





DAVENANT'S
DISCOURSES



II







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DISCOURSES

ON THE
Publick Revenues,
AND ON THE
Trade of England.

Which more immediately Treat of the
FOREIGN TRAFFICK
OF THIS
KINGDOM.

Viz.

- I. That Foreign Trade is beneficial to *England.*
- II. On the Protection and Care of Trade.
- III. On the Plantation Trade.
- IV. On the *East-India* Trade.

By the Author of
The Essay on Ways and Means.

PART II.

To which is added,
The late *Essay* on the *East-India* Trade.
By the same Hand.

LONDON: Printed for *James Knapton*, at the
Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard.* 1698.

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INDEX.

DISCOURSE I.

That Foreign Trade is Beneficial to England.

<i>OUR Native Product is not sufficient for our Support and Defence,</i>	Page 2
<i>Whatever we Export Yearly of our Native Commodities, is a certain Wealth to the Kingdom,</i>	3
<i>Our Importations for these last hundred Years, have much exceeded our Exportations,</i>	4
<i>We have been enrich'd by other Dealings, than the Barter of our own Commodities,</i>	5
<i>Gold and Silver is the Measure of Trade,</i>	7
<i>Little States were the first Traders,</i>	7
<i>An Historical Account of the Progress of Gold and Silver in the World,</i>	8
<i>Whether Gold and Silver is the only or most useful Treasure of a Nation, and whether we have not increas'd in Riches since Anno 1666.</i>	14
<i>The real and effective Riches of a Country, is its Native Product,</i>	15
<i>Gold and Silver are not the only Things that deserve the Name of Treasure,</i>	16
<i>The Riches of a Nation defin'd, and the Signs of a Country's thriving by Traffick,</i>	17
<i>The Marks of a decaying People,</i>	20
<i>The gradual Increase of our Wealth by Trade,</i>	22
<i>How some particular Rents may fall, and yet the Kingdom increase in general,</i>	26
<i>The general Rental of England, Anno 1600. compar'd with the present Rental,</i>	27
<i>The Increase of the Navy of England, between 1661. and 1688.</i>	29
<i>The Increase of our Money, from Queen Elizabeth's time downwards,</i>	29
<i>The Stock of Money existing in the Kingdom, An. 1688. deduc'd from the Coyning,</i>	36
<i>The same computed from the late Re-coyning,</i>	49
<i>The Increase of wrought Plate, and of People and Houses since 1666.</i>	41

INDEX.

A Foreign War and a Land-Army abroad, is not the Interest of England,	43
Three considerable Stops to the Growing Wealth of England between 1665. and 1688. with the Charge of the late War with France,	44
Explanation of a former assertion, That about 1688. the Increase of the general Stock of England by Trade, &c. was at least two Millions Yearly,	47
The Increase of the Stock of England every 30 Years, from 1600. to 1688.	49
The particulars of the said National Stock,	53
Some Effects of the late War with France consider'd	54
In what particulars the Nation is Richer now than in 1666.	59
What the Author understands by the Wealth and Treasure of a Nation,	60
There may be as well too much, as too little Gold and Silver in a Nation,	62
No Mines are proportionable to the Labour of a Trading and Industrious People,	63
How to Employ Wealth, so as to make it Beneficial to the Publick,	65
The Posture of our Neighbours, requires we should extend our Commerce to the utmost,	66
Our main Consideration ought to be, whether we get or lose by Trade in general,	69
Reflections upon particular Trafficks and Trade in general,	70
Frugality is the best Course for making Foreign Commerce Beneficial,	76
Of the Regulation of Luxury,	77
A Summary of the whole Discourse,	79

DISCOURSE II.

On the Care and Protection of Trade.

WE have lost many advantageous Trafficks, Page 82
 Strangers have almost beaten Us out of our own Ports, 84

The

INDEX.

The breach of the Navigation Act in our Plantations dangerous,	85
Some Account of the Norway and Baltick Trades, of the Guinea, African, Plantation and East-India Trades,	87
An Instance of the Diminution of our Trade in the Produce of the Tonnage and Poundage,	89
Trade and War not absolutely incompatible, tho' not consistent during this late War, with the Reasons thereof,	90
Whether it be always best to keep a War at a distance from Us,	95
How an Alliance may be made hereafter, so as to protect Trade,	98
The effect of our maintaining a great Land-Army abroad,	99
A War by Sea is not above our Force,	100
Two Circumstances of the late War to be Considered	105
A Calculation of the State and Condition of Holland, for the Years 1688. and 1695.	106
The Improvements made by the French and Dutch in Trade and Naval Strength,	114
Danger of the French settling in the Gulph of Mexico,	116
The necessity of Paying off our Publick Debts,	119
The Natural Advantages We have for Trade over the Dutch,	120
The Power of the Dutch in the East-Indies,	120
Their Proceedings to be watcht with a jealous and careful Eye,	122
The greatness of Kingdoms and States, has been often owing to the Zeal and Abilities of some single Person,	123
Such a Genius might go a great way towards securing the Trade of England, against the Power of France and Wealth of Holland,	124
The Care of Trade belongs truly to the Executive Power,	128
But the Legislative Authority may give new Powers to new Persons for the Common Good,	130
Of a Council of Trade to be Established by Parliament, and the Advantages thereby,	131

A 3

Of

INDEX.

<i>Of Recovering the Fishing Trade, and the Objections thereto Answer'd,</i>	135
<i>Of the Company of the Royal-Fishery, and of Augmenting their Subscriptions by a Publick Tax,</i>	144
<i>Of the Powers and Authorities to be invested in a Council of Trade,</i>	149
<i>An Account of the Money Coyn'd from 1691 to 1697. with a Calculation of the stock of Coyn now existing,</i>	154
<i>The Reasons for hoarding Money of late Years,</i>	156
<i>What stock of Money was needful to transact the common Business of the Nation Anno 1688. and how much probably was then hoarded up,</i>	158
<i>The general Trade of England is more carried on by Credit than by Money,</i>	161
<i>A War too big for the Annual Income, must be managed by Credit on the future,</i>	162
<i>The Effect of Paper Credit, and of Tallies and Bank-Bills,</i>	165
<i>The Money out upon Land and other Securities,</i>	168
<i>That we may have 16 Millions of Current Money in the Nation, but cannot have less than 12.</i>	169
<i>Of the Foundation of Credit,</i>	170
<i>Of our Management in Treaties, especially those of Commerce,</i>	173
<i>How our Commerce in relation to the Dutch and French may be put upon a more equal Foot,</i>	177
<i>The Prudence of laying the late Additional Imposition on French Goods,</i>	182
<i>How our Commerce is to be secured in our Colonies, Plantations and Factories abroad,</i>	185
<i>A Summary of the whole Discourse,</i>	189

DISCOURSE III.

On the Plantation Trade.

<i>Objections to our Colonies in America, Answer'd, p. 195</i>	195
<i>The two only ways of a Nations acquiring Wealth,</i>	196
<i>That the Nation is encreas'd in People since the Year, 1600. notwithstanding our Plantations,</i>	196
<i>What</i>	196

INDEX.

<i>What sort of People our Plantations consist of,</i>	197
<i>Of allowing a Retreat to Malecontents in Religious or State Affairs,</i>	199
<i>Of making England an Azilum for oppressed and afflicted Foreigners,</i>	202
<i>What Number has gone Annually from England to the West-Indies,</i>	203
<i>Our Colonies in the West-Indies, are a Spring of Wealth to this Nation,</i>	204
<i>The growth of the Plantations, in Shipping, to be carefully watch'd,</i>	205
<i>Colonies are a Strength to their Mother-Kingdom, only while they are kept dependant on it,</i>	207
<i>The annual Profit to the Nation, by our West-India Traffick,</i>	209
<i>What may be accounted a National Gain by Traffick,</i>	209
<i>The necessity of our Plantation and East-India Trades,</i>	211
<i>The National Profit by our Plantation, European and East-India Trade,</i>	213
<i>Explanation of the National Profit by Trade,</i>	215
<i>Our Exports and Imports to and from the Plantations,</i>	218
<i>Our Profit by the Labour of the Negroes in our American Colonies,</i>	219
<i>The National Profit by the several Branches of our Foreign Trade,</i>	220
<i>The Superlucration of the English in America, beyond what the same Number of People could have made in England,</i>	224
<i>Objections against the Northern Plantations of America Answer'd,</i>	225
<i>The Number of People in our American Plantations, and the Reasons of their swift Increase,</i>	227
<i>Considerations for a more safe and lasting Settlement of our Colonies in America,</i>	232
<i>Reasons why Virginia hath not thriven better, with some Remedies for the same,</i>	234
<i>Of a particular Council for the Plantations,</i>	238
<i>The Welfare of the Plantations, depends upon the good Conduct of their Governours,</i>	240



INDEX.

Political Considerations, for the Good of our Plantations, 242

Remarks upon the Trade, Government and Civil Policy of our Plantations, 249

The Prosperity of our Plantations might be much advanced, by Regulating the African Trade, 251

Heads of a Scheme for the general Government of the Northern Plantations in America, 259

The Welfare of a Country depends upon the Morals of the People, 262

Of the future Polity and Government of the Plantations, 263

The necessity of Religion and Morality among them, 264

Injunctions for the Governours of the several Colonies, 272

Of inculcating into the Planters, the Love of their Native Soil, 273

Of Moral Virtue, 275

Of Revising the Laws and Politick Institutions of the Plantations, 278

All Governments are lasting, according to the Strength of their first Institution, 281

Of a National Assembly in our Plantations, 283

The danger of Corrupting Elections in National Assemblies, 286

Care to be taken, that the Assembly it self be not Corrupted, 292

The danger of wicked and ambitious Persons got into Power, 295

Of Eloquent and great Speakers in National Assemblies, 298

Of Corrupt Statesmen, and a Depraved Nation, 305

A Recapitulation of the whole Discourse, 313

An Application of it to the Northern Colonies in America, 314

All Persons ought to Employ their natural or acquir'd Parts for the Publick Good, 214

D I S-

INDEX.

DISCOURSE IV.

On the East-India Trade.

THE Author's Aim and Design in these his Writings, Page 320

No true Measures can be taken concerning Trade, in a factious and divided Nation, 323

The Dependance of the Land-Interest upon Foreign Traffick, 325

An Examination of some Calculations of the Gold and Silver imported into England, and exported, consumed or exhausted, 326

Conclusions from the said Calculations, 329

An Examination of the pretended Ballance of our Trade with France, 333

The Foreign Trafficks which we are allow'd to be Gainers by, Examind, 335

A Particular of the French Commodities imported into England, as they are recited in Mr. Fortrey's Book, 338

Consequences of the pretended Ballance of our Trade with France, 345

Some of the principal Articles of the Treaty relating to the Commerce between France and Holland, 350

Terms which may reasonably be insisted on, in settling our Commerce with France, 354

An Examination of the Position in Britannia Languens, That our National Trade appears to have been Consumptive from the Accounts of the Mint, 356

Of the Exportation of Bullion in the way of Traffick, 360

Of the Original and Progress of Trade, 363

The Proportion of People to the quantity of Acres in England, France and Holland, beyond which there is a necessity of Foreign Traffick, 364

The annual Income from the Rents of Land, and from Trade and Labour in England, France and Holland, about the Year, 1688. 366

The Effect of the War upon England, France and Holland, in respect to the Number of their People, and their necessity of Foreign Trade, now or hereafter, 369

The



INDEX.

The Repartition of the National Profit to England by Trade, and particularly by the East-India Trade, and how the same arises,	376
The Methods for enlarging and preserving the East-India Trade to this Kingdom,	386
Reasons against a regulated Company, and for a Joint-Stock,	390
Difference between the Nature of the East-India and Turkey Trade,	394
The Inconveniences and Dangers of quitting our Forts in India,	397
The present State of our East-India Trade,	402
The necessity of a better Establishment thereof,	406
The State of the Dutch East-India Company,	407
The possibility of enlarging our Traffick in the East-Indies.	412
An Account of the Woollen Manufacture of England,	413
An Account of the fine Drapery of England,	416
The East-India Trade is capable of being rendred more profitable to England, than ever it has been to Holland.	418
The Inconvenience to a Company by an uncertain Foundation,	420
It may turn to the East-India Company's Account, to advance a considerable Sum of Money to the Government, for a good Establishment,	423
The benefit of such an Establishment,	424
Some Regulations offer'd under a new Establishment,	429
The Author's Inducement to offer himself to go for India,	430
A Recapitulation of the whole Discourse,	432
A Memorial of the Council of Trade, touching our East-India Imports and Re-exports,	433
The Author's design of handling, some other time, several Points concerning the Ballance of Trade,	434

An Essay on the East-India Trade.

A Country cannot grow Rich, but by an extended Traffick,

Page 5
Not.

INDEX.

Not above a fourth part of our Riches arises from the Vent of our own Commodities,	6
Our late Wealth did arise chiefly from our Plantation and East-India Trades,	6
But our Woollen Manufacture, Tin, Lead, &c. is the Basis of all our Traffick,	8
In a Trading Nation, the Laws should be adapted to Commerce,	9
The East-India Trade is greatly Beneficial to England,	11
The Silver and Gold imported into Europe in 200 Years last past, and what is become thereof,	12
What parts the East-India Trade bears hardest upon,	13
The annual Exports to the East-Indies, with the Returns thereof and Gain thereby,	14
The Yearly Increase of the National Wealth and Stock of England, about Anno 1688. and how the same did arise,	17
The danger of embracing new Councils about Trade, in time of War,	18
The Reason of the late Call for our English Manufactures,	19
The mutual dependance of one Trade on another, with the Advantages by the East-India Trade,	22
The Grounds of the Bill for Prohibiting the Wearing East-India and Persia Wrought Silks, &c. examin'd,	24
The Effect of the East-India Trade on the Woollen Manufacture,	25
Of the cheap Manufacturing of Wooll,	27
The ill Effect of the Act for maintenance of the Poor,	28
'Tis not the Interest of England, that Wooll should bear a high Price,	29
A great Consumption of the Woollen Manufactures at home, is not advantageous to Us,	29
That the Kingdom is Profited, even by the Importation of such East-India Goods as are worn here,	32
The Prohibition of East-India Silks, &c. will not advance the Vent of our Home Product abroad,	34
The Effect of the East-India Trade on our Silk and Linen Manufactures,	35
There	



I N D E X.

There is no introducing a Commodity or Manufacture, for which the Soil, nor the Genius of the People is proper, 36

In what particulars a natural Improvement may be made of our Wealth, 37

The Silk Manufactures is not calculated for our Meridian, 41

The East-India Silks have much lower'd the Price of the European Silks, 42

The Linnen Manufacture is not the genuine Off-spring of this Kingdom, 44

The East-India Callicoos kept down the Price of the European Linnen, 45

'Tis not the Nation's Interest to promote the Linnen Manufacture, with the Reasons why, 45

The Author's Conclusions upon the Silk and Linnen Manufactures, 48

The Effect which the Prohibition of East-India and Persia Wrought Silks, &c. will have upon the East-India Trade in general, 49

No Prohibitions can have any Effect without Sumptuary Laws, 50

Laws must be suited to the Bent and Inclinations of the People, 51

Considerations, whether the Trade to India can be carried on under such Prohibitions, 52

The Exports and Imports to and from India, with the particular as well as National Gain thereby, 54

The Consequence of reducing the East-India Trade to one Moiety of the present Exports, 56

In time of War, our Home Consumption is the main support of our East-India Trade, 57

Reasons against such a Prohibition in time of War, 58

What Contemplations are necessary, in order to make a sound Judgment of Trade, 60

The East-India Trade consider'd, with Relation to the Dutch, 60

The Consequence of their Monopolizing the East-India Trade, 62

D I S-

DISCOURSES
ON THE
Publick Revenues,
AND ON
TRADE.
PART II.

DISCOURSE I.
That foreign Trade is Beneficial to England.

IT may seem very strange, that after the Tryal of a hundred Years, there should still remain a doubt among some People, whither or no an extended Trade enriches this Nation. A considerable Person has affirm'd in Print, that ever since the Year 1666. we

*Mr. P—n
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That Foreign Trade.

have been Loofers by our Foreign Traffick; and many in their Debates, and Councils, seem to have no other View and Aim, than to promote the immediate Interest of Land: believing that our own Native Product is both sufficient for our Support at Home, and to defend us against our Enemies Abroad.

First they imagine (and therein are undoubtedly in the right) that our own Soil plentifully supplies us with the common Wants of Life, such as Food and Raiment.

And *Secondly* they think, that (over and above what we consume at Home) our Fishery, and the Exportation of our Woollen Manufacture, Tin, Lead, Leather, &c. may fetch us from Abroad such Goods as are of absolute Use; and, upon these Grounds, they are always Warm in the Concerns of Land, but seem more Careless, and Indifferent, in what relates to Trade, than perhaps is consistent with the Welfare and Safety of this Kingdom.

Whither or no we are able to subsist by our own Native Strength, without other Aid, will appear plainly when some Matters shall come to be consider'd.

As *First*, it must be duely examin'd what is the real Value of the Fish we

is Beneficial to England.

3

cure, either at Home or in other Places, for Foreign Consumption, and what our Woollen Manufactures, Tin, Lead, Leather, &c. may really yield us, in the Markets abroad.

Of these Commodities, whatever we export Yearly, is a certain Wealth to the Kingdom, and is indeed the Foundation of all our Commerce.

But then, at the same time, it must be consider'd what Foreign Goods are of indispensable Use; as the Necessaries for building and rigging of Ships, *Spanish* Wooll, which is us'd to the working up of our fine Drapery, raw Silk, Druggs, and Materials for dying, Salt-Peter, Salt for our Fishery, with many other Commodities, without which several of our Manufactures cannot be carried on.

Besides these, our Luxury, and deprav'd Manners, have introduc'd among us the use of many Things fetch'd from Abroad, as Wine, Oyl, Fruits, Spices, divers wrought Silks, Druggs for Physick, Perfumes, fine Linnens, Jewels, &c. And to restrain the People, by sumptuary Laws, in all these Matters, must be the Work of Time, and will prove very difficult.

'Tis not hard to shew what is the annual Income of England from Land, Trade



That Foreign Trade

Trade, and all sort of Business; and what is the annual Expence of the whole People, both in War and in Peace; and how much the National Stock increases in time of Peace, and impairs and grows less in time of War.

Nor is it impossible to compute what may be the general Amount of our Exportations, nor to set down, in distinct Articles, what is the yearly Amount of both our necessary, and luxurious Importations.

But all this may be a discovery, and an opening of the Kingdoms State, and Condition, that peradventure is not adviseable.

We shall therefore presume no farther, than to affirm generally (and upon very good grounds) that for these last hundred Years, what we have brought in for real Use, or meer Luxury, with what has been needful for our Expences, in time of War, did in the whole, in the Balance of the Accompt, very much exceed, what we have carry'd out, of our own Native Product.

So that we could never have accumulated the Mass of Wealth which shall by and by be shown was once in this Nation, unless we had been enrich'd by some other dealings, besides the Exchange, and

Beneficial to England.

50

and Barter, of our own Commodities, for the Product, of Foreign Countries: On the Contrary, instead of growing Rich, our National Stock must for a long time have every Year been impair'd, notwithstanding all the Appearance we made of Trafficking in the World, if we had depended purely upon our own Exports, and if our Expence, both in War, and in Peace, had not been maintain'd, and supported by other Helps, and by those outward Aids, which shall hereafter be mention'd.

'Tis true, a rich Soil may not only nourish its own People, but with the Over-plus enable 'em to taste a little Foreign Luxury; But they must be then very moderate in all their Appetites. Ancient Frugality must be restor'd; Rents must be paid in kind, and the Gentry must live at their own Seats.

But admit such a Reformation in the Manners of the Kingdom could be brought about, it would hardly have the same Effect as the Piety of *Numa*, and the *Romans*, had during his Reign; for their Neighbours, in some Years, would not disturb with Wars, and Invasions, a People, whom they saw so innocently, and well dispos'd.



6 *That Foreign Trade*

We shall hardly be permitted to live in the Way our Ancestors did, tho' inclin'd to it. The Power of our Neighbours, both by Land, and by Sea, is grown so formidable, that perhaps we must be for some time upon our Guard, with Fleets, too big to be maintain'd merely by the Natural Produce and Income of our Country.

We must therefore have recourse to those artificial Helps which Industry and a well govern'd Trade may minister. If we could so contrive it, as never to have a Foreign War, we might content our selves with less foreign Traffick, which not only brings in the Money that must pay the Men, but breeds up the very Men that must defend us.

Mankind subsisted by their Labour, and from what the Earth produc'd, till their Corruptions had brought in Fraud, Avarice, and Force: But when the strong began to invade the Weaker, and when Strength was to be maintain'd by Policy, they built Cities, disciplin'd Men, and erected Dominions; and when great Numbers were thus confin'd to a narrower Space, their Necessities could not be all answer'd, by what was near 'em, and at hand; so that they were compell'd to seek for remoter Helps, and this gave
rise

is Beneficial to England.

73

rise to what we call Trade, which, at first, was only permutation of Commodities.

But the growing Luxuries of Men, did soon make Commerce too unweildy to be manag'd that way: By degrees therefore, and in a long Process of Time, general Consent has establish'd Gold and Silver to be the Measure of Trade: And from a long Series of Time, 'tis deriv'd down to us, that such Labour, such Service in War, such Industry, such Skill, such Things of Pleasure, and such Things of use, should be worth such a Weight of those Metals.

'Tis true, in forming very great Empires, the Concerns of Trade seem not to have been much regarded: As Force began 'em, so force maintain'd 'em on; and what Wealth they had, came from the Spoil of conquer'd Nations: War, and its Discipline, was the chief Object of their Thoughts, as knowing that Riches always follow Power, and that Iron brings to it the Gold and Silver of other Places.

Trade was first entertain'd, cultivated, and put into regular Methods, by little States that were surrounded by Neighbours, in Strength much Superior to 'em; so the Original Traders we read of,
were



8 *That Foreign Trade*

were the *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Sicilians*, and *Rhodians*; and the Helps it yielded, did support those Commonwealths for a long time against very potent Enemies.

But these small States (with others which might be nam'd) became in the End the Prey of some great Monarchy, and the Success, perhaps of one Battle, swept away what had been gathering by the Industry of many Ages. So that the Gold and Silver, which Trade had forced out of the Earth, as being its best receiv'd, and truest Measure, was most of it at last lodg'd in the larger Empires, and with the strongest Nations. Thus what the *Phœnicians* had collected, became a Spoil to the *Assyrians*, and the *Assyrian* Wealth went afterwards to the *Persians*.

And before we proceed further in this Discourse, peradventure it may be no unprofitable Digression, briefly, to give what Account is to be gather'd from History, and that has occur'd to our Observation, concerning the Progress of Gold and Silver in the World: For Trade and Money are in their Natures so mixt one with another, that they cannot be well consider'd apart; and they are like Blood and Serum, which tho'

is Beneficial to England.

9

tho' different Juices, yet run thro' the Veins mingled together. In our present Question therefore, it may not be improper, to trace the Steps which these important Metals have made round about, and to examin where they are now probably center'd.

The Species of Gold and Silver seems antiently to have most abounded among the Eastern People, and particularly in *Persia*, from whence it was brought into *Greece*, to bribe and corrupt the little States of that Country, but came thither in greater Quantities upon *Alexander's* Conquest of the *Persian* Empire; And upon subduing *Africk*, *Asia* and *Greece*, it was introduc'd among the *Romans*.

By the Donatives to Soldiers, and the Military Stipends, by the Tributes, by computing the Wealth of *Crassus* and Others, and by Summs given for Houses, Jewels, Statues, and Pictures, it appears that Gold and Silver did very much abound in the *Roman* Empire: But this sort of Treasure was soon carry'd away, and dispers'd into other Parts, when the Northern People had plunder'd *Italy*; and it grew very scarce for some Ages in all the Western Nations, but became more plentiful



That Foreign Trade

plentiful again, by the Mines now in Possession of the *Spaniards*.

We in *Britain* had some taste of this Luxury, as early as the *Phœnicians* traded with us.

The Business of Men to *Rome*, with the Industry and fertile Soil of *Italy*, brought it back thither very soon.

About the Fourteenth Century it abounded very much in the *Low-Countries*.

Harry the VIIth. by holding the Balance of *Europe*, and by being courted by all his Neighbours, brought into this Kingdom an immense Treasure, which his Son, *Harry* the VIIIth. (as appears by Our Records) dispers'd again abroad by his Foreign Wars, and the Interest he took in those Disputes that were between *Francis* the First, and the House of *Austria*.

Philip the II. as fast as the Species came from the *Indies*, sent it into *France*, to maintain the League; from whence the Plenty of Money among the *French* may be first dated.

About that Time *England* and *Holland* began their Foreign Traffick, which two Countries (on this side the World) have ever since, till lately, been the principal Centre of Gold and Silver.

