service, signifies explicitly enough how many millions, I apprehend, might have been saved to the nation by raising the supplies for carrying on wars within the year, and purchasing all naval and military stores for short credit, or at

* Great Britain's True System.

a ready money price, as it were. In the same tract I have shewed my disapprobation of the measures of sending British troops to the continent, when we could hire auxiliaries at a much cheaper rate. But the contrary measures have certainly proved wrong, as having excessively accumulated the expence, and incumbered the nation with an enormous debt, and clogged our commerce with taxes ruinous to it.

As I have shewed myself an advocate for the contrary measures to what have hitherto been pursued in this respect from the revolution to the present time; so the course of my studies has led me to consider every way whereby we can support the liberties of Europe and our own, at the least expence possible: and, in my writings, I have entered into a detail of the particular steps that I have judged necessary for that purpose, which need not be here repeated.

BUT this is not near the full length that I have humbly attempted to go. No: I have endeavoured to form a new foreign system; or rather to engraft an entire new system upon the old one, whereby one million of money properly raised, and properly applied, may go near as far as two millions have been made to do upon the old system. And I suppose, if the court of England could, by the most parsimonious measures, obtain such alliances upon the continent for one half the expence

expence that she has been at heretofore, as shall prove sufficient to withstand the power of the enemies of the Protestant interest; I presume no body could, or would, think much of such an expence. As we are the chief Protestant potentate in Europe, and it is reckoned that no other can afford to be at so great an expence as we can, we must expect to bear a greater share of the burden than any other; and especially so in the present war, since we are the principals therein. Indeed, when the religion and liberties of other Protestant states become endangered, these states then become no less principals than we, in regard to these points, and as such, it is to be hoped will be excited to act in concert with us for our mutual defence and security.

WHEN people talk of our not being under the necessity of having any connection with the continent, they certainly talk very irrationally and wildly; when they are pleased to consider that our whole commercial interest absolutely depends on those continental connections, because they are our trading customers, and our reciprocal trafficable dealings require us to cement those connections. Upon what principles of policy else are all our treaties of commerce founded? When the court of England is not capable of obtaining allies to contribute to fight their battles for them without subsidies, then we have a great lamentation for want of allies; and yet,

yet, in the same breath, these very complainants will roundly assert, that we have no need of any connections with the continent! Can any thing be more inconsistent? From whence but from the continent are we to have any allies? Well then, the matter lies here; we are always glad to have good allies in times of danger; and he is the ablest minister who can obtain such at the least expence to the nation. If this is the right state of the matter, then we will hope that the British ministry will act upon this system.

WE have seen, from a series of the plainest and most indisputable *facts*, how formidable the power of France is, and what capacious schemes of commercial sway and dominion she has projected.—We have seen likewise that the system of Spain is perfectly compatible with that of France; that Spain follows as closely the Steps of France, as if the ministers of France were in the cabinet of Spain.—We hear too, and I wish it may not prove true, that the Spanish minister Don Ensenada is recalled to court, and that our dear friend the queen dowager of Spain has again crept into his Catholic Majesty's councils, which forebodes no good, perhaps, to Great Britain.—Do we not know likewise that Spain has got a pretty formidable fleet? And can we imagine that this court has been at such an expence to parade it only? We have seen too the detrimental effects to our
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commerce of a Spanish neutrality. So that, let Spain take which part she will, have we not all reason to connect ourselves more closely with some good continental allies than ever we had? With allies who will not only act so far in concert with us by land, as may prove preservative of the Protestant interest there, but shall be induced to unite their maritime power with ours; for I wish that we may not have occasion enough for it. Allies then are certainly necessary for us to obtain, and such too as are able and willing to do us, and the Protestant cause, the most effectual services. But what allies can we expect to obtain, according to the old system of foreign affairs? The Dutch, we have too long experienced, are immoveable, and we have seen their reasons why. Whether the reasons assigned be real or pretended, it matters little, as to their good offices towards us now in time of need. If the reasons assigned are real, we have it in our power to obviate them; if they mean otherwise than they say, it is our business to penetrate that meaning, and remove their most secret articles to a perfect union between us. But if we prevail with them no farther than to fulfil their treaties with us, what dependence can we make on their assistance? Has not experience sufficiently taught us? It is manifest, therefore, that Great Britain cannot reckon at all on the services of the United Provinces upon the old system, especially
VOL. II. L 1

[514]

cially as affairs are at present circumstanced between the French and the Dutch. What then becomes the wisdom of Great Britain to do, in regard to the Dutch? For their neutrality, at present, is little less detrimental to our commerce than if they threw the weight of their whole power against us into the French scale. But some are inclined to think that the Dutch are quite impotent as a state, and that their power is not worth courting by Great Britain. This is a great mistake. Were they determined to exert their whole strength, and act in concert with their old and natural ally, as one and the same nation: were the Dutch in earnest to act in conjunction with us to reduce the power of France within the requisite bounds, and was England resolved to move in conjunction with Holland upon the same principle, and in earnest also to humble France once for all, we should soon see that the Dutch could figure it as highly and mightily as they ever have done; for their plea of inability is pretence only: those who know their commercial resources, the true state of that republic, and the millions they have in foreign funds, know that these are only specious coverings, and to save appearance with the court of London. But if Great Britain becomes once happy enough to have a ministry that the Dutch think they can absolutely depend upon; if they become once convinced that the affairs of the nation will be so conducted,

[515]

ducted, that if we draw them into an expensive war against France as principals, we shall not be able to extricate them from it with honour and advantage: if we shall convince them that we are determined at last to take Lewis by the whiskers, we should soon see the Dutch move with us, and for us, as heretofore.

