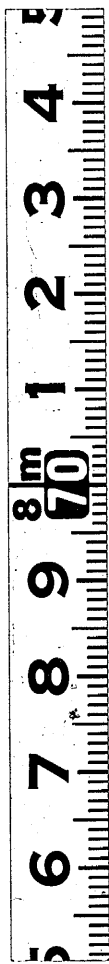


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A
TREATISE
ON
Maritime Affairs:
OR A
COMPARISON
BETWEEN THE
Commerce and Naval Power
OF
ENGLAND and FRANCE.
WITH
A View to some PARADOXES advanced by
M. DESLANDES:

And more particularly, to several POPULAR PREJUDICES entertained of late concerning the FORMIDABLE POWER of FRANCE.

Addressed to
The Right Honourable the Earl of WINCHELSEA.

By Mr. HORSLEY.

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A
 T R E A T I S E
 O N
 Maritime Affairs,
 &c.

THE *Roman* People, in their highest Splendour, were profuse in the Honorary Rewards which they bestow'd on Men of Merit, without regarding Birth or Country; it was only to act nobly, and to be suitably distinguish'd. You, my Lord, have the Happiness to be born above the Pitch of common Honours; so that were the bestowing them here as usual as amongst the old *Romans*, you must descend to reach them. There is no Honour a Subject is capable of equal to the Direction of the Royal Navy, as it secures our Commerce, and

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supports the Honour of the Nation with proper Dignity and Lustre; to render which really useful, and to give full Scope to all its natural Advantages, you have dignify'd it with your Person, and by the Use and Application of your fine Understanding, inspir'd our Naval Affairs with uncommon Vigour and Activity: You have answer'd the Wish of every Honest *Briton*, and convinc'd the most haughty of our Neighbours, that *Spithead* Expeditions are at an end, and that a *British* Fleet under proper Regulations, and determin'd Counsels, is design'd for something more important than to blaze in Flags and Streamers, and its Ammunition for something more than Salutes: That Sea-Officers should be better employed than in making Entertainments, and that the Mouths of our Cannon shall at last convince the World our Men of War are not turned into *Venetian Gondolas*, viz. Vessels for Pleasure and Diversion.

MR. *Deslandes* has taken some Pains to shew the *French* Ministry the Importance of commanding the Sea; and attempts to make it appear, That *France* is much better situated for Commerce, and consequently has more occasion for, and is better able to support a Royal Fleet than any other Nation whatsoever. How he proves this, I shall take notice in its proper Place.

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THE Commerce of *France* has something in it very extraordinary; if it be true, as he alledges, that the annual Balance of Trade is Seven Millions *Sterling*, which, if I conceive aright, is more than is gain'd by all *Europe* together. How this can be, and the People of that Country complain of their Taxes, which are not ordinarily 5,000,000, must likewise be consider'd in its Turn.

EVERY Nation has its peculiar Reasons, why it can, or cannot, or needs not, fit out large Fleets: Inland Dominions cannot do it; and some, who have Sea-ports, do not care to fit out more than just what is sufficient to guard their Commerce from Port to Port. Some have good Will, but are deficient in Abilities: Others consider, that, tho' a Navy might support and encourage Commerce; yet it would, at the same time, lessen Arbitrary Power, and reduce them to the necessity, of disbanding their Land-Forces, which are their more immediate Support and Protection, and which does certainly cost them less Money.

Thus some for one Reason, some for another, and some for none at all, neglect attending to, what we most highly value and esteem; and leaves us at liberty to be as great as we please, this way. Yet, my Lord, 'tis very surpris'g, that we, whose Hearts are most set on *Naval* Affairs, pursue not

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Measures any way adequate to that important End; but suffer every petty Power which can only fit out Mushroom-Fleets, to excell us in their Oeconomy and Conduct. I can only account for this, as one would for the different Conduct of a Lion and a Fox. One is too brave to use Art; the other too pusillanimous, to trust to his Strength: But a Lion looks very foolish when caught in a Toil, and made the jest of every insignificant Animal. Surely, my Lord, a Grain of Wisdom would not hurt our Bravery. Would it be any way to our dispraise, that we could build our Ships better, or fit them out as cheap, or man them with good Men and Officers as easily, as other Nations? Would it be any Reflection on our Bravery, that our Officers were well skill'd in Science, and our Men well arm'd and disciplin'd? Your Lordship will say no. How then is it that this is not our Case? I shall beg leave to inform your Lordship; and so fall in directly with my Design.

AMONGST the many Evils attending the Reign of *Lewis XIV*, some good sprung up and flourish'd in *France*: If, on the one hand, he robb'd his People of their Wealth, divested them of their Civil Rights, ruin'd their Commerce, and drove them like Sheep to the Slaughter; on the other, he laid the Foundation of Learning, by giving due Encouragement

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couragement to those Arts and Sciences, which will be a lasting Honour to his Memory: And besides those, which are rather adapted to the Elegancies, than the Necessaries of Life, he constituted Academies for the Useful; wherein were bred up Draughtsmen, Mathematicians, Engineers, and Mechanicks: and thus, gave every Man, who had a Genius, proper Opportunity to exert it to Advantage.

By this means *France* soon excelled us in all these Particulars. They of a sudden built their Ships of War better, than ours; that is to say, better contrived within, and their Bottoms better modelled. They were first formed in these Academies, and then given out to be built by Contract: By this means the common Builders, came to understand the true Figure and Formation of a Ship both for War and Sailing; and every working Mechanick became, by degrees, as well versed in the Art of Ship-building, as the Master-builder himself: And, as they occasionally dispers'd, carried the Art with them to every Sea-port in the Kingdom, and built Privateers, which were an Over-Match for the whole World.

THIS was all so suddenly effected, and such a glorious Fleet rais'd, as created at once Astonishment and Envy: in the mean time the

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the *French* went boldly on, and consequently bid fair for the Empire of the Ocean. *Lewis* knew very well, that his Officers did not want Courage: so he left that Point unconsidered; but he took care, that they should not want those Rudiments of Education, which chiefly tend to render the Character of a Sea-Officer shining and illustrious. To this end their Instruction was carefully regarded; they could build, rig, and, as far as Theory can be supposed to extend, carry a Ship into any part of the known World; they were Mariners, Mechanics, Navigators and Engineers; and knew the Art of offensive and defensive Sea-fighting, before they ever step'd aboard the Ship they were allotted to serve in: And when there, they were taught to behave with Humanity, and Good-breeding, and to act at the same time in the Characters of Seamen, Soldiers, and Gentlemen.

THE manning of these Ships was another Consideration, which very much contributed to the Point in view: To attain this, *Lewis* by Edict commanded a List to be brought him of all the seafaring People in his Dominions; and obliged them to serve in their turns, on such Terms, as were in no respect disagreeable to themselves: And after forming his Sea-ports into various Departments, he constituted suitable In-

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tendants, who watched over Maritime Affairs, and mann'd and provided his Ships on short Notices. Thus *Lewis's* Fleet, like a new World, was created, as it were, in an instant, and before his Neighbours knew of his having any Ships, they rode formidable on the Ocean, and bid fair for Imperial Sway. How all these fine doings sunk of a sudden, and dwindled away to almost nothing, remains to be told in its proper Place, and will then serve to instruct us, that we ought to be as much upon our guard, as ever.

I AM now, my Lord, entring on a very disagreeable Task; a Contrast, I could wish to be excused the forming of, did I not conceive it may possibly one day produce the good Effects I intend by it. My View is to break the stiff Neck of Prejudice and harden'd Custom, while there is one at the Head of the Board, whose Genius is superior to mean and sordid Habitude, and able to force through the strong Redoubts of fortified Error. To enter into a minute Criticism on Ship-building would of itself be Subject sufficient for an entire Volume, and is not at present very material. I will take it for granted, that our Ships are generally as well formed as those of the *French*, built generally of better Timber, and more lasting, and for that reason, perhaps, come much dearer. My Complaint, in this particular,

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cular, is, that the Science is not studied, nor propagated, and, I am afraid, not very well understood. There have been indeed a few Men in the Kingdom, from time to time, who have had some Acquaintance with the Theory: Others by long Practice, foreign Models, and the Light of Reason, with the help of such Models of our own as have remain'd, have been indifferently well versed in the Practice; but have laid no just Foundation for Improvement. Our three-deck Ships are generally defective in their upper Works, and, in my opinion, too much raised, which renders them weak and unable to bear the Weight of the Metal, they carry, in a Sea-Gate. I am likewise of Opinion, that the Navy in general is masted on a wrong Principle, especially the Ships under seventy Guns: And this I take to be owing to the Directors in those Affairs, who rather confine themselves to an established Method, than study the Fundamentals of their Business as a Science. And, tho' I should be very cautious of hurting our own Plantation Produce, I am afraid our *New England* Masts are not so good as the *Gottenburgh*; but this only by the way.

I WILL then presume our Ships as good as the *French*, and as properly fitted for the Sea, and our Provisions much better, at least for a long Voyage: But it is our Business to
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excel in every particular; as thereupon depends the Improvement of our Commerce, and the Safeguard and Welfare of the Nation.

I BELIEVE all Mankind will agree with me, that the Command of a Ship of War is a very important Trust; and consequently that the Man, who enjoys it, ought to have both natural and acquired Parts, somewhat superior to those he commands, and to be so educated as to give him a Grace and Dignity equal to his Post. The general Notion, I know, is, that 'tis impossible to be a Seaman without being bred to it from one's Infancy; but it happens, that the best Sea-Officers, we ever had, were very differently educated; and the worst have been those, who never had any Education at all.

THE late Mr. *Molyneux* had a design, as I am informed, to reconcile this matter, by giving our young Gentlemen a suitable Education, and enuring them to the Sea at the same time. He refined upon the *French* Academies, and the Parallel would have been in our favour, had he lived to have executed his Design. He proposed constantly to have had Ships out upon Discoveries, on board of which he would have encouraged Men to embark, skilful in various Arts and Sciences; and with them a certain

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Number of young Gentlemen, who would have learnt Mathematicks, Languages, History, &c. and consequently have had more Experience in three Years, than, as now, in half their Lives: They would have been habituated to various Climates, and their Minds opened and enlarged by a Variety of Incidents naturally occurring in distant and less known Parts of the World; and 'tis very probable, that they would have returned with a different kind of Knowledge, from that of meerly knowing how to Hale an Earing, or tell the time of high Water at *London* Bridge: The important Questions of an examining Commiffioner!

SUCH Voyages, so profecuted, would not only have been the Means of raising illustrious Men; but might probably have turn'd very much to the Emolument of the Nation, by improving and extending our Commerce, and seems, to my poor Understanding, the most natural Use a small part of the Navy could have been apply'd to: But this, my Lord, requires infinite Caution in the pursuit, and such as none, but a Judgment like yours, is readily capable of attending to. Common Schoolmasters, pick'd up at random, with Sallaries of forty Pounds a Year, would render such a Scheme ridiculous. Men of Science must not only be

be well paid; but have some Road to Preferment, some Prospect of rising higher.

As the Case now stands, the *French* Officers have much the Advantage of ours in point of Theory; and so of course learn the Military Art much sooner, when in the way of Practice. An Habit of Thinking and Application furnishes them with a stock of Ideas, which lead them to refine on Stratagem, and render them skilful in Contrivance, which is often superior to Force. A Captain who meerly fights his Ship, in the common Road, does no more than any Seaman might do, as well as he; and the difference between them only is, that one has had better luck than the other. I think, my Lord, the Parallel in this Case is much in favour of *France*, and, were it not a very disagreeable Subject, I could prove it by Facts; but I dare to say, you had rather I should let it alone.

I HAVE a little above just touched upon the Method by which *Lewis* XIV, mann'd his Fleet: The same Method continues still, and may serve to give us some very useful Hints, how to act in the like Circumstances. I was in hopes this part of my Essay would have been render'd useles, being inform'd, that an Officer of Rank had brought a Bill into Parliament, for the special Purpose of

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more speedy, and easy manning the Navy on all Emergencies: But as I hear no more of it, I suppose it is dropt, and therefore shall take the liberty of pursuing my first Design.