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11

But since that time, these Metals have taken another Course; part of the *French* Money has gone to the Northern Kingdoms for Naval Stores, and a very large Summ has been sent to the *Port*, to supply the *Turks*, which has journey'd yet farther, and is carry'd to remoter Nations by the *Asiatick* Troops.

As to our Coin, Part of it is likewise gone to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, for Naval Stores, and some has been exported for the Uses of Trade; and no small Proportion has been sent abroad to pay the Army, which Treasure is partly dispersed about in *Germany*.

But as to *Holland*, there seem strong Reasons to believe, that tho' the State may be somewhat impoverish'd, yet that the Body of the People is richer now than before the War: So that the *United Provinces* have at least preserv'd their former Wealth, and perhaps increas'd it.

'Tis evident enough to any one who has consider'd of such Matters, that the Money formerly in these Parts of the World, is now very widely dispers'd about; And when it will come back to its former Channel, is not easie to determine. The Riches we had here in *England*, was the slow Result of long Industry



That Foreign Trade

duslry and Wisdom, and is undoubtedly to be regain'd, by the same Methods and Means that first brought it hither.

To say We are not impair'd by this long War, is a Flattery that no honest Man should be guilty of: But the efficient Causes of our former Wealth remain still, which are the Situation of this Country, and the Genius of its People, adapted to Trade; So that a few Years Peace, if we fall into right Measures, will very probably restore our Condition.

This Kingdom, but for several Outlets it has had of its Wealth, must have been exceeding Rich, having suffer'd no great Revolution for above Six hundred Years, and having been rarely disturb'd by the Invasion of Foreign Enemies.

Our Kings have often made very costly Expeditions, sometimes only for Fame, but more frequently for Reasons of State, to keep the Balance even between other Princes; and tho' we were thereby brought very low, yet the strong Constitution of this Government did bear it out, for there was radical Moisture left, and the Vitals were not tainted; and no wise Empire values the Expence of Treasure, when the Dignity, or Safety of the Publick is concern'd; for as

War

is Beneficial to England.

13

War consumes Wealth, so Peace restores it; and when the Expences, occasion'd by War, bring with them Honour and Security to the whole, 'tis always duly consider'd by a Free People.

'Tis necessary that Countries, who have a rich Soil, and a flourishing and large Trade, shou'd be now and then engag'd in Foreign Wars, to awaken in 'em their Martial Temper, and that they may not quite forget Military Discipline: For if they are grown Soft and Luxurious, by a long Peace, their Wealth will invite over to 'em Invaders from abroad, and their being Effeminate will make the Conquest easie.

And tho' the late tedious War has much afflicted *England*, yet it may prove a very wholesome, tho' severe Remedy, for those Diseases which were coming upon the Body Politick; and perhaps a few Years more of luxurious Inactivity might have rendred us no difficult Prey to our powerful Neighbours: And upon this Consideration we shou'd more patiently bear the Interruptions War did bring to Trade, from whence our Wealth arises.

'Tis most apparent that this Kingdom by a long-continu'd Peace, had gather'd a prodigious Heap of Riches, and peradven-

*That Foreign Trade*

adventure we shall make it evident that its Substance, and Stock of all kinds, went on increasing every Year till lately, and by the help of Foreign Trade.

*Mr. P--n
England
and East-
India in-
consistent
in their
Manufa-
ctures.
pag. 6.

But because a certain Person, once a Dealer to *Portugal*, now in an Eminent Post, and the only Oracle of some People in these Matters, has deliver'd quite contrary Opinions to what are here laid down, having asserted in Print, * *That Gold and Silver is the only or most useful Treasure of a Nation; And that we have not increased in Riches since anno 1666, but have annually decreased very much by Trade; and that Money was more plentiful in 1656 than since*, It will be requisite to examine into these Notions; which he maintains dogmatically, without supporting them with any Arguments; And we shall endeavour to show, that these Assertions of his, are ill founded, contrary to plain Matter of Fact, and repugnant to good Sense and Reason. Our Trade, to all outward appearance, has much augmented since the Years he speaks of; but if we are Loosers by it, 'tis high time to give it over, or at least that it should be lessen'd.

Gold

is Beneficial to England.

Gold and Silver are indeed the Measure of Trade, but the Spring and Original of it, in all Nations, is the Natural, or Artificial Product of the Country, that is to say, what their Land, or what their Labour and Industry produces.

And this is so true, that a Nation may be suppos'd, by some Accident, quite without the Species of Money, and yet, if the People are numerous, industrious, vers'd in Traffick, skill'd in Sea-Affairs, and if they have good Ports, and a Soil fertile in variety of Commodities, such a People will have Trade, and gather Wealth, and they shall quickly get among 'em, a plenty of Gold and Silver: So that the real and effective Riches of a Country, is its Native Product.

No Region can be thought purely to produce Trade by Money, but where Money is the Native Commodity of the Place, therefore, generally speaking, Trade may be said to procure Money, and not Money to procure Trade.

And considering the various Necessities of Mankind, at different Seasons of Time, in different Countries, occasion'd, by War, Plagues, Famine, Inundations, Drowth, and other Accidents, which by altering the Expence, or Need, may change the Price of several Commodities:

ties:



ties; Trade may be rather said to govern Money, than Money to govern Trade.

The Want or Plenty of any Commodity does give the Rule to its Price, between Country and Country, and not only Things of Necessity, but those of Luxury, are subject to these variations, which Money, the Servant of Trade, is forc'd to follow.

Gold and Silver are so far from being (as this Author says) *the only Things that deserve the Name of Treasure, or the Riches of a Nation*, that in truth, Money is at Bottom no more than the Counters with which Men in their dealings have been accusom'd to reckon; for, suppose the *Hollanders* should lend to some Foreign State, upon Jewels, or the Pledge of Cautionary Towns, two Thirds of all their Species, would they cease upon so doing to be a Wealthy People? most certainly not, and such Security, put into their Hands, will be real and true Riches.

When a Country begins to thrive by Trade, it must not be imagin'd that the Increase and Profit is presently converted into Coin or Bullion, and a great ready Cash is not the only Sign of a thriving People, but their growing wealthy is to be discern'd by other Symptoms.

we

We shall therefore endeavour to define what may properly be term'd the Riches of a Nation, and to show what are the probable Signs that a Country is no loser, and that its Condition is not impair'd by Foreign Traffick.

If it can be made appear that *England*, before the War, had within it the Matter of which Wealth may be truly said to consist: And if we had then all the visible Marks of being Richer, and Richer every year 'tis hop'd the Authority of this Gentleman, whose chief Experience has been gain'd by being a Factor at *Lisbon*, will not mislead People to think that Trade has been so destructive to us.

As Handycrafts-Men when they first thrive in the World, furnish themselves with all Instruments that are necessary for their respective Callings: So whole Nations, whom Trade begins to enrich, increase in their Stock of Shipping, which are the working Tools of a Trading People.

When private Men see others succeed by Merchandize, it encourages them to venture their Substance the same way; and

*That Foreign Trade*

and as the Stock employ'd in Trade augments, they fall to building a greater Number of Ships, till they come at last to have a numerous Fleet for the Coast of every Country.

But the truest Sign that Foreign Traffick has convey'd Spirits, and Nourishment into each Vein of the Body Politick, is, when trading Nations are able to fit out, and maintain, a great Naval Strength for their Defence and Security.

When a Royal Fleet can be readily Mann'd, 'tis a Sign that Sea-men increase, and that they do not perish in long Voyages. And when the Expence in Foreign Materials, that are requisite for a big Navy, can be born without any show of Weakness, or Decay, and when such an outgoing of Wealth is not felt, 'tis an evident Mark, that there are secret Springs by which the Expence is fed, and that there is Treasure brought in, to answer what is carry'd out.

Numerous Merchant-Fleets and Powerful Navies are not only Signs of a thriving People, but are themselves, real and effectual Wealth, and perhaps

is Beneficial to England.

haps more useful than any other kind of Riches.

Besides the foremention'd Strength, Countries that prosper, increase in Buildings: and for the Adornment of these Edifices, are able to let a great Stock lie dead, in Iron, Lead, Brass, and Copper.

Thriving Nations have likewise great Stores lying by of their own Manufactures, and of Foreign Commodities, and vast Quantities of Plate in Private Families.

And as their Riches increase, they lanch out into various Expences; some for use, and others for Pleasure: They erect Magazines for Military and Naval Stores, and build Fortresses: And relating to Pleasure, they adorn their Houses with costly Furniture, Statues, and Pictures, and their Persons with rich Apparel and Jewels.

What we have here enumerated, are not only the Signs of a Prosperous People, but may be accounted National Stock, and as well esteem'd Riches as



That Foreign Trade

our own coin'd Money, Foreign Coin, or imported Bullion.

But a Country may have all the outward Marks of Wealth, which have been here describ'd, and yet its Condition be bad, and unsound at bottom. A Nation may have great Fleets, and Armies, and the Appearance of a great foreign Traffick, by large Importations and Exportations: The Buildings may be Magnificent: Private Persons may accumulate much Wealth, and the way of living, of very many, may appear sumptuous, and yet Poverty may be all the while secretly creeping upon such a Country.

But then the bad Symptoms are easily discern'd, and the Marks are very evident, of a Bankrupt Nation, and of a whole People, collectively consider'd, growing Poor, by living above its Condition, which has often happen'd.

For in such a Nation, the Subjects without Force, and extream Difficulty, will not pay the Taxes that must maintain their Fleets, and Armies: Some great Buildings may be erected, but many

is Beneficial to England.

21

ny private Ones will fall to decay. A few will gather to themselves great Fortunes, but the Number of such as impair and grow Poorer, will be far more considerable: And there will be here, and there, Marks of Splendor among the better Sort, but there shall be an Universal Face of Poverty upon the common People.

Where a Nation is impoverish'd by bad Government, by an ill manag'd Trade, or by any other Circumstance, the Interest of Money will be dear, and the Purchase of Lands cheap: The Price of Labour and Provisions will be low; Rents will every where fall, Lands will lie untill'd, and Farm-Houses will go to ruine: The yearly Marriages and Births will lessen, and the Burials increase. The Stock of live Cattle must apparently diminish; and, lastly, the Inhabitants will by Degrees, and in some Measure, withdraw themselves from such a declining Country.

Having thus describ'd the Marks of a decaying People, 'tis left for impartial Judgments to determine, whether this was at all the State of *England* before the War: If, as this Author Affirms, Since



That Foreign Trade.

the Year 1666. we have annually decreas'd very much by Trade, would not our Decays have been discern'd in some of these Particulars?

But perhaps it shall be made appear, that we are now, at this very Day, richer than we were in the Year he has fix'd for the *Æra* of our declension: And when we come more closely to consider, and define, what is the real Treasure of a Country, peradventure it will be evident that the Intrinsic Value of *England* was not so great at his Period of Time, as it is at present, notwithstanding the late War, which was the biggest, and most expensive, that was ever known in *Europe*.

'Tis notorious to any one who will look over ancient Deeds, and examin old Accompts, that before *England* became a Trading Nation, the general Price of Land was, Twelve Year's Purchase: And 'tis as plain, that the legal Interest for Money was *Ten per Cent*.

About the Year 1666 the Value of Land, in the best Counties, was from 18 to 20 Years; and in the worst, from 14 to 16 Year's Purchase; and the legal

is Beneficial to England.

gal Interest was then, *Six per Cent*. and there was a greater Plenty of Money, than of Securities: All which will appear to any one that enquires into these Matters.

This considerable Rise in the Value of Land, and Fall in Interest, did without doubt proceed from a greater quantity of Money got some way or other into the Kingdom: Since, in all rising Nations in the World, the Price of Land is high, and Interest is low.

This great Improvement in our Affairs from about 1600, to 1666, could be wrought no other way, than by the Progress we yearly made in Foreign Traffick.

Nothing but a growing Trade could have enabled us to pay the Taxes and Aids granted to King *James*, and King *Charles* the I. who receiv'd Summs never known among our Ancestors: And could any thing else have furnish'd us with Abilities to pay for some Years, during the Common-wealth, a Monthly Assessment amounting to *per Annum* 1,651,702 *l*.



24
That Foreign Trade

If, for a long term of Years, we had continu'd to pay four times as much as formerly, to the support of the Government; And if, at the same Instant, the general Wealth, and Income of the Nation, had not increas'd proportionably; must not the common People have been totally drain'd, and must not their Condition, Poverty, and way of living, have been just the same as it is in those Countries, where the Subjects are burthen'd above their Strength, and quite exhausted by Taxes;

But all the while notwithstanding the great Payments to the Publick, and a long Civil-War, there was a general Face of Plenty upon all *England*, all the different Ranks of Men were at their Ease, the common People were well fed, and cloath'd; and the Farm-Houses were in good Repaire, which is the truest Sign of Wealth increasing in a Kingdom.

This was the Posture of Affairs about the Year 1666, and our Author, perhaps, will join Issue with us here, and agree, that Trade did enrich *England* till that time. We must therefore examin
how

is Beneficial to England.

how things have stood since, in order to see what weight may be safely given to his new Assertions.

If from 1666, till the breaking out of this War with *France*, the Value of Land did fall; if the Interest for Money did advance; if great quantities of Land went untill'd; if our Stock of Shipping had been lessen'd; if there was apparently less Species of Money; if the Plate of the Kingdom was diminish'd; if we decreas'd in Numbers of People; if the middle and inferior Rank of Men were reduc'd to live hardly; and, if the Farm-Houses went every where to ruine, he had some Grounds to think our Condition was impair'd from that Time, and to pronounce, as he has done, that since then *we have annually decreas'd very much by Trade.*

But quite the contrary of all this is manifestly true: For since 1666, the Price of Land in the best Counties, was come from 20, to 26 and 27 Year's Purchase; and in those Parts, where formerly it was sold for 14 Years Purchase, it yielded 17 or 18: And as to Money upon Land Security, there was much



That Foreign Trade

more lent out from that time at 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$, than at 5 or 6 per Cent.

From that Year there were apparently more Improvements made in Land, than had been known in fifty Years before; by inclosing, manuring, taking in of waſt Ground, and meliorating what was Poor or Barren; and yet great Improvements had been made in the Crown Lands during the Civil-War.

'Tis true, that from 1666, and perhaps upwards, the Rents of particular Farms may have fall'n in many Parts of the Kingdom; but, becauſe this Matter has miſled many People to think that the Condition of *England* did therefore grow worſe, it will need a little explanation.

Rents may fall in ſome Places, and Counties, and yet the Land of the Nation in Groſs, improve all the while: As for Example, when Parks are diſpark'd, and Foreſts, and Commons are taken in, and encloſ'd; when Fen-Lands are drein'd, and when many Parts are meliorated by Induſtry, and Manuring, it muſt certainly depretiate that Ground which had been Improv'd to the full before

is Beneficial to England.

27

fore, or was capable of no farther Improvement. But tho' the Rental of private Men does thereby ſink, yet the general Rental of the Kingdom by ſuch Improvements, at the ſame time riſes: And that Fall which has happen'd in the Rent of ſome Farms, and Eſtates, can have proceeded from nothing but the foremention'd, or the like Reaſons.

From the beſt Obſervation we have been able to make, by comparing the ancient Subſidies, with the preſent Aids, and Taxes on Land, it does not appear that the general Rental of *England* for Land, Houſes, Mines, &c. (before we became conſiderable in Trade, viz. about the Year 1600) did exceed per Annum 6,000,000 *l*.

Which general Rental } *l*.
we take now to be about } 14,000,000.
per Annum }

So that the Land of *England*, &c. at the Rental }
of 6,000,000 and at 12 } 72,000,000.
Year's Purchase, was Anno }
1600, worth }

The



That Foreign Trade

The Land of *England* &c. at the Rental of 14,000,000 and at 18 Year's Purchase one with another, was *Anno 1688*, worth 252,000,000.

And this Rise in the general Rental, did make the Body of the Kingdom stronger, more powerful, and abler to wage War in 1688, than it was in 1600, tho' the Rents of private Men might sink all the while in some part or other.

This Fall in private Rents from 1666 to 1688 is more visible, because in our own Memory, and therefore more complain'd of: but the Rise in the Kingdomes general Rental was greater in Proportion, during that time, than in the preceeding Years, because the Improvements upon Land were greater and more universal, between those two Periods, than at any time before: upon which Accompt we were every way Richer and more Potent in 1688, than in 1660; though some private Rents did visibly impair.

And

Beneficial to England.

29

As to our Stock in Shipping, old and experienc'd Merchants do all agree, that we had in 1688, near double the Tonnage of Trading Ships, to what we had *Anno 1666*. But as to the Naval Strength for War, we have in our Hands an Authentick Accompt of that, and such a One as may be rely'd upon, and it stood thus.

Navy Royal, <i>May 1660</i> ,	} Tons.	62,594.
amounted to		
Navy Royal <i>December</i> ,	} 101,032.	1688, amounted to
Navy increas'd		38,438.

As to the Species of Money, there seem good Reasons to believe that our Quantity of Coin increas'd all along, as our Trade Augmented.

There were coin'd }
during the Reign of } *l. s. d.*
Queen Elizabeth in } 4,632,932 - 3 - 2.
Silver

But



That Foreign Trade

But then we are to consider, that She recoin'd almost all the Silver-Species of the Kingdom, which had been debas'd in the three preceeding Reigns, and that the Standard was vary'd in her Time, which caus'd a new Fabrication, and the same Bullion was coin'd over, and over again; so that we can hardly presume there were coexisting of her Stamp, at any one time, in Silver above

And supposing, which we think probable, that the Gold of former Princes, and of her Stamp might amount to

Then about the Year 1600, when we began to make a Figure in Trade, the Species of Money of this Kingdom was probably in Silver

In Gold

In all

2,500,000.

1,500,000.

2,500,000.

1,500,000.

4,000,000.

There

is Beneficial to England.

There were coin'd in the Reign of King James the I. } 1,700,000.
In Silver

And we have Grounds } 0,800,000.
to think in Gold about

In all 2,500,000.

So that allowing 1,000,000 l. for what was lost or melted down in those two Reigns, there might be in the beginning of King Charles the Ps. } 5,500,000.
Reign, in Gold and Silver about

There were coin'd in the Reign of King Charles the I. of Silver Money } 8,776,544.

And as we have Reason } 1,723,456.
to believe in Gold about

So that if all the Gold and Silver coin'd in those three Reigns had remain'd, there would have been in England, of coin'd Money in 1660, about

But



But we have been inform'd that from King James the I's Time, and during the Reign of King Charles the I. down to the Year 1640, there was coin'd in the Tower, by Contract, and for the Account of the Spaniards, and which was quite carry'd away, a very great Summ.

l.

And this is computed at 1,000,000.

And in those times they fabricated a great deal of small Coin, as Half-pence, Pence, Two-pences, &c. which was subject to be lost. During the Civil-War, great Summs might be bury'd and never recover'd; Time defac'd a good deal; The hammer'd Money was very irregular, which was a Temptation to melt down the heaviest. As Trade augmented, the Want of Bullion increas'd, and made the Sale of Bullion more a Traffick than formerly: The Use of Plate, Jewels, Gilding, and Lace, grew upon the Nation; upon all which Accounts, there is reason to think, that very much of the foremention'd Summ had been diminish'd in the Course of so many Years.

Melted

l.

Melted down or other- } 2,000,000.
ways lost

On Account of the } 1,000,000.
Spaniards

3,000,000.

So that there were not }
in all likelihood coexisting } 13,000,000.
of the Coin of these three }
Reigns in Gold and Silver }
in 1660, above

And reckon for Oliver's }
and the Parliament Coin, } 1,000,000.
Gold and Silver

In all 14,000,000.

There were Coin'd in the }
Reigns of King Charles the }
II. and King James II. from } 6,500,000.
25th March, 1660 to 25th }
March, 1688, in Gold about }

During that Time in }
Silver about } 4,200,000.

D

So



That Foreign Trade

So that if all this Money had remain'd, there would have been in the Kingdom, *Anno* 1688, in Gold and Silver about

24,700,000.

But out of this Summ, several Abatements must be made, for King *Charles* the II. recoin'd most of *Oliver's*, and the Parliament Money.

For which abate about

1,000,000.

Any overplus in weight, did occasion the Guineas to be melted down, and the same Bullion was coin'd over and over again, so that we never had effectually that Summ in Gold, which appears in tale at the Tower.

This, with what had been exported before 1688, may be a Reason to abate, on the Article of Gold about

1,500,000.

The Luxury of Plate, Jewels, Guilding and Lace, having augmented all that while, and our Trade increasing at the same time, and Bullion frequently rising in

is Beneficial to England.

in the Market-Price, and the *Turky*, *East-India*, *Norway* and *Baltick* Trafficks, exporting Bullion (besides other Accidents of Money being lost by Water and at Land) we may well believe the foremention'd great Summ was very much reduc'd.

And there is ground to think, that from 1660, to 1688, the hammer'd Money and old Gold, by melting, and other ways was lessen'd

1,700,000.

And by the Proportion, which the mill'd bore with the hammer'd Money in common Payments, there is reason to think, that Species had been diminish'd by melting, and other ways, from 1660. to 1688, near a half.

For which an Abatement must be made of

2,000,000.

So that the Account will run thus,

If all that was coin'd, had remain'd, there might have been in *England*

24,700,000.

D 2

Deduct



That Foreign Trade

	l.
Deduct for <i>Oliver's</i> and } the Parliament Coin }	1,000,000.
On the Article of Guineas	1,500,000.
On the Article of old } Gold, and hammer'd Mo- } ney diminish'd }	1,700,000.
On the Article of } mill'd Money diminish'd }	2,000,000.
In all	6,200,000.

Which deducted from the }
foremention'd 24,700,000l. }
and there remains } 18,500,000.

And, in all probability, this was the Sum, which long Peace, and a flourishing Trade had brought into this Kingdom.

A Paper printed in *Nov.* 1675, and publish'd upon a Debate then before the Parliament, states the Gold and Silver coin'd from 18 *Oct.* 1599, to *Nov.* 1675, to have been 21,851876. 14. 7½.

But we have something more than this Paper or bare Conjecture for our Computation,

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putation, which the recoinng of the Money has, in a Manner, made Apparent.

As we are inform'd, the Clipt and Light Species, brought in to be recoin'd, both into the *Tower*, and Country Mints, amounted to, in Tale, tho' not in Weight,

	l.
For <i>London</i> , in Tale about	4,700,000.
For the Country Mints, } in Tale about. }	300,000.

London and Country } Mints, Broad Hammer'd } Money, to <i>August</i> 14 th . } 1697, in Tale, }	5,000,000.
	3,400,000.

There might be proba- } bly yet standing out at that } time, of Light and Broad } Money, in Tale about }	600,000.
---	----------

In all 9,000,000.

So that of the 18 Millions and a half we had computed, here are 9 visible in the Silver Species; and, either those Gentlemen must be much mistaken,

D 3 who



That Foreign Trade.

who reckon we have still as much Money as ever, Or there must have been in the Kingdom a great Summ of Gold and Mill'd Coin in 1688. For what have we else to relie on at present ?

For the Silver Coin, London and Country Mints, since the 31st. of December 1691, to the 14th. of August 1697, amounted to but

The Money coin'd from Plate in the Tower, and Country Mints, to the 14th of August 1697, amounted to about

The Old Money standing out the 14th. of August 1697, when recoin'd, may probably reach

The Gold coin'd since the 31st. of December 1691, to the 14th. of August 1697, amounted to

8,009,116.
The

is Beneficial to England.

Brought over	8,009,116.
The Silver and Gold remaining to be coin'd the 14 th . of August 1697, will produce	126,892.
In all	8,136,008.

Therefore to make our present Species reach near to that of former times, there must at the Revolution, have been remaining in the Kingdom, which must still remain here, a great Sum in the Mill'd Money of the preceding Reigns, as also in Old Gold, and in Guinea's.

That before the War we had 9 Millions in Old Silver Coin, is beyond all dispute, and 'tis to be suspected the high Price of Bullion

Did lately melt down and export	1,000,000.
So that we had probably in Guinea's	5,000,000.
In Mill'd Money,	2,200,000.
	8,200,000.
D 4	In



That Foreign Trade

Brought over	8,200,000.
In Old Gold,	1,300,000.
Add to this for old Silver Money,	9,000,000.
Total	18,500,000.

And we hope this Computation will in some measure hold right, or else it will be difficult to make out, that there is remaining in the Kingdom, a Summ sufficient to carry on our Foreign and Domestick Traffick.

The Consideration of this Accompt makes us wonder what the foremention'd Author means in his Tract of [*England and East-India Trade inconsistent*] when he lays down, *That Exportation of Bullion is so very destructive to a Nation*; and when he would insinuate, *That 1656 was the Year in which we most abounded in Money*, when the contrary is so apparent; For the more Bullion we have carry'd out, the more we have brought in, or in 1688 we could never have had such a Treasure in the Species of Money, besides other Wealth,

As

Beneficial to England.

41

As to Plate, it may be safely affirm'd, that there was more wrought for use in Families from 1666 to 1688, than had been fabricated in two hundred Years before.