BUT what must be done on our part to convince the Dutch they may securely depend upon us to do all this? Certainly our old system, with relation both to our domestic as well as foreign affairs, will never make the due impression for this purpose upon the United Provinces: we have tried that long enough, and often enough, and it is superlative weakness to rely any longer upon it. Is it not then in the power of Britain to form no other system that will at once convince the Dutch that they may safely depend no less upon her ability than her wisdom, to bring her securely, honourably, and beneficially out of a war, if they came vigorously into one with her against the enemy? If there is such a system of policy to be projected, that seems to promise fair to answer those desirable purposes, has it not a title to be candidly examined into, although it should come from the most obscure and unknown person in the kingdom? though it should come from so insignificant a person as the writer of these papers?

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WITH respect to the domestic system he has endeavoured to recommend and establish, that is openly enough declared in his last work. If the Dutch are once convinced that the court of England is determined to raise the supplies necessary to carry on the war within the year; if our ancient and natural ally shall once be made sensible that we are able to carry on a war without farther increasing our public debts and taxes, this measure alone we have seen from the declaration of their cabinet will remove some of the essential objections against their joining with us heartily against France.—If they shall find also, that such is the wisdom of his majesty's councils, that all parsimonious ways and means are fallen upon, both in the expending as well as raising of the public money; if the Dutch once experience that our public credit shall be established upon a rock, and that instead of augmenting their public debts and taxes, that we shall infallibly get into the certain road of reducing both; what weight will not this domestic step have with the states of Holland to induce them to listen to our remonstrances?

THOUGH these may be the proper preliminary steps requisite to be taken to convince the Dutch that our measures, and not only our ministers are changed; yet these alone will not have all the due influence with that state to bring them sanguinely into an offensive war against France. No: the court of
England,

England, I humbly apprehend, must still go greater lengths: they must also change their foreign system, in order to induce the Dutch to throw up so lucrative a neutrality as they at present enjoy.—But how to accomplish this is the great point!

DOES it become the wisdom of any statesman to affirm roundly, that he does not think it possible for the system of foreign affairs to be so changed, as to induce the Dutch to give up their neutrality, and join the whole weight of their power with Britain against France? If men had been dismayed from their researches into things from a prepossession of the impossibility of the discoveries which they have attempted, what advance in science could we have expected? When people in authority shall declare the most important attempts to be impossibilities in their eye, can any thing prove a greater obstruction and discouragement to the increase of knowledge of any kind? Who can undertake to assert with infallibility that it is impossible for the human understanding to discover this or that? Is there less presumption in such an infallible declaration, that an attempt to discover the supposed impossibility? Men of science, I believe, will be of opinion, that the presumption on the part of the one, is far more injurious to society than any modest attempts on the side of the other to discover useful and important truths of any kind. But does not the progress of arts and

[518]

sciences shew, that the great seeming impossibilities have proved the most easy and palpable truths? If such like authoritative caveats had been pronounced against all the discoveries that have been made, would there not long since have been a stop put to all the mathematical and philosophical sciences, which abound with numberless truths that appear at present greater impossibilities to those who do not understand them, than the discovery of the political problem affirmed to be an impossibility by a late certain great man?—I am concerned for the gentleman's honour that he should be so rash in making such an hasty declaration; but the goodness of his heart, with me, will atone for all the mistakes of the head; for I greatly honour him, notwithstanding his hasty determination in regard to a matter which has not fell under his consideration.

LET it be supposed, however, that it is even impossible for the court of England to bring the Dutch into any new system to act vigorously against France; is the court of England to set still, and not endeavour to make any other alliances, in order to stem the torrent of popish dominion? No true Briton will say, that England should attempt to act alone against France and Spain, as may soon prove the case. But lest such an event should happen, does it not become the wisdom of England to guard against so great an evil, if possible; because, if England was capable of supporting a war to her advantage against both

[519]

both those great potentates for a time, the number of neutral powers who would commence maritime carrier for Spain as well as France, would ruin the commerce of England, and protect that of her enemies.

To what a degree the trade of France is, at present, promoted by the neutrality of the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Hanse towns, I have already repeatedly shewn; and who knows but some of those neutral powers may endeavour to screen Spanish, in case of a war with Spain, as they do, at present, French property. I am afraid this will prove the case, unless England can form a system that will draw off those powers from their neutrality. I will not show how this may be done, lest I should put mischief into the enemy's head, which they may not so readily fall upon. It follows then, if we consider this point in whatever light we can, that England must make good alliances with the next best natural friend, she can obtain, if she cannot draw the Dutch into her circle of policy. And who are our natural allies next to the Dutch? Is it not happy for England that she can have Prussia and Hanover to supply their place? If we cannot obtain these to act effectually against France and her allies, at so easy an expence as we could wish, is there not the greater necessity to raise the supplies within the year, and to pursue a steady system of domestic oeconomy, the better to enable us to support our

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allies,

allies, that they may give all the diversion possible to the French power in Germany, which has proved the devouring grave of those our enemies?