I HAVE two very strong Reasons to be more particular on this Subject, than on any of the rest: The first is the Advantage that the *French*, and all other Maritime Nations have over us in this respect: The other is, the Dishonour and Expence, which the evil Practice of Impressing Men produces, and which in many Cases is quite devoid of Humanity. This Evil, my Lord, is come to you with the Post, you honour; but I hope it will not be left behind you, when you retire. I am in no doubt, but that you would be ready to receive and improve every Hint, that may tend towards remedying this *important Mischief*; for which Reason I shall be more than commonly free and open.

THE Lawyers seem to be in doubt, whether Impressing be lawful: But, my Lord, Doubt is their Harvest, their Fee-farm and standing Revenue. Our Business is to make the matter clear.

THE plain State of the Question is this; Whether the Sovereign in Council has a lawful

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lawful Right to direct the Imprisonment, and forcing into the publick Service, all, any, or what particular Class of his Subjects? If all; then are We no longer a free People: If any particular Class; then are They unhappily distinguish'd, and prevented from enjoying the Privilege of a free People, in common with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects. But why? Is there any certain Law for this Distinction? If not; on what Principle of Justice is it pursued? If Custom is asserted, 'tis the worst Plea of all; since no Custom can be good, that is directly opposite to the standing Law of the Nation, which is founded on *Magna Charta*, the Basis of all our Liberties, which expressly says no Man shall be obliged to serve against his Will, unless in the Defence of his Country against an Invader. I suppose the Lawyers won't presume to say, that a Sailor is not a Man, nor a Fellow-Subject: Perhaps they will alledge, that Necessity has no Law: But I should be sorry to say it for them, since the Business is to remove the Necessity by making a proper Law; and not to commit unlawful Acts on the credit of Necessity: For under such Pretences I know not who is safe.

BUT presuming it to be as lawful, as some would, through Indolence or Ignorance, have it, is it not a very inconvenient

nient Law, and attended with infinite bad Consequences both to Persons in particular, and to Commerce in general? As to Persons; when, as now, Honest Men are taken from their Houses, Lodgings, or Families like Thieves, put aboard of close Vessels, and oftentimes kept there, till murder'd, for want of Air, and at best by that means contract such fatal Distempers, as by Communication have been the Cause of half unmanning the Fleet. Again, if they are taken from aboard a Ship, then are the Merchants sensibly injur'd; If outward bound, their Voyage protracted, and perhaps ruin'd by losing a Market; If homeward bound, the Ship oftentimes by the Ignorance of those placed in their stead lost; and the Men, when taken, perhaps in a very ill State of Health, and consequently very unfit for fresh Service; and if they be taken from a Ship, when abroad, the whole Voyage ruin'd, and the Ship laid up to rot in a distant Port.

THIS, my Lord, to say no worse, is but an odd Way of raising Seamen, and encouraging Commerce, on which the very Existence of our Navy, and the Glory, Honour and Reputation of the Nation depends: So that if it be Law, 'tis a very bad one; or as fillily put in execution as one can imagine: But if it be not Law, then it is

is — what I shall wave naming for the present. However, it is certain that hereby not only Commerce suffers, and our Breed of Seamen is considerably lessened; but it is likewise the Means of squandering away great Sums of the Nation's Revenue to the worst Purpose imaginable.

PERHAPS, my Lord, you never saw this ugly Devil of a thing in all its hideous Appearances before. I have therefore endeavoured to paint the invidious Portrait as near the Life as possible, that you may see and detest it: For, my Lord, if Impressing be not clear Law, in what a Situation are the Actors? And if it be Law, in what a Situation are we all? I think I have shewn, that it is not Law; I shall now beg leave to shew, that neither is it Necessity.

MY Lord, the Captains of Men of War want to mann their Ships with all able Seamen; but, my Lord, half able Seamen, and the rest well disciplin'd Land-men, will answer a better Purpose, as it will increase the Number of Seamen, and make them more plentiful. As I know those are sufficient to work the Ship, so I also know that Land-men are more easily disciplin'd, and make better Musqueteers than Seamen; and let them but have Arms, they, when disciplin'd, and learn'd to stand upon their

Legs,

Legs, will make a better Fight than a Crew which is compos'd of all Seamen. In this Particular too, I think, the *French* have convinc'd us they excel. 'Tis very wonderful, that we, who value and pique ourselves upon a Naval Power, should take the least care of all Nations, about either officering or manning our Ships; and that we should know no more about fighting them, and, in many cases, not so much, as those who esteem not a Naval Power at all.

MEN of confin'd Imaginations tell us, that the Reason why the *French* mann their Fleet easier than we, is because their King is arbitrary. All Governments in the World are, and must be, arbitrary, or be no Governments at all: The Difference is only whether Absolute Power be vested in a single Person, or in many: *Holland* and *Sweden* are free States, with Absolute Power vested in many. *France* and *Denmark* have the Absolute Power vested in single Persons: But neither the one, nor the other, are ever guilty of any Act, so truly and barbarously arbitrary, as our Method of Impressing; nor attend so little to the fundamental Maxims of Maritime Power as we.

IN Trade a Man may be a good Book-keeper, or Journeyman; yet very unfit to be the Merchant or Master-trader. In like manner,

manner, the same Genius, that constitutes a Boatswain, may render a Man extremely improper for a general Command. The Attention of one is merely fix'd to a few particular Objects; and requires only a small Portion of Understanding, and a good Stock of Spirits. The Commander is to know all, that the Boatswain knows; and what a Man, well stock'd with useful Knowledge, must necessarily know besides. His Ship is a little Kingdom; and his Power as absolute as the Grand *Seignior's*: If he knows no more than his Seamen, he is but a paltry Emperor abroad, and a very insignificant Subject at home. If none but mere Seamen are fit to command abroad, then are none, but mere Seamen, fit to direct at home; which is a Maxim your Lordship has sufficiently prov'd the Absurdity of.

MR. *Deslandes* informs us, that it is a Question much canvass'd among the *English*, whether the Gentry, or Soldiers of Fortune, who have no hopes of rising, but by their Merit, are fittest for Maritime Service; and says, that we decide it in favour of the latter. The Question at first sight indeed seems plain enough; however, if a little examined into, I believe, it will be found not to want its Perplexities. If Mr. *Deslandes* means our Question to be, whether Nature improv'd, exalted and humanized,

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be better than a savage State, it either seems to be no Question worth stating, or the *English* a People of odd Imaginations, to answer it as he has made them.

THE Truth of the matter is this; All that go to Sea are Soldiers of Fortune, and whether they happen to be of the lower, or higher Rank, of the People, have equally their Fortunes to make; and the only Question is, whether People tenderly brought up are so fit to bear the Fatigues of the Sea, as those who are bred to the Hardships of it from their Cradle? However, in reality this is rather asking, which will make the best common Seaman, than which the best Officer.

THERE are not any Hardships in the Navy, as I ever found, who have serv'd, where most that can happen have been felt, but such as a well-bred Man may go through without any great Difficulty: However, supposing it the worst that can be, yet our Gentry are for the most part educated in such a manner, as to be at least as capable of bearing Hardships, as the *French*. In this respect, I take it, we have much the better of them, if it were a thing of any Importance, which I take to be quite the contrary: What we want is to have our young Gentlemen better taken care of; before it is necessary to try their Constitutions:
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The Foundation ought to be laid in their Minds; and they may be as well trusted for the rest, as the most ordinary Men.

No Man will dispute, but it may sometimes happen, that brilliant Stones are found in Places, where common Eyes never conceiv'd they would grow; or that Nature is sometimes superlatively generous in bestowing extraordinary Gifts on very ordinary Appearances: Notwithstanding which, the right Place to look for them is, where they usually are found; and where the Streams run, that feed, purify and refine them. Nature alone directs the Actions of an untaught and unbred Man; if his Nature be courageous, well; if not, he is an absolute Coward. Reason and Reflection, supported by a just Sense of Honour, the Attributes of Men well born and educated, are not his: What Nature makes him, and that only, he is. Courage is an Attribute common to Man and Beast; and a Man who has nothing else to recommend him, but Courage, and the usual Mechanic Knowledge, may make a very good common Seaman, but never a good Officer.

WHAT has been hitherto said is only, as it were, by way of Introduction to the main Point in dispute; that nothing might afterwards interfere in the Course of the

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main Argument ; which is, whether *Britain* or *France* is most capable, of supporting a Maritime Power.

MR. DESLANDES gives us a concise History of Maritime Power, from very distant times, and shews us its Necessity and Use. He then attempts to shew the Advantages *France* has, over all other Countries, in her Situation, Riches, and Resources; and concludes, like a true *Frenchman*, extravagantly in favour of his own Country.

THE Maritime Power, as kept up in distant Ages, is so little understood, and so little to our present Purpose, that I shall not say any thing about it. The Benefit of such Power is at present perfectly well understood, as it is necessary for our domestic Safeguard, the influencing of our Neighbours, and protecting our Commerce. And how far *France*, or any other Nation by their Situation, Riches or Resources, have Advantages superior to *Britain*, comes next to be consider'd. This naturally leads us into a general Treatise on Commerce; for which, our Author says, *France* is best situated, and proves it thus.

FRANCE is bounded by three Seas, and has a Variety of good Harbours in them all, *vis.* in the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantick*,
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and *British* Channel, which are Advantages in Situation superior to all other Nations. Had Mr. *Deslandes* consider'd this matter, free from Prejudice, he would have readily found, that it is not the Situation of this, or that Port, as it relates to the Sea, but as it relates to the Dominions in general, which his Sovereign possesses, that could give them superior Advantages in Commerce.

IN this Light, *France* is the worst situated of any Nation, I know: The Fondness of the *French* Monarchs from Age to Age, of acquiring inland Dominion, has render'd three Parts in four of their Territories quite incapable of being concern'd in Maritime Affairs, by the Necessity they are under of inland Carriage, which comes too dear to be propagated to any important Purpose.

THE Situation proper for a Maritime Country is, That the Metropolis be a Sea-Port, and nearly in the Center; that the Country be furnish'd with good Ports in various Parts, for the Purposes of a Naval Power, and for harbouring Ships in distress, or kept from the Center-Port by contrary Winds; that it have navigable Rivers communicating with the principal Towns, and with one another.

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A METROPOLIS being near the Center, and a Sea-Port, is of the last Importance to Trade, as it is there, the Prince, Nobility, Gentry, Manufacturer, Merchant and Mariner universally consent to meet. This is the Case of *England, Holland, Sweden, Denmark* and *Portugal*; but not of *France*.

INLAND Navigation is peculiar to *England* and *Holland*; and tho' their Out-Ports do not lie so fair for the *Southern* Trade, as *France*, they are generally more convenient; and better situated for the *Northern* Trades. As to the *Southern* Trade, it is but of little significance, that a Ship is a Week or Fortnight longer in her Voyage: And it is very remarkable, that the best Sea-Ports both in *England* and *France*, and which lie fairest to the *Southward*, have the least Trade of any, as *Brest* in *Britany*, and *Falmouth* and *Plimouth* in *England*. *London, Bristol, Liverpool, Lynn, Hull, Dublin, Cork,* and *Glasgow*, carry on the chief Foreign Trade, both *Northward* and *Southward*, yet are none of them the best situated as to the Nearness of the Places they trade to; but are much the best situated for vending their Returns, which is the main Object of Trade, by means of the *Severn, Humber, Thames, Mersey, Cam, Nine, &c.* which are all so far navigable inland, and so near
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communicating by their main Bodies and respective Branches, as to need very little Land-Carriage; and are all still capable of farther Improvement. An Advantage this, that *France* is absolutely incapable of; and which the Dominions of *Great Britain* and *Holland* chiefly enjoy. Thus far, I hope, the Difference is very plain and obvious.

THE next thing that comes under Consideration is, the natural Riches and Resources of *Great Britain* and *France*. The natural Riches of a Country are, what it raises, and manufactures of its own Growth, or Produce, and these are considerably enhanced if it vends them on its own Bottoms. What *France* produces of this kind, are chiefly Wines and Linnens; under which Titles I include Brandys, Cambricks, Ghentins, and Bone-Lace: But these are all of such a nature, as may either produce a very fine Trade, or none at all: So are not of those kinds of Commodities, which may justly be term'd establish'd and lasting. They are now what the Salt Trade once was; the most beneficial Produce of that Country: But as other Nations came either to make it, or find means of getting it at an easier rate, their Trade, in that Commodity, gradually sunk, and came at last to nothing. Their Linnens decline apace; and the Wine Trade subsists purely on the
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Credit of Caprice. Thus all the natural Products of *France*, whereon their Riches and Resources chiefly depend, are at best transitory and uncertain; and, as it is, are but little traded with on their own Bottoms, which makes at least one third Difference in the Balance, as I shall shew in its proper Place.