As to Inhabitants, such as are vers'd in Political Arithmetick, have sufficient Grounds to believe, that the People of *England* were about 300,000 more in 1688 than they were even in 1665, notwithstanding the last great Plague.

As to the Common People, there is no Country in the World where the Inferior Rank of Men were better cloath'd, and fed, and more at their ease, than in this Kingdom, nor consequently where they propagate faster.

As to Buildings, during that time not only many stately Edifices, both Publick and Private, have been erected, but Farm-Houses have been kept up; And besides, from the Books of Hearth-Money, and for other Reasons, it appears, that of smaller Tenements, from 1666 to 1688, there have been about 70,000 new Foundations laid, of which the Country has not wanted its proportion.

We



That Foreign Trade

We not only had no bad Symptoms of a Country declining through an ill manag'd, or an over-Trade, but our Luxuries, and our own Consumption consider'd, perhaps it will appear that no People in the World had gain'd so much by Foreign Traffick.

That our Business abroad increas'd is plain enough, for *anno* 1666 the Farm of the Customs went at no more than 390,000*l.* But afterwards from *Michaelmas* 1671, to *Michaelmas* 1688, *viz.* 17 Years, the Customs yielded net to the Crown 9,447,799*l.* which at a *Medium* was *per annum* 555,752.

This was a sufficient Proof that our Trade augmented, however that the Nation in general was a Gainer by Trade, must be collected from other Circumstances.

But such as duly consider the late War, which was supported for Nine Years, will hardly think that our Dealings Abroad had any ways impair'd the Condition of this Kingdom.

is Beneficial to England

43

In all appearance a Foreign War and a Land Army were by no means the Business and Interest of this Country; For when *Edward* the III. and *Harry* the V. carry'd our Armies abroad, the Records of those Times make it sufficiently evident to what Degree this Nation was impoverish'd by Conquering, and how much we were undone by our Victories.

For neither Industry at home (which meliorates the Native Product of the Soil) nor Trade abroad (which brings in new Wealth) could in appearance breed Blood fast enough to answer a continual opening of the Veins; Inasmuch that we may instance many Nations who have been exhausted and beggar'd by prosperous Sallies for Fame, or to enlarge their Dominions, while other Places, invaded, or rent asunder by Civil Broils, have in the mean time increas'd in Power and Riches, because their Treasure was not exported.

Besides the ordinary Expences of the War, our dead Losses at Sea in Nine Years time have amounted to a greater Summ than is fit here to mention.

Moreover,



That Foreign Trade

Moreover, to look a little backwards, between 1666 and 1688, we have had Wars expensive enough to us, reckon'd at between 8 or 9 Millions. And from about that time, we had, besides, two considerable Stops to the progress of our growing Wealth, which were the great Plague, that swept away vast Numbers of our People, which, at the common Valuation of Mankind, might be worth 9 Millions more; and the Fire of *London*, in which of our own Product and Manufactures, and of Foreign Commodities, there was consum'd to an immense Value, the whole Loss not much inferior to either of the former Summs.

Notwithstanding all which, 'tis seen we have been able to maintain a War abroad with a Fleet at the yearly charge of 2,500,000 *l.* and a Land-Army at the yearly charge of above 2,500,000 *l.* of which, a great part, for some time, has been spent in other Countries.

We have been already able (the ordinary Revenue of the Crown not included) to give, in Taxes, upwards of thirty nine Millions, of which about twenty five Millions have been actually levied,

is Beneficial to England.

45

levied, fourteen Millions are in a way of payment, and the rest remains a Debt to be provided for.

All these things being maturely weigh'd and consider'd, can there be any ground to think that from *anno* 1666, *England* did every Year impair by Trade? On the contrary, does there not seem good reason rather to believe, that this Kingdom had accumulated more Wealth of all kinds, than any other part of *Europe*?

Our own Exports are capable of Computation; and 'tis not at all difficult to compute what our own Manufactures and Product may have yielded for these Thirty Years last past in the Markets abroad; but when we deduct for our own Consumption of Foreign Goods, the Overplus will nothing near reach to make up those prodigious Summs which since that time have been expended, in the rebuilding of *London*, the carrying on of our former Wars, and which Necessity has exported, or which our Misfortunes have lost at Sea, during the late War with *France*.



That Foreign Trade

A Nation, that in the space of thirty Years, has been able to bear all this, and to resist so many bad Accidents, and perhaps some ill Conduct, (of which suffering the Coin to be so defac'd was not the least) must have undoubtedly, within it, a great Spring of Strength; and we may safely affirm, that Trade has not been destructive to such a Country, as this Author would suggest.

The Wealth of a whole People is a great Matter to consider, but this huge Body is compos'd of small Parts, and, is in its Nature, finite, and not so big; but, in time, it may be compass'd, and embrac'd by Humane Industry, and Understanding: Especially, when there is such a Footing to fix our Reasonings upon, as is the certain Knowledge of the Numbers of the People, which 'tis hop'd some abler Head will hereafter so improve, as to make all Points, relating to the Strength and Power of *England*, much clearer than they seem at present.

The Writer of the Essay on the *East-India* Trade, publish'd last Year, has these Words (Page 17) *I have many cogent*

is Beneficial to England.

47

cogent Reasons, inducing me to believe that from about Anno 1656, to Anno 1688, this Nation has every Tear gradually increas'd in Riches; by what Degrees is needless here to incert, but upon mature Consideration, I may safely state that about Anno 1688, the Increase, or Addition to the Wealth, and General Stock of England, arising from foreign Trade, and some Manufactures, was at least two Millions Yearly.

This Paragraph, our Answerer very much quarrels at, arguing from thence That 64 Millions must then have been gain'd, and that either the 64 Millions hath been spent since 1688, or else was never gotten.

But, if there was not wanting in his Writings, something besides Monosyllables, he could never have made, from those Words, such an Inference and such Conclusions.

The ESSAY never pretended that the Stock of this Kingdom did Annually increase two Millions from 1656, but that its Condition, from that time, went on improving every Year, by degrees, till at last, the Annual Addition

to



That Foreign Trade

to the Wealth of England did, about 1688, reach the Summ of two Millions; and, to any unbyas'd Reader, this will plainly appear the Sense of the foremen-tion'd Paragraph.

The Computations, fet down in that Essay, have a better Foundation than our Merchant can comprehend, or have any Idea about, whose limited Understanding, and narrow Mind seems never to have had any other Object but his own pri-vate Dealings from Port to Port.

And, the Writer of that Essay, may presume farther to assert, that long ago we must have been Impotent for the War, and that the Nation could not stand so strongly and uprightly as it does at pre-sent, after so many Convulsions, but that it has been all the while, and, is still, supported by such a Stock formerly ga-ther'd, and not as yet exhausted.

And we shall here humbly deliver our Opinion concerning the Stock of England, how it formerly stood, and how it has since proceeded: And if what we offer does not please others, it may at least put 'em in mind of showing the Publick a more reasonable, and better Scheme.

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is Beneficial to England.

By the Rules of that Political Arith-metick, which is our Guide in all these Matters, it does seem,

That the Stock of En- } gland was Anno 1600 a- } 17,000,000. }
bout

That in 30 Years it near } doubled, and Anno 1630, } 28,000,000. }
was about

That in 30 Years it } doubled, and Anno 1660 } 56,000,000. }
was about

That from 1660, to } 1688, it above half doubled } 88,000,000. }
and was 1688, about

This Scheme, is calculated upon a ge-neral view, and Inspection, into the King-dom's State, and every Article of it may be made out, and justify'd by as plain Demonstration, as any thing of this Na-ture is capable of.

The Matters, comprehended in it, are the coin'd Silver, coin'd Gold, Bullion, wrought Plate, Rings, &c. Jewels, Fur-niture,

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That Foreign Trade

niture, Apparel, &c. Stock for Trade, Consumption, &c. and the Live Stock in Cattle, &c.

But it may be here ask'd how it came to pass, that this Stock did not as well double the last as the next preceding 30 Years? the reason of which we shall endeavour to show, and the Answer to this Query, will not only clear, but strengthen our whole Scheme.

The first sixty Years that *England* minded Trade, it had introduc'd but little foreign Luxury, and we were not interrupted in our Course, either by ill Accidents at home, or by Wars abroad, which were the Causes, that we made such swift Progression, and that our Stock increas'd then so fast.

But there was a Stop put to our Career, by the great Plague in 1665: By the Fire of *London*, which consum'd a large part of the present Stock: By our Wars abroad, and by our growing Luxuries, which drew, to other uses, what formerly was left wholly to run in the Channel of Trade.

And

is Beneficial to England.

31

And this, we may reasonably think, was the Cause, that from 1660, to 1688, our National Stock did not increase in the same Proportion as before.

For without these Interruptions, it would probably have amounted to, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{£} 12,000,000, \\ \text{Anno 1690, about} \end{array} \right\}$

Which would have been an annual Increase of near $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{£} 2,000,000, \\ \text{the People} \end{array} \right\}$

However, when the Kingdom had recover'd these Losses, and Shocks, which we have Grounds to think it had perfectly done, about 1680, (Trade augmenting all the while, and becoming more extensive) its Wealth grew faster towards the latter End of this last *Æra* of thirty Years, than before: So that, there is more than probable room to conjecture, that, about 1688, it came to reach the foremention'd annual Increase two Millions.

Our *Hypothesis* (which we believe may be supported by Proofs very pregnant) is, that *England* ever since it had a large Trade,

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Trade,



That Foreign Trade

Trade, would have doubled in its Stock every thirty Years, but for the intervening Accidents of War, and other Calamities to the Publick, for which, in the Computation from 1660, to 1690, Allowance is made.

We have laid down that this Stock was Anno 1688, about 88 Millions; and we shall moreover presume to advance, that no Summ, considerably less, could have maintain'd our Expences for nine Years last past, without a far more visible decay, than is yet perceiv'd among the People.

And it is left for discerning Men to determine, whether barely our own Product, and Manufactures, could have enrich'd us with such a Treasure? If not, it must have arisen from Foreign Traffick, or at least we cannot be decreas'd by Trade.

We should be glad to know which other Way the Wealth that has maintain'd us so many Years could be gotten, unless possibly it has accrued to *England*, by the Means we are going to mention, which perhaps cannot properly be call'd a Foreign Traffick.

A cer-

is Beneficial to England.

53

A certain *Irish* Author has indeed shown us another Fountain of our Treasure, having laid down in his *Essays on Trade and Navigation* (Page 15 and 16) that by an Account he has seen, it appears that *England by a Medium of Six Years, gain'd by Ireland Two Millions Sterling per Annum.* If this be true, we need trouble Political Arithmetick no further in the Matter: But 'tis doubted this Doctrine will not pass any where, except in such a Colledg of Merchants, as (*Prof. pag. 6.*) this whimsical Writer would erect, among his other Schemes.

This National Stock we speak of, is every where diffus'd consisting of many Particulars, and whatever is at present impair'd in it, the War and our Losses have consum'd.

The two Millions Addition of Wealth which we have mention'd became annually converted into National Stock, was the Effect of a long Peace, and a flourishing Trade, and was seen in the extensiveness of our Traffick abroad, Richness of our Apparel, and Household Furniture, Variety of new Manufactures, and in the Increase of our

E 3

Cattle,



That Foreign Trade.

Cattle, Buildings, Shipping, Plate, Jewels, Bullion and ready Money, and in the vast Stores we had by us of our own Native Goods, and of Foreign Commodities.

And by how much we have now less of all these kinds of Wealth, by so much has the War impair'd our Condition.

Our Stock in stor'd Goods, Plate, Jewels, Money and Merchant-Ships, is apparently not so great now, as it was in 1688: However, we have still so good a Prospect, and such a remainder of Strength, as if it be well mannag'd, our Affairs may be restor'd in some moderate Term of Time.

A good Symptom, for the present, of remaining Health, and Vigour in the Body Politick, is, that we see nothing abated in the Price of our Native Commodities.

And besides, without doubt, we have yet felt no such Poverty, as has reduc'd us to let our Buildings and Farm-Houses go to ruine.

is Beneficial to England.

55

As yet, there has been no where a visible Fall in the Rents of Land and Houses.

'Tis true, the Interest of Money is risen, but that has plainly proceeded from the Advantage Men have found by dealing with the *Exchequer*.

'Tis to be fear'd our Stock of Shipping for Trade is less at present than before; however, our Fleet and Naval Strength is apparently more powerful now than ever it was; and undoubtedly this War has bred us up more able Seamen than formerly we had.

But the truest Sign of our Vitals not being tainted, and that we are not wounded in any noble Part, is, that our Manufactures, and all our home Product, generally speaking, hold up to their former Rates.

For this is a direct Evidence that we are not at all, or very little, diminish'd in the Numbers of our People; and 'tis a Mark, that tho' we may have been interrupted in our Importations, yet that we Export rather more than in former Times.

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If

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*That Foreign Trade*

If we decreas'd in People to any degree, there would be less Consumption, and consequently our home Commodities would become cheaper; and if there were not a great Call abroad for our Product and Manufactures, they must sink in value here.

Not only now, but during the whole War, they have sold well at home and abroad, which is a sign that we did not quite consume, and live altogether upon the Capital, but that our annual Produce and Income did go a great way towards maintaining our Foreign Expences.

But this must not mislead Men to think, because our Exportations have supported us so well in time of War, that we may live, and grow rich, without much Trade abroad, merely by their Help in time of Peace; since perhaps the Course of this may quite alter.

For as some Serpents bear in their Head a Stone which cures the Venom of their biting, so the Mischiefs arising from this long War, did, in a degree, produce

Beneficial to England.

produce their own Remedy in relation to *England*.

As it hindred our Trade, and was expensive to us, so it interrupted the Tillage, Labour, and Manufactures of other Countries, and created there a Necessity of our Commodities, to which must be attributed, in some measure, the great Call that has been during Nine Years, for our Corn, Barrell'd-Beef and Pork, Tallow, Leather, Cheefe and Butter, and courser sort of Drapery; for which Goods we must not expect there will be the same Occasion; nor so profitable a Vent in time of Peace as in time of War.

The Returns of these Commodities have help'd to maintain our Foreign Expences, and have kept the Radical Moisture within the Kingdom, which otherwise must have been quite exhausted, by drawing out those Summs that were necessary to subsist our Troops in *Flanders*.

This Exportation, occasion'd by the Wants, which War only had brought upon our Neighbours, has stood in the room of Money, which else must have been exported;



That Foreign Trade

exported; so that comparing the present Species with what was in the Kingdom in 1688, there seems to be still more Money left than we could reasonably hope to find after a War so long and so expensive.

By the Stock that had been gather'd in Peace, and by the Benefit of these more than ordinary, and in some sort, accidental Exportations, we have maintain'd our selves for Nine Years; and now at the end of the Business, our Condition is very far from desperate.

'Twere by no means difficult to give a very plain and almost certain account how far the National Stock and Substance is impair'd and lessen'd by the War: But we shall avoid entring upon these Particulars, and opening Points, which are rather tender of being seen, than at all frightful to look upon; However, we shall presume so far in these nice Matters, as to affirm (notwithstanding all our Calamities, Losses, and Expences, since, or a little before, the Year 1666.) that the Riches of England (all things consider'd) are greater at this very Day, than they were in that Year, which could not possibly be, if we had

is Beneficial to England

59

had all the while decreas'd by Trade, as our *Lisbon* Author has suggested.

For whoever does inquire into, and consider of this Subject, will find, that in all things that compose a People's Wealth, (stor'd Commodities and ready Money excepted) we are now actually richer than we then were; we have still more Plate, Jewels, and Furniture than we had at that time; Our Stock in Shipping is greater now than then; Our Stock in Live Cattle is from that time increas'd also in some proportion; Our Improvements in Building, and upon Land, since that time, are a dead, but valuable Stock, lying by us, of very many Millions; And when all this is set in the Balance, against what we may be deficient in the two Articles of stor'd Goods and Money, every reasonable Man will conclude, that one very much outweighs the other; and that, tho' we may not have such a Stock of stor'd Goods and Coin now as in 1666, yet that we are richer now than at that time in other Things, which may be as well accounted Wealth.

'Tis a very hard thing to define what may be truly call'd the Riches of a People.

*That Foreign Trade*

ple. Our Author in a manner confines it only to Gold and Silver; but with submission to better Judgments, we think it has a Signification far more extensive.

We understand that to be Wealth, which maintains the Prince, and the general Body of his People, in Plenty, Ease, and Safety.

We esteem that to be Treasure which for the use of Man has been converted from Gold and Silver, into Buildings, and Improvements of the Country; As also other Things convertible into those Metals, as the Fruits of the Earth, Manufactures, or Foreign Commodities, and stock of Shipping.

We hold to be Riches what tends to make a People safe at Home, and considerable Abroad, as do Fleets and Naval Stores.

We shall go yet farther, and say, that Maritime Knowledge, Improvement in all kind of Arts, and advancing in Military Skill; As also Wisdom, Power, and Alliances, are to be put into the Scale, when we weigh

is Beneficial to England.

weigh the Strength and Value of a Nation.

We can by no means agree with those Principles our *Lisbon* Friend would establish, *That Jewels, Lead, Tin, or Iron, tho' durable, do not deserve to be esteemed Treasure*; We think it more consonant to Reason, and more agreeable to the general Opinion of Mankind, that not only those Commodities, but even perishable Goods, may be held *the Riches of a Nation*, if they are convertible, *tho' not converted into Gold and Silver*; and this we believe does not only hold between *Man and Man*, as he talks of, but between one Country and another.

Industry and Skill to improve the Advantages of Soil and Situation, are more truly Riches to a People, than even the possession of Gold and Silver Mines, of which *Spain* is sufficiently an Instance, whose Subjects are poor, and Government impotent, with all the Wealth of the *West-Indies*.

'Tis not the taking in a great deal of Food, but 'tis good Digestion and Distribution that nourishes the Body, and keeps it healthy.

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The same thing holds in the Body Politick; so that Gold and Silver are often a surfeiting Diet to a Nation; and there may be as well too much as too little of this kind of Treasure, if it be not turn'd to proper uses.

Where it flows so fast in as to choke Industry, or where 'tis suffer'd to stagnate, it does more hurt than good.

The lazy Temper (which is now grown inveterate Nature in the *Spaniards*) came undoubtedly upon them, with that Affluence of Money which was brought into their Country in the Reign of *Philip the Second*, presuming upon which, they neglected Arts, Labour, and Manufactures; And the Common People being the Stomach of the Body Politick, and that Stomach being thus weaken'd, and not performing its due Functions, the Food that had been plentifully thrown in, was not at all digested, but pass'd through, without giving any Spirits, Strength, or Nourishment to the Members of the Commonwealth.

Infomuch

Infomuch, that *Spain* is not at all the better for those immense Summs which have travers'd their Country, but like hasty Passengers, intending to fix their Aboad with a wiser People.

Had the *Spaniards* added Conduct and Industry to their good Fortune, peradventure they might have compass'd the Universal Monarchy they aim'd at: For, if they had employ'd any proportion of the vast Treasure they brought yearly from the *Indies*, in Manufactures, and useful Arts at home, or in Trade abroad, undoubtedly they must have been the most Powerful Nation in the World.

Trade and Manufactures are the only Mediums by which such a digestion and distribution of Gold and Silver can be made, as will be Nutritive to the Body Politick.

No Summ that can be dug out of Mines, bares any Proportion with what may be made to rise from the whole Labour of a Trading and an Industrious People.

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That Foreign Trade

A Treasure therefore accidentally flowing in, that interrupts and choaks this Industry, may be prejudicial to the Publick.

We may likewise add, that in *Persia* and some of the Eastern-Nations (where 'tis believ'd there is more Gold and Silver than in any other Part of the World) the Common People are under the last Degree of Poverty, because, through a wrong Policy in their Government, this Treasure which should circulate about, is suffer'd to stagnate in the Princes Coffers.

These Metals then, are so far from being (as our Author would have it) *the only, or most useful Riches*; that sometimes they may be hurtful, and are never at all useful, but when in Motion, and Ministring to Trade, and the other Business of a People.

And Wealth is so far from taking Wing by this Life, and Activity, and going away, that nothing else can keep it in a Country; for it flies the Regions that pretend to fetter it by Tricks and Laws, and courts those Places most, which give it the greatest Liberty.

The

is Beneficial to England.

65

The two chief ways of employing a Stock of Riches, so as to make it beneficial to the Publick are,

By setting hands to work, and advancing Manufactures, and improving what ever the Earth produces at home, in Order to a Superlucration of something from other Countries for our own use.

Or this Stock is made use of abroad, and sent out, either in our own Product or in Bullion, to exchange with the Goods of other Places for our Consumption, or to be carry'd out again, for the use of other Countries.

From what has been already said, there seems reason to conclude that this Kingdom cannot maintain it self in Peace, and in War, by the Barter of its own Product; we must therefore place the Hopes of our well, and safe being, in the Benefits we have, and may again receive, from our Foreign Traffick.

What has Relation to our Manufactures, and home Product, ought justly to be the Care of the State, and should

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receive

*That Foreign Trade*

receive all possible encouragement, but this ought not so intirely to take up our view, as to make us slight our Concerns abroad.

The Posture our Neighbours are in, requires we should extend our Commerce to the utmost, in Order to a continued breed of Sea-men, for the forming such a Naval Strength, as is necessary for our Defence.

What ever Business we quit, and abandon, other Countries will take up, and from our Spoils not only be Richer, but much Stronger.

A great part of our Domestick Traffick depends upon our Foreign Commerce, and we must sink in one, as the other decreaseth.

The Exportation of our own Product is indeed the Foundation of all our Trade, but 'tis subject to many Accidents: Other Countries may set up the Manufactures which we excel in at present, and tho' not by the Goodness, yet by a low Price, beat us down in the Markets abroad; but setting this Fear aside, 'tis evidently true, that all along, as we have

is Beneficial to England.

have enlarg'd our Trade, both the Consumption and Exportation, of our Native Product has Augmented in Proportion.

We can enter into no new dealings with any People, among whom, we have not a vent for some of our Commodities: And if our Manufactures are not more industriously recommended, spread, and dispers'd about, in the Nations where we deal, it has proceeded from this, that very prosperous Countries seldom mind to improve things to their utmost extent.

But we shall endeavour to show, that by the Means of one Foreign Trade only when it comes to be manag'd to its Height, and best advantage, *England* may annually export the value of 300,000 *l.* in Cloth, over and above what it carries out at present, which Point, in another discourse, shall be more fully treated of.

If the Exportations of our Native Product had not gone hand in hand with our Trade, and augmented as that did (or more truly speaking because of Trade) there could have been no Vent for

*That Foreign Trade*

for that prodigious Increase, which certainly has arisen from the meliorating of Lands, for these last hundred Years.

Trade, all manner of ways, occasions Consumption, bringing a resort of Strangers and an Increase of People to all Countries whatsoever, where it flourishes, and is encouraged.

If what we have laid down all along in the Series of this Discourse be true, that our Foreign Traffick has added to our National Stock, augmented our Native Strength, and put a higher Value upon the Land Interest of this Kingdom, it should be the joint Endeavour of all kind of People to promote its Welfare.

And the Landed Gentlemen should not be misled by narrow minded Persons, who raise Objections against Particulars, and make Conclusions in single Instances, without having look'd into the whole, and consider'd how the general Balance stands.

To enquire whether we get or lose by this, or that Branch of Trade, is an endless and uncertain Speculation: The only Question of Importance, and which indeed

is Beneficial to England.

indeed should employ the Thoughts of considering Men, is, in the Main do we get, or lose?

A Nation that by its whole dealing gets in the General Balance, visibly Increases in Strength, and Power, as the Northern Kingdoms have done since the War, and as *England* and *Holland* did before it: And a Country that by its dealings, loses at the Foot of the Account, does visibly grow weak and decline, as *Spain* has done for these last threescore Years: And of this Matter, such as have not been bred Merchants, are as competent Judges, as any trading Person whatsoever; for it was to the deep Judgments of the Ministers of State, *Richieu* and *Colbert*, and not to the Merchants, that *France* owes the Prosperity their Trade was lately in, and 'twas their Wisdom, more than the Industry of their Merchants, that laid the Foundations of it.

In most present Evils the worst is to be seen, but 'tis hard to foresee, and provide for all the various Events, that may follow a new Council.



That Foreign Trade

No good General engages himself so far, as that a fair Retreat shall be impossible: In the same manner, wise States-Men never advance a Council, that if it has bad success, they cannot recover themselves by an after-gain of Prudence.

Some Errors in Government may be committed, which can easily be repair'd, but others are fatal, and hardly find any Relief in better Conduct for the future.

All this holds no where more truly than in Measures concerning Trade; all new Fancies and Advices, pretending to limit, or direct its Course, and Channel, prove generally pernicious to it.

One Branch may seem prejudicial, but to lop it off, may kill another, which, by secret Fibres, has relation to it.

