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THE
National Merchant :
OR,
DISCOURSES
ON
COMMERCE and COLONIES;
BEING AN
ESSAY

FOR
Regulating and Improving the TRADE and
PLANTATIONS of GREAT
BRITAIN,

By Uniting the
NATIONAL and MERCATORIAL Interests.
To which are added,
Some CONSIDERATIONS on providing for, and
employing our uselefs and burdensome People.

In several LETTERS to a Friend.

*Unum esse debet omnibus propositum, ut eadem sit Utilitas uniuscu-
jusque & universorum. Cic. De Offic.*
*Audite cætera — Omnibus qui Patriam conservaverint, adjuve-
rint, auxerint, certum esse in Cælo ac definitum Locum, ubi
beati sempiterno Ævo fruantur : Nihil est enim illi principi Deo,
qui omnem hunc Mundum regit (quod quidem in Terris fiat) ac-
ceptius, quam Concilia, Cætusque Hominum, Jure societati, quæ
Civitates appellantur, Harum Rectores & Conservatores hinc
profecti, huc revertentur. Cic. Somn. Scipionis.*

L O N D O N :

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THE
National Merchants
DISCOUNTERS
OF
LONDON
AND
WINDSOR

For the purpose of
discounting and
advancing money
to the Trade
of the City of
London and
Windsor

IN THE
Year 1708

W O R O
Printed by
T. Oates
in the Strand




To the Right Honourable
Sir Robert Walpole, &c.

A N D

To the Honourable

Sir John Barnard, &c.

Honoured Gentlemen,

 **H** E S E Letters hav-
ing been published
in separate Papers
for every one's Considera-
tion, are now collected to-
gether, and humbly sub-

A 2 mitted

iv DEDICATION.

mitted to Your joint Protection: For the Author is sensible, that the Publick will receive little Benefit from them, unless approved and countenanced by *Those* who are able to carry their Design into Execution.

Gentlemen,

YOU are treading the Paths of Glory! 'Tis from the First of You, that a brave Nation, possessed of the most powerful maritime Force the World ever saw, hopes *All* that can be expected from a *worthy Representative* and *Patriot*, an *experienced*

DEDICATION. v

perienced Statesman, and an *able Minister*, deservedly Trusted and Employed by a Great and Wise KING, zealous and indefatigable for the Welfare and Prosperity of his People.

FROM the other of You, Gentlemen, very much too is expected: As You are a *Representative*, and a *Chief Magistrate* of the most famous, most opulent, and most trading City this Day on Earth; as You are endowed with Capacity and Abilities every Way equal to those important Trusts; as

A 3

Your

vi DEDICATION.

Your Tongue is eloquent,
and Your Principles and
Temper moderate, and as in
You, the *eminent Merchant*,
on all Occasions, gives Way
to the *just* and *prudent* Le-
gislator.

I am,

Right Honourable,

and Honourable,

Your most obedient,

and most devoted,


humble Servant,

John Bennet,



THE

PREFACE.

 SIR JOSHUA Child informs us, that discoursing once with a Noble Lord on the Balance of our Trade, or general National Gain or Loss by it, his Lordship, not rightly apprehending him, asked him two very proper Questions, viz.

Quest. I. "Is there not a great
" Similitude between the Affairs of
" a private Person, and of a Na-
" tion; the former being but a
" little Family, and the latter a
" great Family?"

To which Sir Joshua answered,
Yes, certainly there is.

A 4

Quest.

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Quest II. " May not a private
" Merchant be, or seem to be,
" Owner of much Shipping, drive
" a great Trade, receive and send
" out many Goods, and yet decline
" and grow poorer, notwithstand-
" ing all his Tumbling and Bust-
" ling?"

To which Sir Josiah also answer-
ed; Yes, certainly he may.

THOSE who have taken Pains to
bring Arts and Sciences to Perfection,
have left to others Helps and Guides
to direct them to those very Points
to which they themselves did not ar-
rive without abundance of Experi-
ence and Labour; and that the Sub-
ject of Trade may be reduced into
a Science I do not at all doubt; tho'
as a Man of Business, I have not con-
fined myself to so strict a Task. I
have only presented to the Publick
some Maxims and Observations to-
wards it, which I heretofore
framed

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framed or collected for my own par-
ticular Improvement.

THE Letter which I received
from Philo-Anglus, Printed in my
IVth Paper, induced me to turn my
Thoughts on Colonies sooner than
otherwise I should have done: But
there are Arts of Peace as well as
War; and we may alike hope to con-
quer without military Discipline,
as to prosper without Regularity and
Order in our Trade.

SHOULD these Letters produce
any good Effect, it will be an Encour-
agement for me hereafter to employ
some more of my Time on a Subject
of such vast Importance and Con-
cernment; and for the present, I
will conclude with the Words of a
great and experienced Statesman,
on a like Occasion:

' THE Reader is desired impar-
' tially to peruse this Book, which I
' wrote not only with a composed
' and

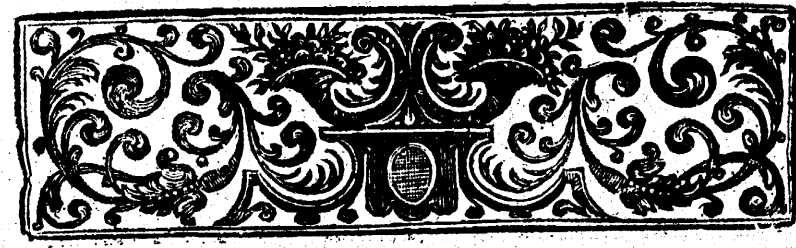
x The P R E F A C E.

‘ and sedate Mind, but with a sincere Affection to Truth, and to my Country: and by weighing and considering what I have said, he will be able to judge, whether I have effected my Design: If he thinks otherwise; I desire him however to believe, that I have used the best of my Endeavours to that End; and hope I cannot but deserve Thanks from my Native Country, for exciting by this Attempt some abler Hand to rectify my Mistakes, and finish the Work.’

i. e. That the National and Mercatorial Interests may be united; and All our People made useful, and provided for.



THE



THE
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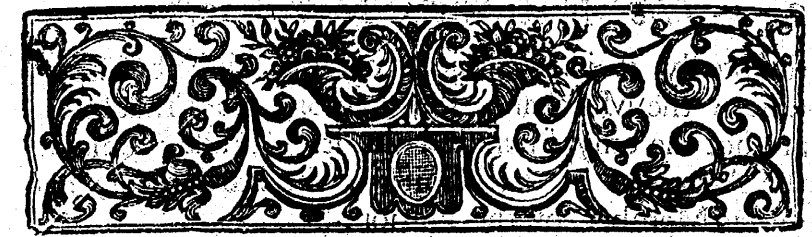
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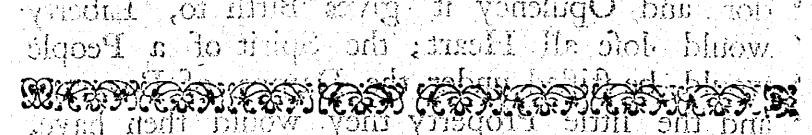
ERRATA.

Page 34, Line 28. read, *Nor is it.* p. 98, l. 2. for *intended*, r. *intending*. p. 117, l. 21. for *ber*, r. *bear*. p. 131, l. 31, after *not*, r. *only*. p. 137, l. 3. include the whole Line, except the two last Words, in a Parenthesis. p. 140, l. 20. for *this*, r. *his*.

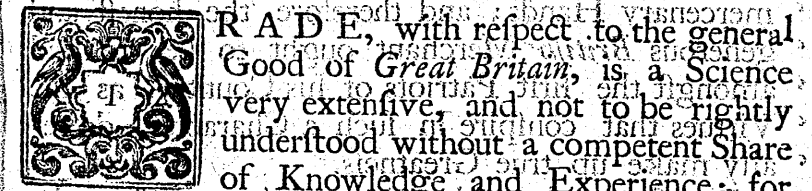
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THE
National Merchant.



LETTER
Of the Knowledge of TRADE, and its Usefulness.



RAD E, with respect to the general Good of Great Britain, is a Science very extensive, and not to be rightly understood without a competent Share of Knowledge and Experience; for a Man should be able to comprehend all its Advantages and Disadvantages, to discover all its various Sources, and nicely to discern and distinguish those Branches which are more profitable, and tending to the publick Benefit of the Nation, from those that are, or may be so, in a less eminent Degree. At present, most of the civilized Nations in the World, especially the *European*, seem to think their Safety, as well as Prosperity, greatly concerned in the Preservation and Enlargement of their Trade. Un-

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doubtedly it is a Subject of the highest Importance; the Merchant, the Factor, the Tradesman, are not the only interested in it. Trade demands the Attention of the Ministry, the Parliament, and every Member of the Nation.

LIBERTY and Trade (says one) are mutually the Cause and Effect of each other; as Wealth and national Greatness are the genuine Offsprings of them both. Without Liberty, and the Security of Property, all Trade is made doubly precarious, and languishes under fatal Discouragements. Without Trade, and the Splendor and Opulency it gives Birth to, Liberty would lose all Heart; the Spirit of a People would be stifled under the Damps of Poverty; and the little Property they would then have, would be thought not worth struggling for. — As there is no Science more ample and various than that of Trade, in its whole national Extent, so there is none of a more nice or intricate Nature. It is always in Danger of being damaged or lost, whenever it comes under the Conduct of weak and little Minds, or selfish and mercenary Hands; and therefore the honest and generous *British* Merchant ought to be ranked amongst the first Patriots of his Country, as the Virtues that conspire in such a Character, really make up true Greatness.

It seems something extraordinary, (says the same Writer) that in a Country which has extended its Commerce, as *England* has done, the Science of Trade is so little understood; and while all other Branches of Knowledge have been pestered with such Crowds of Pretenders, this only has been almost universally disclaimed; and we are very frankly told in Coffee-houses, and in Print, by Gentlemen, who, in other Things, are very little apt to distrust their own Judgments,

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Judgments, that they know nothing at all of the
 Theory of *British* Commerce. — Several
 Branches of Trade indeed seem to be very well
 understood by the Merchants who are concerned
 in them, and these Persons are very ready to in-
 form us of the Advantages, which (as they say)
 the Nation receives by their several Means; but
 it is not to be expected, that many of them
 should always forget their own private Interest
 in what they contend for, or sacrifice their own
 Profits intirely to the national Advantage. —
 Nor have mere Schemists, and philosophical Pro-
 jectors succeeded better in their laborious Searches
 into the Laws and Principles of this Science, and
 their too much studied and refined Plans for the
 Advancement of it. Their Discoveries and Ob-
 servations, tho' perhaps not unjust, have carried
 in them, or at least been thought so to do
 (which is as bad) somewhat too subtile and im-
 practicable for the Gros of Mankind. — No
 Wonder then that the compleat National Merchant
 should be so rare a Creature, since he is to recon-
 cile Theory and Business, publick and private In-
 terest, the Trader and the Philosopher.

ANOTHER Writer on Trade has remarked, 'That
 we are indeed very happy in the Constitution of
 our Legislature, who have made many excellent
 Laws for securing our Liberties and Properties;
 but we fear our Parliaments have sometimes been
 misled, when Matters relating to Trade have been
 brought under their Consideration; for as the two
 Houses consist of so great a Number of Noble-
 men and Gentlemen, whose Educations have been
 quite different from the Study of such Improve-
 ments as might be made by Manufactures and
 Commerce, it is not to be expected, that they
 should form a right Judgment therein, without
 B 2 ' having

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'having Matters relating to Trade explained to them.'

MOST certainly it would be of singular Use and Benefit to the Publick, if the Science of Trade were brought to some Certainty, by an established Set of Principles and Maxims, which might assist and direct our Conclusions. All other Arts and Sciences almost, by the Care and Industry of Men, have their Postulata, and fixed Principles methodized; why then should not the Science of Trade be cultivated and improved, and be brought to some Kind of Perfection? Is it not for want of some certain Rule to guide us, that private Interest has so often got the better of publick Good in Deliberations of so much Concern and Importance, as are Matters of Trade and Commerce, upon which the Happiness and Glory of *Great Britain*, in the highest Degree, are known to depend?

I am SIR,

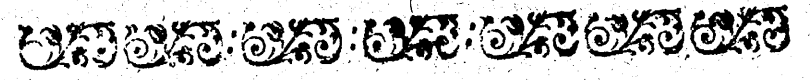
Your humble Servant,

The National Merchant.



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LETTER II.

The Author's Design in Writing, and Eight Maxims, or Observations, relating to Trade, and for forming right Notions concerning it.

S I R,

TILL the Science of Trade be better explain'd, I fend you some *Maxims* and *Observations*, which I formerly collected for my own Information, and hope they may be of the like Satisfaction and Use to others, as they have been to myself: *Discourses* on all or many of the most important of them may hereafter follow. I have examined them with some Care and Attention, and think them true; and if the Publick happen to be of the same Opinion, I may, at one Time or other, offer to its Consideration, some *Essays for the Regulation of our Commerce, and the Improvement of our Colonies* to the Advantage of the Nation. By this Method; perhaps, some present Difficulties may be remov'd; our younger Legislators and Gentlemen come to reason and determine from establish'd Principles; and Coffee-house Politicians see, that when any of their Affairs interfere with the Publick Good, they ought not immediately to cry out, *We are undone by the Ministry.*

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MAXIMS *and* OBSERVATIONS *re-* *lating to* TRADE.

I. **T**HE true and ultimate End of every Government, is the Defence, Happiness and Increase of the People.

II. A WELL regulated Trade mightily contributes to the Security, Prosperity and Increase of a Nation.

III. SOME Branches of Trade, tho' profitable to particular Persons, may be prejudicial to the Publick.

IV. A NATION may over-trade itself; as, for Example, several Countries have done.

V. TRADE ought not to govern Politicks, but to be governed by them: Polity being to be look'd on as the FATHER of a State; and Trade and Agriculture, as the NURSE and MOTHER.

VI. THE Magnitude of the Trade of *Great Britain* has rather happened from the Advantages of its Situation, the Nature of its Inhabitants, and incidental Causes; than been effectuated by well-concerted Schemes, and proper Encouragements.

VII. THE Statesmen of the present Age throughout *Europe*, do now more than ever accommodate Trade to the Service of their respective Governments; it formerly being oppress'd in most States, and its Benefits to the Publick not so clearly apprehended.

VIII. SEVERAL Things might be done for the Glory and Interest of *Great Britain*, the Advancement and Regulation of our Trade; and the Improvement of our Colonies, if the *Mercatorial* were always made consistent with, and united to the *National* Interest.

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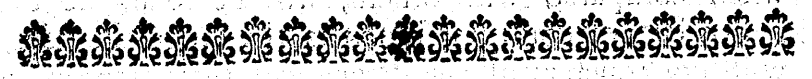
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WHEN the foregoing Postulata are assented to, it will be time to mention a few Rules, whereby one may judge, whether any particular Trade be beneficial to a Country, or not so; and consequently, whether it ought to be allowed and encouraged, or clogg'd, or prohibited.

I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

The National Merchant.



L E T T E R III.

RULES to distinguish what Trades are advantageous, what disadvantageous, and which are more or less so; --- And on the great Value of our American Colonies.

S I R,

THAT some Branches of Trade may be advantageous to a Country, and others detrimental; and, that some may be more, or less so, than others, I suppose are not Questions in Dispute: But to know how rightly to distinguish each from another, perhaps, is not so well understood, as some may imagine. We will therefore see what Rules are to be found to govern and direct us in these Matters.

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MAXIMS and OBSERVATIONS relating to TRADE, continued.

IX. ALL such Trades as, in their Nature, tend to promote and answer the true End of a State or Government, (*viz.* the Defence, Happiness and Increase of its People) are advantageous, and to be encouraged: And, on the contrary, such Trades, as do not tend towards the same End, are disadvantageous, and not to be allowed of.

X. SOME Trades, considered by themselves, may be look'd on as advantageous to a Nation; but, when compared with others, will be found to be really detrimental; inasmuch as the Good they do, will not countervail the Prejudices they occasion: Therefore such Trades are to be deemed disadvantageous; and if they cannot be regulated, ought to be abolished.

XI. THERE are some Trades, the immediate Profits and Advantages whereof may be vastly greater than those of others; yet the *latter* may be more valuable, and more worthy of publick Care and Protection, than the *former*.— Our Trade with *Spain*, and our *American* Colonies, may serve to explain this Truth; for should we admit the first to be more profitable, we ought at the same time to acknowledge, that we hold it but at the Discretion or Caprice of another; that it is precarious and uncertain, and more likely to alter for the worse, than in a way of being improved for the better: On the other Hand, our Colonies are our *own*, very improveable, subject to our own Laws and Regulations; and the more they are improved, the more improveable they will become: In short, the Advantages we receive from our Colonies are of a Nature more certain, more durable; and, if they are not at present, may soon be rendered more profitable to *Great Britain*

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tain than any other Commerce whatever. — Not that I would depreciate any one Branch of our Trade : My Design in this Place being only, firmly to establish this 11th Maxim, *viz.* ‘ That there are some Trades, the immediate Profits and Advantages whereof may be vastly greater than those of others ; and yet, that the latter may be more valuable, and more worthy of publick Care and Protection than the former :’ — And I thought I could not do it by a more pertinent Instance than I have chosen. — When I come hereafter to discourse of any particular Trade, or Commerce, I shall be sure to observe the Rules of Truth and Justice ; and not forget to shew the Gentlemen concerned in every of them, a due Respect. — I own, however, I always look on the *British* Plantations with an inexpressible Pleasure ; Providence having allotted those Lands for us, our Children, and Childrens Children, in such an abundant Manner, that, in this respect, *Britons* may truly say, there is no End of the Goodness of God : And were but half the same Zeal and Charity exerted in providing for our Young, and employing our idle People, as hath been bestowed on Building and Endowing of Hospitals, Spitals, and Alms-Houses for the Infirm and the Diseased ; in a few Years, we should not have left many Objects of the latter Sort to exercise our Charity on ; which is a Thing ardently to be desired. The honest Physician says, his first Care is to prevent Distempers ; the next, to remove them ; and, these failing, then to give Ease. — That Nation that relieves the Diseased and Infirm, certainly does well ; but that which provides for and employs its Poor and its Young, perhaps does better. — Both ought to be done ; yet that which does the latter, will prevent in a great measure, for the future, the Necessity of the former. — And further ; ‘ Colonies are the Seeds of Nations, begun and nourished

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‘ finished by the Care of wise and populous Coun-
‘ tries, for the Increase of Human Stock, and Bene-
‘ fit of Commerce; and some of the wisest Men in
‘ History have justly taken their Fame from this
‘ Desigh and Service.’

I WILL conclude this Paper, in the Words of a
very worthy Writer in the Year 1696, (who, I
think, was then one of King *William's* Commissio-
ners for Trade and Plantations) with only some lit-
tle Alteration. ‘ Matters of Trade are Subjects of
‘ so much *Nicety*, that few agree in Notions rela-
‘ ting to them; and yet of so much *Importance*,
‘ that nothing can more conduce to the enriching of
‘ the Nation, than that they should be settled on the
‘ most advantageous and lasting Foundations, agree-
‘ able to the Rules of Prudence, Honour and Ju-
‘ stice: Therefore it is hoped, that they who have
‘ more Ability, will correct the Matter, without
‘ endeavouring to correct the Author; who aims
‘ only at the Publick Service, without any Design
‘ against Men's particular Interests, farther than as
‘ such Interests appear destructive of the common
‘ Good: For, if we could agree what is our true
‘ Interest in reference to the Publick, and to sacri-
‘ fice our Passions and private Interests thereto, then,
‘ by God's Blessing on our Endeavours, we may
‘ hope for Success in our Trade; but if, instead
‘ thereof, we should continue wallowing in Luxury,
‘ and scrambling who shall get most one from ano-
‘ ther, it may be feared, we shall endanger the
‘ Loss of *All*, and justly incur the Sentence pro-
‘ nounced by the wise Man, *He that is in Love with*
‘ *his Folly, shall perish in it.*’

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

The National Merchant.

LETTER

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LETTER IV.

Containing Philo-Anglus's Letter to the National Merchant, approving his Undertaking; with some good Cautions and Advice to him.

SEND the inclosed Letter to be published, which came to my Hand at the same time with the Daily Gazetteer of the 21st current. — When I saw the Conclusion of this Gentleman's Letter, I was pleas'd that mine in that Paper happen'd to have an Excursion on the Value of our Colonies: But as I look upon the whole Letter to merit the Publick Attention, I shall take it soon under particular Consideration. In the mean time, I think myself very happy in the Gentleman's Correspondence, and desire he will honour me with the Continuance of it, either to assist or correct, which I assure him shall meet with an equal Esteem. Indeed the Accident of receiving this Letter will interrupt the Connexion I was willing to preserve in the Subject; but then the Reader will be thereby relieved and refresh'd; and, after having been agreeably entertain'd, he may proceed on his Journey with new Vigour.

To the NATIONAL MERCHANT.

S I R,

AS I have a Regard not only for the national Trade of England, but also for the general Commerce of the World, whereby so many barbarous Nations have been civiliz'd, and a beneficial,
at

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at least a pleasing Intercourse is maintain'd between Countries seemingly separated by Nature : So I should be exceedingly pleas'd with your generous Undertaking, to reduce ' the Science of Trade to a ' Certainty ; ' if I did not fear that ' a Gentleman of ' your Understanding and Experience in the Trade ' and Commerce of *Great Britain,*' might, in the Course of such a Work, disclose Secrets in Trade, which may tend more to the Benefit of other Countries, than of your own. This may, perhaps, be looked upon as too narrow a way of Thinking, in one who professes himself a Friend to Universal Commerce. But altho' I have a general Benevolence for Mankind, yet I cannot divest myself of the particular Love I bear to *England* ; nor can I forbear wishing that she may continue her present Superiority over all other Nations in Trade. ' The ' Advantages of Situation, the Nature of its Inhabitants, and incidental Causes, from which (I ' agree with you) the Magnitude of the Trade of ' *England* has rather happened, than been effectuated by well-concerted Schemes, and proper Encouragements,' may perhaps continue their Operations in our Favour. But seeing that ' at present ' most civilized Nations in the World, especially ' the *European,* seem to think their Safety and ' Prosperity greatly concerned in the Preservation ' and Enlargement of their Trade,' I submit it to your Consideration, whether it is not our Duty to be more than ordinarily careful of preserving the Possession of this inestimable Jewel, for which so many envious and powerful Rivals are daily contending with us.

EVEN the most civilized Nations are, with respect to one another, as it were, in a State of Nature, always endeavouring to aggrandize themselves, tho' at the Expence of others. And the particular Advantage of each Nation is, or ought to be, the
supreme

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supreme Law of Government. You know, Sir, that upon these Principles, they often think the disturbing of their Neighbours Affairs, is an Advancement of their own Interest; and that, for this Purpose, Nations diligently pry into one another's Secrets. But the open Manner in which we publish Abstracts of our Strength, and Accounts of our Trade, with many other Things, which are very difficult to be come at in other Countries, makes this Part of the Business of Foreign Ministers among us very easy. This, it is true, proceeds from the Nature of our Constitution, and our invaluable Liberty, which are the solid Foundations of all our Happiness. And perhaps *England*, which is the Seat of Liberty, like Virtue itself, is the more respected, the more she is known. But it is also manifest from Experience, that the Notions of our most dangerous Rivals in Trade, have been greatly improved by Schemes published, but not properly taken Notice of, in this Kingdom; And it is very probable, that the Manner, in which some of our Writers have treated other Nations for their Indolence, which was our Benefit, has help'd to rouse them to industrious Actions.

THE Chamber of Commerce at *Paris* was establish'd on a Hint taken from our Commission of Trade and Plantations, but with this Difference (whether it is an Improvement or not, I submit to your Judgment) that the Chamber of Commerce consists of Merchants deputed from the trading Towns of *France*. Thus each Member has Understanding improved by Experience, and the additional Advantage of a Council of Merchants in the Town he represents, from whom he receives early Notice of the Changings and Shiftings which frequently happen in the Channels of Trade, and with whom he can consult upon Expedients propos'd for remedying Evils which are produced by foreign or native Causes. In this

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this Chamber, and so I presume at our Board of Trade, Matters relating to Trade, are secretly and maturely weigh'd; and having thus the concurrent Advice of the trading Part of the Kingdom, they seldom fail of being carried into Execution, as far as they are consistent with the Polity of the Kingdom, to which, as you rightly observe, Trade and Agriculture are always made subservient.

THE good Effects of this Method in *France* might be shewn in many remarkable Instances; but it is not my present Purpose to enter into this Subject. I shall now only offer to your Consideration, whether such a Course of Proceeding is not more likely to be attended with Success, than when Matters necessary to be obtained for the Inlargement of our Commerce with foreign Countries, are published in Essays, which oftner open the Eyes of our Jealous Neighbours, than they awaken our Ministers to a Sense of what is for the Benefit of the Nation. You know, Sir, that even the most generous Dealers have some Schemes of Trade, which they think convenient to keep secret; and I submit to your Judgment, whether there is any better Reason for this Practice in private Life, than can be assign'd for the same Policy in consulting Matters for the Benefit of our National Commerce. If this be your Opinion, then I persuade myself, you will readily agree, that the Board of Trade is a Place, where these Affairs may be properly propos'd, and fully deliberated on; and whatever has their Approbation, comes more strongly recommended to the Care of those Ministers, who have Ability, and can never want Inclination to forward the true Interest of their Country.

I AM sensible, what is here offer'd to your Consideration, will not be found agreeable to the Taste of the Generality of our Countrymen, who are fond of publishing to the World, whatever they think
of

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of publick Use. From such Persons I don't apprehend any Rebuke, since I am confident they will allow me the same Liberty which they take; and altho' I confess their communicative Temper proceeds from a laudable Disposition of Mind, yet as I am more than doubtful it has, on some Occasions, produced ill Effects, so I think these Observations may be of Use to my Country. To you indeed, Sir, I ought to make an Apology for them; and altho' it is very probable I need not apprehend, that a Person of your Understanding and Experience would mention any thing in the Course of your Letters, which might give Umbrage, or the Alarm to our Neighbours; yet, as what I write to you is well intended, I am confident you will readily excuse it.

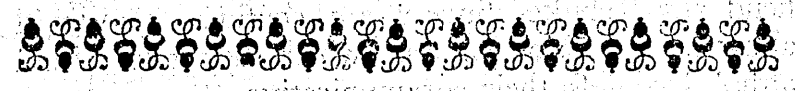
THE Improvement of our Colonies is a Subject of great Latitude, wherein you may display your Talents; and as the Interest of our Colonies is intimately interwoven with that of *England*, it cannot fail of being an useful Work, to explain how they may be rendered more beneficial to one another. This, and the Improvement of our Manufactures, and other Branches of Trade at home, are Points intirely within the Power of our own Legislature, where foreign Counsels cannot prevail; and as the Ignorance of our true Interest in these Particulars is much to be lamented, so your Undertaking to enlarge our Understandings in these useful Parts of Knowledge, is worthy of Praise.

I am, S-I-R,
London, 19 July,
1735.
Your humble Servant,

PHILO-ANGLUS.

LETTER

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LETTER V.

Of the Uncertainty of many Maxims that are generally received in Trade---- Illustrated in the late Dispute between the Northern Colonies and our Sugar Islands.

S I R,

THERE is an infinite Number of *Maxims* to be found in Authors of great Repute, who have wrote on *Trade*, which are not always infalible: In some Cases they may be true, but in others they are not so; nor have those *Maxims* any Weight or Authority with me, when they are not confitent with the *Maxims* laid down in my *Letters*, N^o 2, and 3, with which they ought always to square, and by which I would have them *proved* and *examined* before admitted for certain. Thus, in the *Dispute* lately between the *British Northern Colonies* and our *Sugar Islands*, a *Maxim* found in most Writers, and generally received, was made use of, and abused, and a false Consequence drawn from it. It was said, that

- 1. THAT Trade which employs our Shipping, takes off our Manufactures, and superabundant Commodities, and receives either Money or Goods in Return for them, whereby a Balance is gained to us, must be a valuable Trade, and ought not to be suppressed.
- 2. THAT the Northern Colony Trade to the *French Sugar Islands*, was such a Trade. And
- 3. THEREFORE the Northern Colony Trade to those *Islands* ought not to be suppressed.