THE natural Products of *Britain*, and its home Dominions, are Tin, Lead, Iron, Copper, *Lapis Calaminaris*, Rotten-Stone, Woad, Madder, Coals, Culm, Allum, Saffron, Corn, and Wool; and are all of such a Nature, that no Country can produce them, at the same time, both so good and so cheap, except *Sweden*, whose Iron and Copper are generally esteem'd better, and are many of them not to be had any where else. To these may be added our Herring and Oyster Fisheries, which may not improperly be term'd our own Produce, and which turn to a very good Account, and contribute very materially to the Enriching of the Nation, as much by the employing of the common People, and creating a sort of Mariners, as by the Wealth they produce.

OUR Metallic Products contribute to a Variety of good Purposes, in the Manufactures they create, for Foreign, as well as Home Consumption, and the Employment they

they give to a vast Number of ingenious Mechanics, and Shopkeepers, who are thereby enabled to thrive, and live in a State of laudable Plenty. It would take up half a Volume to enumerate the various Manufactures, the Metallic Species create; the most delicate whereof are the making of Watches, which are vendd in greater quantities, than People out of Trade generally dream of. In a word, the raising and manufacturing of the Metals in general employ, in one shape or other, near a Million of People. The only kind we neglect wholly manufacturing, is our Tin, and what that is owing to, I confess, I cannot at present explain; but conceive it chiefly to be, that no great and good Commonwealths-Man has ever yet happen'd to turn his Head that way: So that at present the *Dutch* do a great deal for us.

OUR Coals are principally consumed at home; but have their Advantages besides, as well as the other Species of our Products, that they employ Multitudes of working People under ground, above ground, and at Sea; enrich great Numbers of Merchants and Dealers; and vend in a sufficient quantity abroad, to contribute largely to the Balance of Trade, and the enriching of the Nation. Woad and Madder are chiefly used at home, and employ some of our best
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Land, and a great many People in planting, gathering, curing and dying. These are Commodities, which are in some measure vended abroad, and so contribute many ways to the publick Emolument. Allum and Saffron are what I call simple Products, one is chiefly used to set Colours, the other in Medicine; but both vend abroad, and are used at home, and are no contemptible Commodities.

LAPIS CALAMINARIS is used for converting Copper into Brass, and medicinally; Rotten-Stone for polishing several Metals; both these are used in considerable quantities at home, and vended abroad.

CORN creates a good deal of Work for our Shipping in Exportation, and saves us so much Money in the Balance of Trade, as well as employs an infinite Number of industrious People, and the greater part of our Lands.

WOOL, of the kind, is the peculiar Product of these Nations, and not to be equal'd in all respects by any other Country; and can be only assisted in one particular Fabrick by any other, and this is the *Spanish*. Our Wool will alone make excellent Cloaths; but not so fine as when work'd up with the *Spanish*. Our Manufacturers are peculiar
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in the Art of working it up to an Excellency, which no other Nation can yet effectually attain to, with the same Materials: But as the *French* generally work cheaper, and more slight than we; so they out-sell us in some foreign Markets; and by this means, in some measure, rob us of our own Produce: But this will be effectually remedy'd, whenever we are so fortunate, as to see the Scheme of our Taxes altered, by taking them off from a Variety of Commodities, and fixing them on some single Object; as I have prov'd in my Remarks on Sir *Matthew Decker's* Scheme, lately publish'd. For by this means, the Labourer will be able to work for half Price, and the Commodity be consequently so reduced in Value, as will enable us to undersell the *French* in all foreign Markets, and work up all our own Wool at home. This Commodity is certainly of the last Importance, and will alone, when properly attended to, out-balance all the precarious Products of *France* put together.

OUR next Consideration is the Produce of our respective Plantations in *America*, and the Benefits arising therefrom. In the *West-Indies*, the Products of ours and the *French* Islands are much the same, except in the Article of *Indico*, which the *French* of late Years have apply'd themselves to the planting of, and we have neglected. The

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reason of this, as I take it, has been, that our Planters found Sugar and Rum answer better, as they have a great Vent here for both, as well as in several other Parts of the World; and the *French*, not being suffer'd to vend their Rum in *France*, apply'd to the planting of *Indico*. In which Cases, tho' both answer the Ends of the respective Planters there, it makes a great Alteration here; as the *French*, by this means, not only serve their own Country with *Indico*, but likewise us, and other Nations, and gain thereby a considerable Advantage in this particular Branch of Commerce. This, I conceive, is only to be remedy'd by a Bounty to the Planters, payable out of the Island Duties, to encourage them to renew its Cultivation; which, if we got nothing by it, would lessen the Gain of *France*, and that I conceive would be a real Profit to ourselves; since every thing we cause so bad a Neighbour to lose, is in effect a Gain to ourselves.

ON the main Continent of *America*, the chief Products are Iron-Ore, Hemp, Flax, Mafts, Rice, Pitch, Tar, Skins, Furs, Pipe-Staves, Flesh, Tallow, Corn, Tobacco, Train-Oil, Salt-Fish, and Shipping, in most of which Commodities We have much the advantage; and in Some vend to Them large quantities, both at their Islands and in *France*. They creep indeed round us by
degrees

degrees, aiming at a Communication between *Canada* and the *Mississipi*, according to their natural Desire of having Land enough, tho' it turn to little account; and leave us the Maritime Tract, to prevent their being over-burthen'd with Wealth and Trade, which might have a bad effect on such troublesome and restless Spirits.

OUR next Consideration is Commerce in general: And here I am entring into a Field, where I shall have Legions to engage with; but as my Pursuit is Truth, and as I am, in the whole, to form a Parallel, free from vulgar Error or national Prejudices, I shall endeavour to see, and describe things in the justest Light, they appear to me in.

THE laudable Emulation of my Countrymen induces them to think, that the *French* are ever running away with our Trade. Whether they really have, or not, comes now to be consider'd.

THE First, and which is most complain'd of, is, The *Turkey* Trade, which We are oblig'd to carry on from *London*; They from *Marseilles*: So that we have double the distance to sail, that they have. The Cargoes for that Trade consist chiefly in Woollen Goods, and are consequently very valuable. The *French* make these something like ours;
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but flighter, and so can afford them cheaper; and in that particular Branch do undersell us. The other Part of their Cargoes, as Watches, Jewels, &c. they have from *England* and *Geneva*; but chiefly from *England*: Therefore if they undersell us in them, it is purely because they vend worse Goods. However, at all Events we cannot be losers in this respect, a great part of such Merchandizes being purchas'd here, as are indeed a great part of their Woollen Goods of a particular Species. There are many Commodities in *Turkey*, which they must take in return, or else give long Credit, which are of no use to the *French*; nor will answer a Re-export: such as Oil, Fruits, &c. The chief Commodities of those Countries are, Raw-Silk, Cotton, and Drugs: If the *French* take the Value of their first Cargoes in these, they must take infinitely more than they have any use for, as they have the same from the *East-Indies*, and must have Raw-Silk from *Italy* besides, the Eastern Silks not answering all their Purposes in that Manufacture.

It is likewise worthy our Observation, that *Turkey* is one of those Countries, that can't bear a Balance against them; and consequently those, who can afford to trade with them for most of their own Commodities, will have the best Trade, whether they sell the

the most Goods or not: Since those who sell most, and take the fewest, must run the hazard of losing the Surplus, which has been the Case of the *Marseilles* Merchants more than once; and they own themselves, that where one gets by this Trade, ten are ruin'd. If either We, or the *Dutch*, who both profess to trade for profit, would act as the *Marseilles* Merchants do, I doubt not, we might share the Trade betwixt us; but our Merchants don't choose it: They find, that, tho' they can take off more Species of Commodities, than the *French*, and find a Market for them; and also vend their own there at a tolerable Price; yet all will not do: The Trade is in the present Situation of things not worth pursuing, as it was formerly. The *French* were the first, that had it, and may probably keep it last; tho' very little to their advantage otherwise, than as it contributes to keep up a stock of Seamen. If they lie nearer for a Market thither, they are far enough from one at their return; and a Man needs but be a twelvemonth at *Marseilles* to be thoroughly convinc'd, that tho' they may hurt us in the pursuit of that Trade, they do themselves but very little good.

THE *India* Trade, I conceive, is of no important Service either to us or the *French*: It may answer some particular Purposes to both, as it may to *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but

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but can't possibly enrich either : For whatever Country we trade with, and must take manufactur'd Commodities in return for others, or for Specie, it must either immediately prejudice our own Manufactures, or distantly, by re-exporting them whither our own should have gone. The last does the most mischief ; but both are bad : And tho' both the *French* and We are in a Situation much alike, as to the ill Effects of that Trade ; yet it may be better for both, not to discontinue it, than to suffer the same Inconveniences by having the Goods, that prejudice our respective Manufactures, run in upon us by others : So that in this Case, whether We, or the *French* have the greatest share in this Trade is not very material, otherwise than as it keeps up a stock of Seamen, and abundance of other People employ'd.

THE *African* Trade was once of very great importance, owing to the first *West-India* Settlers being either too idle, or wanting sufficient Hands to do the business of the Plantations, or bring them to any kind of Maturity. They are now in the Islands, as well as on the Continent, at least in many Parts, over-stock'd with Negroes : In some Places indeed they will yet sell very well, but, in general, the Market is very hazardous and uncertain. Ivory is become of
little

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little Value ; and Gold-Dust not to be had in any considerable quantities. 'Tis true, that the Commodities exchange'd are trifling, and that, if a Ship comes to a good Market, has not many Negroes die, or is pretty successful on the Gold Coast, it may answer very well ; but the Odds are infinitely against them : And it is moreover so far from being the means of raising Seamen, as most other Voyages do, that it rather seems calculated for their Destruction. And thus taking all things together, tho' I conceive we trade much more thither, than the *French*, yet I think the Benefits arising therefrom not worth contending for.

AMERICA is the common Banker of us all ; those Parts, I mean, in the hands of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* : yet are neither of these two Nations so much enrich'd by their *American* Mines, as that either of them can afford to trade with their Neighbours merely for Cash. It follows then, that whoever trades with them must take native Commodities. Now there are very few Commodities in either of those Countries, which the *French* can have any use for at all ; and consequently cannot carry on a Trade upon equal Terms with the *English*, who have a Market for, and can take off, most of their Commodities. Trade will always make its own way ; and as the Peo-
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cost twelve thousand Pounds fitting for a Voyage, including her Building, Stores, &c. She makes her Voyage, and the Gain is only ten thousand Pounds; the Ship, with what remains, may sell for two Thousand. Here the Persons concern'd get nothing; but the Nation is benefited equal to the Gain of the Voyage: For had the same Persons traded on a foreign Bottom, neither they nor the Nation had got a Farthing of all this, which makes just so much difference. This, I think, is obvious to every Man's Understanding, and may contribute to solve a very important Problem in Trade; that is to say, How a Merchant may be ruin'd, while he enriches his Country, and supports many Individuals by the Profits of his Commerce. This likewise evinces the great Benefit of our Act of Navigation; an Act that ought to be esteem'd sacred; never to be deviated from, or alter'd in the least tittle.

IN Essay-writing it would be amiss to enter into abstruse Calculations, such as rather puzzle and perplex, than inform, or instruct the Reader. I have run over the Situation of Trade on general Principles, as it stands confess'd to the Knowledge of most People conversant in Business. This is one general Way of forming a Parallel between the two Nations: I shall now try it by another, more obvious to Gentlemen; and then

then make the Experiment by plain and notorious Facts.

If a Man is going to purchase an Estate, he is naturally enough induced, first to view it; then to examine the Tenants; and lastly to consider, whether its Riches and Produce answer its esteem'd Value; and from thence concludes, whether the Tenants can hold it at the same Rent he is to purchase it at, or whether its esteem'd Value be in a good measure imaginary, and rais'd to impose upon the Purchaser. His way to know this is twofold; First, to enquire, what other Farmers in the Neighbourhood would give for the same Land; and Secondly, how the Tenants live and thrive on their Rents.