Laws, high Duties, or Prohibitions, may force the Merchant to quit a Traffick esteem'd hurtful, but if the want of this Branch be found, in the Event, to impoverish us, and to enrich those Parts that have obtain'd it, by what Industry is it afterwards to be recover'd?

And

is Beneficial to England.

71

And when by Errors, and false Steps, Trade has been once lost, did it ever return to any Country?

Long Experience is more to be rely'd upon, than any Policy, or Humane Invention. What has been try'd, and found a wholesome Diet for the Body Politick, should be kept to, and not lightly alter'd.

This Kingdom has prosper'd for a hundred Years, by every where extending its Traffick as much as Possible; and, whether a contrary Course would better our Condition, or no, is, at least, uncertain.

That such a Trade hinders the consumption of our own Product; That we get by these Trafficks only; and that we lose in the Balance, by such, and such, a Country, are Matters easily said, but more difficult to prove than is vulgarly imagin'd.

For to determine positively in these Points, such secret Springs must be look'd into, as perhaps quite lie out of Humane Sight; and many times the workings of Trade are as hidden, and

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That Foreign Trade

unaccountable, as the Operations of Nature.

One Dealing may be thought hurtful, but the laying it aside may determine another which brings apparent Profit. We bring from one Place Matters for Luxury, but our use of 'em, may bring 'em into such Vogue, as to occasion our vending, in other Parts, three times the Quantity we consume our selves, by which the Nation gains: We deal with one Country to loss, but this is the Cause of, or lets us into, a Trade with another Region, by which we get. We lost in the Balance with *France*, but perhaps if we had not dealt with the *French*, the *French* could not have traded with *Spain*, and *Italy*: and but for the Traffick between *France*, and *Spain* and *Italy*, peradventure we could not have enjoy'd the Commerce, so gainful to us, with the *Italians*, and the *Spaniards*.

'Tis hard to trace all the Circuits of Trade, To find its hidden Recesses, To discover its Original Springs, and Motions, and to shew what mutual Dependance all Trafficks have one upon the other: And yet, whoever will Categorically pronounce, that we get, or lose by

is Beneficial to England.

73

by any Business, must know all this, and, besides, have a very deep insight into many other things.

But, tho' the Links and Causes of Trade are often remov'd from Humane Sight, its Effects are always evident.

He who looks into Anatomy, will wonder how life can be at all carry'd on, when there are so many Pipes, and Conduits, of which, any Stoppage is immediate Death, and the Reflection makes him Melancholy.

A Dissection of the Body Politick, is much of the same Nature, and not at all more cheerfull Work; and such as search into Matters of Government, will admire how a State subsists, and thrives, when, in appearance, there are so many things to hurt, and so few to do it good.

But if upon the whole, a Nation has thriven, and got Strength, and Power, tho' by what Means is uncertain, it can hardly be advisable to change its Course, and enter into new Measures, no more than it would be wise for a Man, in sound Health, to be always taking



That Foreign Trade

taking Physick, because some Emperick tells him he is out of Order.

'Tis often of pernicious Consequence to endeavour at being better than well, and not only private Men, but Bodies Politick, will have very ill Constitutions, who are always tampering and trying Experiments upon themselves.

Whether or no some particular Trafficks prejudice *England* and put the Balance against us, shall be examin'd in another Discourse: But by what has been already said, 'tis hop'd we have sufficiently prov'd that Trade in General has done us no great hurt yet, whatever it may do hereafter.

The best Course of making Foreign Commerce undoubtedly beneficial to a Country, is to promote and encourage Frugality; for we are very far from adhering to the old Notion, that Luxury and some Excess, may be profitable. On the contrary we are of Opinion, that Thrift does proportionably enrich a whole People, as it betters the Condition of a Private Man.

But

is Beneficial to England.

25

But sometimes there are Diseases so deeply fix'd, that 'tis impossible to root 'em out; and in such a Case, there is nothing left, but to keep the Distemper under, by natural, and easie Remedies.

Many Circumstances incline a People to more Expences than are consistent with the Publick Welfare: Under a Regal Government they will be more Pompous than in a Common-wealth. Nations getting by Merchandise, who hazard much, are desirous to enjoy something; and fertile Soils will induce Men to be Luxurious. The best Skill in such a Country, is to preserve things as well as may be within the Bounds of Moderation, and to recommend decent Thrift in Apparel, Furniture, Equipage, and Tables, by Examples from the Court, which are always most prevailing.

Kingdoms, grown Rich by Traffick, will unavoidably enter into a plentiful way of living, but so long as this is Universal, when it is not splendid Beggary, and that only among a few: when the inferiour Rank of Men have their Share of Plenty, as well as the better Sort; when Tillage, Labour and Manufactures



That Foreign Trade

factures go on well in the mean while, when Buildings and Farm-Houses are still kept in Repair, when People, less frugal than they should be, are, notwithstanding, able to pay their Taxes, and Aids to the Government, and to provide for all things necessary to their defence: In such a Nation, some Excess and Luxury, is rather the Sign, and Effect of great present Wealth, than the Cause and Fore-runner of future Poverty.

We in *England* are not ty'd to the same strict Rules of Parsimony, as our Rivals in Trade the *Dutch*. They must be always ready and provided with a good Bank and Fond against a Land-Invasion. The ordinary Charges of their Government in time of Peace, what for keeping out the Sea, payment of Interest-Money for 25 Millions, and other Expences, amount *per Annum*, to near four Millions: which is a vast Sum for so small a Country: so that they are continually forc'd, in a Manner, to pump for Life: And nothing can support them, but the strictest Thrift, and Oeconomy imaginable, both in Private, and in Publick,

But

is Beneficial to England.

77

But our Case is far from being the same, we are not so easily invaded: The Expence of our Government, in Time of Peace, is much less than of theirs; we have a large and fertile Country, and a great Native Product; so that the whole Publick of this Kingdom may grow Rich, tho' the People consume more Foreign Commodities, and are more Luxurious than in other Nations.

And, perhaps, it is not impossible, but that our Industry would be less active, if it were not awaken'd and incited by some irregular Appetites, which are more easily found Fault with, than cur'd. A rich Soil is apt to make a People lazy, and peradventure we should not be so stirring, and inventive, but for our Inclination to Foreign Vanities, which are the less to be apprehended, when it appears by many Circumstances, that instead of growing Poor, the Nation did increase in Riches.

'Tis without doubt the honestest, and wisest thing in the World, quite to cure Luxury, but if it is grown too big for the Laws made, or to be made, which often happens, and is perhaps our Case; the

*That Foreign Trade*

the next Wisdom consists, in contriving to get such a Foundation of Wealth, as that the vain and expensive Temper of a People, may not be destructive to the Publick.

He that frames his Politie upon what Mankind should be, will find himself almost ever in the wrong: All Regulations therefore must be made with some regard to the present Bent and Inclination of the Country. Where they have been long us'd to a loose Administration, sumptuary Laws, high Duties, and Prohibitions, will have little Effect towards the keeping out of Foreign Goods; especially so long as the Appetite to 'em remains among us: And such Contrivances, end only in making us fetch the same Commodities openly, or by stealth, from the Markets abroad, and at a higher Price.

To banish Luxury quite by a long Series of steady Government, and Wisdom is certainly the most advisable; but if the People is not to be reform'd, and if this spend-thrift Humour is not to be cur'd, Care must be taken to entail on the prodigal a vast Estate, and to get for him such Wealth, as may weary out, and baffle all his Vanities.

A large

is Beneficial to England.

A large and extended Trade brings this about, and has gain'd to *England* such Riches as all our Follies, Riots, and ill Conduct, have not yet been able to wast; and our Wealth may be perpetuated, and for ever entail'd on this Kingdom, if by false Steps, and thro' mistaken Measures we do not neglect or abandon those sort of Trafficks which (as we shall endeavour to make appear) have been the most gainful to us.

We have shown some very probable Reasons to believe, that from the Year 1600 to 1688, the general Rental of *England* was near trebled, and the Purchase of Land half doubled: That the Stock of the Kingdom was multiply'd above five Fold, and particularly the Species of Money above four Fold: And that we did improve, in all kind of Treasure, not only from 1600 to 1666, but to the very Time of the breaking out of the late expensive War, contrary to their Belief and Assertions, who, having not in the least weigh'd and consider'd the whole, pronounce rashly in important Matters, and would propose new Measures, when the old Ones have apparently been so advantageous to the Kingdom.

In



That Foreign Trade

In the following Discourses we shall do our best to show what Foreign Trades bring with them the greatest, and most certain Profit; and to make it appear, That 'tis the Interest of *England* to enlarge its Traffick as much as possible; That nothing but an extended Trade can repair those Breaches which the War has made in our Affairs; That our National Stock is yet large enough to carry on our Commerce with Vigour; That, in the Course of a few Years, our Trade may recover its former Prosperity; That some of those Trafficks which are vulgarly thought to hurt the Kingdom, have all along increas'd its Wealth; That to export Bullion in the Way of Trade, is not prejudicial to this Nation.

And these Points we shall handle without either Prejudice, or Partiality, and with no Design but to hunt after Truth, and with the utmost of our Abilities to serve the Publick.

And whatever our Success may be hereafter in examining and stating these difficult and perplex'd Matters, 'tis hop'd we have sufficiently made out one Proposition, That *Foreign Trade* is beneficial to *England*.

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(81)

DISCOURSES

ON THE

Publick Revenues,

AND ON

TRADE.

PART II.

DISCOURSE II.

On the Protection and Care of Trade.

AS Private Men are better trusted for being Provident and Watchful in their own Business; so it fares with the Publick of any Country, in relation to it's Neighbours: And the more careful *England* shall be of it's Foreign Commerce,

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merce, and the more vigorous we are in asserting it's Interest, the more Reputation and Credit we shall have abroad; for such as neglect themselves, are seldom valued by other People.

Our Native Riches, and apt Situation for Commerce, and the flowing in of Wealth upon us, had brought in here that Negligence, which long Prosperity does introduce in most Places.

But, we are so Sore with the Wounds of the late War, that perhaps we may now begin to look about us; for our present Circumstances will hardly bear those Errors, which we might safely enough commit, in the more prosperous Condition of our Affairs.

If both the Legislative Authority, and Ministerial Power, do not interpose with the utmost Diligence and Wisdom, we are in danger to lose the most profitable and largest Share of all our Foreign Business.

A great many Trafficks, very advantageous to *England*, have been lost by the supine Negligence of preceding Times. As that to *Russia*, which the
Dutch,

Dutch, and that to *Greenland*, which the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, and those of *Dantzwick*, have in a manner wholly engross'd. The *East-India* Trade for Nutmegs, Cloves and Mace; that to *China* and *Japan*. Our Dealings with the *French* were likewise render'd more disadvantageous from about 1684. and 1685. than they had formerly been, meerly by our want of Conduct and Courage in suffering their Commodities to enter here under low Duties, and our Goods to be in a manner prohibited their Kingdom by high Impositions; so that if the Ballance lay so much against us, 'twas truly our own Fault.

We might Instance other Trafficks, which our Folly and Sloth have suffer'd to take another Course and Channel: Whether they are possibly to be recover'd, is a great Question, but, to retrieve them, must be the Work of some Years; and, for the present, 'twill sufficiently employ the publick Care to secure what remains.

The foremention'd Advantages may, peradventure, be regain'd by future Prudence, but we must take heed of embracing too much at one time. For no Remedies





On the Protection and

medies are so dangerous, as those which pretend to cure all at once: And the Disorders introduc'd heretofore by loose Administration, as they came in slowly, so they are to be mended by degrees.

'Twill be a great Matter for the present, if we can recover the Ground our Trade has lost during the late War.

The Act of Navigation has been lately broken into very much, to the great Decay of our Stock of Shipping, and Breed of Seamen.

Strangers seem to have beaten us, in a manner, out of our own Ports; for it was observ'd in the Port of *London*,

	Tons.
That <i>Anno</i> 1695. there were	} 65788.
of <i>English</i> built Shipping, but	
And <i>Anno</i> . 1695. of Fo-	} 83238.
reign Shipping	

And probably, if it were look'd into, the same Observation might have been made the Year before, and the two Years after.

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Care of Trade.

85

By the unlukly Conduct of our Naval Affairs, the Trade to and from this Kingdom, was chiefly drove by Princes and States in Neutrality, such as *Denmark* and *Sweden*, to the Northward, *Portugal* and the State of *Genoa*, who have hereby not only increas'd in their Shipping, but in the Knowledge of our Trade; and unless care be taken to regain to *England*, in the very beginning of this Peace, the Ground we have thus lost, in all likelihood it will never be recover'd.

The Breach of the Navigation Act, in our Plantations, will have dangerous Consequences, and the Mischief, if it obtain Footing, may not be easily cur'd. The Bent and Design of that Law, was to make those Colonies as much dependant, as possible, upon their Mother-Country.

Whereas, during this War, and the slack Administration which War occasions, they have presum'd, as it were, to set up for themselves, and to load their Effects on Ships belonging to Foreigners, and to Trade directly with other Nations, sending thither their Commodities,

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and receiving from thence Manufactures, and Product not of our Growth, to the great Damage of this Kingdom.

To wink at such Proceedings, has been, lately, the chief Profit of corrupt Governors; and, if speedy Care be not taken, these Abuses will grow too inveterate, or too big for Correction. So that, in process of Time, these Colonies (if they fall into the Practice of Trading independantly of *England*) may erect themselves into Independant Commonwealths, or Pyratival Societies, which at last we shall not be able to Master; by which means the Plantations, which now are a main Branch of our Wealth, may become a Strength to be turn'd against us.

These Incroachments on the Navigation Act, have principally been made during this War; and by how much these Evils have obtain'd, by so much we have lost Ground, in our Business both at home and abroad.

The *Norway* and the *Baltick* Trades, have been lately carry'd on in a more disadvantageous way than ever; they always drain'd us of Money, but this, in some Measure, was compensated by their giving

giving Employment to near a Hundred Sail of Ships, but now they do not employ five Ships; and for a great while, have Exported between Three and Four Thousand Pound *per Annum*.

As to the *Guinea* Trade, this War has brought it to a very low Ebb, the *French* having disturb'd our Colonies, and destroy'd our Fortresses and Places of Strength, upon the Coast of *Africk*.

The neglect in settling the *African* Trade, has forc'd the Plantations, for their Support, to deal with Foreigners for Negroes, and consequently to Traffick with them, in return for those Negroes.

Some of our *West-India* Plantations, have been likewise very much dispeopled lately, by Plagues and Earthquakes; and in some Parts, during the late War, the Natives are grown upon us, and, in other Places, we have been harass'd and ruin'd by the *French*.

Our *East-India* Trade is also in a very bad Condition; Losses abroad, and Discouragements at home, have very much diminish'd the Capital Stock. The late



Piretical attempts on the *Mogul's* Subjects and Allies, in the Red Sea, have brought Difficulties upon the Companies Affairs in *India*, not easily to be overcome: And these Piracies are partly the effect of that loose Administration with which War is accompany'd; for the Ships which have committed these Depredations, have been chiefly fitted out from the *West-India* Ports; if the Governors there had kept a Jealous Eye over these Freebooters and Buccaneers; if they had narrowly watch'd their goings out and comings in; if instead of sharing in the Spoil, (which perhaps has been practiced) they had compell'd suspected Persons to give good Security for their Behaviour, or laid an Embargo on their Ships: And if they had been vigorous in Seizing and Prosecuting these Pirates at their return, (the contrary of which is but too Notorious) such wicked Actions, and Breaches of the Laws of God and Nations, could never have been committed.

It appears sufficiently from the following Account, that in general, since this War, our Trade is very much diminish'd.

Tonnage

Tonnage and Poundage, neat Produce.

	l.	s.	d.
1688	510769	13	00
From Michaelmas	1689	416517	12 08
	1690	245951	04 07 ½
1687,	1691	399770	05 03
To Michaelmas	1692	484222	16 08 ½
	1693	287681	19 09
	1694	407584	17 10 ½
	1695	362707	05 01 ½

So that, by a Medium of Seven Years, it appears the Customs are lessen'd since the War, *per Annum*, about 138707 *l.* 07 *s.* 00 *d.* And this Decrease is in the Tonnage and Poundage only, besides the Fall in the new Imposts or Additional Duties.

This Decrease could not have proceeded alone from a Fall in the Branches we have just now mention'd, but must have been occasion'd by a general Decay in our *Italian, Spanish, Turkey*, and other Trades.

Some People have been of Opinion, That Trade and War could not go on

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On the Protection and

together; but this is plainly a Mistake, for 'tis particularly observ'd, in the Histories of *Venice*, how Care in this important Point, enabled that State to bear up, first against *Maximilian* the Emperor; then against the French King: And, this good Order in their Affairs, gave them Power to struggle afterwards with a mighty League form'd against them; and afforded them Strength enough, a while after, to contend with the *Ottoman* Empire, many Years, in the Reign of *Selim*.

But perhaps no Care nor Wisdom in the World could fully have protected our Trade, during this last War with *France*.

Upon any ill Success, Men are apt to blame those that Govern; whereas no Rulers can protect Trade any further than the Necessities of War will give 'em leave; for their chief Object must always be the Publick Safety, and the Nation's Honour.

Never any League in its Nature was more difficult to hold together, than that which *England* has been lately engag'd in: Trading Countries were to be persuaded to a long War, which they
feldom

Care of Trade.

91

feldom care for: We were to support the Dutch; and the Dutch were to join with us, tho' Rivals and jealous of one another, in Matters relating to Traffick. The House of *Austria* was to League with Protestants, in a manner against the Catholick Interest. Nothing could have produc'd Order and Form, out of all these jarring Elements, but the supreme Wisdom of the King: His Fame, and the Opinion conceiv'd of his Conduct and Military Virtues, did reconcile all these discordant Interests, till, at last, he has brought *France* to just and honourable Conditions of Peace.

But to maintain his Figure in the Alliance, and to bind together so many Princes and States, who wanted not Temptations to break and divide, He was compell'd to maintain abroad a great Land-Army, without which, *Flanders* must have been lost: And if that Outwork had been once gain'd, *Holland* would have been quickly over-run, or must have consented to a separate Agreement; and if *Holland* had been reduc'd to those Conditions, *England* must have been left to maintain it self by its proper Forces.

If



If *England* and *Holland* had not exerted themselves, in a more than ordinary manner; and if the King's Heroick Ardour had not lead him to seek out Danger, to head his Armies, and to give repeated Proofs of his own and the English Valour, this Confederacy could never have held so long together: For 'tis well known the Princes of the House of *Austria* have not kept those Pacts and Stipulations, they entred into at the beginning of it. The *Spaniards*, of Five and twenty Thousand which they engag'd to maintain in *Flanders*, have never had above Eight Thousand effective Men. And the *Germans* at no time have been upon the *Rhine* so early, nor with so numerous Armies, as they had promis'd; so that *France* must have overrun the Low Countries, and dissolv'd the whole League, but for the *German* Auxiliaries which *England* and *Holland* have all along paid; and but for the Assistance of the English Troops, which alone have put a Stop to the Progress of the French Arms.

In that Juncture therefore, and with respect to future Safety, and a good Settlement at last; and because the War had been

been put upon that Foot, almost from the beginning, and that the League could perhaps be then held up, upon no other Terms, maintaining so great a Land-Force in *Flanders* was necessary, and peradventure unavoidable.

Now, to have so numerous a Land-Army, and at the same time to pay such a Fleet as would give Trade a full Protection, was an Expencc which must have brought us very low.

Besides, to increase our Forces abroad, so many Troops were drawn from hence as left the Kingdom at every turn unguarded; so that we must have been, liable to frequent Insults upon our Coast, and Invasions, if our whole Naval Strength had not been kept together, in one Gros, and in a Body, which is inconsistent with the Care of Trade.

For, to have preserv'd our Traffick against the Attempts of *France*, it had been requisite to have divided the Fleet into small Squadrons, which as Occasion requir'd, might have watch'd the Motions of the Enemy, barr'd their Ports, and been a Guard to our Merchant-men, both outward and homeward bound.

And



On the Protection and

And the French, making a Pyratyckal War, being too weak to engage with us in a main Body, their Designs upon our Trade were only to be oppos'd by such a Division of our Naval Strength.

The Protection of Commerce does principally consist, in allotting to each Fleet such a Complement of Seamen, as may be necessary for sailing the respective Ships with Safety; and in allotting to each Fleet, such a Strength of Men of War for a Guard, as its Value and Importance may require.

But if this had been done, our Coast must probably have been left so naked, that the *French*, before our dispers'd and divided Strength could have been gotten together, might have made a Descent upon us, with such a number of Troops, as could not have been resisted by the handful of Men, which, all along, has been left at home: So that, while we were Protecting Trade, we might have lost the Kingdom.

And, when our Merchant-Fleets were taken, we blam'd the Mannagement of the Admiralty; whereas, to argue the Mar-

Care of Trade.

95

ter calmly, and without Prejudice, neither our Circumstances, nor our manner of making War, nor the Nature of the Alliance, could perhaps admit of better Conduct.

These Considerations therefore, make it a great Question, whether it be always best to keep a War at a distance from us, unless it can be done by the Armies, and chiefly, at the Expence of Others.

A long Foreign War (without utter Destruction to the Nation that undertakes it) is hardly to be maintain'd but by making a strong Impression into the Enemies Country, and so subsisting the Armies by the Help of Contributions, as *Hannibal* did in *Italy*, and the *Romans* in *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*, and as the *French* have lately done in their new Conquests.

And, if Trade cannot be protected in time of War, a Trading Nation must avoid being long engag'd in such a Business: But if Trade can be protected in such a Season (and of which there are some Instances) a Trading Nation can best bear a War abroad, because its Imported Wealth will, in some degree,

answer



answer for what the War must carry out.

But a People which cannot protect their Trade, had peradventure better so order their Matters as to receive a War at Home, upon their Frontiers, than to maintain it abroad; for tho' Invasion may bring much Ruin to the outward Parts, yet they, who are upon the Defensive, keep the Expence within themselves, and the Blood retires inwards, to cheer and fortify the Heart: And those Diseases which afflict the Members, are never so dangerous as those which affect the Vitals, by carrying out the Radical Moisture.

France, from the time of Charles IX. to the Reign of Harry IV. had a continual Civil War in its Bowels, and was often ravag'd by Armies from *Spain* and *Germany*; but this War exporting no Treasure, did not Impoverish the Kingdom: For, with the Help of a little Trade, and by those vast Sums *Philip II.* sent thither, to maintain the League, the *French*, when the Peace of *Vervins* was concluded, were in a more flourishing Condition, than they had been for many Ages.

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The Defection of the *Low Countries* from *Spain*, happen'd about the same time: The *Hollanders* had a long Civil War in the Heart of their Country; but, in this Season, they began their *East-India* Trade, and set afoot their other principal Trafficks, by the Benefit of which, the Invaded People grew Rich, and the Invaders became Poor: For the Ruin of the Spanish Monarchy is dated from three unfortunate Councils; that is, From the great Treasure that was carry'd out to maintain the League in *France*; From the vast Sum that was expended for the Invasion of *England* in 1588; And, from their long Foreign War, to reduce the *Netherlands*.

War, in it self, is not inconsistent with the Care and Protection of Trade; but it may be put upon such a Foot, and there may be such a Form and Manner of making War, as may render it almost impossible, so to carry on Trade, as to make it beneficial to a Kingdom.

A Trading People can maintain a War when their Strength is so dispos'd, that their Naval Force may have no other

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On the Protection and

Care and Business but to attend and guard their Traffick ; but this cannot be done with Safety, unless their Land-Armies are kept at home, to defend the Country against Invasions.

And, tho' such a Foot of the War might not suit with past Measures, and the Nature of this Alliance, yet perhaps it may well enough consist with Leagues to be made hereafter.

As for Example, Suppose England were oblig'd in a new Treaty with the Dutch, to furnish for its Quota 20000 Foot, in case of an Invasion, from France, upon Flanders or Holland.

The Charge of 20000 Foot, is per An. about } 500,000*l.*

This is an Expence that cannot hurt the Nation, and may be maintain'd by the Sole help of Trade; and such a number of Troops, may be paid without any considerable Exportation of Money in Specie, which would then be left to turn in the uses of our Foreign and Domestick Traffick.

But,

Care of Trade.

But, a great Land-Army maintain'd abroad, utterly dreins the Kingdom ; and when we look back, it must astonish any one to consider how this Nation has been able to bear such an Expence, both at Sea and Land.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 9 Years the Navy has cost us ———	18,061,938,	—10	—00.
In 9 Years the Land-Ar- my has cost us ———	20,982,034,	—18	—07½.
Total ———	39,043,973,	—08	—07½.

One Million less spent every Year on a Land-Army, and laid out upon a Fleet, would increase it a full a Third, and render the Navy so Powerful, that we might carry on a War at Sea, singly, by our own Strength. And hereafter, when the *Hollanders* shall be eas'd in their Quota of Ships, they may augment their Forces at Land, and very well defend Themselves and *Flanders*, with a small Addition of Charge, and by 20000 of our Troops.