BUT these allies cannot give us any maritime assistance against the enemy. Why, therefore, should we not endeavour to gain what maritime assistance we can from others? But these alliances will be very expensive to us, if we are to purchase them at the rate we have heretofore done. I do not say, That should be the case; but, if we cannot, or will not attempt to change our foreign as well as our domestic system, that must be the case, let it cost what it will; and, if we keep only from encreasing our public debts and taxes, it will be happy for us if we can make no greater change in our general system than *That*, it will prove of extraordinary help, and enable us the better to carry on the war, and procure an honourable peace. However, as I have said, there is still a much greater change needful than this alone, I mean a change in our whole foreign system; such a change as I humbly apprehend promises fair to bring in the Dutch, as well as our other next natural maritime allies into the war against France; and, which I conceive to be practicable upon far less expensive measures than have been pursued from the revolution to the present time.

INSTEAD of being unconnected with the continent, as some would have, we stand in need

need of being more closely connected therewith than ever we yet were; but those connections should be founded rather upon interesting than expensive principles; and, as a trading nation we have more reason to be connected with the continent than the continent has to be with us. In regard likewise to our security both by land and sea, though an island, we may, in times of danger, stand in no less need of the aid of continental allies than they may occasionally do of ours; for, can any thing be more weak and ridiculous than to think ourselves omnipotent, because we are islanders, when we have experienced that neither our fleets by sea can infallibly protect our commerce, or our possessions abroad, nor our fleets and armies jointly preserve us from panicks at home? How absurd is it to imagine that an island, which depends upon commerce for its wealth, should be emancipated from the continent, by which it subsists, and should establish it as a part of their political creed, that they will neither give to, nor receive from their continental friends any succour when their very Being depends upon their reciprocal support, and defence? However omnipotent by sea as well as land we might be formerly, the scene is now changed; our enemies have as greatly improved in the arts of war by sea and land as they have in the arts of commerce. This is one cause of our ill success. The marine as well as military system of France is greatly improved to what
ours

ours is in many essential respects, and it is no wonder that they prove more successful than formerly.

VARIOUS are the arts of the French to divide this nation from all preservative connections with the continent, they well knowing that if they can but once work us up to such a state of pride and self-sufficiency, as to think ourselves independent of all the world beside; and, in consequence of such vanity to influence our councils to break off all connections with the continent, they cannot fail to conquer us, or so distract our affairs as to obtain the end aimed at. Upon this principle it is, that they have left no artifice untried to divide our continental ally, the Dutch, from our interest, which they seem to have done pretty effectually—Another point they have laboured not less arduously, though not successfully, is to divide Great Britain from her continental ally, the Elector of Hanover, by employing her emissaries to propagate the greatest falsehoods relating to His Majesty's German dominions, and in making the people believe, that there are no commercial connections between this kingdom and those dominions to induce us to support them; when I have shown *, that those connections are not less interesting than those with most other states in Europe?—

* See my Great Britain's true system.

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They have likewise drawn off our continental allies the queen of Hungary, and the empress of Russia, and would, if possible, detach the king of Prussia from our alliance. In short, those anticontinental principles that have been so industriously propagated of late years seem to have been coined in the mint of France, and circulated here to answer the most desfractive as well as destructive views to this nation, and her natural allies. But I hope there is one good end that such gallican politics will answer; which is, *that they will promote a stricter union between Great Britain and the continent than she ever yet had, though at a far less expence than they ever yet did.*—*This is the NEW SYSTEM that will give us and our allies the victory, nor do I believe that any other can do it so effectually; and, therefore, I humbly hope, that the court of England will soon take the same into serious consideration, although it comes from no greater a person than the humble writer of these papers.* Reason will prevail without authority, but authority will not prevail without reason. “*Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est: non enim tam auctoritatis in disputando, quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt. Quin etiam obest plerumque iis, qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum, quid se docere profitentur: desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere; id habent ratum, quod ab eo, quem probant, iudicatum vident.* Nec vero probare

bare soleo id, quod de Pythagoreis accepimus; quos ferunt, si quid affirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis quaeretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos, ipse dixit: ipse autem erat Pythagoras. Tantum opinio praejudicata poterat, ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas. *Tul. de nat. deor.*



DISSERTATION XXXVII.

Some general principles whereon the balance of trade is founded; with the application thereof to the present work, in a recapitulation of it's contents; the consideration of which is earnestly recommended to public regard; in order to throw the balance of trade so effectually into the hands of Great Britain as to put the constant balance of power of Europe into her hands also.

THE general balance of a nation's trade is the difference between the amount of what it buys and what it sells abroad. That difference must necessarily be paid in money which is the sole equivalent for what is deficient in the exchange of commodities for commodities.