MR. *Deslandes* says his Country has a Balance in Trade of 7,000,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*; which, if true, is infinitely more than *Britain* can pretend to: It will follow from hence, that the *French* must be much richer than the *English*; and one must naturally conclude, that the Face of the Country would shew it in every Appearance consequent upon Riches, in their Houses, Gardens, Habits, Cultivations, Manufactures, and what not? And this not in here and there a place, but universally diffused over the Face of the Country. One Symptom it could not fail of bringing with it, and that is

is Money in great plenty; to be had in great Sums, on short Notice, and upon very easy Conditions.

Now suppose it possible that *England* and *France* were put up to Sale; and that there were in the World a Purchaser, able and willing to buy one of them, and left to his Choice which to take, in order to make the most Interest of his Money: We will suppose likewise, that the same Price is set upon both: But when they come to treat, the *English* Agent estimates his Income at one Million; the *French* Agent his at seven Millions. This determines the intended Purchaser in favour of *France*. However, he is resolv'd to satisfy himself by ocular Demonstration, and proper Enquiries on the spot. He accordingly travels through *France*; views, and considers the Face of the Country; inspects their Metropolis, their Maritime, and Manufacture Towns; dives into the Course of their Trade, and negotiates Loans of Money: He calculates and considers all these things to a Nicety; and then travels into *England*. He comes to *London*, and there finds, that in one City alone, there is more Business done, more Shipping employed, and more Money to be negotiated, than in all *France* together. Would he not from hence reflect on the Grossness of the Imposition; and make his Choice accordingly? And would it not still add

add more to his Surprise, when he found the whole Country, in proportion, suitable to the Metropolis? Needs a Man, on this Occasion, be under any necessity of entering into farther Particulars, or perplexing himself with wild imaginary Calculations, when the Difference is as obvious as Day?

SUCH Writers as Mr. *Deslandes* may then divert themselves with imaginary Balances, as long as they please; when it is but looking upon their Country, and they must be condemn'd. Mr. *Du Tot* conceiv'd the thing better: He well knew, that such idle *Gascoignades* were only misleading the Sovereign into false Ideas of the State of his Dominions, and making him believe, he could raise immense Sums, where they were not to be had; and therefore gives him a more just and accurate State thereof. From whence we learn, that 'tis extremely difficult for an Arbitrary Sovereign to command in *France* a Revenue, equal to what a Free People voluntarily give in *England*, and which is paid out of one fourth Part of the Space of Country; one half of the King of *Great Britain's* European Dominions contributing little or nothing.

Now as a true Parallel between the Maritime Power of the respective Nations is to be shewn from the inherent Riches of each, created by natural Products, Manufactures,

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factures, and Commerce; and thence from the Revenues each Sovereign is capable of raising, in order to support such Power, it naturally leads us to consider this last Article.

THE Revenues of *France* ordinary and extraordinary, by the account of their own Financiers, including *Lorraine*, do not amount to clear six Millions *per Annum* Sterling, which is not equal to the natural Revenues of *England* alone. They have out of this, first to pay the Interest of seventy five Millions remaining Debt, which at six *per Cent.* amounts to ———— L. 4 500 000

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| The King's Household and Pensions to the Princes of the Blood, &c. | } 1 000 000 |
| To 200,000 Land-forces, at 1s. <i>per Day per Man</i> , including Officers and Contingencies. | } 3 650 000 |
| To Garrisons, Stores, &c. | 1 500 000 |
| To the Registered Militia. | 0 500 000 |
| To 40,000 Seamen, &c. | 1 500 000 |
| To Intendants, Port Charges, and building Ships, and Repairing, &c. | } 0 200 000 |
| To Ambassadors, and Subsidies to Foreign Princes, Spies, &c. | } 2 000 000 |
| | 14 850 000 |
| Clear Revenues. | 6 000 000 |
| Annual Debt created ——— | L. 8 850 000 |

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THIS supposes *France* to keep up a Naval Power equal to *Britain*. It is pretended that the Arbitrary Power of a Sovereign can raise Money as long, as the People have any; and so has no occasion to run in debt: But every Arbitrary Sovereign, on these Occasions, finds himself in a worse Dilemma, than a Free State. A Free State never attempts to take more than they find the Subject can conveniently raise; and what is wanted more, is borrowed on easy Terms; because those that lend are sure that their Money is safe. An Arbitrary Prince is always guarded against; if he squeezes the People too far, he destroys their Trade, and prevents their assisting him farther; they hide their Money; and if he must borrow, as his Faith is no Security, so the Lenders will rise on their Demands for high Interest, well knowing, that as long as the Sovereign is under a necessity of borrowing, he must, for his own sake, pay the Interest, if he never does the Principal. And this is not a mere Conceit of my own; but was the very Case of *Lewis XIV.* and is actually the very Case of *France* at this time; and the Credit of that Kingdom so much the worse at this Juncture, as it has set a very bad Example, in wiping off near 100,000,000 with a Sponge, which never happen'd previous to *Lewis XIV.*'s borrowing. So that taking all things together, *France* is not only in a much worse
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Situation, as to the keeping up a Naval Power, than *Britain*; but than any other Nation in *Europe*, as she has neither Money, nor Credit; but upon such Terms as must ruin her, had she all the Riches of *America* in aid.

THUS it is very plain, that, tho' at the first counting, *France* pays her Soldiers, and maintains her Navy, in proportion, at less Expence than *Britain*; yet considering her greater Number of Land-Forces and Garrisons, and the Increase of her Debts thereby, and the extravagant Interest she must pay for Credit, she in the whole pays much more than *Britain*; and is thereby absolutely incapable of keeping a Naval Power long on foot. It was thus her Naval Power sunk in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*; for *France* then neither wanted Ships, Mariners, or Officers; but she wanted Money to purchase Stores, and Provisions, and to pay the Officers and Men: Besides, they had a lucky Trade in those Days worth all they have now put together, from *St. Maloes* to the South Seas, in which we never attempted to interrupt them; and their Privateers did infinite mischief to our Trade, and took a great Number of rich Prizes, the Benefits whereof *Lewis* employed to the Publick Service, and the *St. Maloes* Trade furnish'd him with several Millions *Sterling*; yet all this

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this together was so far from enabling him to keep up a Naval Power, that at the Conclusion of the Peace, it was as much as he could do to maintain a part of his Army.

If we compare the Circumstances of *France* then, with what they are now, we shall find a vast difference. The Ships were then built, they are now to build: They had then experienc'd Officers, and Men form'd and inur'd to the Service; these are not of a sudden to be had: The Nation at first setting out not in debt; now there is an old Debt of 75,000,000, and more created every day at a very high Interest. How then they will be able to build Ships, and keep them at Sea, on an Equality with *Great Britain*, unless Mr. *Deslandes* has some secret Resources in store, is not possible to be conceiv'd.

HE speaks of the Beauty and Fertility of his Country adjacent to the Ocean, and mentions that of his Neighbours as rocky, wild and barren: Who those Neighbours are, is as difficult to discover, as any of his imaginary Resources: If he means *England* or *Holland*, I may venture to say, that a square Mile of Land in either, is worth three in *France*, and in many Places worth ten.

THUS *France* is to set herself up for a Dictator to *Europe* by Sea and Land, without

out Trade, Cash, Credit, or a Navy; purely upon a fictitious Conceit, that the Sovereign can command all the Subjects have; and that Limited Monarchies are not able to resist him, because a free People will not give their Sovereign every Farthing they have in the World. It happens very unluckily, that this Argument concludes directly on the wrong side; since those, who give what is proper, and preserve what is necessary, will always be in a better Situation, than those who permit all they have to be squander'd away on Schemes of Knight-Errantry, and render themselves thereby absolutely incapable of doing what is quite necessary; such as the keeping on foot a Naval Power, which can alone guard and protect their Commerce, and give them a Figure amongst their Neighbours. This is an Affair, which the *French* in general very well understand; and shew us upon many occasions what they are capable of doing, had they a suitable Government. They are thereby convinced, that an Arbitrary Power is not the best kind of Government to make them great: they are very sensible, that they should be both more rich and powerful under another Form, and I believe never dreamt of what some of our *English* Writers preach, viz. that Absolute Power is the most natural Road to Universal Monarchy; and that because a *French* King can command at home, he is

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to be dreaded abroad. But in the nature of things, the very Reverse of this is true, unless he commands on such Principles, as render it agreeable to his Subjects to obey; and then it's probable he will be attended with suitable Success, which the present visionary Politics of *France* seem not at all to incline to.

THESE and many other things consider'd, induce me to conclude, that there may be other Nations more proper to stand in competition with *France* for Maritime Power and Commerce, than *Britain*; and seem more naturally to challenge a Parallel: The principal of which, I think, is *Denmark*. That Kingdom does not indeed seem to make quite so great a Figure, in so many Places, with her Merchant Ships, as *France* does; but then she trades generally on a better Principle, and has better establish'd native Products, and trades with *France* itself to advantage. The Sovereign is absolute, as in *France*; but not so much in debt. The Navy, he pretends to keep up, he can always support; which is more than *France* can do, nor is *France* able to keep up so good a one. The King of *Denmark's* Government is uniform, and of a piece: The Government of *France* not actuated by the same Maxims a twelve-month together. To-day a Prince of the Blood, to-morrow a Priest, and the next, a private

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private Gentleman rules the Roast. The King of *Denmark* is usually his own Minister; his Subjects Taxes are low, and such as they can conveniently bear; he enters into no Engagements but such as are advantageous, such as enrich both himself and Subjects: *France* never into any, but what tend to their Impoverishment and Destruction. *Denmark* pursues no Conquests, but such as she can with ease and certainty attain, and such as when attain'd give lustre to her Crown, and Strength to her Naval Power and Commerce. *France* is grasping at every thing, and attaining nothing; or if she ever gains any thing, it is by Fraud, and at infinite Expence, and, as long as she can keep it, is a blemish on her Honour; and when oblig'd to part with it again, she is a Loser of double the Value. So that taking all things together, *Denmark* is in a Situation too exalted to be brought in to form a Parallel with *France*.

SWEDEN too has infinitely the advantage of *France* in native Commodities; and, as well as *Denmark*, has such as *France* cannot do without, but can itself do without every Commodity that *France* produces; so has much the advantage of her in that respect. If she sometimes takes Subsidies from *France*, it is purely thereby to enrich herself, and render *France* poorer, who is indeed the common Bubble of the North.

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SWEDEN is in every respect in a better Condition to keep up a Naval Power, than *France*, as she has every thing at home to do it with, and much better Men to man it; and is sufficiently prepar'd, in that respect, for any, she has to contend with. Her Commerce is moderate; but then her Taxes are so too: And if her Gain in that respect be not equal to that of *France*, her Expences are infinitely less; and in the whole is palpably richer, because she is out of debt: And her Faith, if necessary, will always give her Credit at low Interest, which is a Point that *France* with all her affected Grandeur will never be able to attain to in the course of her present Politics. *France* has a happy Climate, but *Sweden*, what is better, a happy Constitution; and her People esteem it better to be warm, well-fed, and clad in a cold Climate, than cold, and hungry, and ragged in a warm one. Her Navy, and such as she can honestly maintain, is much superior to any thing of the kind, *France* can pretend to.

THUS it is obvious, that whilst *France* has the Presumption to contend with *Britain*, for an Equality of Power in an Article, that *Britain* alone can support with any kind of Eclat, she is out-done, in that very Article, by every petty Monarchy in *Europe*:

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rope: And is so far from being in a State of Glare and Lustre, that she only needs be attack'd at home, to convince the World, of how little significance that Kingdom is, the Basis of whose Power is a Dream, and the great Opinion, the World has of her, erected by her own Gascoignades.