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It is well known this Matter was brought before both Houses of Parliament two or three successive Sessions, and that it occasioned great Contest both *within* and without *Doors*, ere it was determined; but at length, after being solemnly *heard* and *debated* in both Houses, a Bill passed, intirely to *suppress*, in Effect, the said Trade with the *French Islands*. Whilst this Bill was depending, I remember to have heard several Members of both Houses declare (I am sure truly) 'That, as both the *Northern* and *Southern Colonies* justly claimed an equal Right to the Favour and Protection of the *Legislature*, they would, with Pleasure and Alacrity, afford the same to *either*; but that, in the present Case, there was a Difficulty which kept them at a Stand: For (said they) *our Northern Colonies* tell us, "If we pass the Bill, we *destroy* their Trade." And *our Southern Colonies* say, "If we do not pass the Bill, they are *undone*."—— Must we believe them both? If we do, what ought then to be *done*?'

I PRESUME, at present, it will give no Offence to either Side, if we say, that the Resolution which the *Parliament* at last took to pass the Bill, was founded on Reason, and for the publick Good, tho' contrary to the Conclusion made on the afore-mentioned Maxim. The Truth is, the said Maxim, tho' generally, is not always true, but will admit of Exceptions; and in this Point was justly *overruled* by the 10th Maxim in my Letter N^o 3, *viz.*

'SOME Trades, considered by themselves, may be look'd on as advantageous to a Nation; but, when compared with others, will be found to be really detrimental; inasmuch as the Good they do will not countervail the Prejudices they occasion: Therefore such Trades are to be deemed disadvantageous, and, if they cannot be regulated, ought to be abolished.'

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HOWEVER,

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HOWEVER, as many of the said Maxims, to be found here and there in Authors who have wrote on Trade, tho' not univerfally true, may give Light, and afford Matter of Instruction, provided we allow them not too large an Extent, and keep them in Subordination to their Superiors; under fuch Caution, it may not be unufeful to tranfcribe fome of them, before we proceed farther; and which, I propofe to fend you in my *next*.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

The National Merchant.



L E T T E R VI.

Instances of a good, and Instances of a bad Trade, which may be ufeful by being known.

S I R,

I PROMISED you in my laft, that I would tranfcribe feveral Maxims out of Authors who have wrote upon Trade, and fend them to you in this: But finding many of them collected in the *British Merchant*, and alfo published in the *Guardian* of September 25, 1713, from a Treatife faid to be wrote by an eminent Merchant of this City, and called *General Maxims of Trade, particularly applied to the Commerce of Great Britain and France*, I fhall give myfelf no further Trouble than to copy thofe from thence, becaufe I fhall have Occa-
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tion to take Notice of most others in my Reasonings hereafter.

Instances of a good TRADE.

1. THAT Trade which exports Manufactures made of the Product of the Country, is undoubtedly Good; such is the sending abroad our *Yorkshire* Cloth, *Colchester* Bays, *Exeter* Serges, *Norwich* Stuffs, &c. which being made purely of *British* Wool, as much as those Exports amount to, so much is the clear Gain of the Nation.

2. THAT Trade that helps off the Consumption of our Superfluities, is also visibly Advantageous; as the exporting of Allom, Copperas, Leather, Tin, Lead, Coals, &c. So much as the exported Superfluities amount unto, so much also is the clear National Profit.

3. THE importing of foreign Materials to be manufactured at Home, especially when the Goods, after they are manufactured, are mostly sent Abroad, is also without Dispute very beneficial; as for Instance, *Spanish* Wool, which for that Reason is exempted from paying any Duties.

4. THE Importation of foreign Materials to be manufactured here, although the manufactured Goods are chiefly consumed by us, may also be beneficial; especially when the said Materials are procured in exchange for our Commodities; as Raw Silk, Grogram, Yarn, and other Goods brought from *Turky*.

5. FOREIGN Materials wrought up here into such Goods as would otherwise be imported ready manufactured, is a Means of saving Money to the Nation: Such is the Importation of Hemp, Flax, and Raw Silk.

6. A TRADE may be called good, which exchanges Manufactures for Manufactures, and Com-

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‘modities for Commodities. *Germany* takes as
‘much in Value of our Woollen and other Goods,
‘as we do of their Linnen: By this Means Num-
‘bers of People are imploy’d on both Sides to
‘their mutual Advantage.

‘7. AN Importation of Commodities, bought
‘partly for Money, and partly for Goods, may
‘be of national Advantage, if the greatest Part
‘of the Commodities thus imported, are again
‘exported, as in the Case of *East India* Goods:
‘And generally all Imports of Goods which are
‘re-exported, are beneficial to a Nation.

‘8. THE carrying of Goods from one foreign
‘Country to another, is a profitable Article in
‘Trade: Our Ships are often thus employ’d be-
‘tween *Portugal, Italy* and the *Levant*, and some-
‘times in the *East Indies*.

‘9. WHEN there is a Necessity to import Goods
‘which a Nation cannot be without, although such
‘Goods are chiefly purchas’d with Money, it can-
‘not be accounted a bad Trade, as our Trade to
‘*Norway*, and other Parts, from whence are im-
‘ported Naval Stores, and Materials for Build-
‘ing.

Instances of a bad TRADE.

‘BUT a Trade is disadvantageous to a Nation.

‘1. WHICH brings in Things of mere Luxury
‘and Pleasure, which are intirely, or for the most
‘Part, consumed among us; and such I reckon
‘the Wine Trade to be, especially when the Wine
‘is purchas’d with Money, and not in Exchange
‘for our Commodities.

‘2. MUCH worse is that Trade which brings
‘in a Commodity, that is not only consumed
‘amongst us, but hinders the Consumption of the
‘like Quantity of ours: As is the Importation of
‘Brandy,

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‘ Brandy, which hinders the spending of our Ex-
 ‘ tracts of Malt and Molasses ; therefore very pru-
 ‘ dently charged with excessive Duties.

‘ 3. THAT Trade is eminently bad, which
 ‘ supplies the same Goods as we manufacture our-
 ‘ selves, especially if we can make enough for our
 ‘ Consumption : And I take this to be the Case
 ‘ of the Silk Manufacture ; which, with great La-
 ‘ bour and Industry, is brought to Perfection in
 ‘ *London, Canterbury,* and other Places.

‘ 4. THE Importation upon easy Terms of
 ‘ such Manufactures as are already introduced in a
 ‘ Country, must be of bad Consequence, and check
 ‘ their Progress ; as would undoubtedly be the
 ‘ Case of the Linnen and Paper Manufactures in
 ‘ *Great Britain* (which are of late very much im-
 ‘ proved) if those Commodities were suffered to
 ‘ be brought in without paying very high Duties.

BUT, as I have said already, I would always have
 these, and such other like Maxims, to square with,
 and be supported by some of those which I have
 given before in my second and third Letters ; and
 then they will be of good Use to us in our fur-
 ther Inquiries.

I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R VII.

The National Merchant's Answer to Philo-Anglus.----- Of the Care the French have taken in Matters of Trade, and the Necessity we lie under, at present, to regulate our mercantile Affairs.

S I R,

I PROMISED in my fourth Letter, with which I sent you one from a Gentleman, who signs himself *Philo-anglus*, that I would soon take his said Letter under particular Consideration; and I now send you my Answer to it.

To PHILO-ANGLUS.

S I R,

YOU are so kind to say, in your Letter to me of the 19th of last Month, that ' you should be exceedingly pleased with my generous Undertaking to reduce the Science of Trade to a Certainty, if you did not fear, that in the Course of such a Work, I might disclose Secrets in Trade, which may tend more to the Benefit of other Countries than my own.' — As I am very desirous of the good Opinion and future Correspondence of a Gentleman of your Abilities and Ingenuity, I ought to assure you, that I shall guard myself with much Caution in that Respect; and you do me no more than Justice when you are persuaded of it: For when I say, If the Science of Trade, and the Benefits of our Colonies were rightly and thoroughly understood, that then Expeditions might be undertaken,

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Laws passed, Colonies planted, Trade extended, Navigation and Sea Affairs regulated, our People all provided for and employed, and our Ministers of State and Board of Trade eased in many important Branches of their Duties; I, at the same time, know, there are some Secrets fit for the Board of Trade; others only for his Majesty, or the Person or Persons whom he may confide in, and that such respectively ought not to be revealed elsewhere:— So Sir, you see we agree in the Main of your Letter. — But then there are some Points contained in it, which I ought to offer to your Re-consideration: They are these,

I. 'T H O' it is certain, (as you justly observe) that the open Manner in which we publish Abstracts of our Strength, and Accounts of our Trade, &c. makes it very easy for foreign Ministers to disturb our Affairs, and advance their own; — yet how can it be prevented? 'Tis (as you also truly observe) from the Nature of our Constitution, and our invaluable Liberty. 'Tis an Evil that must be given Way to for the Sake of a greater Good. For can a Reference be made to, or a Report from the Board of Trade, without its being in some Measure known? Can the Resolutions of the Board of Trade, or even of his Majesty in Council, be of any Avail sometimes in Cases of the most urgent Importance? Is not the Consent of the King, Lords, and Commons necessary? And how is their Consent to be obtained but from their Judgments, and are not their Judgments often influenced by the Addresses, or Writings, or Discourses of the *trading* Part of the Nation? — If you please therefore, we will here make a Distinction. — Sir, he who informs his Country of useful Truths, which it ought, and is desirous to know, is not to blame; but he that discovers a Secret, a Scheme, or Project (call it as you will)

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will) at an improper Time or Place, under Pretence of serving his Country, often gives a Handle to its Neighbours to take Advantages, and such an one is to be condemned of Malice, or of great Indiscretion.

2. You say it is also manifest from Experience, that the 'Notions of our most dangerous Rivals in Trade have been greatly improved by Schemes published, but not properly taken Notice of in this Kingdom; and that it is very probable, that the Manner in which some of our Writers have treated other Nations for their Indolence, which was our Benefit, has helped to rouse them to industrious Actions.'—To be sure we have had such Writers; for, perhaps, no Nation is fuller of Projectors and such Sort of People than we are, for want of better Regulations. But if I speak what I think to be the Truth, the *Spaniards*, the *Dutch*, and the *French*, have every one of them wrote more solidly and knowingly on Trade, as a Science, than ourselves. The two first before us, and the other soon after, when free from its intestine Wars. — It may be (as you are of Opinion) 'the Chamber of Commerce at *Paris* was established on a Hint taken from our Commission of Trade and Plantations.' But you know *Spain* began to establish its *Casa de Contratacion* or *India-House*, for regulating the Trade of the *West-Indies*, so early as the Year 1503, when *England* scarce thought on the Subject. — Don't let us over-value ourselves; there are other Nations that have thought and wrote of Trade, Colonies, and Navigation, as well as we: And when you remember the Advice which the Prime Minister of *France* gave to his Master about an hundred Years past, and compare it with the Preamble of an Edict published by the late *French King* in 1673, together with another published by the *present* in 1727, you will think we ought to look
about

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about us ; and, I flatter myself, will more and more approve of the Usefulness and Expediency of my Design ; which, I assure you, I shall endeavour to conduct with the utmost Discretion and Zeal, for the Good of *Great Britain* and all her Dominions, and with a most dutiful Regard to his Majesty and the present Administration. — Here follow the said Advice, and Translations of the two Preambles.

Cardinal Richlieu's Advice to LEWIS XIII. in relation to Naval Power and Trade.

‘ A GREAT State must never receive an Injury, without being able to revenge it ; and therefore *England* being situated as it is, unless *France* is powerful in Ships, the *English* may attempt whatever they please to our Prejudice, without the least Fear of a Return. They might hinder our Fishing, disturb our Trade, and, in blocking up the Mouths of our Rivers, exact what Toll they please from our Merchants. They might land without Danger in our Islands, and even on our Coasts. Finally, the Situation of the native Country of that haughty Nation, not permitting them to fear the greatest Land Forces, the ancient Envy they have against this Kingdom, would apparently encourage them to dare every thing, should our Weakness not allow us to attempt something to their Prejudice. — Nature seems to have offered the Empire of the Sea to *France*, by the advantageous Situation of her two Coasts, equally provided with excellent Havens, on the Ocean, and on the Mediterranean. *Britanny* alone contains the finest in the Ocean ; and *Provence*, which has but 160 Miles Extent, has many larger and safer than *Spain* and *Italy* together, &c. — It is a common, but a very true Saying, that as States

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' States are often enlarged by War, So they are
 ' commonly enriched in Time of Peace by Trade.
 ' The Wealth of the *Hollanders*, which, properly
 ' speaking, are only a Handful of Men, reduced
 ' into a Corner of the Earth, in which there is no-
 ' thing but Waters and Meadows, is an Example
 ' and Proof of the Usefulness of Trade, which ad-
 ' mits of no Contestation. Tho' that Country pro-
 ' duces nothing but Butter and Cheese, yet they
 ' furnish all the Nations of *Europe* with the greatest
 ' Part of what is necessary to them. Navigation
 ' has made them so famous, and so powerful
 ' throughout the whole World, that after having
 ' made themselves Masters of the Trade of the *East*
 ' *Indies*, to the Prejudice of the *Portuguese*, who
 ' had been long settled there, they have cut out a
 ' great deal of Work for the *Spaniards* in the *West*
 ' *Indies*. In *England*, the greatest Part of those,
 ' whose Circumstances are the least easy, maintain
 ' themselves by common Fisheries; and the most
 ' considerable drive a greater Trade in all the Parts
 ' of the World, by the Manufactures of their
 ' Cloth, and by the Sale of Lead, Tin, and Sea
 ' Coal, which are Productions of their Country.
 ' The Kingdom of *China*, the Entrance into
 ' which is allowed to nobody, is the only Country
 ' in which that Nation has no Place settled for their
 ' Trade.

' Trade will be the easier for us, in that we
 ' have a great Number of Seamen, who hitherto
 ' have been obliged to seek out Employment among
 ' our Enemies, having none at home, and we *have*
 ' *made no other Use of them hitherto but to get Salt Fish*
 ' *and Herrings*. But having wherewith to employ
 ' our Mariners, instead of being constrained to
 ' strengthen our Enemies, by weakening ourselves,
 ' we shall be able to carry into *Spain*, and other
 ' Countries, that which they have hitherto brought

' to

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‘ to us by *the Assistance of our Men who serve them,*
‘ &c.’— Thus far the Cardinal: And the follow-
ing Preambles will a good deal demonstrate the
Force of this mighty Genius, since *France* has bene-
fited by his Foresight and Counsels *all* that he him-
self did so prophetically wish, where he says to his
Prince, ‘ If my Spirit, which will appear in these
‘ *Memoirs*, can, after my Death, contribute any
‘ thing towards the *Regulation* of this great State,
‘ in the Management of which your Majesty has
‘ been pleased to give me a greater Share than I de-
‘ serve, I will think myself infinitely happy.’

*Translation of the Preamble of an Edict of LEWIS
XIV. given at St. Germain en Laye in the Month
of March 1673, concerning Commerce.*

‘ LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of
‘ *France* and *Navarre*, to all present and to come,
‘ Health. As Trade is the Spring and Fountain of
‘ the publick Abundance, and of the Plenty of
‘ particular Persons, it has been our Care for many
‘ Years, to render it flourishing in our Kingdom:
‘ having, for that Effect, established several Com-
‘ panies amongst our Subjects, by whose Means they
‘ are provided with the Commodities of the remotest
‘ Countries, which formerly they only received
‘ by the Introussion of Foreign Nations; and hav-
‘ ing also caused a great Number of Ships to be
‘ built and armed for the Advancement of Com-
‘ merce and Navigation, and imploy’d the Force
‘ of our Arms both by Land and Sea, to maintain
‘ its Freedom: These Things having in every Re-
‘ spect the Success We expected, We have thought
‘ ourself oblig’d to provide for their Continuance, by
‘ necessary Regulations, &c. For these Causes,
‘ &c. We have said, declared, and ordained, &c.

Translation

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Translation of the Preamble of an Edict of the present King of France, dated at Fontainbleau in the Month of October, 1727.

‘ LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of
‘ *France and Navarre*, to all present and to come,
‘ Greeting. The Care which the late King our
‘ most honoured Lord and Great Grandfather took
‘ for the Increase of our Islands and Colonies, the
‘ Pains we ourself have taken after his Example,
‘ since our Accession to the Crown, the Expences
‘ already incurred, and those which we are at an-
‘ nually for those Islands and Colonies, with a View
‘ to maintain and secure the said Islands and Colo-
‘ nies, and to increase the Navigation and Com-
‘ merce of our Subjects, have had all the Success
‘ we could expect from them; insomuch that our
‘ Islands and Colonies, which are considerably in-
‘ creased, are capable of supporting a considerable
‘ Navigation and Commerce, by the Consumption
‘ and Sale of the Negroes, Goods and Merchan-
‘ dize, which are brought to them by the Ships of
‘ our Subjects, and by the Cargoes of Sugars, Co-
‘ coas, Cottons, Indicoes, and other Products of
‘ the said Islands and Colonies, which they there take
‘ in Exchange, in order to import the same into the
‘ Harbours of our Kingdom, &c. For these
‘ Causes, &c.

SIR, I will leave the above Extracts to have their full Weight with you, not doubting but you will make some very pertinent Reflections from them; and shall go on to observe, that,

3dly. You say (towards the first Part of your Letter) that, ‘ The Advantages of Situation, the
‘ Nature of our Inhabitants, and incidental Causes,
‘ may perhaps continue their Operations in our Fa-
‘ vour.’ — But excuse a Story told in a very plain manner.

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manner. *Will.* and *John*, Brothers, had each an Estate left them. *Will.* the Elder, was about 25, *John* the Younger, about 23 Years of Age, when they came to their Estates. *Will's* Estate was valued at 300 *l.* per Annum, *John's* at 200 *l.* which lay contiguous, and each liv'd upon and managed his own. They had been my School-Fellows, and on my first going Abroad, I took a Journey to see and to take my Leave of them. I found both very well settled: *Will.* living with Generosity, and respected; *John* with Foresight and Industry, taking care of the main Chance, as he used to say. — Many Years afterwards, when I return'd to *England*, I made another Visit to my two old Friends. *John's* House was first in my Road, and I called there; where I saw all the Old Buildings in excellent Order, with some useful Additions, and all his Lands hedged, ditched, cultivated, and improved to the highest. He being gone to Market, I made no long Stay at his House, but put on to *Will's*, who was more hearty to his Friends. *Will.* was at Home; had just brought with him a fine Hare caught by his own Greyhounds; and as soon as he knew me, was over-joy'd, and gave us (for I had a Fellow-Traveller with me) a true *English* Welcome; and here we passed a Week as agreeably as we could desire. — There was but one Thing that gave any Uneasiness, and that was a great one: The two Brothers were at Variance, and had a Law Suit depending concerning a Water-Course; which we labour'd to make up, but found nothing could be done in it. For *John*, as I said above, neglected nothing to improve his Lands; and had many Years before diverted this Water-Course to his own Use, which *Will.*, at least, had an equal Right to; tho' he had taken no Notice of it for many Years: till at length seeing his Brother *John* make Purchases, and have Money to spare lying by him, *Will.* began to think of improving his own

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own Lands by the same Methods, and to bestow more Labour and Art upon them than hitherto he had done. For that Purpose he now claim'd his Share of the Water: But *John* pleads Prescription, and I know not what: And how the Law Suit may be determined, 'tis hard to say. — It is, I think, the most ungenerous thing in the World to reproach a Friend in Distress; but my Concern for *Will.* being warm and sincere, before I was aware, I ask'd him in Heat; — How could you suffer your younger Brother to impose upon you thus? Why did you not bestow more Labour and Art on your Lands? &c. He replied — Lord! who would have thought a Brother could have used me so! — I managed my Estate, as my Father and Grandfather did before me, &c.

SIR, the Respect I have for so valuable a Correspondent, as you appear to be, has drawn this Letter out to such a Length, which is wholly submitted to you for its Correction, and Improvement; for which I will venture to foretel, as you will deserve, so you will receive the Thanks of your Country. For the time is now come, when it cannot be longer said, ' Indeed hitherto it must be confessed most of our Improvements, both at Home and Abroad, have been projected and set on Foot by private Persons, with very little Encouragement from the Publick, except in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time; whereas our Neighbours have had the Happiness of great Men and Ministers of State to assist them, not only in improving their infant Undertakings, but in supplying them with Money to carry them on, which has enabled them to out-do us in many Things, to the great Prejudice of our Commerce, and the Advancement of their own.'* — Let us

* *Mr. Gee, in his Book on Trade, presented to his Majesty,*

therefore,

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therefore, Sir, heartily congratulate our Countrymen on so great a Blessing, and endeavour to point out to them the innumerable Benefits, we are like to receive, in Matters of Trade and Plantations, from the Care and Wisdom of the present Government and Administration. Let us convince the *Trading* Part of our Fellow-Subjects, that their Interest is united with and depends upon the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation in general: And let us lay before our young Nobility and Gentlemen, that have not studied Trade, such Principles and Counsels, by practising of which, they will *honour* their King, *serve* their Country, *advance* Themselves, and *transmit* their Names to Posterity with Renown.

I am, S I R,

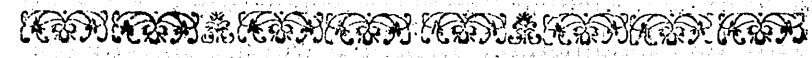
Your most humble,

And obliged Servant,

The National Merchant.

P. S. After a few more introductory Papers, in Compliance with the Advice at the latter End of your Letter, I purpose to begin (if Health and Time permit) to offer to the Publick, A Scheme for Regulating the *British* Colonies in *America*, whereby to make them more serviceable to each other, and infinitely beneficial to *Great Britain*; which I before thought to have postponed till I came to discourse on my VIIIth Maxim in the Order it stands; which says, several Things might be done for the Glory and Interest of *Great Britain*, the Advancement and Regulation of our Trade, and the Improvement of our Colonies, if the *Mercatorial* were always made consistent with and united to the *National* Interest. — And I have said in my Vth Maxim, ‘*That Trade ought not to govern Politicks, but to be governed by them.*’

LETTER



L E T T E R VIII.

The Reason why Writers have given us many fallible Maxims in Trade.----- The Diversity between Mons. De Witt's and Father Paul's Opinions reconciled.

S I R,

I N my Letters N^o II and III, there are laid down Eleven *Maxims* or *Observations* relating to Trade, which in time, as I have said before, I hope to illustrate by *Discourses* and *Examples*, wherein the most principal Branches of *Trade* and *Commerce* are designed to be examined and explain'd ; and in my Letter N^o VI, I have transcribed some others, drawn up by another Hand, which may be of use, as may many more that are to be met with in Authors and Conversation ; unless in Cases where any of them happen to be inconsistent with the aforementioned *Maxims* or *Observations*, for then they may chance to mislead us.

T H E Reason, in my Opinion, why many *Writers* on *Trade* have frequently given us fallible *Maxims*, is, (when not Errors of the Will) they have very often, *not seen the true End, or not taken in the whole Extent of the Subject.* Scarce any *Architect* has yet appeared in this *Science* : Indeed there have been some good Workmen, and some very good Designers ; but where is the regular, useful, and magnificent Structure, which they have built ? Almost every one has laid down Propositions suited to the End he had in View ; and Men differ not more in any thing than they do in this of Trade.—— I remember

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member to have seen it asserted somewhere, that,
 'As often as Reason is against a Man, so often will a
 'Man be against Reason,' which is many times
 but too true; and it is said by another, 'That in
 'Considerations of Trade and Coin, Arguments from
 'Interest ought to be taken for as good Proof as Demon-
 'stration.' — But then what is the paramount and
 true Interest of Great Britain, and how is it to be
 discovered in all such Matters? — *Hic Labor,*
hoc Opus est.

No one can forget the Fate of the French Bill of
 Commerce in the latter End of Queen Anne's Reign,
 which was rejected, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts
 of the then reigning Ministry; for it was thought by
 most People, (and of Judgment too) that should that
 Bill have passed, it must have been attended with the
 worst of Consequences: And yet I observe, a very
 ingenious Gentleman (not attach'd to that Party)
 about eleven or twelve Years afterwards, in his *Essay*
on the State of the Nation in respect to its Commerce,
Debts, and Money, dedicated to his late Majesty
 King George the First, found Reasons to be of an-
 other Opinion: 'For, says he, perhaps I may be
 'thought very singular, when I affirm, that I be-
 'lieve, had the Treaty of Commerce, which was
 'ratified at Utrecht the 31st of March 1713, been
 'the Rule of our Trade with France, our Affairs,
 'in respect to that Nation, had been in a better
 'Condition now, than they are, or are likely to be;
 'for by the 20th Article of that Treaty, we had Li-
 'berty to import into France every thing but warlike
 'Instruments, subject only to the Duties they were
 'wont to pay by the Tariff of 1664, except the
 'following Goods, viz. the Product of Whales,
 'Woollen Manufactures, Salt-Fish, and Sugars,
 'which were provided for in a separate Instrument,
 'viz. The Product of Whales were to pay the
 'Duties appointed by the Tariff of 1699. — The

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Woollen

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' Woollen Manufacture the same. — Salt Fish,
 ' the Duties appointed before 1664, and besides 40
 ' Livres per Last. — All refined Sugars by the
 ' Tariff of 1699, as you may see more particularly
 ' in the Treaty itself. — Had we gone on this
 ' Plan, we might have better supported that luxu-
 ' rious Traffick, and our Woollen Manufacture must
 ' have found Vent in that Country. But high Du-
 ' ties and Prohibitions on our Side, begat high Duties
 ' and Prohibitions on theirs; and there is this Dif-
 ' ference between us, that large Imposts deter them
 ' from the Use of those Commodities; but on the
 ' contrary, our Affectation makes us run the more
 ' greedily after them. Notwithstanding the great
 ' Improvements we have made in a few Years in the
 ' Manufacture of Silks, yet we see nothing else in a
 ' Drawing Room but prohibited *French* Silks. Vast
 ' Quantities of *French* Wine and Brandies come in-
 ' to our Custom-Houses, for all the great Duties;
 ' and, perhaps, as much more is run in upon us. So
 ' that I don't find that our high Imposts and Prohi-
 ' bitions save us any thing at Home, and the Da-
 ' mage they have done us Abroad, is but too well
 ' known. — Thus far the ingenious Author.

B U T I am only bringing Instances to prove, how
 little hitherto we have been agreed in Matters of
 Trade, and not determining (at present) on any Side.
 Nor it is altogether Strange, that the Conveniencies
 and Inconveniencies of Trade are not, without some
 necessary Applications, to be discovered by us; for
 two of the most noted Politicians of the two most
 famous Republicks in the World, have left behind
 them very different Sentiments on *Trade* with respect
 to the Publick Good of their Countries.

M. D E W I T T was of Opinion, That it was
 ' the Duty of the Governors of Republicks to seek
 ' for great Cities, and to make them as populous
 ' and strong as possible; that to all Rulers and Magi-
 strates,

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strates, and likewise all others that serve the Publick either in Country or City, might thereby gain the more Power, Honour, and Benefit, and their States thrive and flourish in Arts, Manufactures, Traffick, Populouneis and Strength.

But Father Paul says, with respect to Venice, If the Politicians tell us, that it is not for the Good of a City, to have too sumptuous Buildings in the Country about it, because if an Enemy happen to besiege the City, the Citizens, for fear of having their Country Seats ruined, will be easily induced to deliver up the Town: What then shall we say of those Noblemen, that by Trading may have many hundred, nay thousands of Crowns in foreign Countries, and very often in Countries that are at War with the Republick? Besides, whoever brings new Commodities into a City, brings along with them, at the same time, new Customs. In the beginning of the Republick, Trading was necessary to redeem it from Poverty; but now it is become suspected, as a Fomenter of too great Riches. — The Genoesse, who retain this Custom of Trading, are but little respected among other Princes: They are more regarded one by one, than all in a Body together.