To receive that balance is the point which every trading nation aims at; and in fact it is the only thing capable of augmenting the positive and relative mass of their metals, of encreasing their populoufness, and of giving

circulation that activity which distributes ease, the useful principle of luxury, through every class of the people.

THE general balance is the result of the particular balances, which are not all immediately advantageous, though the general balance be lucrative. But they are not burdensome to the state when they are the means of procuring other more useful branches of trade, or lessen the loss on those without which a nation cannot carry on trade.

Two things deserve to be taken particular notice of in the balance of trade: the way to know one's advantage, or disadvantage; and the means of obtaining advantage.

IF no fraudulent exports or imports were made, it would be easy to ascertain the nature and amount of the particular balances, by the customhouse books and registers. But care must be taken in such valuations not to rate the goods exported by foreign ships, higher than their first value and the expence of carriage on board; to which must be added the value of the freight, if they are shipped in national vessels. It is on the other hand equally proper to value the imports made by foreign ships, on the footing of the value of the commodities at the place where they are landed; and on the footing of their first value only, when imported by national vessels.

ANOTHER way to judge in general of the advantage or disadvantage of the general balance

lance of trade during a year, is to combine the courses all the exchanges have been at. This method is evidently not susceptible of any positive degree of knowledge: nor is it in general of that of the particular balances, because it often happens, that one place, by the trade with which a nation loses, is employed to make the remittances of another with which it gains, without having any open course of exchange with it. But this method is more certain than the other to know whether money comes into a country, or goes out of it, because it embraces every object.

BESIDES, the active and passive debts of foreign trade, states have sometimes others between themselves.

THESE second debts are the mutual expences of subjects who travel to each other's country; the interest of sums put out either with private men, or in the public funds, or government securities; and lastly, their political engagements.

A BODY-POLITIC is not strengthened by a new subsistence till all those kinds of debts are mutually balanced. The result of those operations cannot be known with any degree of certainty, but by a combination of the exchanges.

BOTH methods may in general be of great help to each other, and afford a reciprocal elucidation; for which reason they ought not to be separated.

AN advantageous balance is chiefly the fruit of the several mechanic branches of commerce, which have made a part of the subject of this treatise: all particular operations ought to tend to four fundamental points, as Sir Josiah Child very justly observes. They consist,

1st. IN considering trade as the chief interest of a nation.

2dly, IN increasing the number of workmen.

3dly. IN increasing the nation's capital in commodities.

4thly. IN making foreigners find their account in trading with her.

EVERY occupation contrary to any one of these four means is dangerous: the commerce of a state will fall short of perfection, in proportion as these four means shall be less extensively made use of.

IT is plain that the two first naturally lead to the two others, which are the absolute and necessary consequences of them.

IT seems equally superfluous to insist on the necessity of considering trade as a nation's chief interest; that maxim we hope having been established to content.

WE have had fewer opportunities of insisting on the necessity of increasing the number of workmen, than on the means of occupying the people. One still remains for us to touch upon, after which we will proceed to this important object.

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WE have observed that foreigners may contract a second kind of debts with a nation, by the expences they are at in travelling there.

IT is to the liberal arts and sciences that curiosity generally pays that tribute. A double motive for acknowledgment towards such as cultivate them with success; towards those great and uncommon genius's, to whom nature has intrusted the art of instructing other men, or of leading them on to pleasure by sensations purer and more analagous to that part of us which thinks and knows. They do not only answer the intent of their glorious motive with regard to those whose intellectual faculties are less sluggish and obstructed; but useful and assisting to all that bears the stamp of humanity, they procure a more comfortable subsistence to a rude and ignorant multitude, too much inclined to disown the favours they receive.

REAL talents, ever modest, and unambitious of whatever does not conduce to perfection, would alone have but a very small share in the ease and convenience that flows from them, if unassisted by the justice and liberality of government and princes. A prince cannot build his glory on a surer foundation, and that part of the public revenues which he employs therein is an advantageous commerce which he procures his subjects. For the same reason it is right to multiply

VOL. II.

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public buildings and monuments, and repositories of scarce and valuable things, when the public ease admits of it. There it is that artists ought chiefly to pique themselves on shewing the extent of their invention, and rivalling nature in all they do, emulate those beauties, whose charms, felt by all, command respect from the most capricious, and the ignorance of less happy ages.

To raise the curiosity of strangers is, however, not alone sufficient; it is likewise necessary to seduce them, and prolong their stay. Public diversions cannot be too much varied in a capital, nor too magnificent; and if the national beauties are not sufficient of themselves to please the taste of every nation that resorts thither, it is proper to add others to them, but better still to make them one's own by a happy imitation.

Of all allurements the most seducing certainly are the engaging manners of a people and their cordiality. The French are allowed by all to excel in the first; but I cannot help saying, that the second, by much the most essential, is less common in their capital. It is quite the reverse in their provinces, with which foreigners are most delighted, when they know them.