I AM now to shew the present State of *Great Britain*. All her Revenues, except the Land and Window Tax, are rais'd upon the worst Principle imaginable, as being laid on Merchandize and vendible Commodities; by which means the Duties really paid by the Consumer amount to three times the real Revenue, which I conceive to be much the same, as in *France*, viz. about six Millions. The great Number of Commodities on which they are rais'd, and the Variation of one Year from another, render this Affair a little too perplex'd to reduce it to an absolute Certainty, tho' I were to enumerate all the Commodities, and their attendant Rates: But this I am very clear in, and have proved it in another place, that if the Revenues be six Millions, the People pay eighteen Millions, and that without being impoverish'd. Therefore if the Nature of these Taxes were alter'd, the Revenues would be eighteen Millions, and the People in no worse Situation than now. On the other hand, if *France* does but attempt to raise
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nine Millions, the People complain of being ruin'd.

THIS, tho' it expresses our ill Judgment in the manner of raising the Revenues, yet it shews at the same time, *France* cannot regularly raise half the Money that *Great Britain* actually does. But taking things as they are under the present bad Management, which can't of a sudden be remedy'd, it will appear, that we have no need to raise so much as *France*.

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| The Interest of our public Debts amounts to ———— | } 1. 2 000 000 |
| 40,000 Seamen including Stores, &c. | } 2 080 000 |
| 40,000 Land-Forces and Contingencies. | } 1 200 000 |
| Ordinary of the Navy. | 0 120 000 |
| Guards and Garrisons. | 0 500 000 |
| Subsidies and extra Charges. | 0 600 000 |
| Civil List. | 0 800 000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total Expences | L. 7 300 000 |

Which is almost eight Millions less, than *France* is oblig'd to raise; if she will carry on a Land War, in the manner she now does, and will at the same time attempt to equal us at Sea: And as she must pay as much Interest for borrowing of one Million, as we do for two, how it is possible for
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her to carry on such a War, is infinitely beyond my Comprehension.

HER Contrivance to cut us off from a Trade with *Spain* will not avail her much; since we yet carry it on in some measure, and she cannot now trade with them to much more advantage, than before; and in many respects not to so much. We have seen above, that she cannot take off the native Products of *Spain*, nor can *Spain* now come at Cash, to pay the Returns. We can yet trade through *Holland*, *Portugal*, and *Puerto Bello* in a better manner, than she can trade to the open Ports in *Spain*: And if *France* is suffer'd to trade to the South Seas, the Commerce of *Sevil* must be ruin'd.

FRANCE has entirely lost her Commerce with the *Austrian* Dominions, which was of as much importance to her, as any Trade she had; and what she has acquir'd in lieu thereof, does not any where appear. In the whole, this War may, and does, hurt us; but not any way adequate to the Mischief it does to those, who were the Authors of it, and who instead of being able to rival us on the Ocean, can never be long able to support it by Land.

THE *French* can and must bear a good deal more than we, who are naturally a very impatient

impatient People; but Patience itself is one of those Virtues, which never subsists long under extreme Necessity. A Sovereign may have all the Power, his Heart can wish, and his People be as dutiful, as the Nature of Man can admit of; yet their being too deeply distress'd, may naturally enough change their Dispositions; and when once this comes to be the Case, the very Being of Arbitrary Power immediately ceases to exist; for it is only supported by the Patience and Mean-Spiritedness of the People: And consequently, as the real Power always rests in the Body of the People, whenever their Patience fails, their Spirits rise, and they immediately assume that Power, which by Nature they are absolutely intitled to. All Power is delegated into particular Hands, for the Good of the Community; and whenever it happens to be sensibly felt, that this End is not pursued, the Obligation itself ceases, and the People resume their natural Rights.

To presume a Sovereign can prosecute long a ruinous War, because he is absolute, is at best but presuming, that it is in his power to ruin himself, and his Country; but how this can give him influence amongst his Neighbours, or render him of more importance, than if he made his People rich and happy, is a Solecism in common Sense, which I wish some of our *English* Writers,

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who are terrify'd at, and argue for the Imaginary Power and Influence of *France*, would give us some Rule to judge better of. Now that this must soon be the Case of *France*, to me seems very obvious, as it must do to all Mankind, if they believe themselves, when they say, That *Great Britain* must naturally sink under the Weight of her present and accumulating Debts. But then what must *France* do, who now pays above twice as much Interest, as *Britain*, and accumulates fourfold; and has not half the Riches and natural Resources of *Britain*, to her Aid.

THERE are thousands who think, that *France* has wiped off all her Debts; and from thence conclude, that what she has done, she may always do: However, the Fact is not only false, but the Conclusion ridiculous. What *France* has done in this respect, has injur'd her Credit more, than what all the Money amounted to, and obliges her to pay such extravagant Interest, as that, if a Debt continues any considerable Time unpaid, and at last the Principal is wiped off, the Lenders may be sufficient Gainers. Many there were in the last War, who thro' by this Method, tho' Numbers were ruin'd by it; at the Conclusion whereof *Great Britain*, and *France*, made a very different Appearance. *France* had ruin'd her

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her Navy, and laid the Remains of it up to rot, as being unable to employ them: Her Commerce was sunk to nothing; and her Revenues not four Millions, which would not pay one third part of the Interest on her Debts.

ON the contrary, the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, her Commerce, and Revenues were all improv'd; yet at the beginning of that War, *France* made a much more, *Britain* a much less, illustrious Figure, than either do at present: And this the very Nature and Reason of things, consider'd with what I have said before, will render very apparent.

IT has been much the common Talk, that *Britain* has no Allies: From whence these Reasoners conclude, that *France* has got the Direction of all *Europe* into her own hands, and consequently can act as she pleases. It must indeed be allowed, that the *French* seem ambitious to have all the World think thus: For to this purpose they raise Armies, and pay extravagant Subsidies: But after murdering fifty thousand Men in one Campaign, and running themselves seven or eight Millions in debt, they find all their important Acquisitions to centre in a gradual Progress towards Destruction; and in piquing themselves on their Alliances,

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and I know not what imaginary Conceit of directing the Affairs of *Europe*, they can meet with nothing but Disappointment and Poverty. This is, at best, but like a Madman's acting the Monarch in *Bedlam*, and perishing in the Conceit of a thing, that will ever keep him in the same Condition.

It was thus the *French* ran about directing *Europe* for half a Century, fighting and making Alliances; till, after having murder'd one Part of the People, banish'd another, ruin'd all the rest, and got above one hundred and seventy Millions *Sterling* in debt, they were content at last to beg a Peace, and leave this darling Power of directing in the hands of those, who understood the Meaning and Use of it to be, the universal Good and Welfare of Mankind.

At length *Lewis* vanish'd, and this evil Spirit, by the Virtue of a Prince Regent, was conjur'd down into one of the Fountains of *Versailles*; to remain for a time drench'd in the cool Stream, the solitary Comrade of immoveable Statues, till rais'd again by the Art of a Cardinal, and let loose to plague the World.

THENCEFORWARD, not only the Cabinets and Courts of Princes; but the Coffee-houses,

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houses, and Places of public Resort, became haunted with this Phantom, who under the Character of *Monsieur Balance*, like *Hamlet's* Ghost, was here, there, every where, and no where. The *British* Politicians insisted he was at *Paris*; while the *French* Connoisseurs persisted as strongly in his being at *London*: But the Cardinal, who was best sensible where he had sent him, knew him to be alternately at *Madrid*, *Berlin*, and *Stockholm*, acting the Part of an Incendiary, and contriving to set *Europe* in a flame: And to support him in these laudable Endeavours, one Mr. *Deslandes* was spirited up, to convince the World of the Insignificance of the Maritime Power and Commerce of *Great Britain*, when set in competition with that of *France*. And it is affirmed by some who were in the Cardinal's Secrets, that the evil Spirit sometimes took a Trip invisible to *Britain*; and only shew'd himself in all his frightful Forms, and horrid Appearances, to a certain Minister and his Colleagues, and had such a terrible Effect on their Fancies, that a Rumour immediately spread of an Invasion from *France*.

MONSIEUR BALANCE now began to be in some repute in the World, and enter'd upon his Province of weighing the respective Powers of *Europe*: He pois'd *Sweden* against *Russia*,

Russia, Prussia against *Hungary*, and *Spain* against *England*; and made *France* the Arbitrator of the Balance, who being prejudiced, gave his Opinion partially: But, contrary to all that was blaz'd about in favour of this Arbitration, it prov'd at length, that the Imagination of a Priest was not the best Principle for *Princes* to act upon; the Scale, when it was fairly pois'd, operated in a direct Contrast to what *Monsieur* had given out: *Russia* out-pois'd *Sweden, Hungary Prussia*, and *England Spain*. The *British* Fleet, notwithstanding all *Mr. Deslandes's* Predictions, reign'd triumphant on the Ocean; and *France* got well bang'd in more Places than one, for her partial Arbitration.

FRANCE now pretends, that she never design'd either an Invasion, or to vie with us in Maritime Power, for the present; but only to rob us of our Commerce by degrees, and then to try what she could do with our Fleet. In order whereto, she has found means to render her commercial Affairs more easy in their universal Operations, by preventing those, concern'd in Trade, from losing their Time, or neglecting their Business, in endless and perplext Law-Suits; and by removing, as much as possible, all kind of Obstructions to their laudable Pursuits, for the public Utility; well knowing that it must give them a great Advantage over the *British* Merchants, a great part of whose time is spent

spent in *Westminster-Hall* a cavilling about Trifles, and spending that Wealth upon a Jargon of Words, which should be employ'd to the Benefit of their Country; and the little time they have to spare, from their Attendance on the Lawyers, is to be employ'd in taking Oaths at the Custom House, which being fram'd so contrary to a Possibility of being conform'd to, are broke the instant they are taken.

COMMERCE, my Lord, is of that kind of Plants, that cannot rise and flourish on the same Bed with such other, as by Nature it has an Antipathy to; but bends its head the contrary way, as not caring to be embrac'd by what it loaths. It is certain, that Commerce cannot bear a greater Antipathy to any thing, than to Interruption; and this can be caused by nothing so much as by the tedious Delays and Perplexities of the Law, which is Literal and not Literal: It is Custom and not Custom, Equity and not Equity; in a word, it is this, that, any thing, or nothing, as the Practisers display, and the Pleaders jargonise it: It is one continued Contradiction and Uncertainty, and naturally enough disorders, and interrupts that beautiful methodis'd Harmony, which is the Life and Soul of a well-established Trade; whose Spirit and Influence evaporates and wears away, as she is interrupted or play'd the fool with.

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An easy, cheap and speedy Way of recovering a Right, or adjusting a Difference is what all Mankind are intitled to in common; but those more especially, whose very Being depends upon Dispatch. The Law, to be sure, in its present State, operates very differently, according to the Course of Life or Business, which the respective Individuals pursue. A mere Man of Fortune, a Courtier, or Officer in the Army, may, with the Assistance of a happy Turn of Mind, render the most perplex'd and litigious Law-Suit, a Diversion; nay, I am not certain, but such a Scheme for employing their vacant time, may turn infinitely to their Emolument; as it may be the means of teaching them a Trade, they would otherwise never have dreamt of learning; and to attain which, many Men of good found Parts wear out the best part of their Time, Health and Spirits, and read, note, and digest as many Volumes, as would have half furnish'd the famous *Alexandrian* Library, which took up some Months in burning. Your Lordship is as sensible as any Man living, that all Improvements of our Understandings in the Knowledge of Art and Science are generally beneficial, and can't fail in some sence or other of turning to account: Notwithstanding which, it is never the less certainly true, that what may be Sport

Sport and Edification to the above Gentlemen, to People turn'd to Maritime Affairs, to Trade, and Commerce, must be Misery, Destruction and Death: Since so much Time lost, so much Attendance and Vexation must necessarily make them quite sick, both of the Law, and their own Affairs; which must consequently drive every one out of Business, that can possibly live without it: And moreover, it will be apt to give their Heads a wrong Turn, and inspire them with a Tendency to Perplexity and Confusion, the fatal Adversaries of Trade and Industry.

THIS duely consider'd, how necessary will it appear that relief be sought after, in favour of those Branches of the Community, on whose Peace and Prosperity all the rest absolutely depend. In this respect, our good Neighbours the *French* rise superior in their Politics, and have set us an Example, I conceive, not to be contemn'd, by constituting Commercial Courts; and thereby excusing this part of the Community, who have something better to mind, from losing their time in attending the ordinary Courts of Justice. It surely could not be amiss, if we had in *England*, for this special Purpose, a Sett of concise Laws, Commercial Courts and summary Proceedings. I dare say, all the Laws necessary to this purpose may be

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compris'd in a small Octavo Volume; and if the Lawyers have no hand in compiling them, it may be never the worse; for then they may be readily understood by the Members of the meanest Corporations, and be accordingly comply'd with. To which good end, however it may break in upon the regular Course of my Essay, I beg leave to propose the following Hints, as the Basis of so useful and illustrious a Structure.