HERE we see these two great Names widely differ; — yet the Truth may in some measure be elucidated by a Passage from a late ingenious Author. — ‘Hitherto (says he) the Athenians applied themselves rather to be Rich, than Great, which was the Source of their Luxury, Licentiousness, and popular Discords. Where-ever a People carry on Commerce only to increase their Wealth, the State is no longer a Republick, but a Society of Merchants, who have no other Bond of Union but the Desire of Gain. The generous Love of their Country is no longer thought of, when the Publick Good interferences with their private Interests.

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Commerce should contribute not only to enrich the Subject, but to augment the Strength of the State: The publick Good should agree with the Interest of each private Subject; and Trade not in the least diminish military Virtue.

It is to be wished therefore, that our young *British* Legislators would exert their utmost Endeavours to comprehend the true *Principles* of Trade, which they will find, in the greatest Degree, worthy of their Care and Esteem: For on Trade do the Grandeur and Happiness of their Country depend, and by Trade will the Grandeur and Happiness of their Country be immoveably established.

I am, S I R, Yours,

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LETTER



LETTER IX.

Against needless Complaints; and an Exhortation to the Care of our Trade and Colonies.----- Some Gentlemens Remarks to prove this Nation in a flourishing Condition.----- Yet our Trade, at this Time, is at a critical Juncture.----- But His Majesty and Ministers not to be accused; for they cannot prevent other Nations applying themselves to Trade.---- The Benefits this Nation stands in Need of, and the Advantages that may be reaped from our American Colonies.

S I R,

AFTER a Man hath been ten or twenty Years absent from his native Country, it is impossible for him not to make some Observations on his Return, which perhaps would have escaped his Eye, or been too familiar to have made any Impression on him, had he continued at Home. New and uncommon Objects force our Attention, and set our Thoughts at work; and, I suppose, it is from hence, that we often meet with Foreigners, who discover to us Beauties and Defects in our own Climate and Countrymen, whereof we had never before taken the least Notice. --- I had the other Day in my Hand a Book, where I found among other the following Remarks: 'The English are a Nation, who talk high of their Liberty, and of the Government being qualified to make the Monarch Great, and

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‘ the People Happy ; but are in Truth as easily en-
 ‘ flaved and reduced to irretrievable Bondage, were
 ‘ they politickly managed, as any Nation in the
 ‘ World. A *Valet* to any Man of Quality in
 ‘ *France*, would not receive from any Citizen of *Paris*
 ‘ that ill Usage, which the Men of the first Degree of
 ‘ Dignity on both Sides in *England*, received every
 ‘ Day while I was there, from the Mouths of the
 ‘ Citizens, and of the common People over that
 ‘ whole Kingdom : A Custom, which as it seems
 ‘ to me a Peculiar to *England*, and not practised to
 ‘ that Degree in any other Nation, cannot be spoken
 ‘ of, but as a *Reproach* to the whole Country.’ —

I hope the Remarks of this Foreigner are carried
 too far ; but it certainly is a very melancholy
 Thing to see a *People*, (as the Author confesses we
 are) ‘ possessed of all those valuable Rights that a
 ‘ Nation can enjoy, who have the best Constitution
 ‘ in the World,’ — ever disturbing and clogging
 the *Administration*, and more taken up with idle Dis-
 putes on Religion and Government, than in perform-
 ing those Duties, which would effectually procure to
 all of us Peace, Plenty, and Happiness. — How it
 happens to be so, is no Part of my Design to explain,
 were I capable, or had Inclination : But this I know,
 that no good and reasonable Man can receive much
 Benefit or Pleasure from the Observation. — *Let us*

preserve our Constitution ; but let us make use of it too :
 And if other Nations are enlarging their Trade, and
 extending their Colonies, let us employ ourselves that
 way ; whereby we may do more Service to our
 Country, and Good to ourselves, than by stirring up
 useless Complaints, which can only tend to create Di-
 visions at Home, and make us contemptible Abroad.

SOME Gentlemen have endeavoured to prove to
 the World, that this Kingdom is in a flourishing
 and thriving Condition, 1. By our Strength and
 Power at Sea. 2. By the Lowness of the Interest
 of

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of Money: 3. By the advanced Price and Improvement of our Lands. 4. By our Furniture, and manner of Living. 5. By our Stock of all Sorts. 6. By our Jewels and Plate. 7. By our Buildings, fine Gardens, &c. 8. By our opening of Mines, and carrying on new Works. 9. By the Produce of the Sinking Fund. 10. By Exports of Goods of our own Growth, Produce, and Manufacture. 11. By the Exports of Foreign Goods. 12. By the Amount of the Tonnage of the Shipping employ'd in our Trade, &c. — Whilst others say, we are daily declining in Wealth, Power, and Reputation; tho' at the same time they acknowledge (as the most Envious must do) that many of the Particulars before-mentioned, are indisputable Marks (these are their Words) 'That we are yet a great and powerful People.' But, say they again, 'We cannot expect to secure this Happiness to Posterity, but by our hearty Endeavours to retrieve the Loss and Decay of our Trade and Manufactures, &c.' — And indeed the other Side has allowed, that 'There hardly ever was a more critical Juncture in *England*, to look into the several Branches of our Trade, than the present.' — Nor do I believe, but that most Men of Observation, are of Opinion, that the Trade of this Nation in general is at a very ticklish *Crisis*. — For my own Part, I do think so; — but then, I must as freely declare, that I could never see any Reason to accuse his Majesty, or his Ministers for it. — If *Spain*, and the other Nations of *Europe*, will employ their own People in Manufactures and Trade; or break Treaties; or dispose of their profitable Branches of Commerce to the present best Bidder, for the Sake of some temporary Views, I do not see what could have been done in these Cases. Can we forbid other Nations to work for themselves? Or, must we purchase every Branch of our Trade, in all Conjunctions, at the Expence of War, which

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in its Consequences may be fatal to all *Europe*, as well as ourselves? Or, when we are told by other Nations, that if we do not come into their Measures, we shall lose the Benefits of their Trade, — must not the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of *Europe* be had in Consideration, and allow'd greater Weight? — And tho' I am to defer my Thoughts on our Trade with Foreign Nations, 'till I have discoursed on our Colonies, I will at present remark, that the principal Care of our Merchants ought to be, to procure their respective Cargoes cheap enough to undersell others in the Places they trade to; which is the sure Means to preserve and increase Trade; and would they turn their Cares more this Way, no doubt, there are Ways and Means to be thought on, that might contribute much towards it.

BUT before we proceed to our Considerations on the *British American* Colonies, and the Advantages they may yield to their Mother Country, it is requisite that we should look a little into the real Circumstances and State of the Nation, and see what Benefits we do stand in need of; — and I shall only just mention such as all must assent to:

- 1. EMPLOYMENT for our Poor, our Debtors and Malefactors.
- 2. PROVISION for supernumerary Professors of Divinity, Law, Physick, &c.
- 3. THE Encouragement of our Manufactures.
- 4. THE Increase of our Trade and Navigation.
- 5. THE Discharge of our great National Debt.

NOW, every honest Heart and plain Understanding must needs see and feel these Truths; and I do venture to say, that I think it no mighty Difficulty to demonstrate infallibly, that our *American* Colonies may be so wisely regulated and improved, as fully to answer all these Ends, in a *natural, moral, and easy*

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easy Way, for the Good of every one, and the solid Interest and Glory of the Nation. — For, let the Enemies to our Government say what they can say, we are at present in so good a Condition, that we have LANDS; — we have RICHES; — we have PEOPLE; — and we have POWER enough to accomplish all these THINGS. — And the great Encouragement his Majesty has already given to GEORGIA, &c. should make us rest confident, that He has nothing more at Heart than the Improvement of the British Empire in America, and the Happiness of his faithful People.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

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LETTER X.

On the Reasonableness and Practicability of our American Colonies answering all our Wants. — The great and good Uses which the Old Romans made of their Colonies.

S I R,

I Mentioned in my last,

- 1. EMPLOYMENT for our Poor, our Debtors, and Malefactors.
- 2. PROVISION for supernumerary Professors of Divinity, Law, Physick, &c.
- 3. THE Encouragement of our Manufactures.
- 4. THE Increase of our Trade, Navigation, and Power.
- 5. THE Discharge of our great National Debt: — And that I was of Opinion, that it was no very difficult Matter to demonstrate, that our American Colonies might be so regulated and improved,

as

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as fully to answer the above Ends in a *natural, moral, and easy* Way, for the Good of every Individual, and the solid and lasting Interest and Glory of the Nation. — But you must suppose, that these great Things are not to be done without some Strength and Care; — and yet they are to be accomplished with much less Difficulty than perhaps most Men imagine. The Clock needs only be set to-rights, and put in Motion, and it will afterwards go of itself. — For,

1. WE have Numbers of People, that are burthensome to the Publick; and in *America*, there are Lands enough, and to spare, for them.

2. PEOPLE on Lands, well imployed, is the first Principle, and the surest and most durable Source of Plenty and Riches.

3. THE Husbandman tills the Ground, the Ground produces Food, and Materials for Home Consumption, Manufactures, and Exportation; and by *these*, Artificers and Handicraftsmen are imploy'd, Trade promoted, and Wealth acquired.

4. LANDS, in many Parts of *America*, are as improveable for the Benefit of the Occupier; or more so, than are Lands in many Parts of *England*.

5. EVERY Subject imployed in our Plantations, in the Opinion of very good Judges, might be rendered much more useful; and bring in more Profit to their Mother-Country, than if imployed at Home.

6. ALL the Superlucration and Wealth of our Plantations do, and ever will (if they are wisely and justly governed) tend towards *Great Britain*; and will, in the course of Things, most certainly fix here at last.

7. CONSEQUENTLY, were the Lands of *America* rightly disposed of and improved, they would become more beneficial to us, than if the same Lands lay actually as adjacent to *England* as the Isle of *Wight*;

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Wight; forasmuch as they support our Trade, breed up Seamen, &c.

AND these Points being granted, as I believe they will be, perhaps you may cease to wonder, if you have hitherto done it, at my present Undertaking, and carry your Surprize on the other Side.

— For *why* either our People should incline of themselves, or be countenanced by others, to live in Idleness and Poverty, Begging, Robbing, and Debauchery, will, in all Probability, be more the Admiration of Ages to come, than the first Discovery of the Lands of *America* was of the last; — and, perhaps, Posterity will look on most of our *Laws* and *Histories* concerning our *Poor*, &c. with the same sort of Compassion, which we feel at present, when we read the old idle *Statutes* and *Stories* of the *Witchcraft* and *Idolatry* of our honest, but mistaken Forefathers!

HOWEVER, in Matters of so much Concern and Importance, we ought to proceed with due Care and Solemnity; and it may be of Use, and give some Authority to what shall be offered hereafter, if we first consider the Benefits and Advantages that other Nations have made, or are making of their Colonies, and likewise observe the Methods they have taken to effectuate the same: — We will also remember some of their Miscarriages and Disappointments; and by comparing them with our own, endeavour to advantage ourselves, as well from their *false*, as their *right* Conduct.

I SHALL confine my Considerations to the *Portuguese*, the *Spanish*, the *Dutch*, and the *French* Nations; but think it not amiss to conclude this Letter with some Observations of a modern Writer on the *Roman* Government, which shew many good Uses, that That great and wise People made of their Colonies. — ‘ Colonies (says he) were of ‘ excellent Use to the Commonwealth: 1. To in- ‘ large

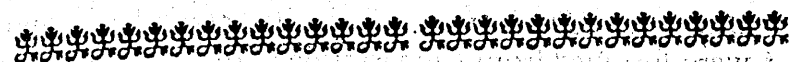
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' large their Empire, *Coloniis occupari latius imperii*
 ' *fines.* 2. To defend their Borders against a Re-
 ' volt of their Allies, *Subsidia adversus Rebelles.*
 ' 3. To multiply their People, *Augendæ stirpis*
 ' *causa.* 4. To transplant their poor Citizens, *Co-*
 ' *loniis sentina Urbis exhausta.* 5. To prevent Sedi-
 ' tions, *Plebem quietam deducta in Coloniis multitudo*
 ' *præstabat.* 6. To reward their *Veterans.* — To
 ' which may be added, the preserving the popular
 ' Balance by such large Divisions of Land to the
 ' Commons, and the infusing the *Roman* Manners
 ' and Discipline into the conquer'd Provinces: *Im-*
 ' *buendis Sociis ad officia Legum,* says *Tacitus.* —
 ' The Institution of planting Colonies, was of
 ' greater Benefit to the Publick, than transplanting
 ' the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities to *Rome*:
 ' A Method that served only to increase the Num-
 ' bers of their Citizens, which the other did more
 ' effectually, by providing a larger Subsistence for
 ' them; not to repeat the other Advantages of
 ' Colonies, which were all wanting in this Insti-
 ' tution. — The prodigious Increase of their In-
 ' habitants enabled the *Romans* to plant such a Bar-
 ' rier of Colonies on the Frontiers, as more effectu-
 ' ally maintained all their Conquests, than treble
 ' the Number of Garisons could have done; which
 ' being composed of regular Forces, kept up in
 ' constant Discipline and Pay, would have con-
 ' sumed their People, created a vast Charge, and
 ' certainly have destroyed their Liberties: Whereas
 ' their Colonies still retained their Reverence to
 ' their Mother City, and were the only Support of
 ' the *Roman* State, when they were sunk by so
 ' many Losses in the second *Punick* War.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R



LETTER XI.

On the ancient Trade and Navigation of Europe.

S I R,

I AM now going to enter on some Considerations touching *Colonies*; but foresee it may be of use previously to take Notice of the State and Condition of the Trade of *Europe* for some Ages before, as well as at, the Time when *America* was discovered by the *Spaniards*, and a Passage found out by the *Portuguese* to the *East Indies* by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*: Both which happened at the Close of the 15th Century, and opened two new inexhaustible Sources of Riches, whereby the Trade and Navigation of the *Moderns* have very much exceeded that of the *Ancients*. And this Period may be looked on as the Grand New *Epooha*, in Matters of Trade and Plantations.

A *French* Gentleman, M. *Huet*, after having said, 'That it is certain, Commerce is of so great Importance, that, according to the present Conduct of the several States of *Europe*, there are very few Things in Government, which deserve more our Attention,' informs us, 'That about Six hundred Years ago, Trade, which was almost ruined by the continual Wars that troubled *Europe*, began to revive and flourish under the *Italians* and *Germans*. The former of these, after the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, went into the *Levant* for Spices, Drugs, Silks, and all the other valuable Commodities those Eastern Climes produced, to dispose of, and sell them again in all Parts of *Europe*. *Alexandria* and

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and some other Ports of Syria, were the Places where this Trade was principally carried on, and were supplied from time to time with all these Sorts of Commodities, by the Asiatics, both by Land and Sea, and by the Persians and Arabians, by means of the Red Sea; and this was the constant Practice both of the Greeks and Romans, especially since the Reign of Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus.

THE Italians, having added to their Levant Trade the Manufactures of Silk, which the People of Europe were very fond of, made such considerable Progress therein, as to lay up immense Riches, by means of which they formed those powerful Republicks, some of which subsist to this very Day with great Splendor and Magnificence, the happy Effects of their ancient, and long establish'd Commerce.

THE Italian Trade however, properly speaking, was only what remained of that which the Romans formerly drove with Asia; but that of Germany owed its Rise intirely to the Italian.

TOWARDS the End of the Twelfth Century, the Towns of Germany situated on the Baltic Sea, and those great Rivers that run into it, were famous for their trading all over the neighbouring Provinces; but as this Trade was often disturb'd by Pirates, and those frequent Wars, which at that Time troubled the North, they united themselves together for their mutual Defence, to secure and protect their Commerce, from what might disturb, or annoy it for the future. These Towns thus united, and which increased to about 72, were called Hanse Towns, from the German Word Ansee, or Ansee, which signifies upon the Sea; and their Inhabitants called Osterlins, that is, Easterlings, Names afterwards very well known in Europe; and these Towns for a long while commanded all the Trade and Navigation of the North, which at that Time

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Time were almost intirely unknown to the other People of *Europe*, except the *Italians*. These Things made them so powerful, that for a long Time they were the sole Arbiters of Peace and War, all over the *North*. But this Trade, which was for two Centuries successively the most flourishing that ever was, began to decay about the Year 1500, on Account of their falling out with one another; of which mutual Divisions the *English* and *Dutch* made such considerable Advantage, (especially the latter) that it fell almost intirely into their Hands, and has continued so ever since, notwithstanding all the vigorous Efforts these *Hanse Towns* have made from Time to Time, to retrieve it.

But the *Portuguese*, towards the End of the Fifteenth Century, having found out a new Passage to the *East Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, all the Trade which the *Venetians* drove for Spices and other Commodities of the *East*, soon fell into their Hands; so that *Lisbon* became the chief Magazine, or Storehouse, for these Goods, whence the rest of all *Europe* might be conveniently furnished and supplied.

SOON after the *Portuguese* made the Discovery of the *East Indies*, *Cadiz* and *Seville* were full of all the rich and valuable Commodities the new World (or *America*) produced. Gold and Silver growing more common in *Europe*, and Navigation every Day coming to a greater Perfection, Trade grew more lively and flourishing, and from that Time all the Nations in *Europe* strove to trade with the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, whom they look'd upon as sole Masters of Gold and Silver.

THE Commodities of the *North* (adds this Gentleman) were found of extreme Necessity to the People of *Europe*, who lived towards the *South*; for besides Wheat and other Grain, they had from thence other Commodities, as Materials proper for building

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building Ships, Navigation, and the like; and the People of the *North*, on the other hand, stood as much in need of the Commodities of the *South*, as Wine, Salt, Oil, &c. But then the Voyage from the *Baltick* to the *Mediterranean*, being very long, and full of Difficulties, the advantageous and happy Situation of the Ports of *Flanders* between the *North* and *South*, the Manufacturies of Linnen and Woollen Cloth, which flourished in those Parts since the Tenth Century, together with the free Fairs of these Towns, tempted the Merchants both of the *North* and *South*, to set up their Store-houses or Magazines for Goods, at *Bruges*, and afterwards at *Antwerp*, by means of which, the Exchange of Goods with each other, was carried on with greater Ease and Conveniency, and half the Expence and Trouble of the Voyage entirely saved.

So far from Monsieur *Huet*; and as I question not but the Thoughts of the famous Pensionary *de Witt*, who wrote on the same Subject before him, will be acceptable to most People, you have them here transcribed. The *German* Knights of the Cross, after the Year 1200, under Pretence of reducing the Heathens to the Christian Faith, made themselves Masters not only of barren *Pomerania*, and the River *Oder*, (which they suffered the converted Princes to enjoy) but of rich *Prussia* and *Lithuania*, and the Rivers *Weissel*, *Pregel*, and *Duina*; and consequently of all those which fall into the Sea, out of fruitful *Poland*, *Lithuania*, or *Russia*. By which Conveniency the Eastern Cities that lay nearest to the Sea, began to fetch away their bulky and unwrought Goods, and to carry them to the *Netherlands*, *England*, *Spain*, and *France*, and likewise from thence to and fro to export and import all the Goods that were superfluous or wanting. And in the Year 1360, or thereabouts, suffering great Losses at Sea by the Wars between *Denmark* and

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and *Sweden*; and being plundered by the famous
Wisbuy, Sixty-six of their Cities covenanted to-
 gether to clear the Seas of such Piracies, and to
 secure their Goods. And thus, by that Eastern
 Trade, they became and continued the only Traf-
 fickers and Carriers by Sea; beating, by that Means,
 all other Nations out of the Ocean, till after the
 Year 1400, that the Art of Salting and Curing of
Herrings being found out in *Flanders*, the Fisheries
 in these *Netherlands* being added to our Manu-
 factures, proved to be of more Importance than
 the Trade and Navigation of the *Easterlings*, and
 therefore increased more and more with the Traf-
 fick by Sea to *Bruges*, which lasted to the Year
 1482, when *Flanders* had Wars with the Archduke
Maximilian, about the Guardianship of his Son and
 his Dominions, which lasted 10 Years. Mean-
 while *Sluys*, the Sea Port of *Bruges*, being for the
 most Part infested by those Wars, *Antwerp* and
Amsterdam, to draw the Trade to their Ports, as-
 sisted the Duke in his unbridled Tyranny, and bar-
 barous Destruction of the Country; and thereby
 regained his Favour, and attained their own Ends.
 And seeing the *Italians*, by their *Levant* Trade,
 had gotten some Seed of Silk-Worms from *China*
 and *Persia*, and raised such Abundance of those
 Worms, and Mulberry Trees, that they wove
 many Silk Stuffs, and in Process of Time had dis-
 persed their Silks every where, and began to vend
 many of them at *Antwerp*; and moreover, when
 the Passages to the *West* and *East Indies* by Sea
 were discovered, and the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*
 sold their Goods and Spices at *Antwerp*; as also
 that the *Netherlandish* Drapery was much of it re-
 moved into *England*; and the *English* also settling
 their Staple at *Antwerp*; these Things produced
 many new Effects.

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BUT Monsieur *Huet* carries on his Account farther, tho', in some Things, he differs from the *Sieur de Witt*; but then it must be remembered, that the first was born under the *French* Monarchy, and that the other was a most rigid Republican; and I think I cannot better conclude this Letter, than with another Extract from the said Monsieur *Huet*, which will bring down the State of Commerce to the Times of our glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Henry* the Great of *France*; both which Princes may be said to have laid the Foundations of the present Trade and Prosperity of their respective Kingdoms. ' The Persecutions on the Account of Religion, raised in *Germany*, under the Reign of the Emperor *Charles V.* ' in *France* under *Henry II.* and in *England* under ' Queen *Mary*; forced a World of People into the ' *Netherlands*, as well as Trade; and particularly increased that of *Antwerp*. The vast Concourse of ' all the principal trading Nations, made this Town ' the most celebrated Store-house, or Magazine, in all ' *Europe*, if not of the whole World. But Trade ' (which has not any Enemy so mortal as Constraint) ' changed its Residence, as soon as the *Spaniards* began to deprive the *seventeen Provinces* of the *Low Countries* of their Privileges. The *Inquisition* that ' was designed to be set up by the Duke of *Alva*, and ' the Cruelties he exercised in governing those rich ' Provinces, forced such infinite Numbers to leave ' them, that, in a few Months, above a hundred thousand Families retired into other Parts. After this, ' the Prince of *Parma* having, in the Year 1584, ' besieged *Antwerp*, gave a terrible Blow to its Trade; ' for the *Scheld*, during that long Siege, being continually blocked up, the Merchants, who used to ' come and trade in that Town, went elsewhere. In ' short, the bad Politicks of the King of *Spain* completed the Ruin of the Trade of *Antwerp*, as well ' as of the other Towns in the *Low Countries* that ' were

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were under his Jurisdiction. — The Towns of Flanders, which used to follow the Fishery and Sea Trade, lost both; and the whole Fishery removed to Holland, and the Manufactures of Flanders into other Countries. — One third Part of the Workmen and Merchants, who wrought or dealt in Silks, Damasks, Taffeties, and Stockings, &c. went to settle in England; because none in that Country knew at that Time to work in those Manufactures. A great many went to Leyden; and most of them that dealt in Linnen, went to settle in Haerlem; not to mention those who went to Amsterdam. — But,

I hope I shall not trespass too far, if I add a Word or two from the Sieur Puffendorffe on this Occasion: Hitherto (says he) the Affairs of the united Netherlands (whom henceforward we will call Hollanders) had been in a very ill Condition; but from this Time forwards they began to mend apace, and became more settled. This was partly occasioned by the Ruin of the two Provinces of Brabant and Flanders, which were reconciled to the King, upon Condition, that such as would not profess themselves Roman Catholics, should leave the Country within a prefixed Time. A great many of these flocking into Holland, made its Cities very populous; especially all the Traffick of Antwerp was transplanted to Amsterdam, which rendered that City very rich and potent at Sea. — So very rich and powerful, that, as the same Historian observes, As long as the Hollanders were engaged in the War against Spain, they were favoured by every Body, except the Spanish Party; but immediately after the Peace was concluded, both France and England, by whom they had hitherto been upheld, gave manifest Proofs of their Jealousy of them.

HAVING given this short Account, from Gentlemen of allowed Knowledge and Experience, of the Progress and Variations of the Course of Trade,

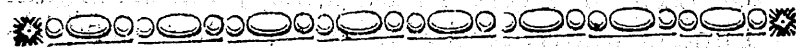
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from its Rise among the *Italians* and *Germans*, about six or seven hundred Years ago, to the Foundation of the Republick of *Holland*, that Prodigy in Navigation and Commerce, which occasioned so many and great Alterations in the World ; we shall proceed, the better qualified and prepared, to consider the Rise and Establishment of the *Colonies* of our *European* Nations, and the good and bad Successes that have attended them.

I am, S I R,

yours, &c.

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L E T T E R. XII.

On the Colonies and Settlements of the Portugese.

S I R,

WE have seen in our *last*, by a transient View, that the *Mediterranean* Cities, and those of the *North*, did carry on the most considerable Commerce of the World for several Centuries ; and how, and from what Causes, it came to center in the *Low Countries*, and afterwards to disperse itself into different Channels, on the Discovery of the *East* and *West Indies*, till the Revolt of the *United Provinces* from the Crown of *Spain*,

AN D now *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, were become, almost at once, Competitors, for the *Prize of Trade* ; for it was plain and obvious, that *Trade* was productive of Riches, Plenty and Power :

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Power : And each State grew intent to procure and confirm these valuable Advantages and Prerogatives to itself. Some took one Way, some another ; every one that which was suitable to the *Situation of its Affairs*, or agreeable to the *Wisdom of its Governors*, or the *Genius of its People*.

KING *John* the Second of *Portugal*, was the first ~~that~~ resolved on a Voyage from *Europe* to the *East Indies*, he having not only ordered an exact Survey to be made of the *African Coasts*, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, but also sent some Persons by Land into the *East Indies*, to inform themselves concerning the Condition of those Countries : But he dying in the Year 1495, before the intended Voyage could be undertaken, the Design was pursued and accomplished by *Vasquez de Gama*, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Emanuel* his Successor.

As soon as the *Portuguese* began to draw into their Country the *Spice Trade*, &c. they were opposed by the *Sultan of Egypt*, stirred up and assisted by the *Venetians* ; [because formerly these Commodities used to be convey'd through *Egypt* to *Venice*, and from thence to other Parts of *Europe*, from which both these Countries drew vast Profit.] Nor did the *Arabian* Merchants and Traders omit any Thing that might obstruct them.

YET notwithstanding the Difficulties, and the Confederacies of the most powerful Kings in the *Indies* against them, the *Portuguese*, by their Valour and good Conduct, made themselves Masters of the *Trade* of those Parts, conquering an incredible Number of the most important Places, and fortifying those Conquests, from *Cape Corientes*, on the *Eastern Coast of Africa*, to *China* : And, by their Ships of War (continually cruising in those Seas) they put an End to the Commerce of *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and transferred it intirely to *Lisbon*. They, in a short Time, engrossed to themselves the whole

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Trade and Commerce of *Africa*, and the remotest Parts of *Asia*; having possessed themselves of all the most commodious Ports and Places, not only on the Western Side of *Africa*, in *Mauritania*, *Guiney*, *Congo*, *Angola*, the Isle of *St. Thomas*, and some others; but also on the East Side, *Sofala*, *Mozambique*, *Quiloa*, *Mombazo*, *Melinde*; and from the Mouth of the *Red Sea* as far as *Japan*; from whence incredible Riches were brought into *Portugal*. Besides all this, in the Reign of *Emanuel*, who died in the Year 1521, the Country of *Brasil* in *America* was discovered by *Peter Alvarez Capral*, where the *Portuguese* planted several Colonies, And under this King, *Portugal* increased to that Degree, that his Reign was called *The Golden Age*.