The buildings and monuments of a city are soon seen, the walks and gardens are soon run over, as well as the country seats about town, and the public diversions. What can

tempt a foreigner to stay after that, if he has formed no intimacies with the inhabitants? Can he form any, if he be in a manner excluded from society? I am sensible that the entrance into that society ought to be difficult wherever a great multitude is collected together, because a greater facility would be an inlet to numberless abuses; besides that, the continual hurry and agitation in which men are forced to live, does not suffer them to attend minutely to objects indifferent in themselves. Accordingly, foreigners are not so unjust as to require being sought after and courted: but it is with reason they complain of being shunned; of not being excused their different air, dress, language, and ignorance of particular customs: nay, even of the jargon, frivolousness and ridiculous affectations of a people, which are, however, the perpetual object of their jokes and laughter.

It would, perhaps, not be beneath the majesty of a great king to appoint a proper person or two, whose function should be to do as it were the honours, of a country to foreigners of distinction, or such as should be recommended by their ministers.

It would not require much money to keep two good tables. Those to whom that care should be entrusted should study to invite men capable of giving foreigners a just idea of our manners and politeness: of the

[532]

better bred to all strangers, notwithstanding the rudeness of the vulgar herd; they would thereby be enabled to form acquaintance and connections more easily. Such an example would influence the great, who would think it their duty to promote such noble views; they could not themselves but be gainers by the instruction they would learn relating to foreign affairs; and the political interests of the state would in all probability likewise reap advantage thereby.

It will next be necessary to observe the means of procuring a state an advantageous balance of commerce, by the increase of the number of workmen.

It is plain, that if the strength of commerce be known, if it becomes a nation's chief interest, the various kinds of work will multiply of themselves. But that is not the only means that ought to be made use of to increase the number of workmen. Sound policy will effect it likewise, by drawing over workmen from abroad, and seeing in general that men are employed in the best manner possible.

If the inhabitants of one country enjoy more happiness than those of others, the latter will resort to the former of their own accord. The division of Europe into several sovereignties, has left policy no other resource whereby to obtain superiority. The legislator would therefore deprive himself of

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[533]

part of the fruit of his labours, if he opposed difficulties or indifference to the willingness of useful men desirous to become his subjects. It is highly proper that all who come capable of increasing the number of commodities, or who bring their fortunes with them, should, on conforming to the laws of that country, enjoy all the prerogatives of subjects. If they marry there, it would be unjust, and perhaps more imprudent, either to refuse to naturalize them, or to make that naturalization expensive.

To obtain men is a great advantage; but it is indispensably necessary to employ those we have in the best manner possible. That best employment consists in receiving from them all the assistance that can be gathered from their faculties, both mechanic and intellectual: it is by so much the more important, as every inequality affects population.

It is not enough for the public welfare that every poor inhabitant gets a livelihood; but the manner in which he gets it ought likewise to be useful to society in general.

A GREAT number of beggars may live comfortably, though the body-politic receives no part of its strength from them. It is even weakened by them: for, not to speak of the contagious example of idleness, the substance which compassion and charity allot for the maintenance of those useless members, is partly withheld from other members, who

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are no longer able to exert all the activity of which they are susceptible.

COMMERCE considered as the chief interest of the nation, and the safety of industry, are the easiest ways of keeping men from a way of life so hurtful to the community. But force alone can break that habit, when once contracted.

WORKHOUSES are as old as industry in nations wise enough to conceive betimes, that the occupation of the subjects was the pledge of their fidelity, the source of population, of national riches and public revenues: in short, the only solid foundation of a well judged foreign power. Those houses have answered two intents of police: at the same time that they root out sloth and idleness, they are a means of punishment to such as disturb the public order, without going such lengths as to deserve to be quite cut off from society; which, by that means, inflicts a proper chastisement on vice, without losing it's right to the labour of vicious men.

It must not be imagined that such establishments are expensive, or difficult, or fit for some particular countries only. Every county has it's hospitals, it's laborious works, such as hewing stones, felling wood, sawing planks, making ropes, and tow, the first dressing of wool, hemp, and an infinity of other things sufficient to maintain a man

man against whom the laws are justly incensed.

HANDS may likewise be transmitted from one workhouse to another, where the country affords more work. Such an establishment requires little expence, but great order, and an exact and uniform police.

BESIDES begging, men have other ways of subsisting pernicious to society: and I will again venture to assert, that population always decreases in proportion to the encrease of such kinds of occupation.

THAT amazing multitude of livery servants chosen from among the most robust and best made men in the country, can never make amends by their consumptions for the want of that better degree of culture, which the lands had a right to expect from them. The state loses on the capital of it's commodities and the balance of it's trade; and the public revenues will be weakened thereby, so long as that object of luxury, pernicious fruit of a bad principle, shall not be subjected to such an impost, as shall keep it within proper bounds.

Two or three thousand, or perhaps more, water-carriers are employed in Paris to do what four hundred carts might perform equally well. The quays, bridges, and streets, of that city are more and more crouded every day with pedlars, old clothes-men, and other such like people, whose station in life cannot well

well be defined, and who live by doing needless things; by hawking about lottery tickets, an invention, perhaps, full, as hurtful to the ease and honesty of the people, as all the other effects of unpunished idleness. All these men, deserters from tillage, navigation, and manufactories, did not want for employment and wages; but they have found out a way of getting more by doing no one useful thing: void of care and without families, they lead a more debauched life, too often supported by larceny.