LET the Corporation of the City of *London* form a Body of Commercial Laws.

LET them be communicated to every principal trading Town in *Great Britain*, and when their Approbation is obtain'd,

LET the same be brought into Parliament, to be consider'd and enacted into a Law.

LET every County have a Court of Commerce erected in its principal, and every other trading Town; the lesser Appealing, when necessary, to the Greater.

LET such Courts be compos'd of the incorporated Power, or if none, of the principal Traders, elected by a Majority of the People in Trade.

THEIR Power ought to be enforced by Distress infinite; and no Person to be imprison'd

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son'd, but where he refuses to perform a Decree, to the utmost of his Abilities, or for plain Frauds, or disorderly Behaviour: And in all Cases for a time limited.—I presume it's needless to say more on this Head: If such a Scheme can be executed, I have laid a sufficient Foundation, and, I dare say, there are Heads and Hearts enough in the Nation able and willing to mature it; if not, I have said enough to no purpose. Your Lordship's Influence and Inclination may both contribute to so eligible a Design, and you can't want Assistance in prosecuting it to effect: The difference it would make in the Revenue might be easily balanced, and the good it would produce, be to your eternal Honour.

THOSE who talk of every Amendment being a Breach in the Constitution, may as well say a sick Man is not to be cured, but rather suffer'd to die neglected. Such Language becomes only a Sett of Writers, for whom I know not a name bad enough, or if I did, would not blemish an Address to your Lordship by fixing on Individuals indelible Marks of Infamy. Our Constitution, when first form'd, knew nothing of either the Nature or Name of Commerce. We were then only a bold fighting People; but had even then lower Courts constituted in the respective Counties, to answer all the necessary good

good Ends of the Times, which would be very useful now, and which for flagrant Reasons, are discountenanced and neglected. While they operated properly, the Oppressions of the present Times were not known: However, were they even encouraged again, they would, in no sense, answer the Ends of commercial Affairs; because such would not be understood in them; as indeed they rarely are in our higher Courts: And this is the Means of creating infinite Inconveniencies in Maritime and Commercial Matters.

COMMERCE, to act as it ought, should have but one Head, Hand, and Heart, and those fix'd in the United Body of the Government and People. Mr. *De Witt*, a Person well known in both the Literary and Political World, remarks, that tho' they found it very difficult to overreach the *English* Merchants, yet they had none on that account with the Court. He liv'd and wrote in a Time, when *English* Princes had something else in their heads, besides Trade, and the Welfare of the Community. His Inference is in general very just, when he observes, that a Commonwealth has a great Advantage over a Monarchy in point of Commerce, the Rulers of a Commonwealth being themselves generally Traders; a Prince and his Court usually of a quite contrary Turn: They are generally

rally so bred up and accustom'd to Pomp, Parade, and Pleasure, as must naturally enough divert them from attending to Schemes for the Encouragement of laudable Industry. By this means it generally happens, that not only Trade is better attended to in Commonwealths, but domestic Magistracy also; tho', at the same time, nothing is more obvious, than that the richer the People are, and the better they are govern'd, the Prince is more illustrious and regarded: And altho' this be very evident, and tho' few Princes are so defective in Penetration, as not to discern it, yet it too often happens, in many Monarchies, that those who surround, and as it were imprison the Prince, have their Hearts so ardently set on making opulent Fortunes of a sudden, that they will rather prosecute any immediate Scheme tending to that end, tho' it be to the Ruin of both their Sovereign and Country, than be content, by coinciding with the general Good of the Community, to raise a moderate Fortune in a fair and gradual manner. This, it must be confess'd, has been the Case sometimes in this Nation; that when a Bill has been brought into Parliament, for the Encouragement of Commerce, or the promoting some good Law for the Benefit of the Community, the Question has not been about what Good it would produce, or what beneficial End it would answer,
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for the Welfare of the Nation; but how many Excise or Custom-house Officers it would create; how much improve the Royal Revenue, and how it would contribute to feather their own Nests: as if the Good of the People entirely depended on the Fooleries of a Court, or the Magnificence of Parasites. *France* has labour'd generally under such Politics; yet now and then has deviated from them with an Address, that would have been an Honour to some of her Neighbours to have imitated.

I HAVE known, even in the City of *London*, a Man of good Fashion travelling about from Coffee-house to Coffee-house, in order to prove that the *English* have too much Trade, and that it would be better if they had less; and has stated his Proposition, or rather his Paradox, dependent on such a Variety of Particulars, as were generally understood by few; and, by those well vers'd, too prolix to be decided in a Day's Dispute: So that what with the Uncommonness of the Problem, and its affected Prolixity, the Hero generally mov'd off-unconvicted, to his great Honour, and the Emolument of his Hearers. The truth is, that a Man of this Turn has generally much the Advantage of his Adversaries, he being prepar'd with a good Stock of Particulars, and Master of a Fund of common-place Arguments:

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Arguments. His Adversaries not only unguarded and unprepar'd; but generally unacquainted with the Matter in Argument, or their Heads more usefully employed about their own Business.

As odd, or as improbable a Character, as this Gentleman appear'd in, such a one there really was, and is still subsisting in public; and many such there are in private, who bend their whole Thoughts to discredit Commerce, and to reduce us into the Situation of the Highland Clans; where the only Distinction is *Laird* and *Vassal*. If Attempts of this nature could be render'd criminal in the Eye of the Law as they are of common Sense; and I had the Direction of the Punishment, it should be to banish them to *Amsterdam* for Life; where they should be eternally tormented with the Plague, Noise, and Hurry of Business, and would have nothing rung in their Ears, but the various Regards to Commerce, with all their attendant Horrors. This would be something like the poetical Punishment in *Virgil*,—*Æn. VI.*

—*Lucent Genialibus Altis*

Aurea fulcra toris, &c.

They lie below, on golden Beds display'd.

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ENGLAND,

ENGLAND, for six hundred Years past, has shar'd Trade in common with her Neighbours; and barter'd with Strangers her own Products in distant Times farther than our Histories can recount with any Certainty: but where-ever History furnishes us with any certain Knowledge of our Commerce, the same History delivers down to us an Account of the various Interruptions it has met with from Courtiers and Fox-hunters; until the ever-memorable Reign of *Elizabeth* gave a check to their impenetrable Ignorance, and forc'd them, in spite of Nature, to put on the external Behaviour of rational Creatures, and concur in the beneficial Pursuits of a wise and discerning Princess, and of those two Immortal Men, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*. Here *Britain* shone in her native Sphere with true Spirit and Dignity; tho' but for one Reign.

HER Successor brought in with him, from the North, (with Witches, and other superstitious Fooleries) a Relish for Vassalage and Poverty; and again reviv'd that Spirit of Ignorance and Darkness, which had been in a great measure conjur'd down, or banished in the preceding Reign. He was call'd the *Solomon* of the Age, for the same Reason, that the *Pope* is call'd the Vicar or Vicegerent of *Jesus Christ*, one would imagine

imagine by way of Irony, as acting in a direct Contrast. *Solomon* encouraged Commerce, enriched his Dominions, and, according to the way of speaking in the East, pay'd his Metropolis with Gold. *James* suffer'd us to be robb'd of the then best Branches of our Commerce, by a People, who but a little before would have thought it an Honour to have been our Subjects. *Raleigh* was murther'd, and every other Act done, that might contribute to revive the Reign of Ignorance and Poverty; when instead of the Comforts and Delights of Life, and instead of sound Learning and extensive Knowledge, we were to rejoice in Rags, and to be glorious and ennobled on the Credit of Puns and Conundrums. Fox-hunting Principles now shone in full Vigour, and nothing so much discours'd of, as the Landed Interest, and the Folly of Trade, which only made People rich and impertinent, and prevented them paying due Adoration to the Moon in its Wain: Respect to Superiors got the better of Wealth and Wisdom; and Pedantry, Superstition, and Nonsense, reign'd triumphant.

IN those Days was born the Soul and Genius of Commerce in *France*: One, who in the course of his Education, became a Priest; to convince the World, that where

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Wisdom dwells in the Mind of Man, it is not to be rooted out by the worst of Prejudices. His superior Understanding instructed him early in the glorious Advantages of Commerce, *viz.* that it must be the Basis of a Royal Navy, and of the Riches and Welfare of the Community. His penetrating Genius discover'd, that the Magnificence of his Sovereign, the Improvement of Lands, the Dignity, Lustre and Influence of the State, as well as his own Grandeur, all depended on the judicious Pursuit of this Point, which increasing on a warm Imagination, render'd him quite Romantic; for after having pursued every rational Measure that might conduce to this important End, he propos'd, as Mr. *Deslandes* says, to have form'd a Company for the promoting of Commerce, under the Title of, *La Nacelle de Saint Pierre Fleur-de-liffée*, i. e. *The Bark of St. Peter Flower-deluced*. This was to have directed the whole Commerce of the Nation, and, contrary to the natural Genius of the *French*, as well as of some *English*, the Nobility were in no sense to be disparag'd by acting in a mercantile Character. Mr. *Deslandes*, amongst many Thoughts sufficiently wild and bombast, makes this judicious Reflection, *viz.* " Is it
 " not indeed extraordinary, that the Arts of
 " destroying Men's Lives should ennoble,
 " and that This of preserving them, of pro-
 " curing

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" curing the Necessaries, the Conveniencies,
 " and even the Delights of Life, should be
 " thought a Debasement?"

IN those times the Spirit of Opposition, tho' differently actuated, alike possess'd both Nations. The Genius of the People of *France*, buried and absorpt in Indolence, oppos'd the happy enterprising Genius of the *French* Ministry, but were over-power'd by a steady pursuit of laudable Industry, which gradually improv'd and triumph'd. The Court of *Great Britain* us'd every Art to perplex, distress, and lessen Commerce, with a Spirit of Infatuation wholly new and unprecedented: But the People, who had so lately tasted the Sweets of different Measures, were not to be punn'd out of their Trade. They still push'd it on, and in despite of the Court, and of all its Arts and Oppositions, improv'd in Wealth and Opulence; and thereby enabled themselves to act on the Principles of rational Creatures, and laugh at all Attempts on their Liberties, through the Course of two Reigns. In the middle of the latter, amongst many more, one Great Man arose, and shone the Prince and Patron of Maritime Power and Commerce, who convinc'd the World, that the *English* needed only a proper Head to be rever'd; and known and regarded amongst their Neighbours, in a Light and Figure equal

equal to the most illustrious of the Ancients. During this little space, we were neither robb'd by the *Dutch*, duped by the *Spaniard*, nor bubbled by the *French*: And notwithstanding intestine Divisions, and such numerous Armies, as would have ruin'd any other Country, less ably manag'd; yet the Spirit of Commerce surmounted all these Difficulties, and render'd us prosperous and wealthy.

ANOTHER kind of Government succeeded, which pursued very different Measures: Our Honour was laid in the Dust: We were thrown down, as from a lofty Precipice, and render'd as contemptible, as bad Government could make us: We were not only beat by the *Dutch*, insulted in our own Harbours, and bubbled by all our Neighbours; but reduced so low, as to become Pensioners to *France*; while the Court and Ministry made the most brilliant Appearance, and spent their whole Time and Thoughts in Revelling and Gaiety. All our Schemes of Politics, such as they were, were regulated, and pursued under the Direction of Whores, Jack-Puddings, and Popish Priests: A blessed time for *France!* who then form'd a Balance of Trade against us of several Millions annually. However, innate Industry, and a natural Thirst after Commerce, supported us through it all; until our honest

honest Neighbours the *Dutch*, in order to make us some kind of Reparation for former Injuries, and to shew it was possible for them to be grateful, join'd to their own Interest, the Effects of an unaccountable Marriage, and their wanting to get rid of a Master, contributed to help us out of this terrible Dilemma, and put us in a Condition once more to resume our former Dignity and Lustre.