His Son, *John III.* succeeded him; under whose Reign *Portugal* continued in the same flourishing Condition, extending her Trade and Colonies; and this King sent *Francis Xavier*, and some other Jesuits, into the *Indies*, to propagate the Christian Religion; of whose great and various Successes so much since has been written. — But through the Inexperience and Overforwardness of her next King *Sebastian*, *Portugal* fell from the Height of its Greatness; and nothing material happened in the Reign of his Successor *Henry*, to our Purpose.

IN the Year 1580, *Philip II.* of *Spain*, on the Death of the said *Henry*, obtained the Possession of the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*, and prohibited the *Netherlanders* their Trade and Commerce with *Spain* and *Portugal*; which proved very prejudicial to it: For hitherto they had traded no further, being used to fetch away their Commodities from thence, and to convey them into the more Northern Parts of *Europe*; and the *Hollanders* being now excluded from Trading with *Spain* and *Portugal*, found out the Way themselves to the *East Indies*; where, after many Difficulties, having got Footing, they greatly impaired

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impaired the *Portuguese* Trade, and furnished themselves, directly from thence, with those very Commodities they used before to have from *Portugal*. They took many of the *Portuguese* Forts, one after another; and the *Spaniards* finding, by Experience, that it was impossible to recover those Places, and drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies* by Force, offered to make Peace with them, and acknowledge them a *Free People*, if they would quit that Trade. But the *Dutch* chose rather to continue a long War, which at first they entered into only to obtain their Liberties, than to abandon the *East India* Trade; and they did not sign the Truce in 1609, but on Condition that they should trade freely to the *East Indies*, in all the Places they used to do during the War. — Nor was this all; for the *Hollanders* took from the *Portuguese* a great Part of *Brasil*, and several Places on the *African* Continent.

IN the Year 1640 the *Portuguese* threw off the *Spanish* Yoke, and made the Duke of *Broganza* their King; and as the *Portuguese* were not at War with the *Dutch*, but as Subjects to the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1641, soon after they ceased to be so, they concluded a Truce for ten Years with the *Dutch*, for all Places belonging to each Nation, both on this and the other Side the Line; and there was to be a free Navigation for both Parties every where, and each was to remain in Possession of those Places they held in the *East* and *West Indies* at the Time of publishing the Truce.

BUT this Truce was ill observed on either Side: For the Places in the Possession of the *Hollanders* in *Brasil*, revolted to the *Portuguese*; and the *Dutch* took from the *Portuguese* a great many Places in the *East Indies*.

IN the Year 1661 the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* signed a Peace at the *Hague*, by the Mediation of King *Charles* the Second. By this Treaty the *Dutch* quitted

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Brasil intirely to the *Portuguese*; and the *Dutch* have established themselves in the *East Indies*; chiefly by obtaining from the *Portuguese* almost all their Commerce, and their best Places in those Parts.

It is well known that the present Riches and Prosperity of *Portugal*, proceeds almost intirely from its *Colonies*, and the Trade occasioned by them. But the *Portuguese* took different Methods to establish themselves in the *East* and *West Indies*. In the *East* they were altogether intent on Conquests and Fortifications, for the Benefit and Increase of their Trade. In the *West*, at *Brasil*, they settled *Colonies*, and applied themselves to *planting* of Sugar, Tobacco, and other staple or useful Commodities; for this Reason *Brasil* grew numerous in their own People, and the Interest of *Portugal* is there fixed on a lasting and solid Foundation: For tho' it was conquered by the *Dutch*, and subjected to their Government many Years, yet it returned to its natural Allegiance; whereas their Settlements and Fortifications in the *East* being once over-powered, have ever since been detained from them, notwithstanding any Attempts for their Recovery: And this shews how much *Colonies* are to be preferred to *Forts* and *Factories*, which are only *secondary* and *artificial* Advantages to a Nation, as they protect or facilitate Trade, and which can be of no real Service, but a Burden, when the Produce or Manufactures of the Country where they are, happen to fail, or the Trade become unprofitable: Besides, they require constant Supplies of Men and Money to support them; but *Colonies* increase in People, and they provide for themselves; and their own certain Produce and Plenty add clear Profit to their Mother-Country. We likewise see that *Portugal* has lost or quitted most of her ancient Settlements on the *Western Coast* of *Africa*; yet still she preserves her *Islands* in that Sea, some of which are exceedingly beneficial to her, especially *Madeira*; and

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and others are capable of large Improvements, to my certain Knowledge. And this has chiefly happen'd, because, on the Continent, they settled for the Lucre of *Trade*; but, in the Islands, for the Sake of *Agriculture*: Which last is the best and most useful Design; and the Comparisons here made, confirm the Truth of the Observation.

THE surprising Progress that the *Portuguese* made in their Trade and Settlements in the *Indies*, is not more worthy our Notice, than the sudden Stop which it received: For, if we examine into the Causes of the first, we shall find, indeed, that those Things were performed by a warlike and enterprising People; but, if we inquire into the Reasons of the latter, we shall meet with a Variety of more profitable Instruction.

THE *Portuguese* are near Neighbours to *Africa*, and, by their Conquests, were grown very powerful on that Continent; and they had navigated to *Madeira*, the *Canaries*, the *Cape Verde* Islands, and as far as *Cape Palmas*, and were acquainted with a great Part of *Africa*, both by Land and Sea, before the Voyage to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Tempestuous Cape* (or *Cape of Good-Hope*) was performed; and at that Time most of the Princes of *Europe* were taken up with other Matters, and the Enemies they had to deal with in the *Indies*, for the most part, were a defenceless People, unaccustomed to the Largeness of their Ships, and the Noise of their Cannon, and not many, perhaps, apprehensive of future Molestation or Inconvenience from them; so that they did not meet with such Opposition as otherwise might have been expected, and would have happened to them. Their Difficulty rather lay, how to *secure* to themselves the whole Trade of those Parts, than how to *possess* themselves of it. And the Methods they took to effect it, were, 1. By mutual Commerce. 2. By keeping Masters of those Seas, and prohibiting

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prohibiting Entrance to all other Nations. 3. By erecting Fortifications; or settling Factories in every advantageous Situation, either by Permission or Force. 4. By Conquest, under Pretence of Injuries received, or of aiding others in their Wars. 5. By the Mission of the Jesuits, and Conversion of the Natives to the Christian Religion. — Which seem to me to have been the several Ways by which the *Portuguese* secured to themselves the Trade and Navigation of the *Indies* for near a hundred Years, viz. from the *Close* of the 15th, till towards the *End* of the 16th *Century*, when their Sun began to set, and their Prosperity and Greatness declined.

THE *Causes* of their *Decay* were many; principally,

- 1. THE Growth of Pride, Idleness, and Corruption among them.
- 2. THE Re-union of *Portugal* to *Spain* under *Philip II.*
- 3. THE neglecting to establish *Colonies* of their own People, and relying too much on the *Labour*, and undervaluing the *Friendship* and good *Correspondence* of the *Natives* of those Countries where they settled or traded.
- 4. THE Corruption and Abuses of their Clergy.
- 5. THE Tyranny, Avarice, and Vices of their *Don Quixotian* Governors, and other chief *Officers* abroad.

As to the *First*, it is manifest, that Peace, Plenty, and the *luxurious* Commerce of the *East*, had destroyed the *Industry*, and extinguished the *manly Spirit* of that Nation, as it came to be re-united to the Crown of *Castile* in the Year 1580; and, instead thereof, false Bravery, Pride, Profuseness, and their Attendants, Rapaciousness, Dishonesty, Bribery, Jobbing, Covetousness, and Corruption, — Oppression, and Cowardice, had crept in, and infected its very *Vitals*: So that, says a Writer who lived near

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near that Time, ' God sent them, for their Punishment and Scourge, four Kings and five Governors that might be accounted Kings, that spent and spoiled the Wealth of their Country. Don Sebastian by his Rashness; Henry by his Want of Resolution; Antony by Tyranny; Philip by Arms; and the Governors for their private Advantage.' And, perhaps it was on such Sort of Observations as these that the Emperor Charles V. used to say, ' It had been well the Indies had never been discovered, or, at least, not so much frequented.' — And he was induced the more readily to quit the Spanish Pretensions to the Molucca Islands, knowing that the ancient Romans were undone by their Eastern Conquests.

————— Sævior Armis
Luxuria incubuit, vitiumque ulciscitur orbem.

2dly, THE Union of Portugal to Castile proved (as has been already said) very prejudicial to its Commerce and foreign Settlements, from the King of Spain's prohibiting the Netherlanders to trade to that Kingdom: Besides, the Portuguese became embroiled in all his Wars and Disputes with other Powers, whereby a Handle was given to the English and Dutch, to make those Depredations and Conquests upon them, which they afterwards did with very great Success.

3dly, HOWEVER, in all Probability, the Dutch could never have gained the Mastery over the Portuguese in the Indies, in the Manner they did, if the Portuguese Settlements, tho' fewer, had been judiciously chosen, and they had, in a greater Measure, depended on the Strength of their Colonies and Shipping, and not over much trusted to the Number of their Forts and Factories, which the too eager Desire of Gain had made them fond of; especially if their
Governors

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Governors had been less haughty, rapacious, and cruel; — and the Doctrine of the Christian Religion had been confirmed and recommended by the Piety and Goodness of its Professors.

I WILL conclude this Paper with a Truth of the utmost Importance to Great Britain, which is, That planting of regular Colonies, is SECURING to ourselves RICHES and STRENGTH, at the same time it provides for the CRIMINAL, the NECESSITOUS, the UNFORTUNATE, the worthily Ambitious, and Generations to come. — And if Great Britain shall continue to exert herself THIS WAY in the same laudable Manner she has lately began; then Britons, above all others, may truly say, with Respect to themselves,

Homo Homini DEUS in Statu Politico.

I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER XIII.

On the Colonies and Settlements of the Spaniards.

SPAIN, in the 15th Century, was divided into five Monarchies, till all, except Portugal, were reduced into one under Ferdinand V. or the Catholic, in whose Reign America was discovered, from whence such prodigious Riches accrued to Spain, that

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that it became the Terror and Envy of all *Europe*, aiming at no less than Universal Monarchy.

It was in the Year 1492 that the Court of *Castile* embraced the Proposals of *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese* Pilot, for the Discovery of unknown Countries to the Westward of our *Continent*, after his Offers had been rejected by other Nations: And it was in a short Time, and with small Forces, and little Expence, that the vast Regions of *America* belonging to the *Spaniards*, were conquered and possessed by them. But tho' they made themselves Masters of these Countries with great Ease, abating their Cruelties to the defenceless Inhabitants, which are but too well known; yet there were many Things that required their Skill and Attention; especially,

1. To secure to themselves the Right, Property, and Possession of their new Discoveries, exclusive of all others.
2. To establish their Domination and Government in the several Places conquered or settled by them.
3. To regulate the Trade thereof, and to render it as commodious and beneficial to *Old Spain* as might be.

As to the first of these *their Cares*, (for now they were ambitious, vigilant, and active) no sooner was *Christopher Columbus* returned into *Spain*, with an Account of his *new Discovery*; but the King of *Portugal* complained by his Ambassador, that the Countries found did of Right belong to him, as possessing the *Cape de Verde* Islands, and the Sovereignty of that Ocean, which his Ancestors had caused first to be navigated under their Colours, and in virtue of Commissions from them: But the *Spaniards* prevailed on Pope *Alexander the VIth.* to decide

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decide the Dispute in their Favour, and by virtue of that Pope's Grant in 1493, they claimed all the Lands discovered, or to be discovered, to the West and South, whether towards *India*, or any other Part, beyond the Longitude of five Degrees (or of one Hundred Leagues Distance) from any of the *Azores*, or *Cape de Verde* Islands: The other Nations of *Europe*, however, disputed the Validity of that Donation, and build their Rights on first Discovery, Pre-occupancy, Treaties, or common Consent. The King of *Portugal* first opposed it; and their *Catholick* Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, thereupon thought fit to agree, that the Line of Partition, mentioned in the Pope's Bull, should be fixed Two hundred and Seventy Leagues farther to the West; and that all Discoveries from thence Westward should belong to the *Spaniards*, and Eastward to the *Portuguese*; and that there should be a free Navigation on both Sides; but neither should trade beyond their Limits. — Our Queen *Elizabeth* boldly examined both their Pretensions; (for now *Portugal* too was united to *Spain*) she declared to the Ambassador of *Spain*, ' That she could not persuade herself, that the *Spaniards* had any just Title to the *Indies* by the Bishop of *Rome's* Donation; nor by any other Claim, than as they had touched, here and there, upon the Coasts, built Cottages, and given Names to a *River*, or a *Cape*; which things could not entitle them to a Propriety, and that they could not hinder other Princes from trading into those Countries, and (without the Breach of the Law of Nations) from transporting Colonies into such Parts, as were not inhabited by the *Spaniards*.' Thus, and more, *Camden* informs us, she spoke to *Don Bernardino de Mendoza*, in Defence of one of her Subjects, before an open Rupture with *Spain*. And in her Instructions to her Commissioners for a Peace at *Boloigne*

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Boloigne in 1600, (as I find in an old M. S.) she says;

‘ I T T is lykeli, they will forbidd us to trade
‘ into their *Indyes*;

‘ W H E R E I N you must, by all Argumente
‘ you cann, maintayne, that it is very dissonant
‘ with true Amitye to forbidd their Frindes, those
‘ common Libertyes, yea, though the whole *Indyes*,
‘ were, as meerlye subjecte, to their Sovereignetye,
‘ as *Spayne* it selfe is, especiallye, when in former
‘ Treatyes of 1541 there have been contrarye
‘ Clauses, which have given Freedome to Trade in-
‘ to all their Dominyons.’

B U T many Treaties have been made since then,
and the *Spaniards* have kept themselves in Possession
of the largest and finest Countries of *America*, deny-
ing a Freedom of Intercourse and Commerce to all
other Nations.

As to the Second,

T H E *Spaniards* that at first gained Possession of
America were chiefly Men of narrow Fortunes,
daring Spirits, and uncivilized Principles; so that
the Truth seems to be (leaving Religion out of the
Question) that *Spain*, for the Sake of Order, and the
Preservation of their Conquests, was necessitated to
check their Proceedings, and set Bounds to their
enormous and exorbitant Pretensions. *Columbus* was
accused, disgraced, and sent from his Govern-
ment in Chains: *Cortez* was recalled from his Com-
mand, and died suspected in *Old Spain*; and Sir
William Monson observes, that no Man that had com-
manded in *Peru*, escaped Death or Imprisonment,
but *Pedro de la Gasca*: ‘ *Francis Pizarro* and his
‘ Brother (says Sir *William*) beheaded *Almagro*; *Al-*
‘ *magro*’s Son murdered *Francis Pizarro*; *Blasco*
‘ apprehended *Vuaca de Castro*; *Gonzalo Pizarro* slew
‘ *Blasco Nunez*, and *Gasca* did as much to
‘ *Gonzalo Pizarro*:’ — And what untold Num-
bers of the *Peruvians* and *Mezicans*, were havock’d
and

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and destroy'd by the wild Ambition or Cruelty of their Conquerors! — Alas! How much does the undiscerned Hand of Providence, in its infinite Wisdom, put it in the Power of *Man* to be serviceable to *Man*! How often for one to make happy or miserable, protect or destroy Millions, and Millions of the *noblest Being* in this sublunary Creation! And what a mean, what a vain, what a destructive, wretched Animal is *Man* devoid of *Social Virtue* and *Religion*!

F. Bartholomew de las Casas, the first that sung Mass in the *West Indies*, being an Enemy to those Cruelties, returned into *Spain*, to represent them, and defend the *Indians*: But what Opposition did he not meet with from the Avarice or private Views of particular Men! *Antonio de Herrera* informs us, ' That a Paper for the Reformation of Abuses being delivered in, and nothing being done in it, ' *F. Casas* excepted against the whole *Council of the Indies*; and that the King thereupon appointed ' some Persons of other Councils to examine into ' the Controversy: That many Objections were ' started against *F. Casas*, the *Indians* being represented as scarce rational Creatures, and himself not ' a little reviled; but that he easily refuted all their ' Allegations, clearing himself, justifying the *Indians*, and plainly demonstrating *how shamefully ' the King was imposed on by his Governors, and other ' Officers, who not only concealed the Truth from him, ' but defrauded him of his Revenues, and made themselves great Estates.* — And the Historian further acquaints us, ' That, whilst these Things were ' in Agitation, the Bishop of *Darien* arrived at ' Court, whom *F. Casas* took the Liberty to reprimand for not having proceeded against *Peter Arias*, ' for his many Cruelties and Exorbitancies: That ' the Bishop justifying himself, a Dispute arose, and ' the Bishop of *Badajoz* acquainting the King with it, ' his Majesty ordered that they should appear before him,

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him, and argue the Case in his Presence. Accordingly, on the Day appointed, the Bishop of *Darien* (after having urged, that he had some Things which were not fit to declare in publick) being commanded to deliver himself fully, made a short Speech, wherein he only spoke of the Wants they had suffered at *Darien*, said the first Governor had been *bad*, the next much *worse*, and concluded with vilifying the *Indians*. *F. Casas* was ordered to speak next, who said, He was one of the first that went over to the *Indies*; that he had been an Eye-witness of all the Mismanagement there; that he had laid the same before King *Ferdinand*, King *Philip*, and the Governors of the Kingdom, which last had given good Orders for redressing of Grievances: *That he was still labouring for the same End, tho' there were Ministers of the Enemy of all Good that endeavoured to oppose it: That what he did was, not in hopes of any Reward, nor even to serve his Majesty, whose dutiful Subject he was; — but for the Service of God, which would every Way redound to his Majesty's Advantage: That he then for ever renounced any Favour or Advantage his Majesty should propose to bestow on him; but that the Natives of the new World were most capable of being brought to the Christian Faith, and to live politely, contrary to what the Bishop of Darien had declared: And therefore he conjured his Majesty to set them right, and remove their Grievances. —* Then a *Franciscan* Frier was ordered to speak, who said, He had been some Years on *Hispaniola*, and commanded by his Superiors to count the *Indians*, which he did; and some Years after repeated the same by their Orders, when he found, *that many Thousands of them had been destroyed; and if the Blood of one Man unjustly slain cried to Heaven for Vengeance, what might be dreaded from the Blood of so many Thousands?* — Then the *Admiral* was commanded

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‘ to deliver what he had to offer, who declared,
‘ That what those Fathers had said was evident,
‘ which was the Occasion of his coming to signify
‘ the same to the late King, and now to his Majesty,
‘ whom he begged to apply proper Remedies to
‘ those Disorders. — But (continues *Herrera*) no-
‘ thing was at that Time concluded, as to the Af-
‘ fairs of the *Indies*, the King being then called away
‘ to take upon him the Imperial Crown, as he soon
‘ did, by the Name of *Charles V.*

H O W E V E R, afterwards many good Laws and Ordinances were passed, from time to time, in favour of the *Indians*, and for better regulating the Affairs of the *Indies*; and nothing is more evident than that the Christian Religion, and the Labours of the Clergy, were very useful to the *Spaniards*, as well to subject, as to retain in Obedience the Inhabitants of those Countries: And to this Day the Clergy are frequently the People’s Barrier and Protectors, against the Violence and Avarice of their Governors; which have been such, and so intolerable, that I myself have known more than one loaded back to *Old Spain* with *Crimes* and *Chains*.

M O N S I E U R *Frezier* gives the following Account of the *Spanish* Politicks in *America*: ‘ It is to be observed, that most Employments are given, or sold, only for a limited Time. The Viceroy and Presidents generally hold theirs seven Years; some *Corregidores* and Governors have theirs for five, and the greater Number but for three. It is easy to see into the Design of this Regulation, which is doubtless to prevent their having Time to gain Creatures, and form Parties against a King who is so remote from them; but it must also be granted, that this Policy is attended with many inevitable Inconveniencies, which, in my Opinion, are the main Cause of the ill Government of the Colony, and of the little Profit it affords to the King of *Spain*;

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‘ *Spain*; for the Officers look upon the Time their
 ‘ Employments last, as a Jubilee which is to come
 ‘ but once in their Lives, at the End whereof they
 ‘ will be laughed at, if they have not made their
 ‘ Fortunes; and as it is hard not to be overcome by
 ‘ the Temptation of privately conniving, for Money,
 ‘ at certain Abuses, which, by long Use, are be-
 ‘ come Customs, the honestest Persons follow the
 ‘ Steps of their Predecessors, being possessed of the
 ‘ Opinion, that howsoever they behave themselves,
 ‘ they shall not perhaps miss of being charged with
 ‘ Mal-administration; the only Means to clear them-
 ‘ selves of which, is to silence their Judges with
 ‘ Presents, giving them Part of what they have
 ‘ wronged the King and the Subjects of. I bring
 ‘ this Reflection from its Original, (says my Author)
 ‘ and do not lay it down here as a Conjecture.

Munera, crede mihi, placant hominesque Deosque.

‘ Hence it is, that so many Loads of Silver are con-
 ‘ veyed from the Mines cross long Countries, and at
 ‘ last put on board Ships trading along the Coast,
 ‘ without paying the Fifth to the King, because the
 ‘ Merchants pay the Governor so much *per Cent.* the
 ‘ *Corregidor*, or chief Magistrate pays the *Juez de*
 ‘ *Descamino*, or Judge of Concealments or Confis-
 ‘ cations, and he perhaps the Viceroy’s Officers.
 ‘ For this Reason scarce any one of them takes to
 ‘ Heart the *Publick Good*, being convinced that he
 ‘ shall soon be out of Place, and out of Power to
 ‘ continue the good Order he shall establish, and
 ‘ which his Successor will perhaps overthrow, as
 ‘ soon as he is in the Post. In short, this is the
 ‘ Cause why the Orders from the Court of *Spain* are
 ‘ not at all, or very ill put in Execution.’ And,

PERHAPS I mayself am as well acquainted with
 the Immoralities and Abuses committed by the Ro-

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man Catholick Clergy, as most are ; and I do say, that I abhor them as much as any one can do ; yet whoever considers with me the inhuman Butcheries committed by the *Spaniards* ; the Depredations and Cruelties of the *Buccaniers* ; and the hellish Lives of *piratical* Men, must needs wish for any Religion rather than none ; And if the unexperienced Gentlemen of this Nation, who are so much beholden to the Virtues and Industry of their Fathers, as not to stand in Need to take Thought for themselves, would fairly look back to the Time of our naked Ancestors, they will find, that they *owe much to Religion*, if they are not very short sighted, or very ungrateful. *Machiavel*, in his *Discourses* on *Titus Livius*, has a fine Passage to my Purpose ; and *M. T. Cicero* has one, which might, and, methinks, should be engraven in Letters of Gold on the Front of every publick Building throughout the World—— ‘ He
‘ that should undertake to establish a virtuous City
‘ at this Day, says *Machiavel*, would find it more
‘ easy among the rude People of the Mountains,
‘ who have not been acquainted with Civility, than
‘ among such who have been educated in Cities,
‘ where their Manners were corrupted ; like rude un-
‘ polished Marble, which is more readily carved into
‘ a Statue than what has been mangled before by
‘ some bungling Workman ; so that all Things con-
‘ sidered, I conclude, that *Religion* being introduced
‘ by *Numa*, was one of the first Causes of *Rome’s*
‘ Felicity ; because Religion produced good Laws,
‘ good Laws a good Fortune, and good Fortune a
‘ good End in whatever they undertook. And as
‘ Strictness in divine Worship, and Conscience in
‘ Oaths, are great Helps to advance a *State*, so
‘ Contempt of the one, and Neglect of the other,
‘ are great Means of its Destruction. *If you take*
‘ *away Religion, you take away the Foundation of*
‘ *Government.*’

Cicero’s

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Cicero's Words are :
Quam volumus licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus ; tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujuce Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos : sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.

Cicero de Haruspicum Resp.

3. As to the Spanish Regulations in regard to the Trade of their Indies, Doctor Davenant has already observed in general for me, ' That it may be objected, that the Spaniards are not very good Pat- terns to follow in any Model or Scheme of Govern- ment. To which it may be answered, says he, ' That whoever considers the Laws and politick In- stitutions of Spain, will find them as well formed, ' and contrived with as much Skill and Wisdom, as ' in any Country perhaps in the World ; so that the ' Errors that People are observed to commit, from ' time to time, do not proceed from a wrong and ill ' Projection, but from the negligent, loose, and unstea- ' dy Executions of their Counsels.' — And certainly the supreme Council of the Indies, the Casa de Contra- tacion, or India House, and its Chambers of Direc- tion and Justice, the Court of Consulship chosen by the West India Traders, and their Corporation of Sailors, were all wise and excellent Constitutions ; and we might particularly shew, that it is from no Defect in them, that they do not fully answer the Wis- dom and Benignity of the Authors. But having said some Things on the Portuguese Colonies, that are like- wise applicable to the Spanish, and this Letter being run out to a full Length, as well as for other Rea- sons, I shall only add, that the Spaniards garison and keep Possession of many Places without Inhabitants, and use very little good Husbandry on most of the Lands they have

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have peopled: which may be our Advantage, tho' of late a Spirit of Reformation and Industry is visible among them.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

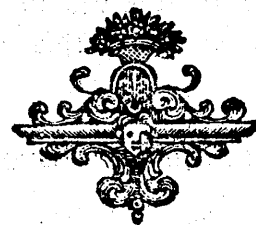
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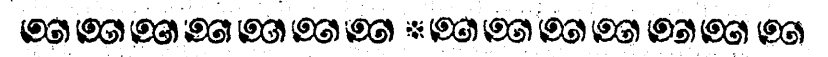
P. S. I think it not improper to add what follows from *Herrera*, which after what has been said, will illustrate an Observation that cannot be too frequently inculcated, viz. *That the Welfare of a Colony depends on the Virtues and Capacity of its Governor, and that Princes and States cannot be too careful in their Choice of a fit Person for such a Service.*

— ' The Troubles of *Peru* (says that Historian)
' have taken up so much of our Time, that we
' have not had Leisure to look into *New Spain*,
' where Don *Lewis de Velasco* had entered upon the
' Government as Viceroy, who, endeavouring to
' follow the good Example set him by his Predecessor
' for Don *Antony de Mendoza*, maintained those
' Kingdoms in Peace and Tranquillity, the People
' living in a regular Manner by means of his good
' Administration, all publick Offences being severely
' sought into, and punish'd, because he took special
' Care that the *Royal Court*, and the *Officers of Justice*
' should perform their respective Duties exact and uprightly.
' He lived in his own Family with Splendor and Majesty;
' *no Flattery or avaricious Dealing was to come within his Walls.*
' He honour'd good Men, rewarded those that serv'd the Publick:
' *Religious Men* apply'd themselves to converting and instructing
' of the *Indians*, learning their several Languages that they might
' be understood by them, and heard with the greater Attention, and
' those

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* those People were very docile, because of the Ease
 * they found, having been discharg'd of the personal
 * Tributes they had before paid to the *Spaniards*, and
 * of the Burthen of being *Tamemes*, or obliged to
 * carry Loads on their Backs all the Country over,
 * of which Don *Lewis de Velasco* took singular Care.
 * — Learning flourished in the University, Com-
 * merce was enlarg'd, mechanick Arts were im-
 * proved, Tillage increased; the Gentry enjoy'd what
 * they had, undisturb'd, the Country was plentiful
 * and wealthy; the Officers of the King's Revenue
 * were industrious in advancing and improving it,
 * without being permitted to intermeddle in other
 * Affairs; the Fleets carried much Wealth into
 * *Spain* in Plate, Cochineal, and other Commodi-
 * ties, and all the rich Mines were found and disco-
 * vered at this Time, which was reputed very for-
 * tunate, all Men being *prosperous, contented, joy-
 * ful* and in *Peace*. In short, continues the Histo-
 * rian, the *Viceroy* was more like a *Father* than a
 * *Governor* of those Kingdoms.' Decad. V. B. x.
 C. III. — And yet how few, very few Governors
 have followed this rare Example! — And how
 unfruitful, how detestable has been the Consequence!





LETTER XIV.

On the Colonies and Settlements of the Dutch.