THOUGH the legislator cannot, nor ought to enter into the particular details of every subject; can it be doubted how much it concerns him to forbid in general by his laws, all public acts that tend to depopulation, and the ruin of society? I do not pretend that a particular plan of life or industry should be laid down for every man, but only that such things as are incompatible with public order, should be suppressed and prevented.

THAT indeed can never be so well effected as when foreign trade shall incessantly procure the totality of the people new riches together with new branches of useful industry.

IF the proper employment of industrious men, is what constitutes essentially the strength of the body politic; it follows, that to multiply the days of that employment is to multiply the resources of the state. It were to be wished as Don Geronimo de Ustariz, the Spaniard,

Spaniard, observes, that it were possible, without interfering with the public worship of God, to provide for the wants of the poor: every holiday is a diminution of at least eight millions of piastres out of their wages. It must be owned that in those dioceses where festivals are less strictly observed, all the working people do not profit by it: but that is less owing to their zeal and piety, than to their habitual depravity of life. Many, however, make a good use of it; it gains ground imperceptibly, and to encourage it still more, it would, perhaps, not be amiss to oblige all shopkeepers to keep their shops open when permitted by the superior clergy.

THOUGH all men are born to labour, the inequality of conditions has introduced among them very reasonable distinctions with regard to the object of that labour. We will here call employment of the intellectual faculty whatever is not the work of the mechanic labour of the body.

THE more the principles of a frivolous education have introduced variety among a people, the more those distinctions are become shameful and humiliating.

THAT, however, is not the only abuse: as all endeavour to rise, men born in a middling station would think they demeaned themselves, if they stooped to the class in which their grandfathers were born. If those

[538]

those middling classes were more numerous than their proportion with the others could well bear, the multitude of men, whom pride would keep poor and idle, would be as infinite as their pretensions: very few of them would marry, and the celibacy forced upon part of the children would be thought a necessary cruelty on account of the rest.

PUBLIC prejudice would thus encrease daily, together with the causes of depopulation, whilst no body would think of explaining what in the public order is understood by reputable profession and honourable family.

FARMING, navigation, arts, and commerce, not being included in these vague indefinite terms, because none would apply to them for resources, all such as should have grown rich in these four classes would leave them as quick as possible.

If the admision into the class distinguished by public order could be bought on terms ruinous to the prince's domain, all the rich would have a double inducement to abandon their former state to purchase lands, and live in a manner suitable to the prejudices of their new condition. If their descendants chanced to impoverish themselves, they would hold all kind of work in still greater contempt. The army would be their resource, but the causes of depopulation would not be the less multiplied.

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[539]

To suppress the venality of nobility in France might be now a more brilliant than useful operation; both on account of the public wants, and, because it is of consequence not to retrench such objects of emulation as men have been accustomed to; and likewise because it would be depriving one's self of those extraordinary talents, which chance does not confine to any one class, as the national prejudices would have it be; but above all for fear the rich should carry their fortunes over to some other country, where they could enjoy what their own refused them.

THE privileged nobility in France, always separated from the other by a boundless space, or, at least, by such a one as great men only can stride over, will be forced, as they multiply to confine themselves pretty nearly to the occupations of the order from which they sprung: France begins already to find that effect from her multiplying of privileges. If the legislator did but add to the first expedient, some few signal favours in behalf of such kinds of occupation as should be judged most proper to be preferred, one might hope to see prejudices soon subside in every proportional class of the subjects; labour would insensibly resume her rights, and the causes of depopulation would diminish.

VANITY does not confine to any one class of men her opposition to the better employment of their mental faculties. She it is that, backed

[540]

backed by too great a number of colleges and academies meerly literary, produces and keeps up, to the prejudice of all ranks of people, wretched poets, insipid novelists, and all the numerous tribe of scriblers and pretended wits and *beaux esprits*. Agreeing among themselves in one point only, their superstitious worship of fancy, they resemble each other in petulance, and in being equally, in the highest degree, useles to society.

THE loss of those men is already inestimable in itself; but, by becoming an object of luxury with the great and rich, they have infected both sexes with their contagious flights. A too fatal imitation has carried the spirit of levity and giddiness even to the mechanic, the whole inheritance of whose widow and children will, perhaps, be to know how to beg their bread in more elegant words.

NOTHING but ridicule and the sharpest criticism can avenge society of such wrongs: for sound criticism is as formidable to a little wit, as it is advantageous to a genius truly great.

LET not a vain indulgence be claimed here: the imperfection of humanity, I grant, is such that it's good things are never without some mixture. Did not the wisest of men deserve the hemlock draught? Humiliating, but useful reflection! Athens justly preferred the preservation of public order, to the life of her best philosophers.

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[541]

I DO not after all desire a law should be passed to forbid people from losing their time in scribbling, but only that a proper degree of ridicule be tacked to it. It is not the multitude of bad writers that makes them better: in the career of imagination every man born with but a small genius, will make but a bad author as long as he lives; they are synonymous terms. The names of such as are animated by a genius truly great, will live as long as the annals of the nation that has them. But the sole consideration of the lustre it enjoys, will make no ordinary men take up the pen. The works of those great masters will be the study of well organised heads, and of the small number of such as are worthy to imitate them.