THE Revolution put a full stop to the Career of enriching *France*, by raising the Duties in *England* very high on some of their Commodities, and prohibiting others; so that the Balance of Trade, which had been some Millions Annually in favour of *France*, in the preceding Reigns, came now to be reduced under one Million. This continued till the War, which caused a general Prohibition, and lost to *France* the finest Trade she could possibly ever have, or can ever have again.

ON the signing of the Treaty of *Reyswick*, the Commerce between the two Nations open'd again; but it neither held long, nor enjoy'd many of its previous Advantages in favour of *France*. A War succeeding, join'd to the Effects of the famous Edict of *Nantz*, lower'd the Power of *France* sufficiently, not only by losing her the best Trade she

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she had ; but also by her having driven away her own Manufacturers, and thereby obliged them to employ their Talents in favour of her Enemies. By these means, her inland Trade and Manufactures sunk almost to nothing, while the same rose, and flourish'd in *England*, *Holland*, and at *Geneva*. The Riches which *France* had acquir'd in the preceding Times, render'd the ill Effects of her bad Counsels, undiscern'd for a time ; but a ten Years War convinced her fully of the fatal Consequences : for it had not only the bad Effect of destroying her inland Trade ; but her Maritime Power also ; ruining the Merchants and Manufacturers, and consequently all that depended upon them. And accordingly she was, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in a very deplorable State, unable to raise Taxes, and the Government besides upwards of 170,000,000 *l.* Sterling in debt, at a high Interest. On the contrary, *England* found herself, at the making of the said Treaty, both as to her Manufactures, and Commerce, in a much better Situation, than at the Commencement of the War. Indeed the Government, to avoid loading the Subject too much, had got 50,000,000 *l.* in debt ; some part of which has been since annihilated, and the Interest in general very much lower'd. *France* to be, as much as possible, on an equality with us in that respect, pursued a Method, I have mention'd before,

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before, of entirely annihilating one hundred Millions with the stroke of a Pen. But in consequence of reducing her Debts by this infamous Method, she has lost her Credit for ever.

THE long Peace since has furnish'd her with means of recovering herself, in some measure ; and by the Necessity she was under of throwing all her Trade, by the Loss of her staple Manufactures, into her Maritime Towns, revived the Spirit of Commerce, and inspir'd it with new Life and Vigour ; but has not been able to raise it to any thing near the Height it was, at the Commencement of the last War. The Trade with *England* still is one of the best she has ; but by this it is impossible for her to gain 200,000 *l.* a Year, which on the Commencement of another War, must be again entirely lost to her.

IT is impossible for her by any means to retrieve the glorious Situation she was in at the Revolution, or even at the Commencement of the last War ; and consequently can never again be in the like Condition for carrying on a long and expensive Contest : Her Navy is all to build ; the old Ships, she can now fit out, with those she forces from the Merchants, not only cannot last long ; but must likewise prejudice her Commerce, in proportion, as they raise her Navy.

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ON the contrary, the raising the Navy of *England*, suppose it should be necessary to increase it, will rather protect and improve the *British* Commerce; and the Expence thereof is so far from hurting *England*, that it is not only done with the utmost Facility, but always contributed to with infinite Pleasure and Satisfaction. The *English* glory in it, and are determin'd to support it, not only because it gives Dignity to the State, and supports our Commerce; but even upon Principles of imaginary Honour.

How therefore, considering all things, by this plain Method of Reasoning, *France* is in any sense able to make a Figure in Maritime Affairs, in competition with *Great Britain*, is left to be made out, by such of our Countrymen, or others, as are terrify'd at, or prejudiced in favour of, the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, which I shall now treat of, in another light. The Thirst of acquiring Universal Monarchy, has been the Foundation of all the Disputes about Wealth and Power; which Nation is the most wealthy and powerful, has always been the Question? From whence we may conclude it is an establish'd Maxim, That Wealth is the Basis of Power; and, I believe it will be easily allow'd, that Wealth is no way to
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be acquir'd, but by Commerce; and Commerce no way to be establish'd and ascertain'd, but under the Conduct, and Protection, of a naval Force.

THAT Nation therefore, which regularly and constantly supports the most powerful Navy, bids fairest for Universal Monarchy. Those People, whose Imaginations are fill'd with the Visionary Power of *France*, and are sensible, at the same time, that her Bottom will not regularly support a Navy, if she could readily raise one, form in her favour wild and indigested Schemes of Conquests, in order to create a Naval Power, and enable her to maintain it. In order to this, they give her able Statesmen, wise and experienced Generals, and invincible Armies. With these she is first to destroy the House of *Austria*, conquer all her Dominions, and then easily enough to make herself Mistress of the *United Provinces*: And consequently of a Navy, with suitable Wealth to support it. Such Persons as these, like true Projectors, only see one side of the Question, and That perhaps infinitely the worst; and have revolved it in their Minds so long, as to establish its Veracity, and make it impossible ever afterwards to be eradicated. But as many Men may yet remain unprepossess'd, and their Minds open, free, and unprejudiced by whimsical, dogmatic Systems, I
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shall beg leave to shew the other side of the Question.

SUPPOSE then (for Supposition can hurt nobody) that it should happen quite contrary; that the *French* instead of beating, should be themselves beat; and instead of swallowing up the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, and conquering the *United Provinces*, they should themselves be reduced to such a State, as with difficulty to defend their own Frontiers. Suppose farther, that the *English* and *Dutch* were resolved to destroy the *French* Commerce, and thereby cut them off from all the means of supporting an Army, or almost subsisting at any rate, which of those Powers would bid fairest for Universal Monarchy? I think it plainly apparent, that Monsieur would have but a faint Prospect of such a thing. In truth, considering the Numbers of People now in *Europe*, the Multitude of garrison'd and well-fortify'd Towns, and the Excellency, to which the Art of War is arrived, and equally understood by all Nations, the making wide and extensive Conquests now-a-days seems to exist only in the theoretic Imaginations of Cabinet Projectors; and it is very plain, to my Apprehension, that, tho' 'tis possible to attain the essential Benefits of Universal Monarchy; yet is the conquering of the Countries quite impracticable.

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ONE of the most essential Benefits of Universal Monarchy, I take to be the Power of directing Commerce, in such a manner as to make the chief Advantages arising therefrom, center where the chief Direction operates: And such Power is only to be either acquir'd or supported by judicious Measures, and a superior Navy, capable of directing every Commercial Operation. This is certainly too much for any Nation to undertake, and carries with it at best, higher Notions of Power than of Justice; since all our Fellow-Creatures, whether of the same Country or not, have an equal right to make the best honest Advantages, they can, of their Skill and Industry; and 'tis equally unjust, whether such Arbitrary Power be practis'd by the Sovereign over his Subjects, or by one Nation over another.

THE *English* have a natural Aversion to such Measures in any shape; yet Necessity, and the troublesome Pertinacity of some of their Neighbours may, in a course of time, oblige them to act in direct opposition to their natural Inclinations: Since, if the Choice must be, whether we must either reduce a Neighbour within narrow Bounds, or suffer ourselves to be put to an endless Expence, and be eternally plagued and perplexed by him, it admits of no Alternative;

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for altho' we would not willingly render other People miserable, yet it is better to do it than to become so ourselves. The way to effect it to purpose, is to assist their Adversaries on the Continent with Money, and in the mean time to act vigorously at Sea ourselves. To this end we have at least this present Advantage: We have many more, and much better Ships of War, ready to be employ'd on all Emergencies, than both *France* and *Spain* put together, and want neither Money nor Materials to fit them all for Action: All we want is only the remedying of some Defects, and a little more Judgment in their general Use and Application, to render us really what we now only affect to be, *Masters of the Ocean*. I have mention'd and expos'd those Defects in the foregoing Pages, and particularly that most important one, *viz.* the want of a more easy, honourable, and speedy Way of manning the Royal Navy. I shall therefore now beg Leave to shew what I think the most honest and natural Means to that End.

I HAVE been told, that in the Reign of the late King *William*, a Law was made for the registering of Seamen, which, had it continu'd in force, and been in every respect comply'd with, would, as 'tis said, have answer'd, in a great measure, the good Intention

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Intention of the Legislature; but as Money was to be paid, when Service was not necessary, and the Exigencies of the State would not permit it, the Scheme was stifled almost in its Birth, and is now probably overlook'd and forgot.

THERE have been since several Proposals to answer the same great and good End. Some have been disliked by the People, some by the Ministry, and some perhaps rejected, for want of Influence in the Proposer; and some, it may be, for Reasons not quite so proper to mention. In a word, many have been thought of; but none, as yet, how necessary soever, enacted into a Law. What the Fate of mine will be, I won't pretend to divine; but if it contributes, in any sense, to the End propos'd, I shall think my Time well employed in digesting it.

A SCHEME for the more easy and speedy Manning of the Royal Navy.

LET a particular Registry for Seamen be establish'd in every Sea-port Town, under the Dominion of *Great Britain*, in the Office of the Collector of the Customs, and Copies thereof return'd to the Navy-Board, and to the respective Commissioners of *Chatham*, *Portsmouth*, and *Plymouth*.

LET

LET the Power of those respective Commissioners be divided into three Departments. To *Chatham* annex all the Coast Eastward and Northward from *Portsmouth* to the Isles of *Orkney*. To *Portsmouth* all the Coast Westward to the Land's-end (*Plymouth* Harbour excepted) and thence all round *Ireland*. To *Plymouth*, all the Coast of *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, including the Islands from the Land's-end, to the Extremity of *Scotland* on the western Side.

LET every registred Seaman, tho' he never serv'd in the Navy, who gets any Hurt or Damage, or grows old in the Service of the Merchants, be entitled to all the Benefits of Seamen serving in the Navy, provided his Non-service be not through any Neglect, or wilful Avoidance, and that he contributes out of his monthly Wages, as the Seamen in actual Service do, to the Chest of *Chatham*.

LET those who have serv'd the Merchants with Reputation in Stations above common Seamen, and, being registred, are commanded to serve in the Navy, be employ'd there suitably to the Stations they before serv'd in.

LET no Seaman be obliged to serve above a certain Number of Years, the *Quantum* to be establish'd.

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LET a proper Officer from the Navy-Office, at the Meeting of every Parliament, attend the House of Commons, with the general Register, and deliver in his Demands of the Number of Seamen wanted for the Service of the ensuing Year; and let a Committee be appointed to strike the Number, which every Port shall furnish in a Course of regular Rotation, or by Lot, in the Presence of the appointed Officer, the Batchelors first, except such as have already serv'd, and such married Men who have not serv'd: But let the Method be absolutely settled by Authority.

LET the said Officer be empower'd to pay their travelling Charges, or provide them Vessels and Provisions to carry them to their respective Departments; and when they arrive on board such Ships, as the Commissioner shall direct, let him pay them one Month's Wages *gratis*.

LET no Man be beat, abus'd, or punish'd; but as such a Counsel of Officers shall direct, as may be constituted by Law for that Purpose: A severe Penalty must be laid on the Aggressor.

LET every registred Seaman, who secretes himself when lawfully commanded on Service, be punish'd as the Act shall direct.

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LET every Master of a Merchant-ship, in each respective Port, before he sails on a foreign or coasting Voyage, enter his Men with the Port-Officer, their Names, Places of Abode (if not of that Port,) the Stations they serve in, and their respective Wages. Of this the Master must sign a Duplicate with the Officer, and produce it to the Officer of any other Port, who shall have Power to oblige such Master to pay his Men their Wages according to Contract, and on refusal to imprison him, and seize the Ship, till Satisfaction be made, at any delivering Port, or as may be contracted for between them. And if the Master pretends to have lost his Duplicate, or is wanting of his Men, let him be secur'd, till the said Port-Officer be fully satisfied of his Integrity.

LET all Watermen, Fishermen, Lighter and Barge-Men, or such as sail in Hoys, Smacks, or any other Vessel, who are upwards of eighteen, and under fifty Years of Age, be registred in their respective Ports, Harbours, or Rivers.

LET a regular Rotation be pursu'd, as near as possible.