S I R,

IN the Course of these Letters, Notice has been taken of the *ancient Trade* of the *Low-Countries*, and of the Rise of the Republick of *Holland*; and Sir *Josiah Child*, in the Year 1692, said, That the prodigious Increase of its domestick and foreign Trade, Riches, and Multitude of Shipping, was the Envy of the present, and might be the Wonder of all future Generations. In short, almost every Writer in Trade has propos'd this Republick, as a perfect Model for the other Nations of *Europe* to follow, in Matters of Trade and Commerce. But for my Part, who am speaking of their *Colonies* and *Settlements*, I shall beg Leave to make a Distinction: I say, *That the* *Hollanders* *have acted as acute, industrious and grasping MERCHANTS; but not as long-sighted and prudent POLITICIANS;* forasmuch as they have *neglected Colonies*, and over-strained themselves in Matters of *Trade*.
 — And to make good this Observation, let it be considered,

1. THAT the *Hollanders* have *neglected* to plant *Colonies*.
2. THAT they have *over-strained* themselves in Matters of *Trade*.
3. THAT these two very great *Overights*, or *Faults*, in that Republick, have been, and may be, productive of innumerable *Evils* to it.

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THE first Proposition appears evident.

- 1. FROM the small Number of Colonies which they are possessed of, comparatively to what they might have been.
- 2. FROM their not taking sufficient Care to settle Colonies in the *East Indies*, or on the Coast of *Africa*.
- 3. FROM their little Regard to, and Mismanagement of the Colonies belonging to them.

As to the second Proposition, we need only reflect on the Rise of their Trade, and the sudden Growth and Exorbitance of it, by which they over-stock'd themselves with People, grew ambitious, and drew the Resentments of their Neighbours on them: And as other Nations apply themselves to Trade, consequently the very Means of their People's Support being taken away, this Republick must consume of itself.

As to the Third, I think, in general, it may be safely affirmed, that had *Holland*, from the Year 1648, to the Year 1672, applied herself only to secure and confirm to herself, a competent Share of the best Branches of the Trade she was then possessed of, and to establish *Colonies* in a peaceable Manner, without pretending to dispute the Dominion of the Seas, insulting her Neighbours with her Maritime Force, and grasping at an universal Monopoly of Trade, she might have been more regular and compact within herself, and her Prosperity must have been natural and lasting; but, instead thereof, thinking, through Covetousness and Ambition, to found her future Success on superior Power and casual Advantages, and to ingross to herself, by Artifice, or compulsive Treaties, the Trade and Commerce of the whole World; it was all *unnatural*, and therefore not *lasting*. —

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The grand unalterable Principle of Traffick, is reciprocal Advantage; and every Sovereign Prince or State will judge for itself; and the Reason in [*Num, si vos omnibus imperare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant!*] will hold good in this Case.

BUT let us a little more particularly inquire into three Things.

1. WHAT are the Benefits, which, 'tis thought, the *Dutch* might have reaped by planting *Colonies*?

2. WHAT have been the Obstacles that have hindered them from establishing more *Colonies* than they have done? And,

3. WHAT have been their Errors in governing those which they have established?

AND no body will better satisfy our Inquiries than the Pensionary *de Witt*, who had maturely considered these Matters, and was, for many Years, the principal Governor of this Republick. He says, 'That supposing all the Expedients (he had before mentioned) to attract and allure Foreigners to become Inhabitants of *Holland*, were practised, and those Inhabitants made to subsist by due Administration of Justice; yet would there be found in *Holland* many old and new Inhabitants, who, for want of Estate and Credit, live very uneasy; and therefore would desire to remove thence. It is evident, first, as to Persons and Estates, that the Inhabitants here are not only exposed to the ordinary Misfortunes of Mankind, of not foreseeing future Events, Weakness and Want; but besides, they make very uncertain Profit by Manufactures, Fishing, Trade, and Shipping; and on the other Side, by Sickness, Wars, Piracies, Rocks, Sands, Storms, and Bankrupts, or by the Unfaithfulness of their own Masters of Ships, they may lose the
greatest

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'greatest Part of their Estates, while, in the Interim, they continue charged with the natural Burdens of *Holland*, as great House-rent, Imposts and Taxes: Nor have they any reformed Cloisters to provide creditable Opportunities for discharging themselves of such Losses by maintaining their Children; or, according to the Proverb, (*Desperatio facit Militem aut Monachum*) to turn Soldier or Monk; so that, by such Accidents, falling into extreme Poverty, they consequently lose their Respect and Credit among Men.

'AND, Secondly, as to Reputation, It is well known, that, in this Republick, the Government consists of very few Men, in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants; and that the said Government is not, by Law, annexed or restrained to any certain Family; but is open to all the Inhabitants: So that those who have been eight or ten Years Burghers, may be chosen to the Government in most Cities, and have the most eminent Employments of *Cheepen*, or Burgomaster. Whence we may infer, that many who are the Offspring of those that were heretofore made use of in the Government, and also many others, who, by reason of their ancient Stock, and great Skill in Polity, and extraordinary Riches, thro' natural Self-love and Ambition, conceive themselves wronged, when other new ones, of less Fitness and Estate, are chosen to the Government before them; and therefore thinking themselves undervalued, seek a Change, and would be induced to transport themselves to other Countries, where their Qualifications, great Estate, and Ambition, might produce very good Effects; whereas, on the other Side, whilst they continue to dwell in these Lands, they speak ill of the Government and Rulers in particular. And if, by this, or any other Accident,

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' dent, Tumults should be occasioned against the
 ' Rulers in particular, or the Government itself, they
 ' being Persons of Quality, might become the
 ' Leaders of the Seditious; who, to obtain their
 ' End, and to have such Insurrections tend to their
 ' Advantage, would not rest till they had displaced
 ' and turned out the lawful Rulers, and put them-
 ' selves in their Places; which is one of the saddest
 ' Calamities than can befall the Republick or Cities;
 ' seeing Rulers who became such by Mutiny, are al-
 ' ways the Cause of horrible Enormities, before they
 ' obtain the Government, and must commit many
 ' Cruelties, ere they can fix themselves on the Bench
 ' of Magistracy. — And seeing we have already
 ' made many Conquests of Countries in *India*, and
 ' finding how hardly (and that with great Charge of
 ' Soldiers) they are to be kept; and that the Poli-
 ' ticians of old, have taught us, *That there is no bet-
 ' ter Means, especially for a State which depends on
 ' Merchandize and Navigation, to preserve foreign
 ' Conquests, than by settling Colonies in them; we
 ' may easily conclude, that the same Method would
 ' be very useful and expedient for our State.*

' *Thirdly*, It is well known, that the poorest
 ' People of all the Countries round about us, come
 ' to dwell in *Holland*, in hope of earning their Liv-
 ' ing by Manufactory, Fisheries, Navigation, and
 ' other Trades; or failing these, that they have the
 ' Benefits of Alms-houses and Hospitals, where
 ' they will be better provided for than in their own
 ' Country. And altho' in this Manner very many
 ' poor People have been maintained; yet in bad
 ' Times it could not last long; but thence might
 ' easily arise a general Uproar, with the Plunder
 ' and Subversion of the whole State. To prevent
 ' which, and other the like Mischiefs, and to give
 ' discontented Persons, and Men in Straits an *open
 Way,*

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' Way, the Republicks of *Tyre, Sidon, Carthage,*
 ' *Greece, and Rome, &c.* in ancient Times, having
 ' special Regard to the true Interests of Republicks,
 ' which were perfectly founded on Traffick, or Con-
 ' quests of Lands, did not neglect to erect many
 ' Colonies: Yea, even the Kings of *Spain, Portu-*
 ' *gal and England, &c.* have lately very profitably
 ' erected divers *Colonies,* and continue so doing, in
 ' remote and uncultivated Countries; which former-
 ' ly added an incredible Strength to those ancient
 ' Republicks, and do still to *Spain, Portugal, and*
 ' *England, &c.* producing, besides their Strength,
 ' the greatest Traffick and Navigation. So that
 ' it is a wonderful Thing that *Holland,* having these
 ' old and new Examples before their Eyes, and be-
 ' sides, by its natural great Wants, and very great
 ' Sums of Money given yearly in Charity to poor
 ' Inhabitants, and being yearly pressed by so many
 ' broken Estates, and want of greater Traffick and
 ' Navigation, hath not hitherto made any *Free Co-*
 ' *lonies* for the Inhabitants of *Holland;* tho' we, by
 ' our Shipping, have discovered and navigated
 ' many fruitful, uninhabited, and unmanured Coun-
 ' tries, where, if *Colonies* were erected, they might
 ' be free, and yet subject to the Lords the States of
 ' *Holland,* as all the open Countries and Cities
 ' that have no Votes amongst us, are; and it might
 ' cause an incredible *great* and *certain* Traffick and
 ' Navigation with the Inhabitants of *Holland.*

' It is well worth Observation, that these *Colonies*
 ' would no less strengthen the Treasure and Power of
 ' the States in Peace and War, than they do those
 ' of *Spain, Portugal, and England,* which during
 ' the manifold intestine Dissentions and Revolutions
 ' of State, have always adhered to their ancient na-
 ' tive Country against their Enemies. And by this
 ' Means also, many ambitious and discontented In-
 ' habitants of *Holland* might conveniently, *sub Specie*
 ' *Honoris,*

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' *Honoris*, be gratified, by having some Authority
 ' in and about the Government of the said *Colonies*.
 ' But some may object, that heretofore the Rulers
 ' of *Holland*, in the respective Grants or Charters
 ' given to the *East* and *West-India* Companies, have
 ' given them alone the Power of navigating their
 ' Districts, with Exclusion of all other Inhabitants,
 ' which extend so far, that out of them the whole
 ' World hath now no fruitful, uninhabited Lands,
 ' where we may erect new *Colonies*; and that those
 ' Districts are so far spread, because our Rulers
 ' trusted that the said Companies could, and would
 ' propagate and advance such *Colonies*: — Tho'
 ' supposing those *Colonies* must, indeed, in Specula-
 ' tion, be acknowledged singularly profitable for
 ' this State, yet nevertheless those respective Districts
 ' and Bounds of the said Companies, were purposely
 ' extended so far by the *States General*, and especi-
 ' ally by the *States of Holland*, effectually to hinder
 ' the making of those *Colonies*, since our Nation is
 ' naturally averse to Husbandry, and utterly unfit
 ' to plant *Colonies*, and ever inclined to Merchan-
 ' dizing.
 ' To which I answer, that it's likely the first
 ' Grants or Charters, both of the *East* and *West*, and
 ' other copious Districts, were probably made upon
 ' mature Deliberation; but that the Rulers perceiv-
 ' ing afterwards how very few Countries the said
 ' Companies do traffick with, and what a vast many
 ' Countries and Sea-Ports in their Districts remain
 ' without Traffick or Navigation, they cannot be
 ' excused of too great Imprudence, in that they,
 ' notwithstanding the Continuance of such Districts to
 ' this Day, kept their common trading Inhabitants,
 ' consisting of so great Numbers, from those unin-
 ' habited Countries by our Companies: So that by
 ' reason of the want of trafficking Countries, or new
 ' *Colonies* in little *Europe* and its Confines, the *Hol-*
 ' *landers*

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‘ *landers* are necessitated to over-stock all Trade and
 ‘ Navigation, and to spoil and ruin them both, to
 ‘ the great Prejudice, of such Merchants and Owners
 ‘ of Ships on whom it falls, altho’ *Holland*, during
 ‘ that Time of their Trade’s being over-stock’d,
 ‘ had a greater Commerce, and deterred the Traders
 ‘ of other Countries from that Traffick, which the
 ‘ *Hollanders*, with the Appearance of Gain, do and
 ‘ must re-assume, if they will continue to live in
 ‘ *Holland*; where all manner of Foreign Trade,
 ‘ since the erecting the said Companies, was necessi-
 ‘ tated to be driven, notwithstanding the Uncertainty
 ‘ of Gain, and Fear of over-trading ourselves.

‘ AND that the said Companies neither have nor
 ‘ do endeavour to make new *Colonies* for the Benefit
 ‘ of the Lands, and the Inhabitants thereof, hath
 ‘ hitherto abundantly appeared, and we must not
 ‘ lightly believe that they will do otherwise for the
 ‘ future; which I suppose will also appear, if we
 ‘ consider, that the Directors, from whom this should
 ‘ proceed, are advanced and privately sworn to
 ‘ promote the Benefit of the Subscribers of the re-
 ‘ spective Companies; so that if the Colonies
 ‘ should not tend to the Benefit of the Subscribers in
 ‘ general, we cannot expect the Companies should
 ‘ promote them. Yea, supposing such Colonies
 ‘ should tend to the greatest Profit of the Subscribers
 ‘ in general, yet such is the common Corruption of
 ‘ Man, that those Plantations should not be erected,
 ‘ unless such Directors or Governors can make their
 ‘ own Advantage by them.

‘ AND seeing all Colonies in unmanured Coun-
 ‘ tries, must for some Years together have Necessi-
 ‘ taries carried to them, till such Plantations can
 ‘ maintain themselves out of their own Product, and
 ‘ begin to go to Sea, and then there is some small
 ‘ Duty imposed on the Planters and their Traffick,
 ‘ or Navigation, whereby the Undertakers may be
 ‘ reimbursed;

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reimbursed ; yet the Partners having expended so much, are not assured that their Grant or Lease of Years, shall be prolong'd and continu'd to them on the same Terms. Moreover, in regard of these new Colonies, the Directors ought therefore to have less Salary, seeing by this free Trade of the Planters and Inhabitants, they may be eased of the great Pains they take about their general Traffick and Equipage of Ships, which concerns them much in particular, for many considerable Reasons not here to be mentioned.

AND as concerning our People in the East and West, they being hitherto of so loose a Life, are so wasteful, expensive, and lazy, that it may thence seem to be concluded, that the Nation of Holland is naturally and wholly unfit for new Colonies ; yet I dare venture to say it is not so. But certain it is, that the Directors of the said Companies, their Mariners, and Soldiers, and likewise their other Servants are hired on such strait-laced and severe Terms, and they require of them such a Multitude of Oaths, importing the Penalty of the Loss of all their Wages and Estate, that very few Inhabitants of Holland, unless out of mere Necessity, or some poor, ignorant, slavish-minded and debauched Foreigner, will offer themselves to that hard Servitude. It is also true, that all such that are in the Indies, especially the East Indies, do find, that not only while they serve, but after they have served their Time, for which they are bound, they are under an intolerable compulsive Slavery ; insomuch that none can thrive there but their great Officers, who being placed over them to exact the Oaths of the Mercenaries or Hirelings, and to put in Execution the Company's Commands, and being without Controul, to accuse or check them, they commonly favour one another ; and afterwards coming Home with great Treasures,

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‘ Treasures, are in Fear that they will be seized and
 ‘ confiscated by the Directors ; So that it is no won-
 ‘ der that so few good, and so many ignorant, lazy,
 ‘ prodigal and vicious People take Service of the
 ‘ *East India* Company : But it is doubly to be ad-
 ‘ mired, that any intelligent, frugal, diligent, and
 ‘ virtuous People, especially *Hollanders*, unless dri-
 ‘ ven by extreme Necessity. should give up them-
 ‘ selves to that slavish Servitude.

‘ A L L which being true, let none think it strange
 ‘ that the Scum of *Holland*, and of most other Na-
 ‘ tions, having by their Service become Freemen
 ‘ there, and yet not permitted to drive any Trade
 ‘ by Sea, or with Foreign People, are very unfit,
 ‘ and have no Inclination at all to those *forced Colonies*,
 ‘ and do always thirst after their own sweet and free
 ‘ native Countries : Whereas notwithstanding, on the
 ‘ contrary, the ingenious, frugal, industrious *Hol-
 ‘ landers*, by those Virtues which are almost peculiar
 ‘ to them, are more fit than any other Nation in the
 ‘ World to erect Colonies, and to live on them,
 ‘ when they have the Liberty given them to manure
 ‘ them for their own Livelihood. — And if in our
 ‘ Nation there is also to be found a very great Apt-
 ‘ ness and Inclination to Merchandizing and Navi-
 ‘ gation, then we may in all Respects believe, that
 ‘ we, under our own free Government, might erect
 ‘ very excellent Colonies, when it shall please the
 ‘ State to begin, and encourage the same on good
 ‘ Foundations, and to indulge them for a short Time
 ‘ with their Favour and Defence.’

I think I may fitly add to the foregoing, some
 Observations made on the *Hollanders* by one of our
 old *English* Admirals, after being in the Sea Service
 more than 50 Years, viz. from 1585 towards 1640,
 a very remarkable Space of Time in respect to their
 Rise, &c. ‘ The *Hollanders* (says he) are frugal in
 ‘ Expence, the Benefits whereof themselves and

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' Country find; they are industrious as their Actions
 ' at Home and Abroad do witness; they are just
 ' in Contracts, holding Conscience in the little Reli-
 ' gion they have, not to defraud any Man; they la-
 ' bour to seek out the Secrets of Lands not inhabi-
 ' ted, and Countries undiscovered; they are Inven-
 ' tors of Arts, which to their Praise they have en-
 ' rich'd the World with; they are willing, without
 ' Excuse, to contribute for the Good of the State,
 ' not standing so much upon Privileges or Petition
 ' of Right, as to neglect any Occasion of Advantage
 ' to benefit their Common-wealth; they are labo-
 ' rious and painful of Body, not admitting a Beggar
 ' in their Provinces, and willing to relieve and com-
 ' fort one another in strange Countries; they are
 ' Enemies to the Expence of Law, and the Gripping
 ' of Lawyers, and end most of their Controversies
 ' by Arbitration of Friends. — But all these Vir-
 ' tues (adds he) are drown'd in a covetous Ingrati-
 ' tude, that holds Friendship with nobody, *but for*
 ' *Interest, which ends in the self-same Interest:* And
 ' no marvel; for popular States are no longer thank-
 ' ful, than they receive Benefits; and nothing is of
 ' shorter Life amongst them, than the Memory of
 ' Pleasures or Favours past. They are so careless to
 ' give Satisfaction for the Ill they do, that if it be
 ' demanded, 'tis as much as to speak of Valour to a
 ' faint Heart, or Charity to an unmerciful Man, or
 ' of Courtesy to a churlish Disposition; for it will
 ' prove but *the telling a Tale to him that is asleep.*'

HOWEVER, as particular Men are obligated
 and preserved by Laws which are eternal and indif-
 pensible; so are Nations: And perhaps in the End
 it is found, that every Nation then only pursues her
 true Interests, when she observes them. — But if this
 Reflection should be thought too deep; yet I am
 sure

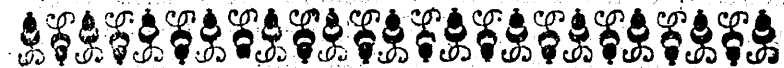
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sure *Venice* will have ever Cause to remember the League of *Cambray*, and *Holland* the War of 1672.

I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER XV.

On the Colonies and Settlements of the French.

S I R,

S I R *William Manson*, in his Time, tells us, that, ' Tho' we cannot call the *French* Discoverers of Countries, because they never sought to find out any new Worlds or Passages that were not found to their Hands; yet, since the first Discovery of other Worlds, they have been always ready to infest them with Piracy, and such Voyages; for their going to *Peru* has been no other than to spoil and rob other Nations.' And yet, continues he, ' I must give them their Due in what they have deserved; for tho' they cannot be call'd *Discoverers*, as I have said, yet they may worthily be counted in the Number of *Planters*, as well in the North Part of *America*, as in the South beyond the *Line*, and upon the Continent of *Brasil*.'

S I R *Josiah Child*, about 50 or 60 Years afterwards, viz. in 1692, delivers himself thus: ' That the *French* have had Footing in the *West-Indies*

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' almost as long as the *English*, is certain, and that
 ' they have made no considerable Progress in Plant-
 ' ing is as certain: And finding it so in Fact, I
 ' have been often exercising my Thoughts about
 ' Inquiry into the Reason thereof, which I at-
 ' tribute especially to two. — First, because
 ' *France* being an absolute Government, hath not,
 ' until very lately, given any Countenance or En-
 ' couragement to *Navigation* and *Trade*. — Se-
 ' condly, and principally, because the *French* Set-
 ' tlements in the *West-Indies* have not been upon
 ' *Freeholders*, as the *English* are, but in Subjection
 ' to the *French West-India Company*, which *Company*
 ' being under the *French King*, as *Lord Proprietor* of
 ' the Places they settle upon, and taxing the Inhabi-
 ' tants at Pleasure, as the King doth them, it is not
 ' probable that they should make that successful Pro-
 ' gress in Planting; *Property, Freedom, and Inhe-*
 ' *ritance, being the most effectual Spurs to Industry.*

BUT Sir *William Temple* had, 20 Years before
 this last, observed, ' That the present Greatness of
 ' the Crown of *France* may be chiefly derived from
 ' the Fortune it had of two great Ministers (*Rich-*
 ' *lieu* and *Mazarin*) succeeding one another, be-
 ' tween two great Kings, *Henry IV.* and the late
 ' *Lewis XIV.* So as during the Course of one un-
 ' active Life, and of a long Minority, that Crown
 ' gained a great deal of Ground both at Home and
 ' Abroad, instead of losing it, which is the com-
 ' mon Fate of Kingdoms on those Occasions.'

I THOUGHT it not amiss for me to introduce
 what I have to offer on the *Colonies* of the *French*,
 with the Sentiments of these three Gentlemen, as
 they were all eminent and successful in their Way,
 of different Professions, and wrote at different Times.
 But that which is most certain at present, is, That
 the *French* have of late Years mightily extended
 and peopled their *Colonies* in *America*, and have laid
 such

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such solid Foundations for the Augmentation of their Power and Trade in those Parts, especially in the *West-Indies*, as to become formidable to all other Nations, not excepting the *Spaniards* themselves.--- And this being the Case, as it most surely is, it may be useful to us, to inquire into the *Causes* of their *Success*, and into the *Particulars* of it.

FIRST, therefore, the Success of *France*, as to *Colonies*, &c. appears to have been obtained,

1. BY settling and strengthening its Government at Home by several Methods.
2. BY weakening the Power of its Neighbours, or diverting their Attention.
3. BY the indefatigable and steady Application of its Ministers to the Care and Encouragement of Trade, &c.
4. BY the Wisdom of its many new *Regulations* in regard to, 1. *Navigation*, 2. *Manufactures*, 3. *Trade*, and 4. *Colonies*.

IT is evident from History, and the more particular Memoirs of those Times, that *France* was altogether inconsiderable at Sea, her Hands being bound up, till Cardinal *Richlieu* had settled the *Quiet*, and regulated the several *Orders* of that Kingdom: And no one that considers the History of the Revolution in *Portugal*, and the true Causes of the *English* and *Dutch* Wars, but must see that the *French* were the Kindlers, at least, the Blowers of those Fires. And as to the Application of their Ministers, to the Care of Trade, it is not only well known by all Observers, but the good Effects of their *Regulations* abundantly confirm it to the whole World.

THE *Collector* of the *Complete Body of Sea Laws* (which is a very useful Performance) takes Notice, that the surprising Success of the *French* in *Navi-*

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' gation (to which, in our Fathers Days, they were
 ' almost absolute Strangers) is, in my Opinion,
 ' principally owing to the excellent Laws and Or-
 ' dinances which have of late been established in
 ' that Kingdom, for the Regulation of all Mari-
 ' time Affairs; in which their summary, and easy
 ' Method of Proceeding, has been found to be
 ' very beneficial to all that have had Occasion to
 ' be concerned in it. For the Government then finding
 ' that the only Means to have a powerful Navy,
 ' was to encourage Trade and Navigation amongst
 ' private Persons, nothing was omitted that could,
 ' in any manner, tend to the Advancement of
 ' Commerce. — And, indeed, if we consider the
 ' prodigious Increase of the Naval Strength of
 ' *France*, we must acknowledge, that they have been
 ' very industrious in promoting Trade: And if
 ' we examine the Means they have used, we shall
 ' find them to be such, as seldom, if ever, missed
 ' of the desired Success, because particular Care
 ' was taken to remove all manner of Impediments,
 ' that might obstruct the Progress and Improve-
 ' ment of Navigation. — I hope no Man of Sense
 ' will take amiss what I here say to the Advan-
 ' tage of the Naval Laws and Constitutions of
 ' *France*, as if I thereby seemed to have less Re-
 ' spect than I ought to have for those of *England*;
 ' Tho' the *French* be Enemies to us, we should not
 ' be so much Enemies to ourselves, as to reject the
 ' Use of good Laws, merely because they are in
 ' Force amongst them, or have been devised by
 ' them. Whatever our Practice may be, I can
 ' assure you, that they are ne'er the less taken with
 ' good Laws, for being Enacted in bad Govern-
 ' ments: For, on the contrary, they have, in
 ' the Matter of Trade, consulted all the Laws and
 ' Statutes, in Force, in any Place of *Europe*; of
 ' which, retrenching what was superfluous or in-
 ' convenient,

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‘ convenient, and supplying what was deficient
 ‘ with proper Regulations for every Subject, they
 ‘ have certainly compiled *the most accomplished Sy-*
 ‘ *stem of Laws for Trade and Navigation that ever*
 ‘ *Europe saw.* Nor would it, in the least, be any
 ‘ Dishonour to us to follow their Example, in
 ‘ Things so worthy of Imitation, since all the
 ‘ World acknowledges the Reasonableness of that
 ‘ useful Maxim ;

Fas est & ab Hoste doceri. —

I HAVE already mentioned, in my Seventh Letter, the Application and Wisdom of the *French* in their Maritime and Commercial Affair, and have there given Translations of the *Preambles* of two of their *Edicts*, as a Proof thereof ; and I shall here add that of the *Ordinance* of 1681, establishing their *Sea Laws*, viz.

The Ordinance of Lewis XIV. King of France and Navarre. Given at Fontainebleau in the Month of August, 1681.

Concerning the Marine.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France and Navarre*, To all present and to come, Greeting. After the several Ordinances we have made for regulating, by good Laws, the Administration of Justice, and of our Finances, and after the Glorious Peace with which it has pleased God to crown our last Victories ; we thought that the only Thing yet wanting to compleat the Happiness of our Subjects, was to procure them Plenty, by the Ease and Increase of Trade, which is the principal Source of the Felicity of Nations. And the Commerce of the Sea being the most considerable,

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able, we have taken Care to enrich the Coasts of our Dominions with a good Number of Harbours and Ships, for the Security and Conveniency of Sailors, who now come from all Places, to the Ports of our Kingdom. But because *it is no less necessary to strengthen Trade by good Laws, than to secure its Freedom and Conveniency by the Goodness of our Ports, and the Force of our Arms;* and as our former Ordinances, and those of our Predecessors, as well as the Law of the *Romans*, contain very few Regulations for the Decision of Differences arising between Merchants and Sea-faring People, we judg'd (that nothing might be wanting for the Good of Trade and Navigation) that it was convenient to settle the Laws of Maritime Contracts, which have hitherto been uncertain, to regulate *the Jurisdiction of the Officers of the Admiralty, and the Principal Duties of Sea-faring People,* and to establish a good *Polity in the Ports, Coasts, and Roads, that are within the Extent of our Dominions:* For these Causes, with the Advice of our Council, &c. We have said, declared, and ordained, &c.

AND Mr. *Gee*, in his Discourse on Trade, presented to his Majesty, speaking of the new Advantages that might be made from our *Colonies*, has these Words in the 136th Page of the Third Edition: ' Nothing is more evident, than that the
' Improvements of this Kind will be a great Means
' of turning the Balance of Trade in our Favour:
' And, indeed, it seems to be a Work that ought
' to be undertaken before any other, and very
' worthy the Consideration of Parliament; which
' would save our foreign Expence, and greatly
' contribute to the Increase of the Wealth of the
' Nation. But nothing of this Kind can be expected from the Merchant, who only pursues his
' own Business, and raises an Estate by those
' Things

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Things which the Government permits the Subject to trade in: He may get a great deal of Riches by importing foreign Commodities for Luxury and Excess, when at the same Time the Nation is consuming its Substance; and running into Poverty. — Almost all the Princes of Europe have made this so much their Care, for many Years past, that I must confess, I have admired it has not awakened us. The Emperor, and sundry Princes of Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Savoy, and above all, France, have set forth so many Edicts or Decrees for regulating their Commerce, that if they were collected, and some able Person was employ'd to abstract those Things that affect our Manufactures and Commerce, it would be of excellent Use to such as are appointed to negotiate our Affairs Abroad?