No man can be more ready than I am, to pay to all pleasing arts that tribute of praise which cannot be refused them without injustice, nor without hurting the real good of society. Several passages in this work must screen me from any contrary invitation. But many, to whose sentiments I owe the greatest deference, tax me with having seen the abuse that is made of our intellectual faculties, with too severe an eye. I had rather own it, than seem to persist in a dangerous opinion. But yet I do not know whether the abuse of the academies *merely and purely literary*, with which our provinces abound, deserves so little attention as is pretended. It is not the loss
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[542]

of five or six hundred men known to polite literature, that I regret; some of them do honour to their country; and others, as manufacturers will always deserve some regard. But with what eye shall we look upon the inestimable loss of time of thousands of young people in every province, whom the frivolous advantage of being thought witty, induces to neglect those studies to which they were destined by their birth and family? Can it be thought sufficient to renounce all wildness and levity of mind at the very instant when a man enters on a profession? That it is quite easy to check an imagination, the flights and starts of which have been long applauded? In short, is not the time when a man enters into life, that wherein he ought rather to act than study? It is not only in that light that I consider the abuse of the mind: let us penetrate into the private transactions of families; we shall see women give up all domestic cares, to indulge themselves in the reading of books, which, far from forming, corrupt their minds; we shall see them despise the company and counsels of a husband, who is only a man of plain good sense, and study to deserve a ridiculous character; a mother will consult the man that amuses her most, about the plan of education, or the choice of a tutor for her son. I do not pretend to enumerate all the follies, the affectation of *bel esprit*, has been productive of in our days: I am

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[543]

content to observe that it is hurtful, even to the progress of learning. The pretended good company, of which the *bel esprit* is the charm and idol, is fit only to enervate a young author, to fill him with that inconsiderate and rash confidence, which is a certain symptom of neglect of study, and of very indifferent performances. Let us, in fine, apply to this luxury of mind, the principles that have guided us in our own examination of that which appertains to commerce. It is not to be feared, if it proceeds from a useful principle, that is to say, from public instruction and a general taste for that well seasoned reason in which all true wit consists. I do not speak of the academies where they ought to be, because it is proper there should be distinctions there for eminent men, and that every kind of luxury should center there.

IF perfection in the sciences is reserved to a certain degree of intelligence, seldom given by nature, it is at least certain that every degree of knowledge that is acquired, has it's usefulness. Mediocrity in an astronomer, a mathematician, naturalist, chymist, lawyer, and, in short, in any of the sciences, is sufficient to qualify a man for numbers of employments in society; for, even that mediocrity always supposes some degree of judgment and application. *Neque enim ita gene-*

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rati a natura sumus, ut ad ludum & jocum facti esse videamur, sed ad severitatem potius & ad quaedam studia graviora atque majora. Ludo autem & joco, uti illis quidem licet, sed sicut somno, & quietibus caeteris, tum cum gravibus seriisque rebus satisfecerimus. Cic. de offic. lib. 1.

FOR many other particulars relating to a knowledge in the balance of trade, the reader may please to consult my dictionary of commerce.—Every one will discern how far these sentiments of Mons. Melon, a judicious Frenchman, are applicable to these kingdoms. But by what peculiar means the particular balances of trade, and in consequence thereof, the general balance may be augmented for the benefit of Great Britain, is the intent of the present treatise.

WISHING, that it might be well understood in this nation, from what general as well as particular system of police the commercial grandeur of France has proceeded, I thought it my duty, before I laid down my pen, to display the same in a connected view: and judging one essential cause thereof has been owing to the general cheapness of their commodities; I have laid the foundation of these papers, by endeavouring to show, by what measures, I humbly apprehend, we may be enabled the sooner to compete with this rival kingdom, in that respect, which is, by urging the necessity of taking more and more

more land into cultivation, till we should be capable of gradually diminishing our taxes, by the gradual lessening of our public debts. Hereby likewise, we conceive, that all future scarcity of grain, and other provisions, in the kingdom, may be effectually prevented; in order to render the necessaries of life and labour cheaper, that our arts and manufactures may become so, in consequence thereof.

WE have next taken under consideration the produce and trade of England, and compared them with those of Scotland, and Ireland, and the British plantations; and also with each other, from a view further to enforce the reasonableness and necessity of England's falling into the measures before recommended; shewing otherwise that her lands and her trade are not less likely to be ruined by her own dominions than by foreign rivals. This is the tenor of the two first dissertations.

BUILDING much on the greater cultivation of land, it has been judged eligible to give a summary of various general principles of agriculture, as founded on experience, for the better improvement of our lands; in order the better to promote that general plenty and prosperity in England aimed at by these writings. As connected herewith, we have entered upon the point of establishing public and private granaries. These make the subject of the three succeeding discourses.

FROM hence I have examined into the essential connections of trade between

[546]

Great Britain and Ireland, and the British plantations, and pointed out such productions, manufactures, and trades, as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the British plantations should chiefly cultivate; in order to rival and compete with foreign nations, and not with each other; representing measures necessary to be taken for the joint prosperity of the commerce and navigation of them all. These topics carry on our animadversions to the Xth dissertation.