And, in Case of a War hereafter, if the main of our Expence run in this Channel, we may so increase our Navy, as that our Traffick may be protected; and such a Force at Sea, may every where bring the same distress upon the French Trade, as their Privateers have brought upon ours; with such a Fleet we may spoil their Harbours, destroy their Ports, and perhaps break their Naval Strength.

A War by Sea will not be above our Force, and perhaps by such an Application of our Power, we may be near as useful to any Confederates; whereas, when we think of contending by Land, the Treasure we must carry out, will make us be sooner exhausted than our Neighbours; and, in all Confederacies, the Burthen, in the beginning, should (with Geometrical Proportion) be equally laid upon the whole; for if it bear too hard upon any single Part, that Part must first tire, and give out before the rest; and 'tis by no means wise, in any League, to be the Forlorn Hope, and expos'd the first to Ruin; for they who keep back, and prudently reserve their Strength to
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the last, are certain of the best Terms, at the closing of the Business.

Nothing drains a Country so much as a Foreign War, where the Troops must be paid abroad; it bears off the Species of Money (the very Life of Trade) and takes away those Hands that would otherwise be increasing the Publick Wealth, and by the Sword and Diseases, consumes the People, who are the most important Riches of a State.

But when we exert our chief Strength in setting forth a great Fleet, and in being formidable at Sea, (to which we are adapted by Genius and Situation) and when we manage the War in that Method, our Money will be kept at home; for what is laid out this way, is rather a Circulation, than a Wasting of the Kingdom's Treasure.

The French have prevail'd in a Pyrrhical War, because we have been oblig'd to keep together in a main Body; but, at another Season, we may watch and attend this Division of their Forces; for if one Army varies it's Form of Embattling, the other must do the like; and this not only holds in the ordering



of a Fight, but likewise in the very manner of making War. A good General, Superior in Strength, does not always keep his Troops together in a Gros, and suffer the Foe to waſt his Country with continual Parties: on the contrary, an able Leader alters his Measures, as he ſees occaſion; and if he cannot come to engage in a main Body, he tries, with divided Strength, and by Skirmiſhing, to diſtreſs or oppoſe the Enemy.

So, hereafter, when the War ſhall be upon another Foot, we may ſafely divide our Naval Power, as our Neighbours do, and attend the Motion of thoſe ſmaller Fleets, that from time to time, may be ſent out to intercept our Convoys.

A Trading-Country, contending in Arms, is like a Rich Man at Play with common Gameſters, where 'tis always contriv'd, that he who has the moſt Mony, ſhall be the greateſt Loſer.

But *England* will loſe leaſt, at the Game it beſt underſtands; and that is, to diſpute its Quarrels with ſtrong, and well appointed Navies; with which, not only we can offend our Enemies, but pre-

preserve Commerce, by which we are ſupported.

Negligence, in the Protection of Trade, is the worſt part of ill Administration, becauſe it is depriving our ſelves of Strength, and adding it to thoſe who deſire our Ruin.

However, in ſome Junctures, 'tis almoſt impoſſible that its Concerns ſhould be duly look'd after and regarded.

But when the Wiſdom of the State provides, in Leagues hereafter to be made, that our Quota may conſiſt in Ships, we ſhall have no Cares to divert us from minding our Intereſt at Sea.

'Tis a Buſineſs we are Maſters in, and we can bear the Expences of it. But if we ſhould ever happen to have corrupt Stateſmen, a ſtrong Navy is by no means agreeable to ſuch a Miniſtry: 'Tis a Matter the Houſe of Commons are well vers'd in, and us'd to; the Charges of it are fully known and eaſily ſtated, where there is no incerting dark and deceitful Articles. A Fleet admits of that Oeconomy which a vitious Court abhors, and (contrary to what *Crobylus* an-

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swer'd upon this Subject) 'tis a manner of War, capable, in its Nature, of a fix'd and regular Dyet. The Frugality therefore, which it may introduce, in the State, is a barren Field for such as mean to grow Rich apace, whatever it shall cost the Nation.

But they who sit now at Helm, have no such Thoughts about 'em; and undoubtedly they will provide that *England* shall be never engag'd in Leagues and Alliances, which may be inconsistent with the Protection and Care of Foreign Traffick.

In a Peace we may recover the Ground and Advantages we have lost of late; and quiet Times, in some degree, may restore the Condition of our Affairs abroad; but our future Success, will very much depend upon the Measures that shall be taken, now the War is determin'd.

In any Councils relating to our Traffick, perhaps it will be necessary to have two Considerations ever in our Eye, and always before us; which are,

First, Tho' we destroy'd 17 Capital Ships at *La Hogue*, yet, That, in some Sense,

Sense, the Naval Strength of *France* is lately rather increas'd, than diminish'd.

Secondly, Tho' the States of *Holland* may seem exhausted by their long Expences, yet, That, the Body of the People is Richer now, than it was before the War.

There need not many Arguments to prove the first Assertion, when we reflect that Naval Power does not so much consist in Number of Frigats, as in able Seamen; Ships may be built at home, or purchas'd abroad, and can be never wanting to those who abound in Money, but good and skilful Saylor's must be bred up by Action, and in a course of Time; and there could not be a better School for 'em, than this Pyraty War, which for five Years the French have carry'd on.

The strongest Bodies, and boldest Spirits only, will Lift themselves for such an Enterprize; so that their Privateers were a constant Nursery, and, without doubt, have bred them up a very great Number of able Seamen.

As to the Assertion concerning *Holland*, to make it out, 'twill be needful to give an



On the Protection and

an Account of that Nations Annual Ex-
pence and Income; and this we are the
better able to do, having seen a Scheme
to that purpose, drawn by a very skilful
Hand in all these Matters, which, by
Inquiry from those who understand the
Affairs of that Country, we find liable to
no material Objection.

It is Calculated for the Years, from
1688. to 1695. inclusive.

The State of Holland, Anno 1688.
stood thus:

That Hol- land contains	} 8,000,000 of Acres.
That the Number of the People is	} 2,200,000 of Inhabitants.
<hr/>	
That the Rents of Land, Houses and Heredita- ments, was	} 4,000,000 l. Sterl. per An.

That

Care of Trade.

Brought over	---4,000,000 l. Sterl. per An.
That its Trade and Business was	} 13,750,000 l. Sterl. per An.

So that the General Income of Holland was	} 17,750,000 l. Sterl. per An.
--	--------------------------------

Whereof the Taxes or Publick Revenue, were	} 4,750,000 l.
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Consum- ption in Dy- et, Apparel and Inci- dent Char- ges, over and above the Taxes	} 11,000,000 l.
--	-----------------

Yearly in- crease in time of Peace, was	} 2,000,000 l.
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Total—17,750,000 l. Sterl.



On the Protection and

As to the 4,750,000 l. Sterl. Publick Revenue,

The ordinary Charge of the Govern- ment, was	l. 2,750,000	}	l. Sterl.
Interest-Mony for 25 Millions, at 4 per Cent.—	1,000,000		
The Incident or Discreti- onary Expences	500,000	}	500,000
The Yearly Surplus ap- plicable to the Increase of Shipping, and to Naval and Military Stores, or to lay up in Mony	500,000		
Total—	4,750,000		

Supposing then that the
present War had, in Seven
Years, cost *Holland*
3,150,000 l. per Annum, or
about

22,000,000

They

Care of Trade.

They had An. 1688. in Ships of War extra- ordinary, and in Stores and Publick Mo- ny, at least	l. Sterl. 5,000,000	}	l. Sterl.
They have apply'd, out of their ordi- nary Revenue the discreti- onary Ex- pences and Surplus, 1 Million per Annum	7,000,000		
They have rais'd extraor- dinary Taxes, 1,500,000 l. per Annum, or	10,500,000	}	22,500,000
So that by this Account, the State has wasted of its Capital Stock, in Ships, Stores, &c. or is run in Debt,	4,500,000		

But



But supposing that the Government was decreas'd, that Sum since the beginning of the War, to the Year, 1695 inclusive.

Yet, considering that by a more than ordinary Frugality in Dyet, Apparel and other incident Charges, relating to the Consumption of things, which amounts to about 13 Millions Sterl. per Annum; the People may well have sav'd a 26th Part, or half a Million per Annum of their ordinary Expences, in all for seven Years, _____

l. Sterl.

3,500,000

And

l. Sterl.

0,500,000

Brought over—

And that by a more than ordinary Industry and Application to Trade, during the War, and the great Benefit they have made thereof, by the high Price of all Foreign Commodities, especially those from India (occasion'd by the Loss of so many English East-India Ships, and the Difficulties which the English East-India Company hath lain under of late Years) they may well have advanc'd their Proffit by Trade, half a Million per Annum more, in all for seven Years, _____

3,500,000

And, that out of the two Millions Yearly Increase in Times of Peace, the additional Taxes this War having been but a Million and a half per Annum, there remains an Increase of half a Million per Annum; in all for seven Years, _____

3,500,000

In all—10,500,000
It



On the Protection and

It follows, That tho' the Government was decreas'd, as before } l. Sterl. 4,500,000

Yet, That the People have Increas'd } 10,500,000

So that Holland, in general, was Richer An. 1695. than in the beginning of the War, by } 6,000,000

Allowing then the present Income of Holland to be half a Million per Annum, more than in times of Peace, } l. Sterl. 18,250,000

The ordinary Charge of the Government } 2,750,000

Interest Money for 25 Millions Sterling, } 1,000,000

The Extraordinary Charge of the War at a Medium } 3,150,000

The Yearly Consumption half a Million less than in times of Peace } 10,500,000

17,400,000

Care of Trade.

It follows, That there is yet an Annual Increase, in General of } l. Sterl. 850,000

That is to say, The Publick Revenue has decreas'd Annually, about } 650,000

But the People have Increas'd, Communibus Annis, } 1,500,000

So that, to carry this Account on to the present Year, if the Hollanders in 1695. were Increas'd } 6,000,000

And if they Annually Increase 850,000 l. their Stock must be now increas'd, since the War, } 7,700,000

This Account has been examin'd, in Holland, by such as have Reason to understand the Strength and Weakness of that Government; and they rather wonder how so right a Scheme could be fram'd here, than make any considerable Objection to it.

And 'tis here submitted to the Publick View; if it be Wrong and Faulty, there are enow in this Kingdom able to give, in this Matter, better Lights; but if it hold Good, it should awaken in us many serious Considerations.



We have taken notice of the Increase of Seamen in *France*, and the Growth of their National Stock in *Holland*; because these two Points, very probably, will most Influence in all Things relating to our Trade hereafter.

For as to *France*, such a Number of Seamen as the late War has rear'd up in the French Dominions, must, in all likelihood, put that wise Government upon endeavouring to make their Foreign Traffick more extensive than it has formerly been, and they will be mov'd to it by two Reasons; first to augment their Naval Strength, and then to enrich their Kingdom.

That which first makes a Country think of Trade, is a Natural Inclination to the Sea; (which Islanders always have) but, Art may do in some, what Nature has done in others; and a Nation, by Custom, may be brought to have a Sea-faring Habit, which perhaps is the present Case of *France*; Their Pyrratical Designs, and the want of Salt-Petre, have made 'em more acquainted with the *East-India* Shores than formerly; Their Privateers, and great Ships of
War,

War, have visited the Coasts of *Africk*; They have been with a great Fleet in the Spanish *West-Indies*, and they are no Strangers to our Islands and Plantations there; The Profits and Advantages they have gain'd in these Voyages, and by Privateering, have brought a great many Men to like and love the Sea: So that Trade, in process of time, may come, in that Kingdom, to be no longer the Effect of Force and Art, but to arise from a Genius, in the People, by much Practice adapted to it.

Their *Newfoundland*-Fishery has increas'd their Seamen: And it is a certain Maxim, That all States are powerful at Sea, as they flourish in the Fishing-Trade.

Where-ever a great number of Men, either by Inclination or Custom, love the Sea, that Country will extend its Commerce abroad; for all Nations would enjoy it if they could. Some Places indeed have neither Stock nor convenient Ports, and others want Hands to carry on the Work; but where they have Stock, Ports and Hands, they cannot be long without the Benefits of Foreign Traffick.



Upon which Score we ought to apprehend now the Peace is made, That the French will every where try to incroach upon us; That they will endeavour to enlarge their *East-India* Trade, and put it upon a better Foot; That they will strengthen those Plantations and Colonies, they have already in the *West-Indies*; And that they will give Encouragement to new Discoveries.

And Mr. *Dampier*, in his Excellent Journals, has given the World sufficient Proof, That the *Spaniards* have left room enough for future Industry; and that all the Countries, yielding Gold, and all the Silver-Mines, are not in their Possession.

Should the French settle at the Disemboguing of the River *Meschafipe*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*, they would not be long before they made themselves Masters of that rich Province, which would be an addition to their Strength very terrible to *Europe*. But this would more particularly concern *England*; for by the opportunity of that Settlement, by erecting Forts along the

the several Lakes between that River and *Cannada*, they may intercept all the Trade of our Northern Plantations.

And tho' the French should invade and disturb us no where beyond the Line (which is hardly possible) yet such an Increase and Addition to their Naval Power, as new Plantations and an extended Trade must bring, will give *England* but an ill Prospect.

As to *Holland*, if the National Stock of that State be increas'd near 8 Millions since the War, as there is reason to think it is, in regard, That by the Wisdom of their Constitution they invite daily to 'em, and Increase in Number of Inhabitants; That each private Men lessens his way of Living, and becomes more Frugal when the Common-wealth is under any Difficulty and Burthen; That in all their Councils they have look'd chiefly to the Protecting of their Merchant-Fleets; That their Care of Traffick has preceeded all Thoughts of the War; and, That almost their whole Expence, has been made at Home: If their Condition has improv'd, at the same time that ours has visibly impair'd,



it will be very difficult for us to contend with them in Trade, because the Struggle was hard enough between us, when both Nations were upon a much more equal Foot than they are at present.

Now the Peace is concluded, they will enter the Lists with a Strength unbroken; and We but with the Remnant of our Forces: 'Tis true the State is Poor, but the People are Rich; and, in Common-wealths, Poverty makes the Government wise and frugal; whereas, too often, in Monarchies, it renders the Publick more desperate and thoughtless. Common-wealths emerge out of Debts and Difficulties, but Monarchies (tho' 'tis not likely to be our Case) plunge deeper in. *Venice* has paid off great Debts and Anticipations; but Kingdoms, whose Wealth and Substance have been impair'd by false Steps, and bad Management, instead of getting out, do generally proceed on to further Ruin: And of this *Spain* is a sufficient Instance, whose Affairs decline every Year more and more, because the Great Ones, to whom the Power is intrusted, have an Interest that their loose Administration should be continu'd.

But

But the Wisdom of our State will provide to pay off those Debts the Publick is engag'd in, which are a heavy Burthen upon our Domestick and Foreign Traffick; for 'tis not likely that our Manufactures can proceed very well, or that there will be any great Business, between *England* and distant Countries, when 40 per Cent. is to be got by dealing between the Exchange and the Exchequer.

'Tis true, upon a Peace, the Discount of Tallies will lessen, and Interest will be at an easier Rate; from whence must follow, that a greater Sum will run in the Channel of Trade: But the National Stock which should enable us to cope with our Neighbours, is very much diminish'd. A large Stock forces Trade, and a great Trade quickens the Manufactures: On the contrary, want of Stock in a Nation produces Thrift only in a few of the wiser sort; but among the generality, 'tis often attended by Luxury and Laziness, which always beget first private, and then publick Poverty.

How-



However, we have natural Advantages over them in our Situation, Ports, Soil and Product, which may yet enable us to contend with 'em, if we are not wanting to our selves in Courage and Conduct.

The Vent of our Woollen Manufactures will in some measure preserve to us the *Spanish*, *Portugal*, *Italian* and *Turkey* Trades; and our Red Herrings, Pilchards, Lead and Tin, all our own Product, will help to keep up a Commerce with those Countries.

And our Tobacco, Cotton, Ginger, Sugars, Indico, with other Commodities, if we take Care to secure our Plantations, will create us Business in all the Ports of *Europe*.

But still we have Reason to apprehend, That they will endeavour to undermine us where they can; and that they will try, with their great Stock, to undersel us, beat us out, and bear us down, in all the Foreign Markets.

Their Power is most formidable in the *East-Indies*; Their Councils looking always

ways very far, they have spar'd no Cost to obtain a sure Footing in those Countries, having erected there more than a hundred Forts and Places of Strength. *Ceilon*, where all the Cinnamon grows, is almost surrounded with Castles; and to protect this Land-Dominion, if Need requires, they can fit out Forty Frigats: And by getting *Bantam*, they possess the Streights of *Scinda* and *Banca*, by which, in a great measure, they may hinder all Nations from any Commerce with *China* or *Japan*.

To bring these Matters about, they have been at a vast Expence, and much diminish'd their present Profit; but thereby have made it lasting, and laid a sure Foundation for their future Greatness; this Trade being a Sheet-Anchor, on which they can rely, in any Storm that may happen to their Government.

Whoever considers seriously what a Strength they have form'd in those Parts, and how they increase it daily, must needs be apprehensive, that some time or other, they should attempt to engross the Whole, and exclude *England* from that gainful Traffick.



'Tis true, as Affairs now stand, we have no Reason to fear such an Enterprize: But the Publick of a Country is to look forward many Years, and to provide against Dangers, tho' never so remote; for Interest and Gain, may hereafter divide Nations, whom Religion and mutual Defence, have united for the present.

For the foregoing Reasons, and many others that may be offer'd, it stands us much upon to watch all their Proceedings with a jealous and careful Eye; for we shall find it a difficult Task, if we should be reduc'd to play an After-game, either of Policy or Force; since those Wars prove seldom successful, which are made to regain what might have been preserv'd by Skill and Conduct.

Common-wealths are rarely negligent; but even in those Constitutions, Things would often go to wreck if some single Person, in a particular manner, did not take the Care of Government upon him; and prosperous States have all along had such a One among them, who, oblig'd to no more than others, has yet minded the Whole, and directed with

with his superior Wisdom. Thus Trade, with the noble Buildings and Ornaments of *Athens*, was owing to *Pericles*. The Caution of *Nicias* preserv'd the *Athenians*, while his Councils were follow'd; and *Phocion* govern'd as much, and was no less mindful of the State, when a private Man, than when he was chief Magistrate. *Rome* likewise was never without Men of the same Temper and publick Spirit; such as *Cincinnatus*, *Camillus*, *Emilius Paulus*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Cato Censor* and *Cicero*, whose great Abilities gave them supream Power in a Free Country, and whose Virtues made 'em at all times intend and mind the general Interest and Concerns of the Common-wealth. And where there is this single Diligence and Care in One, it makes all the Rest more active, and binds the Whole together.

And in Monarchies, Things have not succeeded ill, where they have had such a Master-genius in the Ministry. The present Greatness of the French, is chiefly deriv'd from a Succession of Four very active and able Men, in Matters of State, *viz.* *Richlieu*, *Mazarin*, *Colbert* and *Louvois*: But *Richlieu* was eminent, above the rest, He neglected no part of
Go-



Government; raising Money was not his only Care; for we may plainly see, He inspected into the Lives and Manners of the Church, the Discipline of the Army, and the Corruptions of the Law. He Fortify'd the Frontier Places of his Country; He provided Military Stores; He put *France* into the way of having a Naval Strength: And, at the same time, encourag'd Manufactures and promoted Trade, as if his Thoughts had been taken up with no other Business.

Such a Genius would go a great way towards securing the Trade of *England*, against the Power of *France*, and Wealth of *Holland*: But an Understanding so sublime, is hardly to be found in any Country; and, besides, in a mix'd Government, an Authority, tho' but to superintend the whole, will hardly be trusted to any single Minister; for tho' the general Cares of Empire, are a sufficient Burthen to Princes, 'tis not liked they should have a Servant and Friend to help 'em in minuter Matters.

We are Jealous the Prince should commit so much Power to one Man, as perhaps is necessary to bring about any great Thing; and suppose a very able Statesman

man should rise up in this Country, and be brought into the Management of Affairs, with more than ordinary Authority, He must have very much Skill and Caution, to support him against the envy of his Fellow-Ministers.

For we have been long us'd to slack Administration, and to have the subordinate Functions and Offices of State manag'd in a negligent and careless manner; and he that will endeavour to cure this, must be thought forthwith the common Enemy, against whom all are to join; so that as a Genius very eminent, and fit for so high a Station, is rarely to be found; when he does appear, he will be hardly suffer'd.

And this Kingdom has some reason to be apprehensive of seeing any Person vested with too much Authority; for among us, those who hitherto have had great Power, have generally turn'd it against the People.

We have seldom known a Favourite, Statesman, or chief Minister consult, at one and the same time, his Master's Greatness, and the Publick Good; they have commonly been driving at pernicious



ous Designs, of subverting Liberty, destroying Parliaments, and making their Princes Absolute, and above the Laws.

But when there should be found a Man jealous of the King's Prerogative, and yet mindful of the People's Rights; who can have great Power, without the Insolence that attends it; who is vigilant for the State, but careless for himself; who is fearful of doing Ill, but bold in good Actions; who values Fame more than Riches, and who can slight Greatness, which he cannot preserve with his Integrity and Innocence: When such a Statesman shall appear upon the Stage of Business, no Favour or Authority he possesses, will be Invidious.

And such a Minister, Stout and Active, would go very far in providing, That neither *France* nor *Holland*, shall incroach and grow upon us, in Matters that have relation to our Foreign Traffick.

The Concerns of Trade are so perplex'd, tedious and intricate, that no Prince, let his Abilities be never so great, can have leisure to attend 'em in his Councils; therefore, unless some Minister will more immediately take upon him

him its Care and Protection, it does seem very much for the Good of *England*, in the present Juncture, to commit this Matter to such an Inferiour Authority as may be accomptable to the King, in Parliament, for any Male-Administration thereunto relating.

The Care of Traffick will chiefly consist in well Governing, Encouraging and Protecting the general Trade of the Nation; for all which, no single part of the Constitution, seems furnish'd with Power sufficient; but the Work must be perform'd by the concurrent Assistance of the whole Legislative Authority.

To find out, and establish reasonable, just, and convenient Rules for the Governing of Trade, will be the Point of the greatest Difficulty; and if that could be compass'd, it might prove easie enough to give it Encouragement and Protection.

All Things must succeed ill, where good Government is not, and where Men are left to take Measures only from their private Interest, or appetite of Gain.

Nothing



Nothing can be well govern'd that is not plac'd under the peculiar Care of some Man, or Body of Men; and no Persons can rightly govern any Matter, unless they are furnish'd, from the Laws, with directive and coercive Power.

If the Trade of *England*, which is the Common Concern of all, was made the particular Business of some One Council of Men, experienc'd and knowing therein; and if that Council were arm'd with sufficient Powers, from the Law, our Traffick might perhaps be manag'd more to the general Interest and Welfare of the Kingdom.

To any One who has thought upon this Subject, 'tis apparent enough that the Stock and Wealth of this Country might have been very much improv'd and enlarg'd, if we would have added Industry and Conduct, to the Advantages we hold from Nature, and by Situation.

The Care of Trade does indeed belong to the Executive Power now in being, and is properly the Business of the Establish'd Ministry: But if they have not
from

from the Laws Authority sufficient to go through with such a Work; or if their time is taken up in higher Affairs, it may well become the Wisdom of a Parliament to interpose in the Matter, and to make some timely Provision that those Mischiefs may be prevented, which a Neglect, of this Nature, must certainly occasion to the People of *England*.

The Original of Executive Power springs from this, That the whole Legislative Power cannot be always assembled; and the Nature requires, of many Authorities, that they should be acted by a single Person.

All Executive Power originally is in the King, who not being able to perform every Function of State in his own Person, commits part of his Authority to other People, who represent him in his Courts of Justice, in his Armies, his Fleets, and Revenues; and when the Executive Power is thus divided, if the Publick Service yet require more Help, it can be no Breach into the Constitution, for the Legislative Authority, to make yet a further Division, and to commit new Powers, to new Persons,
K for



for the better government of the Common Business.

The Erecting a new Magistracy, upon urgent Occasions, has prov'd very fortunate to many Nations, especially where the People have a Share and Interest in the Laws, and where the Constitution has a mixture in it of Popular Government: For next to a prosperous Administration, Men like that Matters should be administer'd according to their own Fancy and Direction: And many wise Lawgivers, Rulers, and Directors of Kingdoms and Common-wealths, have herein follow'd the Bent and Humour of the People; by which Means, of two Points, they gain'd one, either to have the Affairs of State better manag'd, or to let the People see, they could not be better administer'd, by Officers of their own Choice and Appointment.

Our Commerce abroad is not to be recover'd but by Men of Skill and Courage, who will make a severe Inquisition into the Advantages other Countries daily gain upon us; for which Reason, in all appearance, hardly any Persons will have Weight enough for to
Im-

Important a Matter, unless they derive their Power from the whole Legislative Authority.