AND for my Part, I have for many Years been intirely in the same Opinion with Mr. Gee as to these Matters, and have had both Opportunities and Occasions partly to satisfy myself in them: — And I do now most earnestly recommend it to others to consider, whether the following Establishments of the French are not better fram'd and adapted for the Care and Improvement of Trade, than those which we have hitherto concerted amongst ourselves? And I believe this will appear sufficiently evident from the bare Specification of their Titles. For the French have their,

1. Conseil Royal de Commerce.
2. Bureau, Pour les Affaires du Commerce.
3. Intendans du Commerce, pour le Commerce de l'interieur du Royaume, & exterieur par Terre.
4. Intendans pour le Commerce exterieur & Maritime.
5. Deputez des Villes pour Commerce.
6. Intendans des Colonies.
7. Inspecteurs

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7. *Inspecteurs établis dans les Generalitez & Departemens des Pays d'Etats du Royaume, pour toutes Especies de Manufactures de Draps, Fils, Laines, Coton, Soyes, &c.*

8. *Jurisdiction Consulaire.*

AND France has her Consulships in all the chief Places of Trade in the *Levant, Barbary, Italy, the North, Spain, the Canaries, Portugal, Madeira, the Azores.* Moreover, she has often *standing-extraordinary-Committees* of Council for particular Affairs, when the Business is much and important. So that in every Place, at all Times, and on all Occasions, France seems to have her Eyes and Ears open for the Ease, Security, and Enlargement of her Commerce: But the following *Edict* in 1730 for erecting their *Royal Council of Commerce*, of which the King himself is the Head, may supply what else might be offered on this Matter.

THE King knowing of how great Importance it is to the Good of the State to favour and protect the Commerce of his Subjects as well in as out of the Kingdom, his Majesty, desirous of giving a particular Regard and Protection thereto, has resolved on the following Regulation:

FIRST, his Majesty wills, that all ordinary Affairs of Commerce, both within and without the Kingdom, and also the Maritime Affairs, be examined and discussed at the Office of Commerce established by the Arrêts of the 29th of June 1700, and the 22d of June 1722; and that when the Secretary of the Marine, and the Comptroller General of the Finances cannot be present, a Report of the Deliberations of that Assembly is to be made to them by the Intendants of Commerce.

SECONDLY, *As the Inland Commerce of the Kingdom, and the Maritime Affairs ought to have but ONE VIEW, his Majesty, willing to establish Affinity which is so natural and necessary between these*

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‘ *these different Commerces*, which ought not to be
 ‘ governed and directed but with one and the same
 ‘ Spirit, is determined to form a Council composed
 ‘ of Persons, who by their Knowledge, and the
 ‘ Assistance of so many different Ministers, who
 ‘ have been concerned in Commerce, may be able to
 ‘ give their Advice to his Majesty, especially as to
 ‘ what they shall agree upon for its *intire Establish-*
 ‘ *ment and Increase.*

‘ THE said Council is to be called *The Royal*
 ‘ *Council of Commerce*, and is to be composed of the
 ‘ Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal *de Fleury*, the
 ‘ Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seals, the Marshal
 ‘ de Villars, the Secretary of the Marine, the Sieur
 ‘ *d'Angervilliers*, the Comptroller General of the Fi-
 ‘ nances, and the Sieur *Fagon*, President of the Of-
 ‘ fice of Commerce.

‘ THIS Council is to be held every 15 Days, or
 ‘ oftner, if his Majesty shall think fit.

‘ THE Keeper of the Seals, the Secretary of State
 ‘ for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State for the
 ‘ Marine, and the Comptroller General of the Fi-
 ‘ nances, shall make Report therein, each of the prin-
 ‘ cipal Matters which concern their respective Offices.

‘ ALL the Arrets or other Dispatches of *the Royal*
 ‘ *Council of Commerce*, shall be signed by the Chan-
 ‘ cellor, the Keeper of the Seals, the Secretaries of
 ‘ State, and the Comptroller General of the Finances,
 ‘ relative to their Offices.

‘ THE Principal and most Important Affairs of
 ‘ Commerce shall be regulated in this *Royal Council*,
 ‘ to the End they may receive therein a Decision,
 ‘ and a Form capable of rendering this Establish-
 ‘ ment *useful to all the Merchants and Traders*, and
 ‘ the Regulations concerning the *Manufactures* shall
 ‘ be confirmed and fix'd.

‘ HIS Majesty wills and declares, That at every
 ‘ Meeting of this *Royal Council*, Report be always
 ‘ made

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‘ made of any one different Branch of Commerce
‘ Inland or Foreign, that may require his Attention
‘ or Protection, together with the present State of
‘ any Manufacture, in order to examine the most
‘ proper Means for perfecting the Establishment, and
‘ Manufactory State thereof.

‘ His Majesty reserves to himself Power to alter
‘ or add to the present Regulation, as he shall think
‘ fit.

Done at *Fontainebleau*, the 29th of May, 1730.

Signed LOUIS.
And under, PHELYPEAUA.

W E might here add divers late Ordinances and Regulations of the *French*, in relation to their Trade and Colonies, which appear to be in many respects preferable to those of our own, or indeed of any other Nation at present, could they be brought within the Compass of this Paper ; but must now proceed to inquire after the great Successes wherewith their Application, Wisdom, and Foresight have been crown'd.

FIRST, An Inland Trade, and all Sorts of Manufacturies have been promoted and improved in *Old France*, and proper Markets in foreign Parts have been sought out and provided for the Sale and Disposal of them.

SECONDLY, Their foreign Commerce to many Places of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, hath been much extended and advanced.

THIRDLY, Their Colonies in *America* (which are more immediately our present Concern) have been peopled, fortified, cultivated, and enlarged ; whereby they are *out-doing* and *supplanting* us in our Fishery, Sugar, Peltry and Tobacco : as they much exceed us already in Cocoa, Ginger, Coffee, Indigo, and

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and all other Commodities in general, that any of those Countries produce or afford, except Shipping, Naval Stores, Lumber, and Provisions for Exportation. And divers of our intelligent Countrymen, for many Years past, have complained of the Danger our Colonies are in of being surrounded and overrun by the *French*.

THEY say, that the *French* have made Encroachments upon us in *Nova Scotia*; have got from us *Cape Breton*, and a Right of Fishery on *Newfoundland*: That they have seiz'd and settled much the largest (and to us, as lying nearest to *Jamaica*, most dangerous) Part of *Hispaniola*; have built or taken the Forts of *Mobile*, *Pensacola*, *Halbaaes*, *Cusatees*, *Prudbome*, *Creve Coeur*, *La Salle*, *Deonville*, *Frontenac*, *Mont-real*, and several others from the *Mississippi*, and so down the River *St. Lawrence*, on the Back of all our Settlements.

THESE Gentlemen further tell us, That if we have any Sense of the Value of that commodious Tract of Land, or Desire of securing to ourselves our own excellent Colonies, it ought at least to put this Nation upon some Methods to preserve its Right to the Mines in the *Apulachean* Mountains, to protect the *Indian* and *Skin* Trade, and to secure to ourselves the Navigation of those Rivers which fall from the said Hills, and empty themselves through *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, &c.

IN short, they say that our *American* Colonies, by an unhappy Fatality, were too little understood, or too much neglected, as well during *Queen Anne's* War, as at the Conclusion of it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

AND I well remembr the Sentiments of a very ingenious and experienced Gentleman, whilst the famous Treaty, just now mention'd, was on the Tapis: 'I hope, said he, that *Canada*, which we miss'd gaining in War, will be restored to us at the Peace now in Agitation; and that *Annapolis Royal*, which

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' which we have recovered, will, with the whole
 ' Country of *Nova Scotia*, as far Eastward as the
 ' Island of *St. Paul*, for ever remain to the Crown of
 ' *Great Britain*. They originally belong'd to it in
 ' *Fact*, and do of *Right* now. ——— All that
 ' Country on both Sides of the River of *St. Lau-*
 ' *rence*, was seized for the Crown about the Close of
 ' the Fifteenth Century, by Sir *Sebastian Cabot*,
 ' Grand Pilot to *Henry* the Seventh, and by him sent
 ' to find out such Parts of *North America* as were
 ' left undiscovered by *Columbus*. The *French* pre-
 ' tend, indeed, to a Discovery of it by *John Ver-*
 ' *razan*, a *Florentine*, but this was in ———, which
 ' being of later Date, could give the *French King*
 ' no Right to it. King *James* the First therefore, know-
 ' ing 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 Pos-
 ' session of it several Years. Yet upon the Marriage
 ' of King *Charles* the First 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 call'd *Canada*,
 ' was given to Sir *David Kirk*, who was both Pro-
 ' prietor and Governor. And the South Side (called
 ' by the *French Accadie*) fell again into the Hands
 ' of Sir *William Alexander*. In 1632 it was given
 ' away again; though the King (when he found
 ' the *French* had possessed themselves of the whole
 ' Country) declar'd publickly, that he had given
 ' away only the Forts, and not the Soil, and there-
 ' fore attempted to recover it again, but failed.
 ' Besides, the King of *France* obliged himself to pay,
 ' in lieu of the Forts, Five thousand Pounds to Sir
 ' *David Kirk*, which he never did; but his Family
 ' was ruined. *Cromwell* weighing the Premises,
 ' sent Col. *Sedgwick* in 1654, and retook it; and
 ' when

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when he made Peace with *France* the following Year, tho' their Ambassador made pressing Instances for the Restitution of it, yet he would not part with it, insisting that it was the ancient Inheritance of the Crown of *England*, and did of Right belong to it. Whereupon M. *St. Estienne*, Son and Heir to M. *Claude de la Tour*, a *French* Refugee, who bought *Nova Scotia* of the Earl of *Sterling*, came over into *England*, and making out his Title, had it delivered to him; and then sold it to Sir *Thomas Temple*, who was Governor of it till the Restoration; soon after which King *Charles* delivered it up again to the *French*, and *Canada* with it, where they both rested, to the unspeakable Loss and Detriment of the Crown and the Plantations, till Col. *Nicholson* lately recovered the former. ——— From whence it is evident, that both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* were the ancient Inheritance of this Crown. The only Question is, Whether the Kings of *England* had Power to alienate these Countries, which being incorporated into the Crown, were Parts of the Commonwealth, and descended to them from their Ancestors? The Civilians, and all that have wrote of the Law of Nations, establish'd it as a Rule, *Non alienandæ sunt Imperii Partes*. They expressly say, *That a Prince can no more alienate any Part of his Dominions, than the People may renounce their Obedience*. Thus *Baldwin*, *Molina*, *Bodin*, *Matheus Parisiensis*, *Grotius*, and *Puffendorf*. And for our own Laws, Sir *Robert Cotton*, in his Preface to the Abridgment of the Rolls in the *Tower*, observes, that our Parliaments have in all Times been careful to resume Lands alien'd from the Crown, which they condemn'd as an undue Practice, and therefore reunited them. If then it was wrong to dispose of Lands that were the Patrimony of the Crown, how much more so must it be to give away the Subject's

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Subject's Property, and to alienate Part of the
 Empire to a foreign Power? If the former were to
 be inviolable, then the latter, *a fortiori*, must be
 sacred and unalienable. If it be pleaded, that
 these Countries came to the Crown by Acquisition,
 and therefore may be disposed of at Plea; sure I
 reply, that they were not acquired by *Charles* the
 First and Second, but came to them both by Here-
 ditary Descent: And further, that if Acquisition
 gives a Right of Alienation, then it is within the
 Prerogative to give or sell *Ireland*, and all the Plan-
 tations, to any Potentate in *Europe*, which I be-
 lieve no Lawyer in *Great Britain* will give under
 his Hand for Law. — Our Title appears equal
 to both Sides of the River of *St. Laurence*, that is,
Canada on the North, and *Nova Scotia*, or (as the
French call it) *Acadie* on the South. But I must
 beg Leave to say, that in Point of Interest, the
 latter is of more Consequence to the Crown than
 the former. For when that is in the *French* Hands,
 it is a Bridle to the Eastern 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
 depends upon them, and yet we are at the Plea-
 sure of the *Russ* and the *Swede*, 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 turn-
 ing them out of *Newfoundland*. For they will
 find here as good a Fishery as they left there, and
 infinitely better Harbours, and consequently will
 still

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‘ 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 in-
 ‘ crease to the Terror of her Majesty’s Subjects.
 ‘ In one Word then, if we give up this Place, 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 Se-*
 ‘ *curity of all the flourishing Colonies on the Con-*
 ‘ *tinent ; which I hope her Majesty and her Mi-*
 ‘ *nistry will in their Wisdom consider.*’

BUT another Gentleman of good Knowledge and
 Experience, has since alarmed us much more, and,
 I fear, not without great and urgent Cause. ‘ The
 ‘ *French*, (says he) whom all the World acknow-
 ‘ ledge to be an enterprizing, great, and politick Na-
 ‘ tion, are so sensible of the Advantages of *foreign*
 ‘ *Colonies*, both in reference to Empire and Trade,
 ‘ that they use all manner of Artifices to lull their
 ‘ Neighbours asleep with fine Speeches and plausible
 ‘ Pretences, whilst they cunningly endeavour to
 ‘ compass their Designs by Degrees, tho’ at the
 ‘ Hazard of encroaching on their Friends and Allies,
 ‘ and depriving them of their Territories and Domi-
 ‘ nions in Time of profound Peace, and contrary to
 ‘ the most solemn Treaties. — For besides their
 ‘ seizing on, and settling the great River *Meschaceb*,
 ‘ (or *Mississippi*) and some Part of the North Side of
 ‘ the Bay of *Mexico*, and the Claim they seem
 ‘ clandestinely to make to another of our inhabited
 ‘ Southern Colonies adjoining thereunto, they, in
 ‘ some of their Writings, boast, that their Colony
 ‘ of *Louisiana* hath no other Bounds to the North
 ‘ than the *Arctick Pole*, and that its Limits to the
 ‘ West and North-West are not known much better,
 ‘ but extend to the *South Sea*, *Japan*, or where-ever
 H they

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' they shall think fit to fix them, if they can be per-
 ' suaded to fix any at all; intended thereby to de-
 ' prive 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 called *Louisiana*)
 ' the great Lakes, and the whole Country of our
 ' *Five Nations*, with the Fur, Peltry, and other
 ' Trade thereof. And what further Views and De-
 ' signs they may entertain against the *Spanish* Pro-
 ' vinces of *New Mexico* and *New Biscay*, may be
 ' easily conjectured, since the World has been cer-
 ' tainly apprized of the Project framed by Monsieur
 ' *de la Salle*, to visit and seize on the rich Mines of
 ' *St. Barbe*, &c. which if he thought no difficult
 ' Task to accomplish with about Two hundred
 ' *French*, and the Assistance of the *Indians* adjoining
 ' to, and in actual War with, the *Spaniards*; how
 ' much more easily will they become Masters of
 ' them, when, with the united Strength of *Canada*
 ' and *Louisiana*, both *French* and *Natives*, they shall
 ' think fit to attack them? And after such an Ac-
 ' quisition of the numerous Mines of those Provinces,
 ' with the immense Riches thereof; what may not
 ' our Colonies on the Continent of *America* appre-
 ' hend from them? Besides, *Jamaica* lying, as it
 ' were, lockt up between their Settlements in the
 ' Island of *Hispaniola* and those of 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. And,

* *Carolina* was the Name given to this Tract of Land by
 King *Charles I.* in his Grant to Sir *Robert Heath* of *October 30.*
 in the fifth Year of his Reign.

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' supposing the best that can happen to us, it will
 ' be but *Ulysses's* Fate, to have the Favour of being
 ' destroyed last; a very comfortable Consideration!
 ' — We are all sensible what Clamours were raised
 ' at the Concessions made to *France* on the Con-
 ' clusion of the Peace at *Utrecht*. There is scarce a
 ' Man well versed in the Interest of *Trade* and *Plan-*
 ' *tations*, but blamed the then Ministry for not in-
 ' sisting 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 Traffick 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 Expe-
 ' rience of these latter Times, (continues the same
 ' Writer) have informed us, that the *French* have
 ' ever been troublesome Neighbours, wheresoever
 ' they were seated; Historians asserting, that the na-
 ' tural Levity and Restlessness of their Temper, their
 ' enterprizing Genius, and Ambition of extending
 ' their Dominions, and raising the Glory and Gran-
 ' deur of their Monarchs, contribute in great mea-
 ' sure to make them so. — Wherefore it is to be
 ' hoped, that the *British* Nation will be so far from
 ' continuing idle or indifferent Spectators of the un-
 ' reasonable and unjust Usurpations and Encroach-
 ' ments of the *French* on the Continent of *America*,
 ' that they let them know they have enough already
 ' of *Canada* and *Cape Breton*; and that 'tis expected
 ' they abandon their new Acquisitions on the *Mes-*
 ' *chacebe* 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 Settle-
 ' ments in *Loiusiana*, we have a much better Chance,

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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 Garisons, the Passes of the Rivers, Lakes, and Mountains, even tho' they should not have obtained any Advantage over the Spaniards, or enriched themselves with the Wealth of Mexico.

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 *Mesbacebe*, 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 Reason to apprehend the same Danger, either to our Colonies, Trade, or Navigation, from the first, as from the last; tho' I am far from admitting the Cession of it to either of them, on any Terms whatsoever, without an absolute and apparent Necessity, which, I thank God, we are not yet reduced to, nor apprehensive of. — 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 above thirty Years past, found it our Interest to check and put a Stop to the growing Power of *France*, and set Bounds to their Dominions in *Europe*, we shall not easily be induced to allow them to encroach on, and deprive us of our Colonies and Plantations in *America*. — The Spaniards are said to be very uneasy at the so near Neighbourhood of the French on the *Mesbacebe*,

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‘ *Mefchacebe*, and are perhaps more jealous of the
 ‘ Confequences thereof than we are, tho’ *not more*
 ‘ *than we ought to be*; and ’tis prefumed, that, on a
 ‘ proper Application and Encouragement, they’ll
 ‘ join with us to oppofe and difpoffefs them of their
 ‘ Settlements there, and on the Bay of *Mexico*, left
 ‘ they render themfelves fole Mafters of the Navi-
 ‘ gation thereof, and, with the Affiftance of the
 ‘ *Indians*, make Irruptions into the very Heart of
 ‘ their Colonies, attack their Towns, feize their
 ‘ Mines, and fortify and maintain themfelves there-
 ‘ in.’

THUS much and enough as to the Continent of
America. ——— But I do not find, that any of
 our Countrymen have placed the prodigious and ex-
 orbitant Growth of the *French West India* Iflands and
Sugar Trade, in any juft or certain Light: I will
 therefore borrow fomething from a Book intituled,
Secret Memoirs of Monsieur *Mefnager*, the not-to-be-
 forgotten Minifter and Plenipotentiary of *France*;
 which muft rouze our Apprehenfions of their dange-
 rous Defigns and Projects, long formed for the total
 Destruction of the *British Sugar Trade* and *Iflands*:

‘ ABOUT the Year 1706 (fays M. *Mefnager*) the
 ‘ King having himfelf form’d a Scheme for fome
 ‘ Attempts upon the *English* Colony of *Jamaica*, he
 ‘ called me frequently to him to draw it up in Form:
 ‘ When it was, after feveral Alterations, brought to
 ‘ pleafe him, *He told me*, he was extremely fond of
 ‘ that Defign, and ask’d me if I was willing to go
 ‘ to the King of *Spain* with it? I made his Majesty
 ‘ fenfible what an Honour I fhould efteem it, to be
 ‘ fent to any Part of the World where his Service
 ‘ required: I think, *faid the King*, nobody is fo able
 ‘ to tell my Grandfon, the King of *Spain*, my
 ‘ Thoughts in all the Particulars, as you, who have
 ‘ feen all the Alterations, Amendments and Addi-

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' tions we have made, and know the Ground-plot
 ' of the Whole. — Accordingly I went to *Madrid*,
 ' and laid the Scheme before the King of *Spain*.
 ' But when he came to have it debated in his Council
 ' of State, they were so backward, so ignorant,
 ' conceived so ill of the Design, and raised so many
 ' Difficulties, that I was obliged to send his Majesty
 ' Word, I thought the *Spanish* Court capable of do-
 ' ing nothing for themselves. The King was
 ' exceedingly vexed, that his Proposals were not
 ' received with so much Readiness, as was ex-
 ' pected, and called me Home again, which I
 ' was very well pleased with; nothing being more
 ' disagreeable to any Man, who has lived in *France*,
 ' and especially at Court, than that stiff, haughty,
 ' unconcerned Way, that the *Spaniards* do all their
 ' Business with.

' THIS Project was in short thus: The King
 ' proposed to send 14 Men of War of the Line to
 ' the *Spanish West Indies* to attack the *English* Colony
 ' of *Jamaica*: His Majesty's Measures were, that
 ' the Ships should rendezvous at *Cadiz*, there to
 ' take in Provisions, and as many *Spanish* Seamen,
 ' as could be had there; from thence to proceed to
 ' the *Havanna*. This the King ordered, *because it*
 ' *would amuse the English, who would not imagine*
 ' *that the Design was so far out of the Way.* — The
 ' *Spaniards* made a Difficulty of every thing;
 ' they spent three Weeks in getting over the Me-
 ' thod to prevent the *Spanish* Merchants going to
 ' *America* in our Ships without Licence, and would
 ' have had me gone back to *Paris* for the King's
 ' Hand to an Engagement that the *French* Ships
 ' should carry no *European* Merchandize with them;
 ' nay, they would have had the King's Men of War
 ' submit to be visited by the Custom-house Officers.
 ' Then they scrupled admitting the Men of War
 ' into the Port of *Havanna*, for fear, I suppose, of
 ' seizing

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‘ seizing it for the King of *France* ; as if when the
 ‘ King had given the King of *Spain* a King-
 ‘ dom, he would have attempted to take some of
 ‘ it again from him. — Tired with this imper-
 ‘ tinent Slowness in their Proceedings, and with the
 ‘ unperforming Temper of the *Spaniards*, the King,
 ‘ as I said, gave over the best Design that was ever
 ‘ laid of that Kind, and which could not have fail’d
 ‘ to have answered the End, had no uncommon
 ‘ Difaster befallen it from the Elements ; for as to
 ‘ the Enemies, there was no Fear of any Prepara-
 ‘ tions they could make, because there was no Pos-
 ‘ sibility of their having any Notice of it.

‘ THE Ships, as I have said, were to have their
 ‘ Rendezvous at *Cadiz*, and were to have Six thou-
 ‘ sand Men on board of Regular Troops, to whom
 ‘ the *Spaniards* were to join Two thousand, with
 ‘ Twenty Transports ; and after the Rendezvous at
 ‘ *Cadiz*, they were to sail from thence to the *Havan-*
 ‘ *na* ; because it was his Majesty’s Opinion, if they
 ‘ went to *Martinique*, or *St. Christopher’s*, the *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish* would have Notice of them, and would im-
 ‘ mediately arm on all Hands to oppose them ; but
 ‘ as the *Havanna* was a *Spanish* Port, between which
 ‘ and the *English* Islands, there was no Opportunity
 ‘ of Intelligence, it was the King’s Opinion, that it
 ‘ was easy for the Fleet to lie there, and be join’d by
 ‘ the other Ships which should come from *Martini-*
 ‘ *que*, &c. and the *English* have no Knowledge of it ;
 ‘ which was indeed very reasonable : The King’s
 ‘ Orders were then, that they should send an Ex-
 ‘ press to the said Colonies at *Martinique*, to join
 ‘ them with all the arm’d Sloops, or other Ships
 ‘ they had, and, in a Word, with all the Force
 ‘ they could raise, which, as the King said, he ex-
 ‘ pected should be near 4000 Men more, with
 ‘ Ships and Sloops enough to carry them, without
 ‘ reckoning three Men of War which were there al-
 ‘ ready ;

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' ready ; and as the King observed, he was satisfied
 ' that the *Four thousand* Men from *Martinique* and
 ' *St. Christopher's*, would be much fitter for Service,
 ' than the *Six thousand* from *Europe* ; for of them his
 ' Majesty said, he should always expect one Half to
 ' be Sick. — With this Force, the King's Measures
 ' were, that they should sail from the *Havanna* direct-
 ' ly to *Barbados*, and come to an Anchor directly
 ' in the Road ; from whence they were to alarm all
 ' the rest of the *English* Islands, and by making Pre-
 ' parations to land, they should at least prevent any
 ' Force from being sent from thence to *Jamaica*,
 ' where the main Design was to make a Descent ;
 ' After some time, the whole Army, and Half the
 ' Men of War, were to sail to *Jamaica*, which is all
 ' with a Trade Wind and Sea Current, (leaving 7 or
 ' 8 Men of War at *Barbados* to keep them alarm'd) ;
 ' There the Forces were to go directly on Shore, and
 ' attack the Forts at the Point, which there was no
 ' doubt, after a short Battery, they would take Sword
 ' in Hand ; after which, the whole Island would be
 ' reduced of course, together with its Booty in Mer-
 ' chandize and Negroes, which would be immense.

' THE King was so wrapt up in this Project, that
 ' it was no wonder if he was very much displeas'd
 ' with the *Spaniards*, that they had not an equal Pas-
 ' sion for it, when it was propos'd by me : And when
 ' I brought his Majesty an Account of their Beha-
 ' viour, he said, *They are the most stupid wise People in*
 ' *the World*. However the King (*continues M. Mes-*
 ' *nager*) did not lay aside his Project, though he left
 ' out the *Spaniards* in the Execution, and though he
 ' chang'd the Nature of the Attempt and Scene of
 ' Action, which was removed to *Nevis*, &c. There
 ' the Enterprize was carried on with good Success ;
 ' and our Admiral (*Ibberville*) landed, destroy'd,
 ' plunder'd, &c. and besides the other Booty taken,
 ' and the Spoil done to the Enemy, our Men took

' as

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‘ as many Negroes from the *English*, as they sold afterwards to the *Spaniards* for 400,000 Pieces of *Eight*.’

So much from Monsieur *Mesnager*. But, with his Leave, I believe, that the *Spaniards* were not *so stupid a People*, as not to know very well their own true and real Interests, and to foresee, that the Time would come, whatever the present Situation of their Affairs then might be, when they themselves might as much need our Protection and Assistance against the *French* Power and Enterprizes in *America*, as they formerly, and not many Years since, had done for the Preservation of their *European* Dominions, and the Defence of *Spain* itself, their own native Mother Kingdom; and no doubt *the Time will come*, when they will willingly part with some of their uninhabited Places to the *English* (which tho’ at present but Nests for their Privateers, Pirates, and rascally People, are yet an Expence to them to garison and maintain) *to form a Balance of Power in the West Indies*, and to secure themselves the better against the Designs and Encroachments of the *French* for the future; it being perhaps almost quite too late now to think to dispossess them of *Hispaniola*. — For our *Sugar Islands*, in respect to Extent of Land, Power, Strength, &c. *are become as nothing to theirs*; and whomsoever they attack and drive out first from the *West India* Islands, whether us or the *Spaniards*, the other must soon expect to follow after. — And when the Islands in the *North Sea*, the *Caribbees*, *Antilles*, and every Inlet and Return to and from the *Spanish* Dominions on the neighbouring Continent, shall be in the Power and Keeping of the *French*; does any one imagine, that they will be content to demand from the *Spaniards* no higher Duties than have been paid to the Kings of *Denmark* for the Passage of the *Baltick*? Or, to use a *Spanish* Term, instead of receiving, what

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what *Indultos* may they not expect to pay? Nay, how easy would be the Conquest of all the Ports on the *Windward Coast*, *Cartagena*, *Puerto Belo*, *Vera Cruz*, &c. — Ay, says Somebody, this has been the Fault of our Ministers. — I answer, not at all *since the Treaty of Utrecht*; and I shall hereafter prove what I now assert, when I treat of our own Colonies, and shall then discover the true and latent Sources which, at length, *have quite sunk and overwhelmed our West India Settlements*. In the mean time we may do well to reflect on the incessant Opposition that has been given to the Administration, as also on the limited and undigested Nature, Power, and Force of the *executive Part of the English Government*, with respect to Colonies, Trade, &c. in Comparison with the wise and orderly Constitutions and Regulations of the *French*. — Nor am I one of those that love to complain of Difficulties, without endeavouring at a Cure; for I hope to demonstrate also, that if, now at last, we would become unanimously studious to prefer the Publick Good, *our Remedy is very easy, and very near at Hand, be it Peace, or be it War*. — But of this in its Place.