We begin next with our considerations on the necessity and advantages that will arise to Great Britain in general, from a proper union between her and Ireland. This subject is continued in divers lights to the XIVth discourse; the next beginning, as having affinity with the preceding, on the point of annexing the Isle of Man to Great Britain, and thereby to lay the axe to the root of the infamous practice of smuggling carried on from thence.

FROM considering the commercial state of our concerns in Europe, we next take a succinct view of the constitution of the British plantations in America, and of the condition wherein they have many years been; pointing out the chief and disregarded causes of their becoming the present seat of war; with reflections how they may recover their strength and stability, and become a match for our enemies. This is the tenor of our endeavours

[547]

endeavours from the XVIth to the XIXth discourse.

To corroborate our humble sentiments on those concerns, we have subsequently taken a review of the conduct of France, in relation to the North-American colonies. On this capital point we have endeavoured to give a comparison between her management of her American affairs, and that of Great Britain. This subject carries us to dissertation XXI.; when the next enters upon a matter no less interesting at this juncture—and I call it the system of the French with regard to their African trade; wherein will appear by what police they have become so successful therein, and obtained the advantage so greatly over us. This is continued to the XXIIth discourse; beginning next, as the reader will discern the reason, with a summary review of the commerce of France in the East-Indies; shewing by what gradations they have advanced the same, and how Great Britain stands in contrast with them in that respect. Dissertation XXIV. treats of the policy of England with regard to her management of the African trade; with considerations how the same might have been better conducted, and far more extended for the general interest of the nation; with a farther comparison between our management and that of France, respecting the same: and by what means our East-India

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[548]

India company may be rendered instrumental to the security and advancement of this commerce. The XXVth discourse continues the preceding subject. I next consider, in the XXVI, the increase of the naval power of France and Spain, by the means of their FISHERIES, and show the necessity of England balancing that degree of naval power, by the carrying of her fisheries to the full extent they will admit of. And to the end that the reader may have before him in full view the present state of the commercial connections of France, we have taken a survey of her trade with all the European nations, which finishes the XXVIIth discourse.

AFTER this, we enter more minutely, in the XXVIIIth dissertation, into the essential principles of navigation in general, and fisheries in particular, and shew how they contribute to give the balance of commerce, and consequently of power.—And in order to apply those maxims to the state of affairs in the times of war, we have next taken into our consideration the best methods of stationing our convoys and cruizers for the security and protection of our trade and navigation, and for the annoying those of the enemy. This is the purport of discourse XXIX. And that our naval force may not be obstructed in its full exertion to the utmost public benefit and advantage, I have shewed the

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ill policy of our insuring the ships and merchandizes of the enemy in times of war: with considerations on the detrimental consequences to our trade, and the advantages to that of France, arising from so many neutral maritime carriers. This point finishes the XXXth dissertation; and the subsequent topic is an enquiry how long France may be presumed to carry on the war from the present state of affairs, according to the old system of conduct.

IN our next discourse, we have given a summary of general maxims regarding the prosperity of our national commerce, as founded on experience, and the sentiments of the most knowing and judicious.

THAT what has been urged throughout these discourses may be the better relished by the reader, and make the desired impression upon his understanding, we have next given a recapitulation of fundamental principles, whereon the national trade may be promoted in every branch. This concludes dissertation XXXII; and is introductory to what is urged in the subsequent discourse, of arts and manufactories.

IN order to render this work the more seasonable at this critical juncture of public affairs, we afterwards make an enquiry into the reasons why Holland has changed her system of late years towards the court of England; giving an abstract of a genuine remarkable

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speech said to be made at a conference by the
 G—d P—r of Holland, in the year
 1742, before certain British lords, who were
 sent on an embassy to engage the Dutch in
 British measures: with remarks shewing that
 Holland expects Great Britain should change
 her system towards that republic, before she
 can alter hers; with some intimation how
 Great Britain may change her system to gain
 the Dutch, and several other her natural allies,
 as principals in the present war against France;
 and that at little expence to this nation in
 comparison to what it has cost heretofore.
 This subject finishes the XXXIVth discourse.

AFTER that I have animadverted on the
 conduct of the court of Spain towards that
 of Great Britain, since the peace of Utrecht;
 with remarks on the extraordinary friendship
 that we may reasonably expect from that na-
 tion at present: with this subject ends the
 XXXVth dissertation.

IN the subsequent discourse, we enter
 upon the necessity of Great Britain being at
 present more closely connected and allied
 with the continent than she ever has been,
 though upon quite different principles; and
 not at such an expence in time of war, as has
 been the case heretofore. Here ends the
 XXXVIth discourse.

I NEXT enter upon the general principles,
 whereon the balance of trade is founded;
 with the application thereof to the present
 work

work, in a recapitulation of it's contents;
 the consideration of which is earnestly recom-
 mended to the public regard, in order to
*throw the balance of trade so effectually into the
 hands of Great Britain, as to put the constant
 balance of power in Europe into her hands.*
 Discourse XXXVII.

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