For the well-governing and protecting Trade, many Things must perhaps be done that may thwart the Interest of other Nations: And this unpleasant Office may be perform'd more gracefully by Authority of Parliament, than by any single Part of the Constitution; for those Compliments which are expected from Princes, are not look'd for from Assemblies met to enact Laws for their Common Safety and Benefit.

Persons appointed by Parliament, can boldly represent from time to time, what Infractions are made in the Treaties of Commerce now subsisting, or which we shall make hereafter.

Such a Council can watch, That Matters relating to our Traffick, be not neglected or betray'd by our Ministers abroad; and that Important Points be not lost, for want of Courage to assert the Interest of *England* in Foreign Courts.



They may be impower'd to Correspond with the King's Ministers abroad, and from time to time to receive an Account how the Posture of our Trade stands, and upon what Foot we deal with the respective Nations where they reside, what Improvements may be therein made, what Manufactures they have among them, and what Commodities they take from other Countries, which might as well be furnish'd from England.

A Council of this Kind may enquire, What Foreign Trades are near losing, or now lost to this Kingdom, and by what Methods they are to be recover'd?

They may look into the general State and Condition of our Foreign Commerce. First, how the Ballance stands, where we get, and where we lose, in our Traffick with other Nations: Then, where we make Returns by our own Product, or only in Mony or Bullion.

For if this can be known, stated, and well understood, peradventure we might thereunto fit and adapt Sumptuary Laws, such

such as might prohibit at Home the Use of Commodities from those Countries where we lose in the Ballance, and where Trade is hurtful to us.

Such a Council, can maturely weigh and represent to the Parliament, what Amendment, Alterations, and Additions, may be necessary in the Act of Navigation.

But one of their most Important Cares would be to see that Law, excellent in the Main, better put in Execution.

Such a Council might consider of the Trade betwixt England and Ireland, so as to make Ireland useful, less chargeable, and not dangerous to England.

This Council might likewise inspect the Plantation-Trade; in which Colonies, 'tis said, such Practices are afoot, (by the Corruption of Governors there, and through our Negligence at Home) as will very much hurt England hereafter; and, in the mean time, embroil us with distant Countries.

A Council of this Nature, may also look into the several Manufactures of
K 3 this

*On the Protection and*

this Kingdom, and see what Improvements may be therein made, and what Foreign Manufactures may be invited hither by good Encouragement.

They might contrive a Scheme for establishing a Court-Merchant, where Controversies in Trade might be determin'd summarily, with less Charge, and more Expedition than the Forms of Common Law admit. They might likewise propose some way of making Bills transferable, which would supply the want of Species, and enlarge Credit.

And perhaps it may be thought for the Publick Service, to give such a Council Power, to examine into, and correct the Frauds committed in the Goodness, Weight, Measure and Fineness of our several Manufactures and Commodities; in which, a Nation that is defective, does lose its Credit and Reputation abroad, and consequently its Trade.

They might likewise prepare for the Parliament, a regular and well-digested Scheme for setting the Poor to work: And if those Hands could be usefully employ'd, it would ease the Landed Men, advance Manufactures, and, in process

Care of Trade.

of Time, very much enrich the Kingdom.

And, peradventure, such a Council might propose a way to recover the Fishing Trade, for Herrings upon our own Coast, and for Ling and Cod; which would be a greater Wealth to England, than the Mines of *Potosi* are to *Spain*.

It has been all along a most unaccountable Negligence in the People of England, That we have not made some effectual Endeavours to share with our Neighbours, in that immense Treasure with which Nature has enrich'd our Coast; and it is capable of but one Excuse, that for these last hundred Years, Wealth did flow in so fast upon us, that we had no occasion to be more Industrious.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* has laid down, That the Fishery turns to Ten Millions per Annum Profit to the *Hollanders*. We can by no means agree to that Calculation; but that 'tis very gainful to their Country, is apparent to any one who has inquir'd into the Nature of their Trade, and Foundation of their Wealth.



These great Advantages are made on our Coast, where formerly they never fish'd without License, under the Great Seal of *England*, which 'till the latter end of King *James* the First's Reign, they always procur'd; but now they are so far from asking leave, that they will not suffer any English Vessels to fish in quiet when they come among them.

This Beneficial Trade, which the *Hollanders* have often in their Edicts, call'd the Golden Mine of the Common-wealth, we first by remissness let them gain; and now they have in a manner engross'd it to themselves, because it has never had Encouragement from the Government here, and because that Publick Spirit has been wanting among us, by which any great Work must be brought about; and, at length, Men are come to be of an Opinion, That 'tis not possible for us, to have any part with our Neighbours in this gainful Business.

For 'tis alledg'd, the *Hollanders* build cheaper than we; That their Wages are lower; That they live at less Expence; That the Interest of Money is higher

higher here than there; That consequently they can afford the Commodity at an easier Rate; And that he who sells cheapest, is sure to engross the Market.

These are the Objections commonly made to our proceeding upon this great Undertaking, but we can by no means admit all these Assertions to be quite True: On the contrary, we are credibly inform'd, That the Company of the Royal Fishery, are now building Doggers and Vessels in the *Humber* and *Trent*, as cheap *per Tun*, and perhaps cheaper than the Dutch, the Goodness and Duration of the Timber and other Materials consider'd: And as to Wages, the *Hollanders* go all by way of Adventure; and we are told, our Seamen are willing and ready to proceed in the same manner: And as to Victualing, we victual our Fishing Vessels for *Island* as cheap, and perhaps cheaper than the Dutch, especially considering the great quantity of Brandy their Seamen use; and for Butter, &c. they generally have it from *England*. As to the remaining Consideration of Interest-Money, we shall handle that Point by and by.

But



But suppose we should fish dearer than they by 5 or 6, or 10 *per Cent.* yet perhaps we shall be able to prove, That notwithstanding such a Disadvantage, 'tis highly necessary, that the same should be attempted by *England*, and for the following Reasons. The Dutch trade into the *Sound*, all the *East-Country*, *Denmark*, *Russia*, *Sueden*, and *Germany*, for near a Million Sterling every Year in Fish; and we import from those Parts in Naval Stores of all kind, and for building, about 400,000 *l. per Annum*, for most of which we send out Money in Specie or by Exchange, and the Ships go out in Ballast.

Now should we send out Fish, it would put the Ballance of Trade more equal between us and those Countries, because we should then carry thither Goods, instead of Money; and the Fish costing nothing but the catching, and having in it self a Value, besides the curing, it becomes the Original Commodity of a Country, and increases the Exportation of that Country. And suppose we should fish something dearer than the *Hollanders*, yet this would be almost recompenc'd to the Body of the People

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collectively consider'd, by the very Freight which would be gotten by the Ships for our Northward and *East-Country* Trade, which must otherwise go out empty.

And this would hold in relation to our Trade with *France*, and other Places, where our Exportations bear no Proportion, at least in Bulk, with our Importations, which might be supply'd by Fish.

A Nation that visibly loses in the Ballance of Trade with any Country, will find very little Help by laying high Duties at Home, or by Prohibitions, which most commonly fructifie, one begetting another. And in all appearance the best Course in such a Case, will be to endeavour to answer Importations from abroad, by Exportation of our own Product. And there are good Grounds to think, That the Fishing Trade, if it were promoted, encourag'd, and well settled, would set *England* right with most Countries, where the Ballance is thought to lie against us.

But if it should appear, That what costs the Dutch Five Shillings, we may have

*On the Protection and*

have for One Shilling, and that we are not any ways oblig'd to fish as they do, especially for Herrings (which is the principal Fishery) but in a quite different way, and at less Expence; and if this be made out, most certainly all good Englishmen ought to use their Endeavours to set such an Undertaking forward.

The Dutch having no Fishery on their own Coast, are forc'd to begin their great Fishery every Year above 200 Leagues from Home, and to do all at Sea: They send out Doggers or Busses, from 70 to 120 Tuns or upwards, with 14 or 15 or more Men, with Provisions for at least Three Months; and these drive in the Sea, and are forc'd to do all Things aboard, as curing and packing their Fish, mending, drying their Nets, &c. So that computing the Expence of fitting out, the Wear and Tear, Provisions and Wages, every Barrel of Herrings does cost them, as they fall from the Net, at least Six Shillings per Barrel.

Now the Herrings being not only on our own Coast, but in our Havens, Lakes and Bays, our Men that fish, may
lie

Care of Trade.

lie in their own Beds every 24 Hours, and yet, in Boats call'd Three Men and Five Men Cobles, having Persons ready to take off their Fish, to cure and pack, will catch as many Herrings in a Month, as a Dutch Dogger of 100 Tuns and 15 Men, shall do in Three Months lying at Sea. And these Persons being employ'd on the Coast, by those that will take the Fish off their Hands as they catch it, will deliver Herrings at Twelve Pence, and sometimes at Six Pence per Barrel; which low Price of the Prime Commodity must very soon, under a good Encouragement, bring a fair Proportion to *England* of this gainful Trade. And this Advantage we may have in the Prime Cost, will answer any Advantage our Neighbours may have in being able to manufacture or improve the Commodity cheaper than we in some Particulars, tho' we can afford the chief Materials, Salt and Cask, at as easy Rates as they.

So that there seems only wanting (to bring so immense a Wealth to *England* as the Herring-Fishery would produce) but to raise a competent Stock to give the Wheels motion at first; that is, such a Stock, as may fit out a sufficient Num-
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*On the Protection and*

ber of Vessels to catch the Fish, and be likewise sufficient to furnish Means for those to proceed in their Work, who are to cure and pack it when it is caught. The Commodity sufficiently abounds, if there were a Stock by which we might give it Improvement; for the Writer of these Papers is credibly inform'd, That last Year, in *Scotland*, they did dung their Land with Herrings, for want of Customers: And that they were sold in *Wales* for Six Pence a Maze, which is 600 Herrings; and 800 of such Herrings will fill a Barrel; and the same, when well pack'd and cur'd, are sold by the Dutch for sometimes 40 s. sometimes 30 s. and seldom under 20 s. per Barrel.

'Tis matter of Admiration that we should neglect a Profit lying at our very Doors, and that our Neighbours should come and take it up at so great a distance, and at such an Expende; but this they are enabled to do by the lowness of Interest, and by that National Benefit, of Money being at 4 l. per Cent.

And undoubtedly, we could not cope with them at any time in this Trade by 6 l. per Cent. against 4 l. per Cent. if we were

Care of Trade.

were upon the same Foot with 'em in all other Circumstances relating to this Matter; that is to say, if we were to go and fish upon a Coast at two hundred Leagues distance, with large Vessels and numbers of Men, and the same Provisions as are necessary to them: But our Situation has made this Traffick easy to us, and laid it at our Feet, if the Publick of this Country will vouchsafe to take it up.

Upon which Accompt, our Natural Advantages consider'd, he must be a very ill Computer who does not conclude, That private Persons may proceed upon this Undertaking without any fear of Loss in the end, provided they understand how to manage their own Affairs. For where there is so great a Disproportion in the prime Cost of the Commodity to be improv'd, as we have shown there is in the present Case, it will answer any Difference that may be in the Interest of Money between one Country and another: So that if we can catch, cure, and pack Herrings, upon the whole, by two thirds cheaper than our Neighbours, it will more than answer one third difference that may be between us and them on the Price of Money. There



There is a Company of the Royal Fishery constituted by Charter from King *Charles II.* who (as we are inform'd) are now attempting the Work, and have taken large Subscriptions, and are proceeding to take more: They intend to make an Experiment next Season. They have Persons expert in curing and packing the Fish, and in the nature and use of Salt.

So Great, and so National an Undertaking, does without doubt deserve all due Encouragement. But whoever considers the Matter seriously, will perhaps be of Opinion, That it can have but little Success, unless the Legislative Authority interpose to direct, help and encourage the whole Affair.

In all probability, Subscriptions sufficient to carry on so great a Work, cannot be well procur'd unless a Company have some firm Existence in the Law; and a Constitution by Authority of Parliament.

And if such Measures were taken, in order to secure this profitable Trade, Persons of the prim Note, greatest

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Interest, and largest Substance, would crow'd in to support and countenance the Work, whose Authority and Examples, would keep the Shares and Actions from Stock-jobbing, which is the Bane of all Mercantile Societies, diverting the Heads of such as are therein concern'd, from minding their Trade and Business, and turning their whole Thoughts and Time only upon Arts and Tricks.

And in all likelihood, a Legal Constitution alone, will not be sufficient to put this Affair in such a Motion as may continue for a long Term of Time. It may be therefore worth the Consideration of such as study the Common Welfare, whither it may not be adviseable for the Publick, by some Tax, to add about Fifty or a Hundred Thousand Pound to the voluntary Subscriptions of Private Persons.

For 'tis to be apprehended, That without such an Encouragement, and as it were a Foundation, Private Persons may be loth to venture upon an Experiment, which has hitherto so frighted all their Ancestors.

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The Matter will be Difficult and Expensive at first, and perhaps above the Strength of particular Men, let them be never so well inclin'd, publick Spirited, and desirous to compass a Thing that may be a lasting Benefit to their Country, especially considering, That they will have to deal with Competitors who will use their utmost Efforts, and all manner of Means, to oppose, quash, and discourage the Undertaking in the beginning.

Suppose then that the Publick should contribute to such an Undertaking } 50,000.

And that Private Persons should Subscribe } 350,000.

In all } 400,000.

And admit that by ill Conduct in the beginning, or by being under-sold in the Markets abroad, the Capital Stock should lessen for three Years, per Annum } 50,000.

Yet

Yet if there be carry'd to the Foreign Markets for three Years 200,000 l. per Annum value in Fish, it may be maintain'd, That the collective Body of the Nation shall gain in the three Years } 400,000.

For the Nation will get by Freight, by employing the Poor, and by Exportation of the Commodity Manufactur'd and Improv'd, tho' the Undertakers suffer; it being an undoubted Maxim, That as a Country may lose where the Merchant gets, so it may get where the Merchant loses.

However, there are apparent Reasons to be given, why this Design should be profitable both to the Nation and the Adventurers in it. And if it can be compass'd and brought to Perfection, it will employ the Poor, increase our Seamen, advance our Exportations, bring in the Species of Money, or hinder its going out, and raise the Value of Land.

But some People may be apprehensive, That to set up the Herring Fishery, may

*On the Protection and*

interfere with the *Hollanders*, and embroil us with our Neighbours; but such as have consider'd of this Matter, know very well that there is Fish enough upon the *British* Coast for both, and Markets enow abroad to take off the Goods of both Nations.

The joint Endeavours of the Governing Part, in each Country, may so order it, That the People of both Dominions may enjoy this Rich Gift of Nature, with that mutual Friendship and good Understanding, as ought always to be preserv'd between Nations, which now are almost the only Assertors of Publick Liberty.

And he must be a very bad English-Man, who would desire to exclude that Industrious Common-wealth, from a Trade which is so principal a part of their Subsistence. But perhaps it may be adviseable for this Country, to put in for a Share of it; especially since the Liberal Hand of Nature, and the Wants of other Places, afford sufficient Matter to employ the Industry of both Nations.

A Court

A Council of Trade may prepare, and digest a regular Scheme of this whole Business.

But a Constitution of this Nature, will be always in danger to Miscarry, because one side is not agreed what they may reasonably ask, and the other knows not what may be safely granted: And it has ever been the humour of English-Men, to reject all Things which they cannot carry just according to their present Fancy: Many good Designs for the Publick being lost, by endeavouring to make the first Projection too Perfect.

In Matters which relate to Liberty, or the well Governing of a People, a Little freely granted, and without struggle, is better than a great Deal wrested from the Sovereign, against his Inclination: And Things go on much more smoothly, when a King consents, as well in his Natural, as Politick Capacity.

Some may judge it popular, to desire very large Powers; and others may think to please, by directly opposing this Business; yet, in all likelihood, every

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part



part of the Constitution has a great Interest, that some kind of Authority should be set up in this Kingdom, for the Care and Inspection of Trade.

But all Seasons are not capable of strong Deliberations and Councils; and sometimes 'tis thought more Wisdom to be jealous, than to mend any Error, or Mis-government of Affairs.

Those, who truly Aim at the common Good, are generally few in Number; and tho' their Party be now and then increas'd by Accidents, arising from Men's Ambition and Disappointments in the State; yet, considering how soon such Friends are lost, their first Heat and Inclination is to be follow'd, and that Course is to be persued, in which most Voices will concur.

And if a Council of Trade should be thought of, 'tis probable the Majority will best like, it should be furnish'd with limited and moderate Authorities. 'Tis true, that Protection being founded in Strength and Power, in a Time of War, they to whom the Care of Trade is committed, should have at their Command, and in their Disposal, such a Proportion

portion of Frigats, as may Convoy all the Merchant-Fleets.

They ought perhaps to have it in their Power, to fix ultimate Days of Sailing for Merchant-Fleets, with their Convoys; and peradventure it should be in them to determine, from time to time, what Compliment of Men will be wanting for the several Ships, and principal Merchant-Fleets; what Convoys will be needful, and by what time those Convoys ought to be ready; and in what Stations the Cruising-Ships may be Posted to the best Advantage, and for the greatest Security.

However, without very much Prudence, Temper, true Zeal, and right Intentions for the Publick, both in the Admiralty, and in the Council of Trade, and without more Virtue than can be reasonably expected, from an Age something leaning towards Corruption, such different Jurisdictions, may so Interfere and Clash, as to hurt the Common Business, bring Confusion, and put Commerce yet in a worse Posture than it is at present.

But



But the Wisdom of the Parliament, can undoubtedly propose a Scheme which may content the Party who seem so jealous that the Executive Power should run into any new Channel; They can set up an Authority by which the Prerogative will not be intrench'd upon, nor the Rights and Jurisdiction of the Admiralty interfer'd with, nor invaded; and whereby the old Course of Business, in the Main, will not be much alter'd, and which may fully answer all their Ends, who design nothing in this Matter, but the Good of Traffick, and Welfare of the Nation.

And, in a Peace, the chief Objections must be quite remov'd which are commonly made against such a Constitution; and yet it will be full as useful now, as in a time of War.

The clashing of Jurisdictions will be now out of Doors, and it cannot minister any just occasion of Jealousie to those who govern, and may do the People good.

The Dictator's Commission, the most absolute and unlimited Power of any in
Rome

Rome (sometimes given to settle a Civil Affair, and at other Seasons not granted in a dangerous Juncture) contain'd no more than, in general, That **He should take Care the Common-wealth receiv'd no Prejudice.** And a bare Direction from the Parliament, by a Law, to certain Persons, or to a Committee of both Houses, **To take Care that the Trade of England receive no Prejudice,** might peradventure be sufficient.

In all Probability, nothing but some Power having Existence from the Law, more independant, reverenc'd by the People, and respected by the Ministers, can set our Traffick right, and enable us to contend with our Powerful Neighbours.

If we are not undermin'd Abroad, we shall do well enough at Home: And tho' some Persons may have a Melancholy Prospect, upon a general Inspection into Matters of this nature, we hope there is reason to entertain more chearful Thoughts, and not at all to despair of the Publick.



On the Protection and

It appears manifestly, }
That there was coin'd in } 7,157,116
Gold and Silver, from the }
31st of December, 1691. to }
the 14th of August, 1697. }

There was remaining to }
be coin'd 14th August, 1697. } 126,892
in Gold and Silver, about }

The Old Mony standing }
out 14th August, 1697. } 540,000
may probably reach to, }
when coin'd _____ }

Coin'd from Plate, to }
the 14th of August, 1697. } 312,000
about _____ }

All the foregoing Sums }
we presume to be } 8,136,008
still in the Kingdom, }
and, if so, they a- }
mount to _____ }

And

Brought over — 8,136,008

And the three Millions }
of broad Mony that was }
lately brought in, making }
it appear, That Hoarding }
was more practis'd in Eng- }
land then we thought it }
had been, it makes us hope, }
(though Gold seems scarce } 5,000,000
now) That the Guineas }
coin'd in the two preced- }
ing Reigns, still remain in }
the Kingdom, for they are }
most likely to be hoarded ; }
and, if so, we may have of }
that Species _____ }

The same Reason gives }
us Ground to hope, That }
part of the Mill'd Mony, }
coin'd those two Reigns, } 2,200,000
may be still remaining ; and }
if so, we may have of that }
Species _____ }

The number of Guineas }
coin'd since 1691. have pro- }
bably melted down much of }
the Old Gold of former } 700,000
Reigns, and yet perhaps we }
may still have, of that }
Species, about _____ }

16,000,000
So



So that, if the War, our
Losses at Sea, and Trade,
have not carry'd off the
Guineas and Mill'd Mony, } 16,000,000
of the two preceeding
Reigns, there may be still
remaining in the Kingdom,
about ————]

The Reason that Mony has been so much hoarded in this Nation, though a Trading-Country, is, probably, That ever since the Year 1679. we have been a divided People; Factions have rent us asunder; we have been often in fear that Liberty would be invaded; sometimes there was a Persecution of Dissenters; Popery press'd hard upon us; there was just Cause to apprehend an Innovation in Religious Matters; and, lastly, for a long while, the State of Things was not thought stable and secure.

Upon all these Accompts, cautious Men were willing to have by 'em a Reserve, which might help them at need, in any Emergency, or upon a change of Government; and in all likelihood, these Considerations lock'd up
that

that great Treasure which was lately hoarded in this Kingdom.

And perhaps the Doubts some People did entertain concerning the Event of Affairs, and the Issue of a long War, may partly occasion that rarity of Species, which, at present, we complain of.

But the Peace will give a Consistency to Things, render the Government firm, and heal the Divisions that are among us.

The Peace will probably set Matters, that have relation to the State, upon a better Foot than they have been for many Years. There is now a perfect Liberty of Conscience: We have upon the Throne a Prince, from whom it is impossible to apprehend any, the least Inclination to subvert the Laws or alter the Constitution. The Succession of the Crown is settled in a Protestant Line. The Act to secure frequent Parliaments, may put an end to the Designs of ambitious Statesmen, who, for this last Age, have embroil'd our Princes with their People: Which want in our Constitution, before, was a perpetual cause of Discord, and of Civil War. And we have exert-
ed



On the Protection and

ed such Strength, and shown so much Courage and Constancy in holding up this League, that our Neighbours will hardly think it advisable to give us fresh Provocation, and to renew the Quarrel.

These Considerations, in all likelihood, will give Men a better Opinion than formerly they had, concerning the Condition of Affairs in general; and they will conceive Hopes, that at last, this Government is become firm and stable: And these sanguine and chearful Thoughts, which they have reason to entertain, will naturally lead 'em not to hoard up that Mony which they may lend out, or employ in Trade to great Advantage: And perhaps, if the conceal'd Treasure could be set loose, we may have as much Species for common Uses, as was Current heretofore.

Sir William Petty was of Opinion, That to transact the common Business of this Nation, so much Coin was needful, as would pay Half a Years Rents of all the Land, a Quarters Rent of all the Houses, a Weeks Expence of all the People, and a Quarter Value of all the Exported Commodities: This Computation seems exceeding well grounded, and

and to answer, with something he has omitted, to that Sum, which might be current before the War.

For from Observation in these Matters, we have Reasons inducing us to believe,

	l.
That half a Years Rents of all the Land were	} 5,000,000
That a Quarters Rent of Houses and other Hereditaments, was	} 1,000,000
That a Weeks Expence of all the People, was about	} 769,230
That a Quarter Value of Exported Commodities to Foreign Countries, and our own Plantations, with the Coast-Trade, might be, before the War, about	} 1,500,000
That an eight part of the Value of the Manufactures, omitted by Sir Will. Petty, might be	} 1,000,000
Necessary to carry on the Nation's Business, about	} 9,269,230
	So



So that if there were } l.
in the Kingdom, before the } 18,500,000
War, ————— }

There might } l.
be hoarded of } 1,000,000
the Old Gold, }
about ————— }

Of the Mill'd }
Mony ————— } 1,000,000 } 9,240,000

Of the Gui- }
neas ————— } 2,000,000

Of the Old }
Broad Mony } 5,240,000

And the Business of }
Rents, Trade, and the } 9,260,000
Market, might be trans- }
acted with the remaining }

And, considering the Posture of Credit at that time, and the Currency of Goldsmith's Notes, it is not at all difficult to imagine, That the Universal Affairs of this Nation were carry'd on with between 9 and 10 Millions of current Coin.

And

And, beyond all contradiction, we have a greater Sum than Nine Millions still in the Kingdom, with which Trade, and all the Nation's other Business may be transacted, if the remaining Species can be made to circulate; and, more especially, when Peace shall have restor'd Credit.

And tho' the War has impair'd the Nation's Stock, in so much that so great a Sum cannot be employ'd in Trade as formerly, yet if Peace recover Credit, there will not be wanting wherewithal to carry on our Foreign and Domestick Traffick.

For both before and since the War, the general Trade of this Country, has been more carry'd on by Credit, than manag'd with the Species of Mony.

And of late, when the Coin grew so Corrupted, the Gold and Silver did, as it were, but minister in the Market; while all great Dealings were transacted by Tallies, Bank-Bills, and Gold-Smiths Notes.