I return to my Subject: — A Gentleman since dead, who favoured me, about six Years ago, with a Letter on the State of the *French Sugar Colonies*, takes Notice of the aforesaid Project related by Monsieur *Mesnager*, and makes the following Reflection on it. ‘In my Opinion, *says he*, this was a very dangerous Affair to the *English*; because the unthought-of Tour the *French Squadron* would have taken, must have bewildered any of ours that might have been sent after them; for not finding any News of the *French at Barbados* or the *Leeward Islands*, they would have proceeded in such Manner as to have given the other Time to have done their Business.’

BUT as there has been a great Desire of late in both

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both Houses of Parliament, and throughout the whole Nation, to be informed of the State and Condition of the *Sugar Trade* and Islands, I shall present as much of the aforesaid Letter to the Publick, as I think may be, of Service; the Gentleman who wrote it, having resided, and traded himself in Person, to and fro, among all the *English, French and Spanish Colonies* in the *West Indies*, for more than thirty Years; and I shall subjoin some Additions and Remarks of my own thereto, by way of Notes, having myself been among both the *English* and the *French Sugar Islands*, before, as well as since the said Letter was sent me. — And should these Papers prove of no Benefit to my Country, it will, I own, be a great Disappointment to my Wishes. — However, it will be seen, at least, I have taken, for some Years past, more than a little Care to be informed of the Matters I write on; *Matters of urgent and infinite Concernment to this Kingdom!*

I am, S I R,

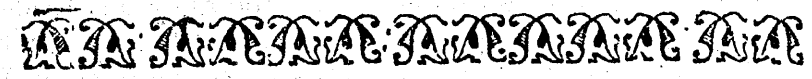
Your humble Servant,

The National Merchant.



LETTER

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LETTER XVI.

On the Colonies and Settlements of the English.

S I R,

ALTHO' I was in hopes that I might have had Leisure sufficient to have gone through my Undertaking, in the Order and Manner I designed; yet my Affairs, at this Juncture, once more, unexpectedly requiring my Prefence abroad, I am obliged to discontinue and break off, only with the Addition of this and two more Letters on the Subject; I promise, notwithstanding, that, if I am blessed with Life, Health, and a little Relaxation from necessary Business, to re-assume the Prosecution of it, and endeavour to bring it to the Perfection at first intended; and, in the mean time, the Letters already published, and that shall now follow, may serve to give the World an Idea of my Purpose, which I should rejoice to see fully executed by a more able and more beneficent Hand: --- For my Wishes are, that the Trade of *Great Britain* may be rightly understood, and judiciously regulated; our Colonies well governed, protected, enlarged, and rendered useful to their Mother Kingdom, and to each other; our Poor provided for; the Nation multiplied and enriched; our naval Power strengthened and supported: In short, that *Britons may be a wise and happy People, powerful within themselves, never fearing War, and growing great in Peace, under the mildest and best Government on Earth.*

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On the Colonies and Settlements of the English.

WE are now come to speak of the Colonies and Settlements of our own Nation; a noble and useful Subject, of great Extent, and not to be brought within the Compass of this Letter: But I shall say somewhat on the Constitution and Trade of every of them. 2dly. Point out some of the Benefits and Advantages they have afforded us. 3dly. Suggest some further Improvements that may be made in, or from them. And, 4thly. Offer some Queries, concerning them, to publick Consideration. And then submit the whole to the Judgment of every impartial honest Man, that wishes well to the Happiness and Prosperity of Great Britain.

I confine myself to our American Colonies, which are divided into, and distinguished by the Names of our Northern and Southern Colonies. The first comprehend our Settlements in North America; and the latter our Sugar Islands, and Settlements in the West-Indies; to which we must add the Bermuda and Bahama Islands. — As to their several Constitutions, his Majesty's Board of Trade, in their Representation to the House of Lords of January 23, 1733-4, informs their Lordships, That

' 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 Carolina's, Ber-
' muda, or the Summer Islands, Bahama Islands, Ja-
' maica, Barbados, and the Leeward Islands.

' OTHERS are vested in Proprietors; as Pensyl-
' vania and Maryland; and, not long since, the
' Bahama's, and the two Carolina's.

' THERE are likewise three Charter Governments,
' the chief of which is the Province of the Massachusetts
' Bay, commonly called New-England, the Consti-
' tution whereof is of a mixed Nature, the Power
' being

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' 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 Af-
 ' sembly, as in other Colonies, but the Assembly
 ' chuse the Council also: and the Governor de-
 ' pends upon the Assembly for his annual Support,
 ' which has too frequently laid the Governors of
 ' this Province under Temptations of giving up
 ' the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Interest of
 ' *Great Britain.*

' *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 Af-
 ' sembly, 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 Governors Assent, and
 ' directly contrary to their Opinions, no negative
 ' Voice being reserved to them as Governors, in the
 ' said Charter. And as the said Governors are an-
 ' nually chosen, their Office generally expires be-
 ' fore his Majesty's Approbation can be obtained, or
 ' any Security can be taken for the due Observance
 ' of the Laws of Trade and Navigation, and hold
 ' little or no Correspondence with our Office. It is
 ' not surprizing that Governors, constituted like
 ' these last mentioned, should be guilty of many
 ' Irregularities in Point of Trade, as well as in
 ' other respects.

' 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-Bri-*
 ' *tain*, nor detrimental to their Mother Country:
 ' And these Laws, when they have regularly passed

the

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‘ the Council and 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.

‘ BUT there are some Exceptions to this Rule in
 ‘ the Proprietary and Charter Governments; for,
 ‘ in the Province of *Pensylvania*, they are only ob-
 ‘ liged 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.

‘ IN the *Massachusetts Bay* also, if their Laws are
 ‘ not repealed within three Years after they have been
 ‘ presented to his Majesty for his Approbation or Dis-
 ‘ allowance, they are not repealable by the Crown af-
 ‘ ter that Time.

‘ THE Provinces of *Maryland*, *Conneticut*, and
 ‘ *Rhode Island*, not being under any Obligation, by
 ‘ their respective Constitutions, to return authentick
 ‘ Copies of their Laws to the Crown, for Approbation
 ‘ or Disallowance, or to give any Account of their
 ‘ Proceedings, we are very little informed of what is
 ‘ done in any of these Governments.

‘ THERE is also this Singularity in the Govern-
 ‘ ments of *Conneticut* and *Rhode Island*, that ~~there~~ Laws
 ‘ are not repealable by the Crown, but the Validity
 ‘ of them depends upon their not being contrary, but
 ‘ as near as may be, agreeable to the Laws of *England*.

‘ ALL the Governors of Colonies, who act under the
 ‘ King’s Appointment, ought, within a reasonable
 ‘ Time, to transmit home authentick Copies of the
 ‘ several Acts by them passed, that they may go
 ‘ thro’ a proper Examination: But they are some-
 ‘ times negligent of their Duty in this Particular,
 ‘ and

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' and likewise pass temporary Laws of so short
 ' Continuance, that they have their full Effect
 ' even before this Board can acquire due Notice of
 ' them. Some Attempts have been made to pre-
 ' vent 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 pro-
 ' per Propositions repugnant to the Laws or Interests
 ' of *Great Britain*, of which this Board have never
 ' failed to express their Dislike to the Crown, when
 ' such Laws have fallen under their Consideration,
 ' and many Laws have, from time to time, been
 ' repealed on that Account.

' BUT as to such Laws as do not directly
 ' fall within the above Rule, against which no Com-
 ' plaint is made, and where the Board are doubtful
 ' of the Effect they may have, it has always been
 ' usual to let them lie by *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 con-
 ' tained many just and necessary Provisions for the
 ' Benefit of the Colony where it was passed, inter-
 ' mixed with some others liable to Objection, to let
 ' it lie by, and give Notice thereupon to the Gover-
 ' nor 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.'

I shall add nothing to the foregoing, as yet, on
 the several Constitutions or Governments of our
American Colonies; but proceed to speak in gene-
 ral of their Trade, as it relates to the Welfare and
 Prosperity of *Great Britain*.

THEIR

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THEIR chief Commodities are Tobacco, Sugar, Melasses, Rum, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Cocoa, Coffee, Rice, Dying Woods, Drugs, Copper, Iron, Fish, Naval Stores, Timber, Lumber, Peltry (Silk and Wines in time from *Georgia, &c.*) and most others in common with *Great-Britain*: And as our Colonies increase our Navigation, take off our Manufactures and Superfluities, and are a Receptacle for our People that are useless and a Burden at home, they are justly look'd on to be the greatest Support of the Power and Affluence of this Nation

BUT then it is known, that the Manufactures, Trade and Navigation of some of our Plantations, do, or may interfere with the Interest of this Kingdom, and in time may prove very prejudicial to it, if not irremediable. Whereupon it has been rightly observed, 'That, indeed, Colonies
' are 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 lop'd from the Body Politick,
' being like offensive Arms, wrested from a Na-
' tion to be turned against it, as Occasion shall
' serve.'

IT certainly therefore concerns the Wisdom of the Legislative Power of *Great Britain*, to make a strict and speedy Inquiry into this Matter, to remedy Disorders before they grow too obstinate, and to put the Government and Trade of all our Colonies into so good and sound a State, that every one may have its due Share of Nutriment, and thereby be the better fitted and disposed for the Uses and Benefits of the whole Body Politick, especially of *Great Britain* their Head, Mother and Protectress.

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SEVERAL worthy and well-meaning Gentlemen have, from time to time, offered their Thoughts to the Publick on these Points; but it appears to be too great, as well as too invidious an Undertaking for a private Person, to declare truly and impartially, all that might, and should be said on the Subject. ——— And if a Man cannot, or will not, tell the whole, plain, undisguised Truth, he may mislead others, and perhaps had much better say nothing at all. However, I cannot avoid thinking, that some of our Colonies, are under the easiest and happiest Circumstances of any People in the World, perhaps easier than those of their own Mother Country; and that others have been under such, ——— as surely this Nation has not been hitherto truly sensible of!

How unequal then are the Lots of our Fellow-Subjects, as they happen to live under this or that particular Government or Province in the *British* Colonies! And ought this to be so? Especially, if the Unfortunate are the most profitable, and that without Redress their Trade must be intirely lost to the Nation?

As I alike wish well to all our Colonies, and envy none their Happiness, my Aim and Desire is, that they might be all equally happy. ——— But our *Sugar Colonies*, on many Accounts, demand our immediate Care, if we are desirous to preserve that Trade. For I do assert, and shall prove, First,

THAT our Sugar Trade has many Years been upheld and carried on, *Not by the Rules of sound Policy, Wisdom, and Discretion, but by Force and Oppression, and contrary to all Religion and Virtue.* And,

SECONDLY, That the said Trade, without some sudden extraordinary Interposition, or unexpected Alteration, will, in the present Course of Things, be lost to the *British* Nation, and transferred

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red to the *French*: Tho' it was the Opinion of Sir *Josiah Child* in the Year 1692, That it was in our Power to make Sugar more intirely an *English* Commodity, than *White Herrings* were a *Dutch* Commodity. — Which was certainly true, had proper Steps (then, and since in the Power of this Nation) been, from time to time, taken for its Preservation and Encouragement: Little did Sir *Josiah* imagine, that the *French* could ever become our Rivals in this Trade; for he expressly asserts the contrary, and that we were in no Danger from them on this Account. — But what an Alteration has there since been for the Worse? — How many Opportunities and Advantages have been lost by our own Mismanagement and Neglect? And what Difficulties have not the Regularity, Foresight and Application of others surmounted, &c. &c.

P. S. HAVING a great deal more to say on the *British* and *French* Colonies, I must defer the rest till a convenient Opportunity: In the mean time, as all the Nations of *Europe* have of late been looking into their Trade, and constituting Councils, Colleges, and Companies for its Regulation and Enlargement; in my next, I shall offer a *Scheme*, which, if put in Practice, I think would be of great Benefit to our own.

I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

The National Merchant.



L E T T E R XVII.

A Scheme for Regulating *the Colonies, Trade, and Navigation of Great Britain, &c.*

S C H E M E

FIRST, That a *Court* be erected by Letters Patent of his most Sacred Majesty, revocable and subject to Modification or Alteration at Pleasure.

SECONDLY, that the said *Court* be named, *The Britannick Royal Court of Merchants.*

THIRDLY, that the said *Court* meet, at least, once every Week throughout the Year, on some certain Day and Hour, with a Power to adjourn, appoint Committees, &c.

FOURTHLY, that the *Place of Meeting* be in the *Royal Exchange*; and that the most commodious and most handsome Apartments there be fitted up for that Purpose.

FIFTHLY, That the said *Court* be composed of,

1. A President or Governor, to be nominated by his Majesty annually.
2. A Sub-Governor, to be elected by the Members themselves.
3. A Deputy-Governor, to be elected in the same Manner.
4. ONE or two Members to be appointed annually by the most noted *Towns* in *England* for *Trade* and *Manufactures*; and four by the *City of London*.
5. FOUR Members to be appointed by *Scotland*, and to be annually nominated by its Representatives in the *British Parliament*.

6. FOUR

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6. FOUR Members to be appointed by *Ireland*, to be nominated by the Representatives of that Nation.

7. TWO Members to be appointed by every of our Plantations, to be nominated in like Manner.

8. ONE or two Members to be appointed by the *Bank*, and every great *Trading Company* in *London*, to be nominated annually by their General Courts.

9. HIS Majesty's *Lords Commmissioners* for *Trade* and *Plantations* for the Time being, to be all Honorary Members, and have Right to be present at all Proceedings.

N. B. EVERY Member chosen to continue for one Year certain, and till superseded by the Nomination or Election of another to succeed him, which will prevent Interruptions and Disorders.

SIXTHLY, Any Twenty-one or more Members to make a Court, but the President (or Governor) or Sub or Deputy-Governor, to be one of the Number.

SEVENTHLY, the *Design* and *End* of the *Commis- sion* to be, to inspect, her, and examine all Mat- ters whatsoever relating to Manufactures, Trade, Navigation and Plantation, and to make Report thereof, and deliver their Judgments thereon in Wri- ting, to his Majesty's *Board of Trade and Plantations*; and to drawn up and offer for their Lordships Con- sideration, such Regulations and Improvements, as, from time to time, they shall conceive proper to be made; all to be submitted for their Lordships Approbation or Controul; and by them to be laid before his Majesty in Council; or be recommended to *Parliament*; or otherwise, for them to do there- in, as they shall find most expedient.

THIS is a very rough and short Sketch of the *Scheme*; but I suppose clear enough for every one to

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conceive a general Idea of it : Let us therefore examine its *Propriety* and *Usefulness*.

As to its Propriety.

THIS *Court* is not proposed with a View to infringe or lessen, in the least, the Power of his Majesty's Board of Trade ; it is rather to dignify and assist it ; in a Word, to serve as a Grand Jury or Inquest, truly to represent Matters to it. And no doubt from such publick and well digested Informations their Lordships will receive truer and clearer Lights, than they have yet been able to obtain from the partial Complaints or *disguised* Accounts, which often come from particular Persons. And from this Court their Lordships will have the best and freshest Advices of all Things touching their Commission, and thereby be the better and more certainly qualified to answer all its Ends.

2. As his Majesty will appoint the Governor or President, who, to be sure, will be always a Person of great Eminence, Worth, and Skill, and the Commission is only for *Probation*, and during Pleasure ; it does not seem possible that any Disorders or Factious Designs should arise from it : On the contrary, it would tend to create a right and firm Good-Understanding between his Majesty and his Subjects, and engage them in all his Interests, as inseparable from their own. The gaining the Love of her Subjects, and making their Honour and Interest the Measure and Standard of her own and the Nation's Glory, evidently was the Cause of Queen *Elizabeth's*, the Renowned Queen *Elizabeth's* great Successes, and the prodigious Rise and Increase of the *English* Naval Power and Trade in her Days : And I believe it is no bold thing to affirm, that the maritime Transactions of her Reign make a most illustrious Shew in the *British* Annals. For there we see such a
Number

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Number of Ships and Men fitted out by the Queen, and such a Number by her loving Subjects, who adored her, acting in Concert, taking, burning, sinking, and destroying their Enemies; new Countries discovered, Colonies establish'd, and a wonderful Trade carried on: So that the whole Nation in her Time has been fitly liken'd to a Hive of Bees in a warm Sunshiny Day, — *Of the Fruits of whose Labour we yet partake.*

3. As to the several *Bodies* enumerated to appoint the Members of this Court, the Number to be sent by each, and the Manner of their Election or Appointment, they may be altered for the better, tho' I have not suggested these things without some Consideration.

4. As to the *Place for its Meeting*, I believe every one would rejoice to see the *Royal Exchange* once more inhabited; and such an Assembly, it may reasonably be presum'd, would give it a Splendor not yet thought of; which brings to my Mind Mr. *Addison's* Description of this no less useful than noble Edifice, and which I cannot omit, after pleasing myself, that Posterity in Crowds will make a full Stand at *George II. the Restorer of this Place, and the Mercantile Glory of the Nation.* — ' There is no Place in the Town (says Mr. *Addison*) which I so much love to frequent, as the *Royal Exchange*. ' It gives me a secret Satisfaction, and in some measure gratifies my Vanity, as I am an *Englishman*, to see so rich an Assembly of Countrymen and Foreigners consulting together upon the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a kind of *Emporium* for the whole Earth. ' I must confess I look upon High Change to be a great Council, in which all considerable Nations have their Representatives. Factors in the Trading World, are what Ambassadors are in the Politick World; they negotiate Affairs, conclude

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' Treaties, and maintain a good Correspondence
 ' between those wealthy Societies of Men that are
 ' divided from one another by Seas and Oceans, or
 ' live on the different Extremities of the Continent.
 ' I have often been pleased to hear Disputes adjusted
 ' between an Inhabitant of *Japan* and an Alderman
 ' of *London*, or to see a Subject of the *Great Mogul*
 ' entering into a League with one of the *Czar of*
 ' *Muscovy*. I am infinitely delighted in mixing
 ' with these several Ministers of Commerce, as they
 ' are distinguished by their different Walks and dif-
 ' ferent Languages: Sometimes I am jostled among
 ' a Body of *Armenians*; Sometimes I am lost in
 ' a Crowd of *Jews*, and sometimes make one in a
 ' Group of *Dutchmen*. I am *Dane*, *Swede*, or
 ' *Frenchman*, at different Times; or rather fancy
 ' myself like the old Philosopher, who upon his
 ' being ask'd what Countryman he was, replied,
 ' *That he was a Citizen of the World*.—— This grand
 ' Scene of Business gives me an infinite Variety of
 ' solid and substantial Entertainment. As I am a
 ' great Lover of Mankind, my Heart naturally
 ' overflows with Pleasure at the Sight of a prospe-
 ' rous and happy Multitude, insomuch that at many
 ' publick Solemnities, I cannot forbear expressing
 ' my Joy with Tears that have stolen down my
 ' Cheeks. For this Reason I am wonderfully de-
 ' lighted to see such a Body of Men thriving in their
 ' own private Fortunes, and at the same time pro-
 ' moting the publick Stock; or, in other Words,
 ' raising Estates for their own Families, by bring-
 ' ing into their Country, whatever is wanting,
 ' and carrying out of it whatever is superfluous.
 ' —— *If we consider our own Country in its natural*
 ' *Prospect, without any of the Benefits and Advan-*
 ' *tages of Commerce, what a barren, uncomfortable*
 ' *Spot of Earth falls to our Share!* —— For these
 ' Reasons, there are not more useful Members in a
 ' Com-

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Commonwealth than Merchants: They knit Mankind together in a mutual Intercourse of good Offices, distribute the Gifts of Nature, find Work for the Poor, and Wealth to the Rich, and Magnificence to the Great. — When I have been upon the Change (adds he) I have often fancied one of our old Kings standing in *Person*, where he is represented in *Effigy*, and looking down upon the wealthy Concourse of People, with which that Place is every Day filled. In this Case, how would he be surprized to hear all the Languages of *Europe* spoken in this little Spot of his former Dominions, and to see so many private Men, who, in his Time, would have been the Vassals of some powerful Baron, negotiating like Princes for greater Sums of Money than were formerly to be met with in the Royal Treasury? — *Trade has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates, as valuable as the Lands themselves.*

2. *As to the Usefulness of such a Court.*

IT would take up too much Time and Room to set forth how much Good this Court might *do*: I shall therefore ask a few Questions, and leave it to every one, Whether *much* might not be done by it? And, whether there needs not *much* to be done? — For

ARE there no Stops and Hinderances to Industry and Honesty?

ARE there not many Livelyhoods, and great Estates obtained by what we may call *legal Dishonesty*, destructive of the *common Good*, and contrary to the true Nature and Reason of Things?

MIGHT

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MIGHT not our Laws be reformed, digested, and regulated, in innumerable Instances, for the Ease and Benefit of our Colonies, Trade, and Navigation?

Is there nothing to be done for the Benefit of our Manufactures and Fisheries?

ARE no greater Rewards and Encouragements needful to revive the Loss of *Publick Spirit*, and promote the *National Welfare*?

Is it not the prevailing Fashion at present for most Men to endeavour to *make their Fortunes*, as they call it, out of Trade and Traders, rather than by fairly trading themselves?

MIGHT not more Encouragement and Protection be given to honest Informers against publick Abuses? And ought not such Informations to be rendered honourable?

ARE there not Abuses crept in, prejudicial to Trade, dishonourable to the Government, and of general ill Example?

HAVE we not lost many Branches of our Trade, and are we not losing others?

Is there nothing to be done to prevent Poverty, and relieve insolvent Debtors?

HAVE we not too many People depending on Divinity, Law and Physick? And might not many of these be provided for, and their too great Increase for the future be prevented? — I reverence the Professions, but speak against the Numbers of Professors, many of them fitter for other Employments.

ARE there not many unwarrantable, as well as useless Occupations? — And, if we take away the Labourer, honest Farmer, Manufacturer and Trader, what a happy People shall we be! *Many Mouths and no Bread!*

HAVE not *France* and *Muscovy*, of late, shewn us, by their prodigious Successes, the Benefits to be made by wise Regulations and new Institutions? And shall

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shall we alone not shake off our old Prejudices before other Nations get too much the Start of us? *

Is there nothing to be done for the Benefit of the Manufactures and Trade of *Scotland, Ireland,* and our Plantations, consistent with the Policy and Interest of the Nation?

BESIDES, in such an Assembly, will not the Members from our several Towns of Trade and Manufactories, give fuller and clearer Accounts of the Nature of their Affairs, and the Improvements that may be made in them; and also receive many fresh Hints that may prove Motives to new Undertakings, or contribute to perfect their old?

FINALLY, As Merchants and Traders carry on Trade chiefly with a View to their own private Interests, without regarding whether it may tend to impoverish or debauch the Nation or not, as in many

* Since this Paper was published we have had the following Advice from *Denmark.* *Copenhagen,* Jan. 24. The King has lately published the following Declaration for encouraging the Trade of his Country, viz. "Frederick, by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark* and *Norway,* &c. Our continual Attention to the means for enlarging the Trade of our Dominions, and acquiring new Advantages to our Subjects, in order to render their Prosperity solid and permanent, having at last determined us to establish a new Council of Commerce, which, at the same Time, is to have the Care and Direction of the OEconomy of the State, we have thought it convenient, that our Royal Intention may be fully answered, to declare, as we do declare by these Presents, that all Persons who have any Thing to propose, either for the Advantage of the State, the Advancement of Trade, or the Success of Manufactures, may apply to the said Council, it being particularly commissioned and authorized to receive and examine all such Proposals, and then to report them to us, that if they are found useful and advantageous, we may shew the Effects of our Royal Favour to the Authors of them: And our said Council of Commerce are also further authorized to concert the most proper Measures for putting the said Proposals into immediate Execution."

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Cases it does ; ought not the Management of Trade to be superintended and regulated, with an Eye to the general Gain and Good of the whole Community ?

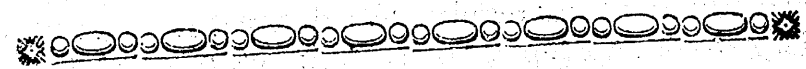
N. B. THE *Pole Star* to direct this *Court* would seem to be, to promote the general and particular Good of *Great-Britain*, and all its Dominions, by rendering *each* relative to the *other*, and every Part useful to the *Whole* ; so that all being rightly disposed, and fitted together, may enjoy, within themselves, the Benefits of Nature, secured and improved by the Hand and Wisdom of Art. This will establish and fix the Prosperity of the *British Empire* upon a just and solid Foundation, as she has, or soon may have, all Things within herself, with this blessed Advantage, that *cherishing her Colonies is increasing her Power and securing her Trade.* — And we find by Experience, that our Commerce with other Nations grows every Day uncertain, is often interrupted, frequently rendered impracticable, and sometimes prohibited, or otherwise totally lost. — Let this be its Motto, *Remember the Colonies.*

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

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LETTER



LETTER XVIII.

It is the Duty of every Government to regulate the different Orders and Degrees of its People.----- Cardinal Richlieu on this Point.--- Siracides on the same. Of reviving the ancient Spirit of Trade and Industry, and of a Reformation in those Matters.----- Our Poor and Idle are a Scandal to the Nation.----- Our Colonies may be of great Service to us.----- Our Hospitals great Benefactions to the Publick, but Planting of Colonies greater.----- The Author's Hopes for the Good of his Country.--- Some Objections answered, and three Maxims recommended to be observed by Great-Britain, with regard to her Colonies.----- Of the Difficulties our Sugar Trade is under, and the only Method that can be taken to preserve it, or secure our Settlements in the West-Indies.

S I R,

THERE never was, nor ever will be, any such Thing as living without Government in the World; and Government implies Superiority and Subordination. But tho' there are known to be different Kinds or Sorts of Governments, yet, I think, it is not agreed on hitherto among the Politicians which is the best: However, in all Nations that ever were, there have been divers Qualities, Degrees, and Conditions of Men; and 'tis certain, that

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that it is the Duty of the chief Ruler, or Governors of every State, to regulate the different Orders and Degrees of its People, so as every Member of the Body Politick be happy and useful in his respective Station, and a perfect Harmony and Concert kept up and preserved throughout the Whole.

CARDINAL Richlieu tells Lewis XIII. in his *Test. Polit.* ‘ After having spoken of the divers
 ‘ Orders the State is composed of, I have but little
 ‘ to say in the main, but that, as the Whole only
 ‘ subsists by the Union of its Parts in their Order
 ‘ and natural Situation; so this great Kingdom can
 ‘ never flourish, unless your Majesty takes Care to
 ‘ keep the Bodies which compose it, in their Order.
 ‘ ———As it is most certain, (adds he) that the
 ‘ Elements which are capable of Weight, have
 ‘ none when they are in their Place; so it is certain,
 ‘ that none of the Orders of your State will prove
 ‘ burdensome to the other, while each doth remain
 ‘ in the Place which its Birth hath assigned.’