I THINK it might be quite proper to let the Men have three Months, or other suitable

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able Liberty, according to the Emergencies of the Service, at the Conclusion of a Voyage; but above all, their Health and Welfare should be duly taken care of, and attended to. And in Cases of Injustice, where through Favour or Affection to others, any Man finds himself injur'd in any respect, either in his Person, by serving out of his Turn, or the like, let him appeal to——

IT would likewise be of the last Importance to have a certain Number of inland People inrolled, under certain Restrictions; and so far prepar'd, for the Use of the Navy, as to be well disciplined to small Arms. There are many ways to engage, even Volunteers, in such a Register, which would render a Scarcity of Seamen in War-time much less inconvenient. What frightens the common People from more naturally engaging in such Service, is the Folly and Brutality of our Officers, more especially those of the Rank of Boatswains. 'Tis plain, that the Pay is more, including Provisions, &c. than is usual for the common People to earn, more especially in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but they hear so many bad things said of the Conduct of Naval Officers, as quite terrify and scare them from the Service.

I AM apprehensive, we could very badly spare People from Husbandry, especially in

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the Maritime Counties, which are sufficiently drain'd already, either by the People's going to Sea, or Fishing, or Smuggling: However I conceive it not very difficult to find, in many other Parts of the King's Dominions, a sufficient Number to answer the Purpose of the Navy on all Emergencies; when once they are certain of being humanely treated. The want of a proper Regard to this, frightens away the Seamen indeed as well as Land-men; more especially those who frequent the Northern Trade, and are unaccustom'd to live, in what they call the middle of Hell, *viz.* amidst an eternal Scene of Oaths, Imprecations, and various other kinds of unpunish'd Crimes; of which, those above them too often set the Example. I have heard, that such was not the Practice in the Days of *Cromwell*; yet Men never fought better than in those Times. Why it should be so now, is owing, as I take it, to the want of giving our young Gentlemen a judicious Education before they come in the way of being corrupted; and when they do come in the Way of it, they are quickly tainted by their having an Opportunity of associating themselves with none but the common Seamen. The *French* have a publick Table, to which all the young Gentlemen resort; which is an Advantage prodigiously wanted in the *British* Navy, and which our Youth cannot have for their Money:

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Money: But this is more likely to remain lamented than remedied; unless your Lordship shall think proper to exert yourself, while in Power; for if it happens, that either a Seaman, or Person less able, shall assume the like Dignity, all Hopes of this, or of any other Reformation, must cease perhaps for ever.

A NAVY well mann'd and well officer'd is capable of a great many more important Uses than what it is usually applied to. At the worst indeed it is of great Use; but if operated, in every respect, as it ought to be, it might be capable of rendering the Nation truly glorious. The Dominion of the Sea is what we contend for; and we have a Right to it, because we can command it.

MR. *Deslandes* takes some Pains to shew how angry *Lewis XIV.* appear'd at our demanding Respect to the *British* Flag. Such Things, my Lord, are but the Excrescencies of Honour, and little worth considering, when set in competition with directing the Affairs of the World, and giving Vigour to and extending our Commerce over the Ocean. The Name of Honour without its glorious Attendants, Wealth and Power, is, at best, but a Phantom of the Brain, that lives and thrives on the Credit of Whim and Fancy, which no sooner retires into, or is swallow'd

swallow'd up by better digested Thoughts, but it vanishes into Air. Wherefore, to establish Honour on its true Basis, 'tis absolutely necessary for *Britain* always to command the Sea, by keeping up, on all occasions, a properly qualify'd Navy, the Ships in good Condition, thoroughly well mann'd by Volunteers, and suitably officer'd, the Men also well arm'd and disciplin'd; the last Articles have of late Years been somewhat improved, but yet very far from attaining to any degree of Perfection.

I REMEMBER a very witty Sarcastm thrown on our Navy by a *French* Officer, who had served successfully against us in the late War. Our Conversation turn'd upon this; which Nation produced the best Men for Sea-Service. Most of the Company gave their Opinions, as guided by the common Prejudices, in favour of their respective Countries. However the Officer alledg'd, that the *English* were much the bravest Men; and proved it thus: "I have, says he, had the good Fortune to board and carry more than one *English* Man of War, in particular the *Cumberland*, an eighty Gun Ship, which with several others composed a Squadron for convoying the Trade to *Portugal*. The *English* on this occasion exprest their superior Bravery, by more ways than one. In the first place, tho' our

" our Squadron was much superior to theirs
" in Number; yet they lay by for us,
" drawn up in a Line of Battle, which evidently shew'd they were not afraid of
" us. I ran a-head, and with one little
" Frigate besides, boarded the *Cumberland*,
" on her Bow and Quarter; and so threw
" her Men between two Fires. It was
" with some difficulty we at last took her,
" tho' her Men had nothing to defend themselves with, but Ropes-Ends, Crowes,
" and Handspikes; and my Men all completely furnish'd with Fire-Arms, and Cutlasses. I found upon enquiring afterwards, that this odd Spirit of Bravery subsisted in their Admiralty, as well as aboard their Ships, not a little to our future Emolument; for, as I was inform'd, the only Commander in that Squadron, who work'd and fought his Ship through us all, and got clear, was broke for his want of true *British* Bravery, and for fighting his Ship with the * Skill and Address of a *Frenchman*."

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* It must be confess'd, that the *French* are vastly superior to us in the Knowledge of Military Affairs: And indeed it cannot be otherwise, as they take prodigious Pains to this purpose; they apply themselves to the Art of War so, as to be thorough Masters of it; they study it as a Science, and suffer nothing to pass them, without a careful Examination. An Instance of this I heard mention'd a few Evenings ago, by a Gentleman well versed in the Affairs of both Nations; who assured

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THE want of our Navy's having a sufficient Number of Men, and skilful Officers, well arm'd and disciplin'd, is the true Reason, why we are never able to make successful Descents on an Enemy's Coast. It puts us under a necessity of employing Land-Forces, for that purpose, which does of necessity lay such Enterprizes under every possible Disadvantage: It takes up too much time in Preparation; it puts the Nation to great Expence for Transports, and gives the Enemy's Spies time and opportunity to dive into the Mystery, and consequently puts them into a Condition to receive us. But were a proper Regulation pursued in this respect, all such Inconveniencies would be avoided, and it would be morally impossible for either *France*, or *Spain*, to defend their Coasts from perpetual Insults. Such Forces indeed could not pretend to conquer Provinces, take regularly fortify'd Towns, or over-run the whole Country; but with the help of good Intelligence, and only staying twenty-four Hours in a Place, as the commanding Officer, on the Spot, should find

most assured us, that *The Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his Brother, and the Retreat of the Greeks after his Death*, (the greatest Action ever performed in the Military Way) tho' but poorly translated, sold in *France* to the amount of above 100,000. Whereas the Sale of the same Piece, translated into *English* by a masterly Hand, did not arise to more than 300.

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most convenient, their whole Coasts might be ravag'd and destroy'd, in despite of all their grand Armies, and all the Caution they were capable of using.

THIRTY Sail of Line of Battle Ships could, with Convenience, spare 100 Men each; and where the Enemy had not, nay, could not have any Intelligence, it would be quite impracticable for them to have an equal Number of disciplin'd Forces to receive them. The whole Armies of *France* and *Spain* would not be sufficient to guard the Extent of their Coasts, had they no other Employment for them. Mr. *Deslandes* vapours much on the ill Success of the *Dutch* and *English*, in such Descents; but has rather ascrib'd it to the Valour and Conduct of his Countrymen, than to the true Cause; which was their having had Intelligence, and so properly prepar'd to receive an Enemy: as was the Case in *Camaret-Bay* and many others. If my Lord *Cobham* had gone to *Corunna*, as design'd, in the late *Spanish* War, he had probably met with the same Fate; since the People at *Gibraltar* were inform'd by the *Spaniards*, of the Intent of that Expedition, before the Fleet sail'd from *England*. These Reasons render all such Attempts generally abortive; the best we can say of them, is, that they are very hazardous and extravagantly expensive.

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A SETT of Men properly enur'd to such kind of Action, would answer the Purpose much better, than the best-disciplin'd Land-Forces in the World. The way and manner of their Discipline must be pursued on a quite different Principle: They must be accustom'd to Light and Darknes indifferently; they must act by surprize, and retreat with infinite Dexterity, free from formal Rules, yet not in disorder: They must be as it were another Species of Soldiery, and, if I may so express myself, a kind of regular Irregular Troops, managed and train'd to Action something like what the *Hussars* practise in Land-Armies; they must be taught to break of a sudden into small Parties, attack a Body of Men various Ways at once, and be able to unite again without Confusion or Disorder. Such kind of Men, my Lord, so train'd and disciplin'd, would render a Royal Navy useful indeed, and lay every Nation, they are to contend with, under Contribution at Pleasure.

THIS would make the Use of a Navy consider'd in a very different Light, to what it is at present, which is merely to command the Sea. So that whenever we have a Nation to contend with, which either keeps no regular Navy, or cannot fit out one able to engage with ours, we prowl about, upon their

their Coasts, to very little purpose: Their Privateers can hurt our Commerce, generally speaking, more a great deal, than our Navy can theirs, as they distribute themselves more, and act free from limited Commissions, and as the common Men act upon a nearer level of Profit with their Officers, and so make it their proper Business to be more active and attentive.

THOUGHTS of this kind, tho' immature and indigested, have possess'd the Breasts of those, who have ruled the Navy, a great while: In consequence of which, they have created a kind of imaginary Improvement, by adding a Lieutenant and Master at Arms, presuming that those would so discipline the Men, as to render Land-Forces abroad quite unnecessary. But the Event has convinced us of the Error: The Scheme only procur'd us more Officers, who indeed were really wanted for Maritime Affairs; but has not help'd us in the least towards attaining the intended Purpose. The younger Lieutenants, who are call'd the Officers at Arms, are so far from knowing more than the other Officers, of that part of the Art of War, that they generally are the least acquainted therewith; and therefore in no manner of Capacity to command Men ashore, being neither Soldiers, nor pursuing any Method of Discipline, suitable to such

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Service. Nor indeed can any System of this kind be put in execution, until our Naval Affairs be so regulated, as to have a regular Body of Sea-Forces establish'd on the Principles just before laid down.

MEN who are taken into pay to-day, and, as it were, discharg'd to-morrow, can never serve any, but random and temporary Purposes. Such Methods, taking all things together, put the Nation to more Expence, than a regular establish'd Constitution would do; but in no sense answer the same important End.

IN the whole, my Lord, your high Rank, Education, and happy Genius have freed you from all the little narrow Prejudices which a regular Maritime Life is too apt to fill the Minds of its Professors with: You can judge of all Thoughts, of this nature, with a generous and becoming Freedom; and can never be defective in your Judgment, but when your Modesty induces you to distrust it; and thereby to depend on the vague Opinions of those, who see things only in the single Light, they are accusom'd to behold them in, without any share in that extensive and comprehensive Knowledge of Men, Manners, and Things, which may contribute to render their Country rich, powerful, and glorious.

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I WOULD not be understood to mean, that native Genius is wanted amongst Mariners, more than other People; but only, that where such Genius naturally lives, it is too early curb'd and confin'd by an Insinuation of, and violent Attachment to, absurd local Principles, such as are apt to establish in their Imaginations a Conceit, that to be a mere Seaman, is to be Master of much superior Accomplishments to the rest of Mankind; and thus by imbibing a very pernicious Error, they destroy the very Seeds of Genius, and render themselves in the whole not a little contemptible.

I MUST beg leave to take Notice, that in the Course of this little Performance I have now and then digress'd into Allusion and Allegory, which strictly speaking ought to have been avoided in Works of this Nature, as all such Flights chiefly appertain to Works of meer Fancy: But, my Lord, this Piece is not written purely for such Persons as your Lordship; the Times will not permit it: Deep Thoughts, and abstruse Calculations would have damn'd it in the Esteem of nine Tenths of my Readers, and turn'd it upon the Bookseller's Hands as a mere Drug: The superficial Reader would have dosed before he had got half through, and the main Purpose of my Essay would have

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have been entirely frustrated ; which is, to give Men of all Capacities a general Knowledge of the State of our Commerce, and Marine, as they stand in Competition with those of *France* ; and to undeceive such of my honest Countrymen, as have imbibed terrible Conceits of her Riches, Power, and Influence, which you, and such as you, my Lord, if any such there be, know to be a Dream, and which, I conceive, is here sufficiently proved to be so.

I am, &c.



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