M

Paper-



Paper-Credit did not only supply the place of running Cash, but greatly multiply'd the Kingdom's Stock. For Tallies and Bank-Bills did to many uses serve as well, and to some better, than Gold and Silver; and this Artificial Wealth, which Necessity had introduc'd, did make us less feel the Want of that real Treasure the War, and our Losses at Sea, had drawn out of the Nation.

That Country which has a War to manage, too big for its Annual Income, must do it by Credit upon the future; and indeed there is some Equity in this, for Wars are intended for the Publick Good, and Publick Good does as well respect Time to come, as the present Season.

By Annual Income in this Case, we mean, what can be rais'd within the Year, by some Revenue or Imposition, which *England* has not yet been able, intirely to compass, any Session of Parliament; we have therefore hitherto supported our Charge by the Aid of remote Funds, which must hereafter become Money.

And

And in a Country where the State of the War has for a great while amounted Yearly to Five Millions, and where large Sums have been every Year carry'd out, to pay the Troops, it will follow, in such a Nation, That a great part of their Treasure, in Money, must be turn'd into a Debt upon after Times.

And where Money falls short, Plate, Commodities, and Stock of all kind, in the same manner, must by degrees, be converted into a Credit upon Years to come.

And the Money'd Men, in such a Case, do but change the Form and Nature of their Wealth: It was before either in Cash, or in Stock, or out upon Mortgages, and is now trusted in Securities upon the Publick.

And when the Money is carry'd out of the Kingdom, 'tis not the Substance of such particular Persons, (for their Wealth increaseth all the while, by the large Interest the Publick is forc'd to give) but 'tis the Riches of the whole People, consider'd in a Body together, that goes away. However, in a long and expen-



five War, this is not to be avoided, and is felt the less, so long as the Publick is only indebted to the Members of its Jurisdiction; but becomes Burthenfome, when the State contracts a big Debt with other Countries; for such Debts are as an Issue of Blood, that by degrees will waste and emaciate the Body-Politic.

Now admit that in 1688. there were in *England* 18 Millions and a half, and that our Expences abroad have somewhat lessen'd this Sum, yet considering that we have upwards of 14 Millions, in Tallies, Lottery-Tickets, Bank-Stock, Malt-Tickets, and Securities of the like Nature (which went from Hand to Hand, having their Foundation in the Publick Faith, and which Peace may restore to their former Value) the common and current Stock of the Kingdom may be said to be larger at present, than it was before the War.

Yet 'tis not from hence to be argu'd, That the Nation is richer now than before. But as a Landed-Merchant, who engages his Estate to raise Money to carry on his Trade, may be said to have a greater Stock, but cannot be esteem'd

the wealthier for it; so Nations, entangled in a long War, are forc'd to mortgage their Revenues; and the Debts they so contract, become a running Stock among the People, and are indeed but a Conversion of other sort of Wealth, into Debts upon the Publick.

Tho' Money has hitherto been call'd The Measure of Trade, yet Mankind may agree to set up any other Thing in its Room: And whatever it be, in the Place where it universally takes, it may serve their turn as well as Gold and Silver.

When Paper-Credit flourish'd, Tallies, Bank-bills, and Goldsmith's Notes, perform'd all the Offices of Money; the great Payments for Land or rich Goods, were thereby readily made, the King's Duties paid, and all kind of Business easily transacted.

The Millions given every Year in Parliament were presently rais'd, and the Publick supply'd, tho' the Fond was never so unsound or chimerical: Provisions were bought in for the Navy, without Difficulty: The Soldier had his



Subsistence, and the War was carry'd on by Land and Sea, without the Fleet or Army being in any great Arrear.

The Landlord receiv'd his Rent duly, the Farmer sold the Product of his Land at a high Rate; Wooll, Tin, Lead, and Leather, bore a great Price; and, which was of great Consequence, the Manufactures of the Kingdom went on chearfully; and, for some time, there was a large Exportation of all our Native Commodities.

'Tis true, the Price of Gold and Badness of the Silver Coin, did something influence in these Matters; but not so much as was vulgarly imagin'd: For the immense Sum that was out in Tallies, Bank-Bills, and other Paper-Credits were in the nature of a new Stock in the Nation, and being so transferable, did help forward and quicken the under Trade, and all our Manufactures.

Whither or no this was a right Condition of Health, is hard to determine: Perhaps a Body-Politick, with this florid Complexion, might yet have lurking in it Apoplectick Symptoms: The pressing Call that was for our Commodities

and Manufactures, might be a false Appetite, and peradventure we did Export them at some Disadvantage; but a Country could not easily be undone, that had a large Vent for its Native Product.

This Debt, which private Persons have got upon the State, plainly accrues not to them by any new Acquisitions from abroad; it must follow then, That such Stock as was formerly in Money, Plate, Jewels, Foreign Commodities, Home-Goods, &c. is gone away by degrees into other Countries; partly to maintain the War, and partly to pay what we have been over-ballanc'd in Trade, by reason of our Losses at Sea; and in its Stead we have here at home Stock of another kind, that is to say, Credits upon the Publick.

However by this Artificial Help, and at least appearing Enlargement of our Stock, the Kingdom's Business may be supported, and its Trade, Tillage, Labour and Manufactures, may be carry'd on, when the Peace shall have restor'd Credit, and given these Securities a more certain Value.



* Sir W. P. Petty *, That we have in *England* Materials for a Bank, which would furnish Stock enough to drive the Trade of the whole Commercial World. His Meaning must be, That Credit might be advanc'd to such a height, as that meerly by fictitious Wealth, we could manage five times more Traffick than what we then enjoy'd.

his Quantity inscrib'd to the Marq. of Halifax, written An. 1682.

Without erecting such a National Bank as he thought of, and such a one as there is in *Holland*, the Consent of Men, or our Necessities, had set up in this Kingdom something like it; and that Credit which the Exchequer had once obtain'd, serv'd all the Uses of Trade full as well, as any formal and establish'd Bank peradventure could have done.

After a long Inquiry into this Matter, we have Reasons to think, That the Sum out upon Land Security, has for some Years, been about twenty Millions; and that about one 15th part of the Land and other Hereditaments of *England*, is in Mortgage.

And

And as we said before, Tallies and Securities of the like Nature, were above Fourteen Millions; so that there was a Sum existing only in Credit, Publick or Private, amounting to above Thirty four Millions: And this formerly was a quick Stock, in continual motion, and transferable from Hand to Hand; and by it Purchases of Land were made, Portions rais'd to marry Children, or set up Trades, and Sums procur'd to answer any other Necessity; and thereby we were enabled to pay the King's Duties, give new Taxes, and carry on our Foreign Trade and Domestick Bu- sines.

This Stock had formerly all the Uses and Effects of the Banks of *Holland*, *Venice* and *Genoa*, tho' at present part of it is no better than a dead Treasure, which for a little time must continue in a benumn'd and motionless Condition.

But there being a possibility that we may have in the Nation 16 Millions; and it being almost certain that we cannot have lets than 12 Millions, even the last Sum, when it comes to circulate, will be sufficient to give Life and Acti- vity



vity to this huge Body of Credit, which at present seems in a Languishing Posture.

Numbers of Men, Industry, advantageous Situation, good Ports, Skill in Maritime Affairs, with a good annual Income from the Earth, are true and lasting Riches to a Country; but to put a Value upon all this, and to put Life and Motion to the whole, there must be a quick Stock running among the People; and always where that Stock increases, the Nation grows Strong and Powerful; and where it visibly decays, that Decay is generally attended with publick Ruin.

Mony and Credit must mutually help one another; Mony is the Foundation of Credit; Where there is none, there can be no Credit; and where Credit obtains, Mony will circulate the better.

The Care and Protection of Trade, will therefore very much consist in the Measures that shall be taken to restore Credit.

As

As that revives, it will bring out the Gold and Silver, which will be no longer hoarded when something is set up in their room, that in common Estimation, shall be of greater Value; and so good Tallies will in time be judg'd, because they have Interest annex'd to 'em; whereas Mony in the Chest, is but a barren Treasure.

That general Credit which is so necessary to support the Government, and carry on our Matters here at Home, must take its Rise, and have its Spring principally from two Convictions, which Time and the good Conduct of the State, may bring upon such as are wont to deal with the Exchequer.

First, That there is a real Bottom of Strength, Wealth and Ability in the Publick, to clear off in a comperent Season, the great Debts which have been contracted.

Secondly, That there is, and shall be kept within the Kingdom, a sufficient quantity of the Species to turn in Trade, in the Payment of Rents and Taxes, and in the Manufactures, and whereby
to



to keep the Wheels of the Machine in motion.

Peace in a great measure will bring all this about; and the good Opinion Men will thereupon conceive concerning the Condition of Things, must without doubt revive Credit, and restore Money to its former Channel; for if the present Stagnation should continue, and if it cannot be made to Circulate in the Veins, there there must ensue some very bad Distemper to the Body-Politick.

When this Engine, which now seems so difficult to be stirr'd, is once put in Motion, it will move afterwards of its own accord; and this new Stock of above Fourteen Millions, which we have lately erected to our selves, in Tallies, Bank-Bills, and such like Securities, (join'd with, and made active by our other Wealth) may work very well in the uses of Trade, and enable us to contend in Traffick with our two most dangerous Rivals, *France* and *Holland*.

Upon the whole Matter, there seem good Reasons to believe, as much as the War has hurt us, That even the present Stock of the Kingdom, when put in Order,

Order, and well conducted, may be sufficient to carry on a larger and more extended Trade than *England* ever yet enjoy'd: So that we shall not want Materials to Work upon, if Care and Wisdom be not wanting.

It has been often observ'd of this Nation, That we have lost by Treaties what we had gain'd by Valour; And indeed 'tis very evident, That we have been constantly Out-witted in the Pacts and Stipulations we have made with Foreign States and Princes, as well concerning Interest as Dominion: They who could never Face us in the Field, have over-reach'd us in the Cabinet, and all along we have seem'd Stronger in a Battle, than in Council.

'Tis perhaps no wonder that our honest and plain Ancestors should not have sufficient Skill to deal with the riper Heads of warmer Climates; but we may admire how it comes to pass, That our Neighbours, the *Hollanders*, in all Treaties, but chiefly such as respect Commerce, have been ever too able for us, whom our Vices have made Crafty enough in other Matters.

Their



Their Soil does not generally produce better Understandings than that of *England*; Learning flourishes with us, as much as among them; Our People have sharper Wits; We are more cunning in a Court than they; And yet, when we come to Treat with 'em, they are always too subtle for us.

But the Reason of this, is apparent to such as examine into the Business; For, as Sir *Josiah Child* has excellently well observ'd, "They have in their
"greatest Councils of State and War,
"Trading Merchants, that have liv'd
"abroad in most parts of the World,
"who have not only the Theoretical
"Knowledge, but the Practical Experience of Trade, by whom Laws and
"Orders are contriv'd, and Peaces with
"Foreign Princes projected, to the
"great Advantage of their Trade.

And the Concerns of Commerce being made among them a Matter of State, (as it should be in other Nations) they commit the Care of it to the ablest Heads they have; by whose Assistance and Wisdom, they have all along got the better of Us, and other Countries.

In

In the Reign of King *James I.* they obtain'd that the Business of *Amboyna* should be flurr'd over; and so they have secur'd to themselves a firm Possession of the Spice Islands.

The Peace of *Munster* was likewise very Advantagious to the Dutch in all Matters that had relation to their Traffick, but especially in the Plate-Trade from *Cales*.

In the Reign of King *Charles II.* by Delays and Artifice, they got the taking of *Bantam* pass'd over in silence; by which, in a manner, they have engross'd to themselves the rich Commodity of Pepper.

'Tis likewise said, when the Book of Rates was compil'd, That the French knew how to place somewhere a great Sum very Skillfully; by the help of which, they procur'd, That the Customs and Duties upon their Product, should be Light, and Heavy upon that of *Spain*; tho' apparently we got by one Country, and tho' we were thought to lose by the other in the general Balance.

'Twill



vs. I will not perhaps be seasonable to expect any Redress as to past Injuries; and peradventure some of our former Errors are capable of little remedy for the present; but the Wisdom of the State will undoubtedly provide, That *England* shall be better dealt with in future Treaties.

The Martial Temper of the King, his Active Spirit, and the Goodness of his Troops, have held and bound that League together, of which he was the Head and Ruler.

And the People of *England*, in Zeal to the common Good, and to carry on the War with more Vigour, have neglected their own peculiar Interest.

'Tis well known our proper Business had been to have insisted only upon our Strength at Sea; for a large Fleet would have guarded and secur'd our Traffick, and would have kept that Mony within the Kingdom, which has been sent out, to pay and Armies in Foreign Countries.

But,

But, as in pursuing quite a contrary Course, we more consulted the direct and immediate Concerns and Interest of others, than our own; so, in Reason and Equity, this Peace, which our Mony and Arms have chiefly procur'd, should be as advantagious to this Kingdom, as 'tis convenient to the rest of *Europe*.

And yet we shall reap but little Profit from all our Expence of Blood and Treasure, unless the Traffick of *England* be thereby put upon a safe and equal Foot with all its Neighbours.

The Protection and Care of Trade, will therefore very much consist in the Measures that shall be taken in this present Juncture, to secure us against our Neighbours, by a well contriv'd and firm Treaty of Commerce.

Having done so much in this War, for the Preservation of the *Low Countries*, we have Reason to expect better Terms with the *Hollanders*, in relation to our Trade, than perhaps we are under in the Treaties now in Force and Subsisting.

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ing. May we not reasonably expect, That the Dutch (by some new Article in the future Alliance which probably must follow this Peace) should be oblig'd to let the Traffick to *Japan* and *China* be open to this Kingdom, from which we are, in a manner, precluded?

At least, *England* has some Cause to hope such an Expence of Treasure as we have made, deserves that they should be strictly tied in any future Alliance, to give us no Disturbance of any kind, in the *East-Indies*; and not to trouble our Factories, nor those Forts which secure to us the remaining part of the Pepper-Trade.

Nor can it be unreasonable for this Nation to insist, That they should be oblig'd by some new Article, to give us no Hindrance in the Attempts we may make of enlarging our Dealings and Business there, so long as we do not trouble any of the Spice-Islands in their Possession.

And perhaps it may be adviseable for this Kingdom to insist, That they should agree and stipulate, to give no

Pro-

Protection, Countenance or Encouragement to the *Scottish East-India Company*.

And as concerning our *West-India* Plantations and Trade, we may justly insist upon some Points there, in a new Treaty of Commerce: But we shall deal well enough with the *Hollanders* in those Parts, if we are not wanting to our selves; but if through Corruption or Negligence, we connive at their Trafficking in our Ports there, they will supplant us by degrees: For, as Sir *Josiah Child* has observ'd, " If they should be allow'd the Trade of *Menades* or *New York*, it would not only be to the intricate Loss of that Trade to *England*, but greatly to the Prejudice of the English Trade to *Virginia*, because the Dutch, under pretence of Trading to, and from *New York*, carry great quantities of *Virginia-Tobacco* directly for *Holland*.

As to a Treaty of Commerce with *France*, undoubtedly the State will provide, That the French may not incroach upon us, or invade any of our Colonies and Plantations abroad.

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And



And such a Treaty of Commerce as may satisfie *France*, and be equal to the People of both Nations; (depending now wholly upon the Legislative Authority, because of the high Impositions laid upon French Goods, by the Acts of Parliament which remain still in Force) Care will undoubtedly be taken to put the Trade between Us and the French upon a better Foot, for *England*, than it stood formerly.

If heretofore we lost so much in the Ballance with that Country, the Fault was in our own weak Councils, and weaker Administration; when they laid such a Duty upon our Cloth, as amounted to a Prohibition, should not we have done the same by their Wrought Silks? As they clogg'd our Manufactures with high Impositions, had it not been Wisdom in us to take the same Measures with theirs? When by Edicts, Tarriffs and Examples of the Court, they did either quite forbid, or discountenance the use of *East-India* Goods, that were of our Importation; should not we have proceeded in the same way, with the costly and fashionable Vanities brought from

from *France*, which did not only Impoverish this Kingdom, but very much contribute to Corrupt the Manners of our People?

If they think our *East-India* Commodities prejudicial to their Silk Manufacture, we must either encourage the Sowing of Hemp and Flax in *Ireland*, or fetch Linen from those Northern Countries, who are content to Deal with us upon more equal Terms. And if they will continue to lay high Impositions upon our Draperies, we must lay yet higher Duties upon their Linens, Wines, Brandy and Salt.

If the Drapery of *England* may be suffer'd to enter *France*, under a moderate Duty; and if *East-India* Goods of our Importation may have a free Vent in that Kingdom, we shall presume to affirm, This Nation will lose very little in the Main by its Traffick there.

When therefore such a new Treaty of Commerce is establish'd, as shall be binding and effectual, the Legislative Authority here have Reason to insist, That the high Duties upon English Cloth, &c.

may be taken off by the Government in *France*; That it may be free for us to Import *East-India* Commodities into that Kingdom; That it may be free for us to carry thither the *Levant* Goods, there having been before the Year 1678. great Quantities of Raw Silk, Galls, Goat's Wool, Cotton, Yarn, &c. Exported by us to the Western Parts of *France*, which were a very great help to our *Turkey* Trade. And if it could be so order'd, That our Plantation Goods, especially Sugars and Tobacco, might be admitted there, upon moderate Duties, it would greatly encourage our People to Advance and Cultivate that Product.

If any Thing contributes to putting the Ballance even between Us and that Kingdom, it must be the Additional Impositions laid upon French Goods, 7 & 8 *Gul. & Mar.* for One and twenty Years. These Duties were very prudently laid during the War, to be in Force against a Peace should happen: After a Peace it had not been reasonable to propose such Duties, which indeed amount almost to a Prohibition; but if the People of *France* think themselves thereby aggriev'd, the Remedy is not diffi-

difficult: If they will permit the Importation of Goods from *England* upon easier Terms, the Impositions upon their Commodities can be lessen'd here, which will be the true way of putting the two Kingdoms upon a more equal Foot of Trading with one another.

The Nation is beholden to that able Man, and excellent Patriot, Mr. *Sacherville*, now deceas'd, for this prudent Caution; he was the first Author of this wholesome Council; he laid the Foundations of it 4 & 5 *Gul. & Mar.* And as his Abilities help'd his Country while he liv'd among us, so we may now reap the Fruits of his Wisdom, after his Death. 'Tis true, other Persons would arrogate to themselves this Merit; but there are living Witnesses enow who can testify, That the Impositions upon French Goods, were the Effect of his Skill and Foresight.

'Tis true, in such an absolute Government as *France* is, the Duties and Prohibitions hurtful to our Interest and Trade, may be taken off by the State, and we ne'er the better; for the Power and Example of the Court is so prevailing there,





there, as quite to discountenance the use and wearing of those Commodities, whose Importation may be permitted by the Laws. But if the French are not *bona fide*, if they deal fraudulently, and use Tricks, 'twill not be impracticable for the Government here, to help it self by future Care, and new Measures; that is, we must find out Remedies, when they offer to elude the Treaty: Still keeping, if possible, to this Point, That the general Ballance of Trade may be equal between both Kingdoms.

But let Treaties of Commerce be made with never so much Skill, Prudence and Caution, they will hardly be truly observ'd and kept inviolate, in the remoter Dominions of those Nations, whom they are intended to oblige and bind.

And whatever Agreements we enter into with *France*, and *Holland*, we must probably expect some Infractions will be therein made by their Subjects, in distant Countries, and perhaps against the Desire and Command of either Government.

And

And Injuries receiv'd beyond the Line, are very seldom redress'd in *Europe*. States are apprehensive of coming to an open Breach; and such Ruptures (tho' dishonourable and of pernicious Consequence for the injur'd Side to suffer) are commonly made up by long Excuses and short Embassies, or by heavy Bribes and light Submissions.

The Protection and Care of Trade will therefore very much consist in putting our selves upon such a Foot, as that, in our Colonies, Plantations and Factories abroad, we may more depend upon our own proper Strength, than on the Alliances or Treaties of Commerce, to be made with any Foreign States and Princes.

A small Strength will prevail much, that is made to bear right, and that can be well dispos'd and order'd.

But the Naval Power of *England* is such, and so augmented by the late War, that we must be mightily deficient in Conduct, if we suffer our selves to be inroach'd upon, or insulted in remoter Countries.

And

And the best Security, in those Parts, against any future Designs or Attempts from our Neighbours, will probably be to have, both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, a Naval Strength, which shall, at least, be equal to theirs.

It seems much better, beyond the Line, to be able to protect our own Trade, than to play an After-game, and be reduc'd to seek for Relief in the *European* Courts, by expensive Embassies.

Courts are generally so corrupted, that the Aggressors have come off cheaply, in most of the Infractions of Peace, that have been made, for these last hundred Years, in distant Parts; upon which Score, 'tis much more advisable to be in a Posture to do, than to suffer the Injury.

Competent Fleets, dispos'd in convenient Stations, may not only preserve our Merchants from any Wrong, but will likewise render *England* formidable to those barbarous Nations, who understand little of *Europe*, and judge of all Countries; but as they see 'em strong and powerful upon their Coast.

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The Protection and Care of Trade will likewise consist, in seeing, that even now after a Peace, our Colonies and Plantations in *America*, and elsewhere, may be sufficiently guarded; and, that in all Parts, we may be in a Condition to repel Force, by Force. In order to which, the Fortresses erected there, should be kept in good Repair, furnished with competent Garisons, and well provided with Arms, and all kind of Warlike Ammunition.

And this will not only serve to resist any sudden Invasion of the Natives, of Pyrates, or from *Europe*; but, in Case of any future Breach with *France*, such a Strength, in the *Indies*, may, hereafter, put it in our Power, to give 'em a more sensible Wound, than any they are like to receive in *Europe*.

For 'tis now manifest, to all discerning Men, That if in the beginning of the late War, we had had Fleets, and Land-Forces in the *Indies*, ready to have fall'n immediately upon their Colonies, we might very probably have quite rooted them out; or at least we could so have



have destroy'd their Plantations, as that they should not have recover'd the Blow in many Years; and, the Nursery of their Seamen lying there, by this Means we had interrupted, and perhaps for ever broken that Naval Strength of theirs, which is so formidable to all Trading-Countries.

Several Things might be here added which relate to the proper Measures of preserving the Plantation, and *East-India* Trades, against the Attempts and Designs of our Neighbours; but we reserve them for the following Discourses.

Lastly, The Protection and Care of Trade is shown, in general, by giving it Favour and Encouragement from the Laws, and Government; therefore, in wise Countries, whatever Necessity presses, they lay their Taxes with all possible Regard and Tenderness to Foreign Traffick; They nurse it up, and handle it gently, and suffer it to receive no Damage, nor Disturbance, at least, from among themselves.

And

And now, in a few Words, to recapitulate our whole Matter, we have endeavour'd, in this Discourse, to show, That the Nature of this last War did not perhaps admit of such a Protection and Care of Trade, as would have render'd it beneficial to the Kingdom; but yet, that the Ground we have lost, is to be regain'd by a good Conduct for the future; That *France* and *Holland* are like to be our most dangerous Rivals; That the remaining Wealth and Stock of *England*, is, notwithstanding, sufficient to contend with those Nations, when the Circulation of Money shall have restor'd Credit; That a Council of Trade, to be establish'd by Authority of Parliament, may probably put our Traffick on a better Foot; That Treaties of Commerce, well projected and settled, will go a great way towards securing our nearer Trafficks; But, That, peradventure, in the more distant Parts, it may be the safest Course to rely upon such a competent Strength, well dispos'd, as will be a certain Guard to our Foreign Plantations and Colonies.

And the Writer of this Paper has more willingly undertaken to treat of all



all these Matters, because he finds himself in a manner Challeng'd to it, by the Author of a Tract, Intituled, [England and East-India inconsistent in their Manufactures, p. 58.]

If we have not agreed with that Gentleman in his Opinions, the Publick will best determin between us, whose Scheme is rightest for the general Good of Trade.

We have endeavour'd to set Things in a true Light, which we thought reasonable in the present Juncture, when these Points may come to be debated and settled, and when something will, probably, be done, for the future Security and Welfare of this Kingdom's Traffick.

Most commonly, such as palliate Evils, and represent the State of Things in a sounder Condition than truly they are, do thereby consult best for themselves, and better recommend their own Business, and Pretensions in the World: But He, who to the utmost of his Skill and Power, speaks the Truth, where the Good of his King and

and Country are concern'd, will be most esteem'd by Persons of Virtue and Wisdom; and to the Favour and Protection of such, these Papers are committed.

Publick Revenues
TRADE
PART II
DISCOURSE III
On the Pleas'd Trade



DISCOURSES

ON THE

Publick Revenues,

AND ON

TRADE.

PART II.

DISCOURSE III.

On the Plantation Trade.

HE that writes in order to recommend any Matter to the Publick Care, must begin with removing the Objections to the Thing it self: for it will be unnecessary to propose Methods whereby the Plantations in *America* may be secur'd, and improv'd, unless it can be first made appear

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pear that they are beneficial to the Kingdom.