SIRACIDES expresseth the same Thing in another Manner: ‘ The Wisdom of a learned Man
 ‘ cometh by Opportunity of Leisure; and he that
 ‘ hath little Business, shall become wise. How can
 ‘ he get Wisdom that holdeth the Plough, and that
 ‘ glorieth in the Goad, that driveth Oxen, and is
 ‘ occupied in their Labours, and whose Talk is of
 ‘ Bullocks? He giveth his Mind to make Fur-
 ‘ rows, and is diligent to give the Kine Fodder.
 ‘ So every Carpenter and Work-maister, that la-
 ‘ boureth Night and Day; and they that cut and
 ‘ grave Seals, and are diligent to make great Vari-
 ‘ ety, and give themselves to counterfeit Imagery,
 ‘ and watch to finish a Work. The Smith also fit-
 ‘ ting by the Anvil, and considering the Iron-
 ‘ work, the Vapour of the Fire wasteth his Flesh,
 ‘ and he fighteth with the Heat of the Furnace.
 ‘ The Noise of the Hammer and Anvil is ever

‘ in

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‘ in his Ears, and his Eyes still look upon the Pat-
 ‘ tern of the Thing that he maketh ; he setteth
 ‘ his Mind to finish his Work, and watcheth to
 ‘ polish it perfectly. So doth the Potter sitting at
 ‘ his Work, and turning the Wheel about with his
 ‘ Feet, who is always carefully set at his Work,
 ‘ and maketh all his Work by Number. He
 ‘ fashioneth the Clay with his Arm, and boweth
 ‘ down his Strength before his Feet ; he appli-
 ‘ eth himself to lead it over, and he is diligent to
 ‘ make clean the Furnace. — All these trust to
 ‘ their Hands, and every one is wise in his Works.
 ‘ Without these cannot a City be inhabited ; and
 ‘ they shall not dwell where they will, and go
 ‘ up and down ; they shall not be sought for in pub-
 ‘ lick Council, nor sit high in the Congregation ;
 ‘ they shall not sit in the Judge’s Seat, nor under-
 ‘ stand the Sentence of Judgment ; they cannot de-
 ‘ clare Justice and Judgment, and they shall not
 ‘ be found where Parables are spoken : *But they*
 ‘ *will maintain the State of the World, and all their*
 ‘ *Desire is in their Craft.*’

BUT then this last Author has also observ-
 ed, that, ‘ Because of unrighteous Dealings, Injuries,
 ‘ and Riches got by Deceit, the Kingdom is tran-
 ‘ sferred from one People to another. Why is Earth
 ‘ and Ashes proud ? There is not a more wicked
 ‘ Thing than a covetous Man ; for such an one
 ‘ setteth his own Soul to Sale, because while he
 ‘ liveth, he casteth away his Bowels.’

THERE is much more to be said in Proof
 of the Usefulness and Necessity of regulating the
 several Orders and Degrees of People of which every
 State is composed ; and as I conceive the Care
 and Protection of our Trade and Plantations do
 justly claim a principal Part in the *British* Politicks,
 it is to be wished, that the true and ancient Spirit
 of Trade and Industry were revived, and a thorough
 Reformation

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Reformation made of all those Corruptions and Disorders, which Length of Time, and the Depravity of human Nature, are too apt to introduce into the soundest and best Constitutions of Government: For the Colonies and Trade of *Great-Britain* may be likened to a most excellent Orchard laid out and planted by Queen *Elizabeth*, suffered to grow by King *James*, unfenced and over-run in the next Reign, supported and taken Care of in the *Interregnum*, put into better Order on the Restoration; and having supplied us plentifully with all Sorts of Fruit ever since, both for our own and foreign Use, at length the Ground wants manuring, the old Walks repairing, the Trees pruning and nailing, and some to be removed, and others new planted; and the Whole, from the Goodness of the Soil, and Benefits of its Situation, capable of receiving prodigious Additions and Improvements.

As a Man, it grieves me, as an *Englishman*, it shames me, to see so much Misery, Idleness, Beggary, Theft, and Debauchery among us. — Yes, say some among our poor, scrub, ordinary Wretches, — very true! Yet let us attend, the Matter demands it: Is not Poverty often the Cause of Vice, as Vice is frequently the Cause of Poverty? *Solomon* assures us, *the Destruction of the Poor is their Poverty*? And are not they, as such, a Part of the Publick Care? And do not they principally need the Help of our Legislature? Besides, as it is an undoubted Maxim, that the Wealth of a Nation consists in Numbers of People well employed, is it not more consonant to Nature and Religion, to breed up and preserve our own Countrymen, than to naturalize and call in Foreigners? It is true, the latter is many times beneficial and advisable; yet, I say, let us do all we can, as well for, as with our own native Inhabitants; for it is a Crime, it is a scandalous Crime, in any Nation,

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tion, to suffer so many of its own People to remain poor and miserable, useless and burdensome; but in *Great Britain*, above all others, it is very scandalous, because she has it so very much in her own Power to redress it: — And I hope the Day approacheth, when this good and great Work of Reformation shall be compleated. For

I have heretofore observed in my IXth Letter, that this Nation has Lands, Riches, People, and Power, to accomplish many great Things: And as I hear that all the Laws now in Force relating to the Poor, are designed to be revised, altered, repealed, &c. and new Regulations made for their better Maintenance, and to render them less burdensome and more useful to the Kingdom; it is certain our Colonies may employ many of them, and their Labour will there prove of double Use to thcir Country. For my Part, I look on our Colonies as a charitable Benefaction bestowed on this Nation by *God*, the universal Father and Governor of Mankind, which, if rightly improved, must needs make us a great, happy, and flourishing People. — And that the Value of our Colonies has not hitherto been fully known, or, till of late, not enough regarded, seems most evident: For what Man in *England* that had five or ten Thousand Acres of good Land given him out of any Forest or Waste, but would soon have provided for his own Family out of it? — Every Nation is but a great Family, and the Lands in our *American Colonies*, under a good Polity, might be of the same Benefit to *Britons* in general, as the five or ten Thousand Acres of Land to any particular Family. The Advantages to be made by planting of Colonies, are very well set forth in a Pamphlet, intituled, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia*, Printed for *W. Meadows*, in 1733, which is well worth

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worth the Perusal of every honest Heart, and from whence I have taken that which follows :

‘ I F, then, from the Advantages which will
 ‘ accrue to our Trade, from the Ease which our Pa-
 ‘ rishes and the Publick will gain *by a right Dis-*
 ‘ *posing of the Poor*, the Establishing such a Colony
 ‘ as *Georgia* appears so consistent with Prudence ;
 ‘ how much more so is it, with that Humanity we
 ‘ ought to have for our Fellow Creatures ? —
 ‘ How many never gain a sufficient Settlement
 ‘ in the World ? Here they may be sure of one.
 ‘ How many, after they have gained it, fail by
 ‘ various Misfortunes ? Here they may recover and
 ‘ forget them. How many may be saved here-
 ‘ by from begging and perishing in our Streets
 ‘ by Want ? How many from the Gallows, to
 ‘ which Necessity and Idleness lead the Way ? How
 ‘ many may now live to be useful, who are de-
 ‘ stroyed by their Parents at their very Birth,
 ‘ lest they should be a Burden too great for
 ‘ their Support ; and whose Light is extinguished
 ‘ the very Hour they receive it ? How many
 ‘ more would see the Light, by the Marriage of
 ‘ those, who are prevented now by the Fear of
 ‘ Want ? And how many may be preserved from
 ‘ languishing out a miserable Life in Prison, to the
 ‘ Loss of their Families and the Publick, and the
 ‘ Scandal of a Country of Liberty ? How many too
 ‘ may be preserved from Self-murder, into which
 ‘ they inconsiderately plunge themselves, to avoid
 ‘ the Infamy of Begging, or the Horrors of a Dun-
 ‘ geon ? — If a Man gives Alms to a Beggar in the
 ‘ Street, it is undoubtedly a Proof of a compas-
 ‘ sionate Temper ; but is an ill-judg’d one, as
 ‘ it serves only to encourage and confirm him in
 ‘ a Habit of Idleness. — If a Man bestows a
 ‘ Sum upon those miserable Objects in Prison, it is
 ‘ a temporary Relief in their Misery ; but not a
 ‘ sufficient

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‘ sufficient one from it. — Every publick Act
 ‘ of Insolvency is likewise an Act of Benevolence ;
 ‘ but does not answer the End proposed, if it
 ‘ makes no Provision for the Poor who are released.
 ‘ — Such then are right Benefactions, as procure
 ‘ not only immediate Relief for the Unfortunate,
 ‘ but provide for their future Happiness and Use :
 ‘ For this beneficent Design, his Majesty has given
 ‘ a large Tract of Land (called *Georgia*) near *Caro-*
 ‘ *lina*, in Trust, &c.’

LET it be acknowledged however, and to the
 Praise of their Founders be it spoken, that our Ho-
 spitals, Alms-houses, and Charity Schools, are noble
 Benefactions to the Publick. — But then Mr. *King*
 and Doctor *Davenant*, fifty Years ago, computed
 that there were 1,330,000 Souls in *England*, which
 decreased the Wealth of the Nation, which, says
 the latter (in his Essay on the Balance of Trade)
 ‘ is a very great Proportion of the People to be
 ‘ a Burden upon the other Part, and is a Weight
 ‘ on the Land-Interest ; of which the Landed Gen-
 ‘ tlemen must certainly be very sensible. — To
 ‘ make as many as possible of these 1,330,000 Per-
 ‘ sons, (whereof not above 330,000 are Children too
 ‘ young to work) who now live chiefly upon
 ‘ others, get themselves a large Share of their
 ‘ Maintenance, would be opening a new Vein
 ‘ of Treasure of some Millions Sterling *per Ann.*
 ‘ It would be a present Ease to every particular
 ‘ Man of Substance, and a lasting Benefit to the
 ‘ whole Body of the Kingdom : For it would not
 ‘ nourish, but increase the Numbers of the People,
 ‘ of which many Thousands perish every Year, by
 ‘ those Diseases contracted under a slothful Poverty ;
 ‘ — and to promote this, would be a greater
 ‘ Charity and more meritorious, than to build Ho-
 ‘ spitals, which very often are but so many Monu-
 ‘ ments of ill-gotten Riches, attended with late Re-
 ‘ pentance.’

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It must, in Truth, be confessed, that Mr. Penn has been a truer and greater Benefactor to this Nation, than the *Suttons, Guys*, or any of the charitable Bequeathers of old. For he, foreseeing the good Effects of Justice, Liberty, and wise Regulations, undertook to people the Province of *Pennsylvania*, where he laid out the City of *Philadelphia*, and form'd the Plan to admit of great Increase: He chose a Situation between two navigable Rivers, and designed a Town in Form of an oblong Square, extending two Miles in Length from one River to the other. The long Streets, eight in Number, and two Miles in Length, he cut at right Angles, by others of one Mile in Length, and Sixteen in Number, all strait and spacious. He left proper Spaces for Markets, Parades, Keys, Wharfs, Meeting-Houses, Schools, Hospitals, and other future publick Buildings. In the Province there are now 80,000 Inhabitants, and in the Town of *Philadelphia* a great Number of Houses; and it increases every Day in Buildings, which are all carried on regularly according to the first Plan. So true is that of a great Statesman: *Je puis confirmer par Experience, ce que la Raison enseigne à tout le Monde; que c'est la Tête, & non les Bras, qui gouverne & conduit les Etats.* It is the Head, and not the Arm which conducts States. And, therefore,

To conclude, I wish so much the Happiness and Prosperity of my Country, and hope so well of it, that I assure myself some learned Historian in Ages to come, recording the Glories of his Country, will write something like that which follows: Throughout the long Reign of *George II.* the King, Lords, and Commons, acted with the greatest Unanimity; Peace was preserv'd; the several Members and Provinces of the *British Empire* were made uniform and compact, and all
Orders

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Orders and Degrees of People found themselves happy in their respective Stations, each doing Good to, and none oppressing another. The true Value of our *American* Colonies began then to be better understood, than it formerly had been. All the poor and useless People (for 'till this King's Reign, there were incredible Numbers that were a Burden to the Nation, and miserable Objects in the Streets) were provided for, and made serviceable to the Publick. The Maritime Power of the Nation was irresistible; and Trade and Commerce so wisely regulated and established, that 'tis to this *King*, *Britons* are indebted for the present vast Extent of their Empire, and their being the happiest as well as the greatest People on Earth. In his Reign, *Georgia* (which had its Name from him) first began to be settled and cultivated; where we now see so many Towns and Cities, &c. &c. — In a Word, he truly practised the Arts of Government, and peopled his *American* Dominions with his superfluous and unfortunate Subjects. And now what a mighty People are they become? Which other wise must have fallen in War, or pin'd in Want, or been executed in Disgrace. — They extend themselves at this Time, so far, as from — &c. &c. &c.

I should now, Sir, take Notice of some Objections that possibly may arise on reading these Letters; but not to take up too much of your Time now, it shall be the Subject of another.

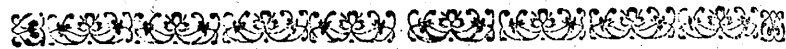
I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

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K 3

LETTER



L E T T E R X I X .

An Answer to certain Objections that may be made to the foregoing Letters.

S I R, —

I Now, Sir, proceed to take Notice of some Objections that possibly may arise on reading these Letters.

THE first is, *That our Colonies drain us of our People, depopulate this Kingdom, and prove prejudicial to it.* To which I answer, That Reason, Political Arithmetick, and past Experience all abundantly evince the contrary, and that this Nation is manifestly enrich'd and strengthened by them, as may be seen by the Writings of Sir *William Petty*, Mr. *Penn*, Sir *Josiah Child*, Dr. *Davenant*, and others.

ANOTHER is, *That our Colonies may in Time grow too powerful for their Mother Kingdom, and throw off their Dependency.* To which I answer, I hope they may never see Reason to try the Experiment: but, if they should, that *Great Britain* may never be so weak in Councils or Arms, as not to defeat the Attempt. 'I therefore (says a certain Gentleman) 'think it is very preposterous to amuse ourselves 'with vain, imaginary Prospects, of what is scarce 'possible to come to pass, and neglect doing what is 'absolutely necessary; I mean the enlarging and 'supporting our Provinces.' — However, I myself cannot but recommend three Things to publick Care and Consideration. The First is, the Preservation of

our

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our Sugar Trade, and fixing a Balance of Power in the *West Indies*. The Second is, That *Great Britain* keep to herself, as much as possibly, all Sorts of Trade and Navigation, and also the *manufacturing* and *improving* of every Commodity. And, Thirdly, That all our Colonies be diverted from interfering with her in these Respects; and that they be usefully employed in raising Materials for the Manufactories, Commodities for our Trade, and Naval Stores for our Shipping. — And if these Things be not soon regarded, some Evils may grow past Cure: If they are, it will benefit, unite, and strengthen the Whole.

THIRDLY, It may be asked, upon what Grounds I asserted in my XVIth Letter, 'That our Sugar Trade has, for many Years, been upheld and carried on, not by the Rules of sound Policy, Wisdom and Discretion, but by Force and Oppression, and contrary to all Religion and Virtue?' To which I answer, That the Inhabitants of *Barbados* have not been able to preserve themselves from Poverty and Ruin, notwithstanding in Thirty Years past they have spent the Lives of at least a Hundred thousand Negroes on the Labour of their Estates; and that should the whole World labour under the same Misfortunes as that Island, *an End would soon be put to the whole human Race*: For *Barbados* has required a Supply of One hundred thousand Negroes every Thirty Years; and yet at the End thereof, her Number is not increased by the said Importation, including the Births of all its Inhabitants. Strange! but true, to my certain Knowledge! — If any one shall say, that this Destruction is not occasion'd by hard Labour, straight Usage, and the like; — How can he answer that which follows? — There is the Island of *St. Vincent*, in the Neighbourhood of *Barbados*, which had Three or Four hundred Negroes, who saved themselves on it out of a Shipwreck,

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many Years ago: They there fix'd themselves, fell to planting, and have ever since maintained their Liberties against the *Indians*, the *English*, and the *French*; and being of both Sexes, are now increased to many Thousands, and become a powerful People, tenacious of Liberty. This we found, when his Grace the Duke of *Montagu* acquainted them of his good Intentions; and this the *French* experienced in their last unsuccessful Attack made on them; when these Negroes killed the chief Commander in the Expedition, and many of his Men, and forc'd the rest to abandon the Island with Shame and Disgrace. O Liberty! what is Man without Thee! How invaluable are thy Blessings! May thy Sacred Name----

BUT, after what has been said, I desire to be rightly understood. — I do not charge the Cause of the Misfortunes of our poor Slaves on the Tempers of their Masters, but on the Necessity of their Affairs, and the Impracticability of supporting the Sugar Trade in the Road we are in. — I compassionate these Colonies from the very Bottom of my Soul; and I write these Things, hoping this Nation, in its Wisdom and Goodness, will take their Case to Heart. The venerable *Society for Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts*, has two fine Estates on the said Island of *Barbados*, bequeathed them by *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; for pious and charitable Uses; — and they know, that such has been the Condition of them of late Years, that they are still in Debt, and that, notwithstanding the many Slaves they have purchased, they have a less Number on them than when the Estates came into their Hands. — I know a great deal of this Matter. — The *Society* or their Agents, are not to be blamed, as I think. — Our Sugar Cane must be raised at an easier and cheaper Rate, or greater Prices must be given for our Sugars; but of this latter there is no Likelihood, whilst the *French* can so far undersell us in all foreign Markets. — In short,

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short, let People say what they will, there is no other Remedy left us ; and this is the Sum of the Matter, which the sooner we set about, the better we must look back to the Rise of this Trade with us, and put in Practice the plain old Maxim, which says, *That every Thing is best preserved by the same Principles by which it was first established* ; that is, we must plant more fertile and cheaper Lands, and endeavour to make Provisions and Necessaries more plentiful, and Labour more easy ; — or else we are striving against Nature and Morality, too powerful Opponents to be overcome ! — And these Things require the Care and Assistance of the legislative Power of *Great Britain*, — without which the Sugar Trade is gone, and the *West Indies* are lost.

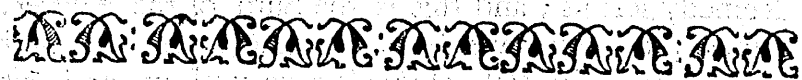
I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

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P. S. I know our old Planters on well built Estates will be unwilling to grant what I have said ; — but it is true ; And tho' the Value of their Estates will be less, yet, on a proper Inquiry into, and a Regulation of this great Concern, the Legislature may, and, to be sure, will make them ample Amends. And I say again, nothing can preserve to us the *Sugar Trade*, and our Settlements in the *West Indies*, but going to the very Bottom of Things ; our Wounds are otherwise incurable, and every less Remedy is deceitful.

P O S T.

0460



P O S T S C R I P T.

Being a Proposal with Regard to Prisoners for Debt.

HAVING met with some Observations published about Twenty Years ago, concerning our Prisoners for Debt; I think it may be of publick Benefit to have a few of them reprinted, annexed to these Letters. The Case of these unhappy People seems, and really is, so very deplorable, in regard to themselves and Families, such an Encouragement to oppressive and relentless Minds, and such Reproach to our Religion and Government, as well as contrary to all Maxims of sound Polity, that we scarce meet with a Blemish so foul in any ancient or modern State, the most famed for Imperfection and Barbarity.

A very knowing and successful Politician, to whom his Country is infinitely beholden for quieting the Disorders of its Government, and regulating the several Degrees of its People, from whence its present Glory and Grandeur had their Rise, assures the Legislators and Governors of every State, ' That
' if, on all Occasions, they do not prefer Publick
' Interest to private Advantages, tho' otherwise never so good Livers, they will be found more guilty than those of inferior Rank, who actually transgress the Laws and Commands of God; it being
' certain, that to omit what we ought to do, and to commit what we ought not to do, is the same
' Thing: *Beaucoup se sauroient comme Personnes
' Privees,*

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‘ *Privees, qui se damnent en effet comme Personnes
publiques,*

Now, as so many Thousand unfortunate Souls, in the Depth of Misery and Distress, might be made of Use and Service to their Country, and restored to a State of Freedom and Happiness, by a little Care and Interposition of our Legislature; — were I one of the Representatives of the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament, I should think I did not discharge my Conscience or Duty, if any one Day should pass without, *Let us remember the Case of the poor Prisoners.* — And I here desire every considerate Person to take it seriously to Heart, since the same Charity and Expence that goes only to preserve them in Misery, being rightly applied, might set them free, and restore them to all the reasonable Privileges and Benefits in Nature: For I repeat it over and over again, *When a Nation has so much spare Land as we have in our Colonies, it must be through a most wretched Defect in Politicks, if any be suffered to be miserable in themselves, or useles to the Publick.*

The Case of our poor Debtors.

‘ OUR Laws, in relation to Debtor and Creditor,
‘ are different from all other Nations, even from
‘ *Scotland*; I mean, in imprisoning and detaining
‘ the Person of the Debtor for ever, tho’ not worth
‘ one Farthing in the World, nor any-ways capable
‘ to make the least Satisfaction to his cruel Creditor.
‘ I wonder such sort of Creditors have the Impu-
‘ dence to pretend they are Christians, or say the
‘ Lord’s Prayer, which is so diametrically opposite
‘ to their Practice. — The vain Hopes of those
‘ Men, to think they shall be saved, when the
‘ Condition of their Salvation depends upon this very
‘ Point,

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‘ Point, Of forgiving their Debtors, as they expect
 ‘ God will forgive their Debts!

‘ T H E R E is one general Pretence for this Severi-
 ‘ ty of the Law, in confining the Bodies of Men for
 ‘ Debts, “ That, if it was otherwise, it would de-
 ‘ stroy Credit, and People would not care how far
 ‘ they run in Debt.” — Certainly there is Credit
 ‘ in *Holland, France*, and other Countries; and yet
 ‘ they do not keep Debtors, who have nothing to
 ‘ pay, in Gaol. — And ’tis my Opinion, that this
 ‘ sort of Credit that is given, upon Presumption of
 ‘ throwing Men in Goal at Discretion, is as well
 ‘ ruinous to the Creditor as Debtor. — If Men had
 ‘ not this Power over one another, they would be a
 ‘ little more circumspect and careful whom they
 ‘ trusted; they would inquire a little more into the
 ‘ Sobriety and Industry of the Person whom they
 ‘ were going to give Credit to; and if he was an
 ‘ honest and Industrious Man, it would be his Inte-
 ‘ rest and Inclination to keep up this Credit and good
 ‘ Name, so essential to his Well-doing in the
 ‘ World: But a Gaol is far from giving Relief to
 ‘ the Creditor in any respect.

‘ T H E Curse of attaching and confining the Body
 ‘ at Discretion, is so fatal, that if an honest Dealer,
 ‘ who has lived in great Credit, and has wherewithal
 ‘ to pay every one; yet if one malicious Creditor
 ‘ shall sue him, more out of Pique and Revenge,
 ‘ then to get his Debt, it so ruins his Reputation,
 ‘ that it shall bring all the rest of his Creditors, like
 ‘ Vulturs, upon his Carcass, and utterly destroys
 ‘ him and his Family, before he can possibly call in
 ‘ his Debts or Effects to stop their ravenous Mouths.
 ‘ The Apprehension of a Gaol strikes others with
 ‘ such a Terror, that when they have Peoples Money
 ‘ and Goods in their Hands, and fear the Confe-
 ‘ quence

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‘ quence of any Loss, or falling into the Power of
 ‘ the Law, they run into foreign Countries, and ruin
 ‘ others, before they will be ruined themselves.-----
 ‘ In short, it hardens both Creditor and Debtor, to
 ‘ their mutual Destruction.

‘ OUR Laws, in this Particular, are either bet-
 ‘ ter or worse, than those in other Countries; but
 ‘ before the latter, as far as they are against the
 ‘ Laws of God, Reason, and Sense of all the rest of
 ‘ the World. They are unreasonable and unjust,
 ‘ because they do not in the least distinguish be-
 ‘ tween the honest unfortunate Man, who is an Ob-
 ‘ ject of Pity, *not of Punishment*; and the Knave,
 ‘ who always fares best, and if he has Money, evades
 ‘ the Severity of our Laws, or makes his Prison a
 ‘ Palace: Whereas the unfortunate Person, if he has
 ‘ led the Life of an Angel, and in its whole Course
 ‘ has been charg’d with no ill Action, or the least
 ‘ Extravagancy, an unavoidable Accident may
 ‘ happen to him, which no human Prudence could
 ‘ foresee, or prevent; so that the Person that was
 ‘ To-day worth some Thousands, To-morrow shall
 ‘ be as many in Debt, and for his Consolation, after
 ‘ these miserable Misfortunes, a Gaol is to be his Por-
 ‘ tion, where he must meet with the cruelest of
 ‘ Deaths, *viz.* a lingering one, to starve between
 ‘ Stone Walls, whilst his Wife and Children are
 ‘ begging about the Streets.

‘ ’TIS reckoned there are about Sixty thousand mi-
 ‘ ferable Debtors, perishing in the Prisons of *England*
 ‘ and *Wales*, where Hundreds die weekly of Want
 ‘ and infectious Diseases, whose Blood, I fear, cries
 ‘ for Vengeance on a Nation that tolerates such
 ‘ Cruelty by Law.

‘ WHAT

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' WHAT a Banter is our Talk of Liberty and
 ' Property in a Kingdom, where Liberty is so ne-
 ' cessary to its Trade? — When a Tradesman fails
 ' by unavoidable Misfortunes, his Creditor shall
 ' have more Power over him than his Prince, or as
 ' much as the most absolute Tyrant, to take all he
 ' has, and then punish his Body with the worst of
 ' Deaths, perpetual Imprisonment. And where is
 ' the Benefit of all this, to render such a vast Num-
 ' ber of People usefess, and their Families a Burden
 ' to the Publick? These miserable Oppressions put
 ' Men upon a kind of fatal Necessity to turn Knaves,
 ' and wreck their Wit to evade it all, or as much
 ' of it as they can, which, by the Help of the Law-
 ' yers, if they have Money, they may do. But
 ' where accrues the Benefit of all this unchristian
 ' Severity? ——— To none but to the very worst
 ' of Rogues that tread on the Face of the Earth, *viz.*
 ' *Pettifoggers, Gaolers, Keepers of Spunging Houses,*
 ' *Bailiffs,* and their *Followers.* — Our corrupt Na-
 ' ture prompts us to oppress and tyrannize over our
 ' Fellow Creatures, and 'tis great Pity the Govern-
 ' ment should leave it in our Power to exercise it,
 ' since we seldom want the Will.

' WHOEVER hath made Observations of the
 ' general Transactions, and Affairs of the World,
 ' must of necessity be sensible, that all the Revolu-
 ' tions of Empires, Kingdoms, and States, that
 ' have degenerated from better to worse, have de-
 ' rived their Misfortunes from the Decay of *Religion,*
 ' *Virtue,* and *common Justice: God having made*
 ' *nothing to remain permanent, but what is just and*
 ' *honest.*

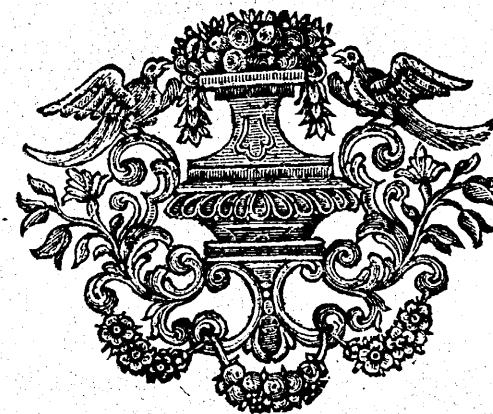
' EVILS, like Weeds, will grow in every Soil;
 ' they spring up and flourish in every Government;
 ' and

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‘ and Physicians of State ought to see the Growth of
‘ State-Distempers, time enough to prevent the
‘ Death of the Patient.

‘ W E ought not to tempt God’s Patience and
‘ Forbearance, by delaying to set about so good a
‘ Work as Reforming our Corruptions,—that we
‘ may not only become happy ourselves, but leave a
‘ Blessing to our Posterity, and give good Examples
‘ to the rest of Mankind, and shew the World,
‘ that we are truly the Nation that may be term’d
‘ *Libera Gens.*’

F I N I S.



The National Board of Health
and its various departments
and its various departments
and its various departments

It is not to be expected
that the National Board
of Health will be able
to do more than to
advise the public
and to see that the
public health is
maintained.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF HEALTH