All Trades have their Rivals, and Concurrents in Profit, who, consequently, are Enemies; they have likewise their Friends, and Supporters; but the Diligence of one Enemy, is more prevailing, and active, than the Kindness of many Friends: There is also a third Party, who, having not well consider'd, and study'd the Concerns of Foreign Traffick, are Neuters, being indeed not quite certain in their own Opinion, whether it be good for *England* or not, and so become indifferent in any Deliberations relating to it.

And the Design of these Papers being to incite the young Gentlemen to bend their Thoughts to Matters of this Nature: In the Branches of Trade, which shall be here treated of, we shall endeavour to remove former Prejudices: They who are Adversaries to any particular Traffick, for Reasons respecting themselves, will not be alter'd: But we shall do our best to confirm the Friends to Trade in general; we shall try to bring over the Neuter Side; and to engage those who are the flying Squadron

in all such Debates, by showing them that their Land-Interest depends more on Foreign Commerce, than is commonly imagin'd

The most material Objections to our Colonies in *America* are,

First, That they drain this Kingdom of People, the most Important Strength of any Nation.

Secondly, That they are a retreat to Men of Notions opposite to the Religion of their Country, and to Persons disaffected to the Government.

As to the first Head, 'Tis evident that since we had these Plantations, *England* has rather increas'd than diminish'd in People.

In the first Discourse we have sufficiently made it appear, that since the Year 1600, the Wealth of this Kingdom is all manner of Ways augmented; that our general Rental is more; that the Purchase of Land is come from 12 to 18, and in some Countries 24, 25, and 26; and that our Stock of all kinds is greatly multiply'd, as also the Species of Money.



Money. Now this Accession of Riches can have no ways proceeded but from our increasing in the Number of Inhabitants.

For the Collective Body of a Nation has but two Courses of acquiring Wealth, either by Inroads and Depredations upon its Neighbours, or by the Trade, Labour, Arts, and Manufactures of its People; and when 'tis not grown Rich one way, we may presume that the Hands are increas'd which have multiply'd its Riches.

There are almost undeniable Reasons to be drawn from Political Arithmetick, showing that since the Year 1600, we are increas'd in Number of Inhabitants about 900,000, which could not be, if the Plantations were such a drain of the People, as is injurious to the Common-Wealth.

We admit (over and above the Accession of Foreigners to us, and not reckoning what the *West-Indies* send to us again) that for Eighty Years last past, they may have carry'd away *communibus annis*, about 1000 Persons, and that's the most; but then 'tis generally of such

fort of People, as their Crimes and Debaucheries would quickly destroy at home, or whom their Wants would confine in Prisons or force to beg, and so render 'em useles, and consequently, a Burthen to the Publick.

If the Majority of those who are thus transported, or transport themselves, consists of such as would perish here, or beg, it must certainly be advisible to transplant them to Places, where they may be of more use, or grow better by removal.

Virginia and *Barbadoes*, were at first peopled by such a Race: 'Tis true (as Sir *Josiah Child* has observ'd) that afterwards they came to have another sort of Inhabitants, when the Miseries of the Civil War had reduc'd many good Families of the King's Party, to change Climate.

And again, those two Plantations, *Jamaica*, and other Parts of *America*, had a new Accession of People, when the Restoration of King *Charles* the II. had brought many Persons discontented either in Religious, or State Matters, to seek Refuge in a distant Country.



New-England, had its Original Rise, and Planting, from the Persecutions on Account of Conscience set a-foot by the warm Church-Men in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* the First.

So that in a manner, several Nations, which in time may grow Considerable, have been form'd out of what was here thought an Excrecence in the Body Politick.

And it may not be unseasonable in this Place, to offer to publick Consideration, whether it would not be more Religious to transport many of those miserable Wretches, who are frequently executed in this Kingdom for small Transgressions of the Law! it being peradventure one of the Faults of our Constitution, that it makes so little Difference between Crimes; for Experience tells us, that many Malefactors have by after Industry, and a Reformation in Manners, justify'd their Wisdom whose Clemency sent them abroad.

It must undoubtedly be for the common Good, to preserve those abroad, whom their Vice or Necessities would destroy

destroy at home, but it may be a Question, whether or no 'tis consistant with the Welfare of a Country, to allow to the Male Contents, in Religious or State Affairs, a Retreat, and such a one, in which they may acquire both Power and Riches. The Examination of this Point, will lead us to answer the Objections made upon the second Head.

From the very beginning of the Reformation, there have been Differences in this Kingdom, not truly in the Essential, but Ceremonial Parts of Religion: But the Enemy of Man (working on our Ambition, Pride, Avarice, thirst of Rule, and other our natural Defects) has so improv'd those Quarrels, as to make us contend, from time to time, about Matters indifferent, as hotly, as if the intire Glory and Power of God had been in Question.

And to state things fairly, almost every Religious Faction, that has chanc'd to get the Sway, has thrown off the Meekness that was first pretended, each showing, in its Turn, a persecuting Spirit, which Spirit is not of God.



Such therefore as found themselves disturb'd, and uneasie at home, if they could have found no other Retreat, must have gone to the Hans Towns, *Switzerland, Danemark, Sweeden, or Holland* (as many did before the Plantations flourish'd, to our great detriment) and they who had thus retir'd to the European Countries, must have been for ever lost to *England*.

But Providence, which contrives better for us, than we can do for our selves, has offer'd in the new World, a Place of Refuge for these, peradventure mistaken and mislead People, where (as shall be shown by and by) their Labour and Industry, is more useful to their Mother Kingdom, than if they had continued among us.

And as to Malecontents in the State, perhaps it is for the Publick Safety, that there should always be such an Outlet, or Issue, for the ill Humors which from time to time are engender'd in the Body Politick. And the *Romans* by such kind of Colonies, did continually discharge their City of those turbulent Spirits who disturb'd their Country's Peace: And the
Senate

Senate thereby appeas'd the Tumults, which did so frequently arise about the *Agrarian Law*.

Desire of having more, and not the Fear of losing what they possess, lies at the bottom of most Disaffections to Government; 'tis therefore safest to let such unquiet Minds remove to Places where their Appetite after Riches may be better Satisfied.

Hardly any Government can be so evenly mannag'd, as to content all sorts of Men: and the Ministers are often a weight to some, who reverence and love the Princes Person, and to such, a Retreat is convenient, in which they may shun the private Animosities, and Oppression of Persons, perhaps too Powerful to be complain'd of.

One of the worst Circumstances in universal Monarchy, is, that the Tyranny it introduces is no where to be avoided: So that he who was oppressed by a *Roman* Emperor, could retire no where but into the Arms of Death; and this made so many great Men kill themselves: whereas now, such as cannot be easie in one Country, may remove, and be at quiet in another. In



In all likelihood it would be very much for the Good of Humane kind, and add extremly to the Wealth, and Greatness of *England*, by new Encouragements, wholesome Laws, and a more easie Naturalization, to make this Kingdom the *Azilum* for all oppress'd and afflicted Persons, who desire to shun that Despotick Power, which the Neighbouring Princes, are every where setting up; and if we are made the general *Azilum*, our own Malecontents, may retire without any Prejudice; for the Recruits of People, such a Course might probably produce, would answer the Annual Evacuation occasion'd by our *West-India Colonies*.

Their Plantations have indeed ruin'd the *Spaniards*; but 'tis because there are many things amiss in their present Conduct. Their Monastries hinder Marriage, the Inquisition frights away Strangers, and in general, there is no Provision at all made, to repair what their Colonies carry out. But the *Hollanders*, who send out greater Numbers every Year than *Spain*, are not dispeopled by it, their Constitution inviting more over to them than they fend abroad.

Upon

Upon which Account we cannot but wonder at their Policy who were the first promoters of that Law in 1695, which puts a difficulty upon, and restrains the Sale of any Plantation, or parcel of Land in *America*, to Foreigners; whereas indeed, we should invite and encourage Aliens to plant in the *West-Indies*, whereby the Crown gains Subjects, and the Nation gets Wealth by the Labour of others. This Statute does, peradventure, want revising.

And Countries that take no Care to encourage an Accession of Strangers, in a Course of Time, will find Plantations of pernicious Consequence. It may be computed that there have gone from *England* to the *West-Indies*, for many Years, by a Medium, about 1800 Persons annually: But then there is reason to think, that for some time the Persecutions abroad have brought over to us, by a Medium about 500 Foreigners every Year: And there are Grounds to believe, that for these last 20 Years, the *West-Indies* have sent us back annually, about 300 Persons, of their Offspring, with this Advantage, that the Fathers went out Poor, and the Children came home Rich.

But



But if such Measures should hereafter be taken, as will hinder the Accession of Strangers, or discourage the Planters from returning back, then these Colonies would drain us every Year of 1800 Persons.

However this can be no Damage to the State, if they consist of men, turbulent and unquiet at home, unless it can be made out, that they acquire abroad, such Riches, Power and Dominion, as may render them in process of Time, formidable to their Mother Country.

As the Case now stands, we shall show, that they are a Spring of Wealth to this Nation, that they work for us, that their Treasure centers all here, and that the Laws have ty'd 'em fast enough to us; so that, it must be through our own Fault, and Misgovernment, if they become independant of *England*.

'Tis true, if a Breach of the Navigation-Act be conniv'd at, even our own Plantations may become more profitable to our Neighbours, than to us. Corrupt Governours, by oppressing the Inhabitants,

tants, may hereafter provoke 'em to withdraw their Obedience, and by supine Negligence, or upon mistaken Measures, we may let 'em grow (more especially *New-England*) in Naval Strength, and Power, which if suffer'd we cannot expect to hold 'em long in our Subjection. If, as some have propos'd, we should think to build Ships of War there, we may teach them an Art which will cost us some Blows to make 'em forget. Some such Courses may indeed drive 'em, or put it into their Heads, to erect themselves into Independant Commonwealths.

But, while we keep a strict Eye upon their Conduct, and chiefly watch their Growth in shipping of Strength, and for War, whatever other Increase they make, either in Wealth, or in Number of Inhabitants, cannot be turn'd against us, and can never be detrimental to this Nation.

While we are strong, and they weak, at Sea, they may be compell'd to obey the Laws of *England*, and not to trade directly, and upon their own Account with other Countries, and they may be easily brought under, if evil-minded Persons,



sons, should think at any time, to seduce 'em from their Allegiance.

Of all the *American* Plantations, *New-England* (as Sir *Josiah Child* has observ'd) is the most proper for building Ships, and breeding Sea-Men, and their Soil affords plenty of Cattel: besides which, they have good Fisheries; so that if we should go to cultivate among them the Art of Navigation, and teach 'em to have a Naval Force, they may set up for themselves, and make the greatest part of our *West-India* Trade precarious. With their Native Product they can furnish *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and other Parts, with most sort of Provision, by which they may draw from thence Sugar, Tobacco, and Cotton and if they have a strength of Ships, to countenance the Breach of their Original Charter, by which they are ty'd to observe the Laws of *England*, they may carry the growth of our Plantations to Foreign Countries, and in exchange bring from thence such Commodities and Manufactures as they want, to the great hurt of the King's Customs, and to the damage of the general Trade of *England*.

From

From all which it appears, how much they may be mistaken in their Politicks, who, because we lose by the *Baltick* Trade, propose to the Government, to build Ships of War in this Colony of *America*, not computing and weighing, how prejudicial such a Project may be upon other Accounts; for besides many other Evils in encouraging them to do so, it would carry from hence a great Number of Artificers, which in case of a War would be wanting in *England*.

Colonies are a Strength to their Mother Kingdom, while they are under good Discipline, while they are strictly made to observe the Fundamental Laws of their Original Country, and while they are kept dependant on it. But otherwise, they are worse than Members lopp'd from the Body Politick, being indeed like offensive Arms, wrested from a Nation, to be turn'd against it, as occasion shall serve.

Not that we think the Greatness these Colonies may arrive at, in a Natural Course, and in the progress of Time, can be dangerous to *England*. To build Ships in the way of Trade, or for their



only to be call'd Profit, and that not unless it come in Bullion.

Whoever follows him in this Notion, will never judge rightly in any Matter concerning Trade, and tho' no Merchant, from the Light of common Sense meerly, we think our selves able to make it appear he is mistaken.

We shall endeavour to show, that, generally speaking, by whatever the Returns are more worth than the Commodity exported, the Nation is by so much a Gainer, let the Goods imported be perishable or not.

But to understand this Point clearly, we must look a little backwards into the Manners and Nature of our own People.

About forty Years after we had tasted the Benefits of Foreign Traffick, we began to be infected with Foreign Luxury: In the Beginning, a Stop might have been put to the progress of the Evil, but there are Grounds to apprehend, it has now taken root too deeply, and is grown above the Correction of Wisdom, and the Laws.

Besides,

Besides, for these seven and thirty Years last past, the Duties on imported Goods, have been such a main Branch of the Crown Revenue, that upon this Score perhaps, our Vanities were not so discountenanc'd, as the Publick Welfare might require.

But the People are now so accusom'd to the use of Foreign Materials, that they can hardly subsist without 'em. However this Excess becomes less dangerous, when we can purchase them with the Product of distant Countries, under our Dominion, or with whom we deal, than if we were to buy 'em with Money, or with things meerly of our own Growth.

For there is a limited Stock of our own Product to carry out, beyond which there is no passing: As for Example, There is such a quantity of Woollen-Manufacture, Lead, Tin, &c. which over and above our own Consumption, we can Export abroad, and our Soil as 'tis now Peopled, will not yield much more: And there is likewise a limited Quantity of these Goods, which Foreign Consumption will not exceed: Now, if



our Expence of Foreign Materials be above this, and more than our own Product will fetch, for the Over-plus we should be forc'd to go to Market with Money, which would quickly drein us, if we did not help our selves other Ways, which are, either by exchanging our Plantation Goods for their Materials, or by bartering one Foreign Vanity for another; and this we are enabled to do with the Assistance of our *East-India* Traffick. 'Tis true, Industry and Frugality, may increase our Exports, and so more of 'em will be consum'd by Foreigners.

The *West* and *East-India* Trades have so enlarg'd our Stock, as to set the general Balance for many Years on our Side, notwithstanding all our Luxuries, which our home Product could not so have answer'd, as to let the Nation gather at the same time such a Mass of Wealth as the War has expended.

'Tis allow'd that our Home Product, with the Profit we made by the *New-found-Land* Fishery, might fetch from the European Markets, Wine, Oyl, Fruits, wrought Silks, raw Silk, Linnen, &c. and besides, bring a Superlucration to this

this Kingdom, of about 500,000 *l.* per annum: But having consider'd more maturely this Point, than we could do last Year when the *Essay on the East-India Trade* was written, we are rather inclin'd to think that the Profit arising from our *European* Trade was about 600,000 *l.* per annum, added to the National Stock, which in thirty Years, is eighteen Millions.

But eighteen Millions could by no Means be a sufficient Summ to answer the extraordinary Expences, Losses and Accidents, by Plague, Fire and War, which did happen before the Year 1688, and may be justly computed at thirty Millions: and, our Consumption all the while consider'd, we must have been impoverish'd to the last Degree, but for the foremention'd Helps.

The *West* and *East-India* Commodities, coming from distant Parts, we make *Europe* pay us good Freight, which is clear Gain, and by their Means we beat down the Price of several Wares, as wrought Silks, raw Silk, Linnen, Sugar, &c. and by Goods and Druggs brought from thence, we dye, and Manufacture several of our own Commodities



cities at a cheaper Rate; all which makes Trade in General more beneficial to us.

In handling Matters of this Nature, something should be laid down, to form an Idea upon: whether it is quite right, or no, the Reader may judge, but if it comes near the Fact, it will hold in Proportion.

We have said in the *Essay* on the *East-India* Trade (*pag. 17*) That about *Anno 1688*, the Increase or Addition to the general Stock of *England* arising from Foreign Trade, and home Manufactures, was at least two Millions yearly, and we made our Repartition Thus,

From our Manufactures, and home Product, sent to the Plantations, and from the Returns thereof, Exported to Foreign Parts	} } 900,000
---	----------------

From our Woollen Manufacture, Lead, Tin, Leather, and our Other Native Product, sent to <i>France, Spain, Italy, Germany, &c.</i>	} } 500,000
---	----------------

Carried over	} } 1,400,000
Brought	

Brought over	l. 1,400,000.
From the Net Profit accruing, by the <i>East-India</i> Trade,	} 600,000.
Total	2,000,000.

Whoever examines the Custom-House Books for six Years, and rightly computes the Draw-backs and Exports, will find the first Article not much mistaken: and we hope to prove the Computation relating to the *East-India* Trade, in the next Discourse; but having granted that the Returns for these Goods are partly made to us in perishable Commodities, we are to show, that notwithstanding this, these Trafficks did add to our National Stock, a very large Summ.

To explain this, we must lay down, that according to the best Inquiry we can possibly make, the Imports and Exports together in times of Peace, did make the Bulk of this Nation's Trade amount to about 10,000,000, *l. per Annum.*

To gain Yearly two Millions, there must be 20 per Cent. Profit by Trade in General, whereas the Merchants thinks them-

themselves happy, with a clear and constant gain of 12 *per Cent*. But then we are to consider, that as in some Cases, the Nation may lose where the Merchant gets, so in the whole, the Nation may well get 20, where the Merchant gets but 12 *per Cent*, and this Distinction will lead us to comprehend the whole Matter.

As for Example, a Parcel of Goods sent from hence to *Virginia*, may fetch ten Hodgsheds of Tobacco, in which the Merchant may gain at the rate only of 10 *per Cent*; but when this Tobacco is shipp'd again for *Amsterdam*, in the Freight backward, and forward, and outward again, and in the Manufactory of the Goods sent, when the last return comes to be made, all Parties concern'd, will be found to have got, among 'em, 20 *per Cent*, and much more, reckoning from the prime Value of the Commodity exported.

And the Case of *England* seems to stand thus, We have variety of Trafficks, in some we doubled, in some trebled, and in some quadrupled the first cost: We had likewise Dealings by which we gain'd 5, 8, 10, and 15 *per Cent*, and by

by some Trades we lost; but throwing all together by a general Medium, if for some Years past, we had not made 20 *per Cent* Profit by the whole Bulk of Trade, and so lay'd up a great Stock, we must probably have sunk under the Burthen of this last War.

Nor could we have subsisted, if this Gain had not been over and above the perishable Commodities, that is to say, our own Product, join'd with our other Business, did not only supply our present Luxuries, but enabled us to lay up such a Stock; however, meerly with the help of our own Product, we should have increas'd, but not in the same Proportion, and the Wealth thereby acquir'd could not have maintain'd the War so long.

To come at the right Knowledge of what a People get by Trade, it must be examin'd, to what Value they can naturally export of their own Product, and to what Value they can carry to Market of the Product of other Parts: It must afterwards be computed what their own Consumption is of Foreign Materials, by balancing this together; if there be an Overplus, that Overplus a Nation may be said to get by Traffick. Nor

Nor is such a Balance needful, as Merchants make up every Year, to know whether a Country gets or loses by Trade, for as we have said in the first of these Discourses, it will appear by many Circumstances.

The Arguments in the first Discourse have perhaps sufficiently prov'd that the Nation's general Stock towards the Year 1688, did begin to increase annually about two Millions.

We have an Account from such as have formerly perus'd the Custom-House Books with great Care, that from 1682 exclusive, to 1688 inclusive, the Value of our Exports to *America*, in Provisions of all kinds, Apparel, and Household-Furniture, might be, by a Medium of six Years, about 350,000 *l. per Annum*.

That the Value of our Imports, from the *Southward* and *Northward* Parts of that Country, for the same term of time, in Tobacco, Sugars, Ginger, Cotton-Wooll, Fustick-Wood, Indico, Caccoa, Fish, Pipe-Staves, Masts, Furs, &c. and Fish from *New-found-Land*, which is in the Nature of a Plantation, might be about 950,000 *l. per Annum*.

Returns

Returns	950,000.
Prime Cost	350,000.
	<hr/>
Gain'd	600,000.

We take it that the Imports from the Plantations might be about 950,000 *l.* in times of Peace, whereof 350,000 *l.* being consum'd at home, is about equal to our Exports thither, and the remainder, viz. 600,000 *l.* being re-exported, is the National gain by that Trade.

To prove this Computation yet farther; The Writer of these Papers has seen a Representation to King *Charles II.* from the Merchants interested in the *American* Colonies, setting forth, that, by a just Medium, the Labour of 100 Negroes, is 1600 *l. per Annum* Profit to this Kingdom: and we have reasons to conclude, that there are in *America* 100,000 Negroes, and if so, the *American* Colonies produce to *England* 1,600,000 *l. per Annum*: But in all our Calculations we choose rather to keep within a moderate Compass.

We agree so far with Mr. P—— that when we speak of Trade in general,



ral, the Gain is so much only as the Nation does not consume of the Imports; but either lays up in Commodities in Specie, or converts into Money, or some such adequate Treasure.

And the 600,000 *l.* so re-exported to the European Markets, producing in all probability 720,000 *l.* leaves a Gain of 120,000 *l.* to the Trade of Europe.

And upon a better view of the *East-India* Trade than we were able to make last Year, when the *Essay* was written, we find that the Exports to *India* in Bullion, and Wares, might be about 500,000 *l.* per Annum, of which the Returns might be about 1,800,000 *l.* whereof might be consum'd at home to the value of 1,300,000 *l.* when it comes into the 2^{d.} 3^{d.} and 4^{th.} Hand, as shall be explain'd hereafter, and re-exported to *Europe* at least 500,000 *l.* which 500,000 *l.* may be stated as the clear Gain by that Trade; and the said 500,000 *l.* exported to *Europe*, producing 680,000 *l.* leaves a Gain of 180,000 *l.* to the Trade of *Europe*.

So that to make up the two Millions National Profit by Trade

The Plantation Trade	}	600,000.
may bring in		
		The

Brought over	}	600,000.
The <i>East-India</i> Trade		
may bring in		500,000.
The <i>European, Affrican</i>	}	600,000.
and <i>Levant</i> Trade, by our		
own Product may bring in		120,000.
Ditto, by re-exports of	}	120,000.
Plantation Goods		
Ditto, by re-exports of	}	180,000.
<i>East-India</i> Goods		
In all		1,020,000.

And according to the best Inquiry we are able to make, and from a general view of the Numbers of the People, the Stock of all kinds that was in this Nation, and the Consumption both of our own Product and of Foreign Materials, we have many Reasons to believe that this was the genuine State, and true Posture of Trade in 1688.

And as we have laid down in the first Discourse, we take it that these two Millions did every Year turn into National Stock



Stock of different kinds, which was visible in the Increase of the Species of Money, of Shipping, in the improvements of Land, in our Magnificent Buildings; in our quantity of Plate, Jewels, sumptuous Apparel, and rich Furniture; and in the vast Stores that were lying by us, both of our Home Product, and Foreign Commodities, which were our principal Strength and Support while the War lasted.

Besides the two Millions Increase by Trade, if it imported our present Matter, we could show that there was a great Increase every Year by the Inland-Business of the Nation: And these Additions to the Kingdom's Stock has enabled us to mannage a nine Years War, and to set out such Fleets and Armies as were never heard of among our Ancestors.

But we are very far from dogmatizing upon this Subject, for as we have said, *Disc. 1st. p. 72. Whoever will Categorically pronounce in Points so difficult, must look into a great many things.*

The Writer never pretended any more than to show probable Conjectures for other Persons to reason upon. His first Account of our General Trade, publish'd in the *Essay on the East-India Trade*, p. 18. may have some Error in the Repartition of it: And the Scheme now offer'd may be liable to exception, but 'tis fram'd from the best Inquiry he is able to make, and hereafter he will be very willing to correct any Mistake or ill-grounded Notion upon better Lights and farther Information.

The Novelty of these Calculations will make them at first be much disputed by many Persons; but if we had leisure to show the Medium we go by in every particular (which would require much a larger Volume than is here intended) most People would agree, we come very near the Truth, and that's as much as can be expected in so dark and intricate a Subject, and in an Art so little cultivated, as that of reasoning upon Things by Figures.

If the Profit from the Plantations be such, as is here taken Notice of, or something near it, we have not any reason



son to complain of wanting these Inhabitants, because the Superlucration from the Labour of the same Number of Men, over and above their own Nourishment, could, no manner of ways have been so beneficial to the Kingdom.

For admit the *American Colonies* to contain not quite 200,000 Persons of *English* Parentage, which perhaps is pretty near the Truth, the Labour of such a Number of Men, reckon'd in the Mass, could by no means bring to the Nation 720,000 *l. per Annum* clear Profit.

But, in the *Southward* Parts, cultivating a plentiful Soil; productive of Commodities, not to be had elsewhere, and every Head, in the Islands, employing, peradventure, six Others, of *Negroes* Slaves, and *European* Strangers, they bring it to pass, that one Head there, is as profitable as seven Heads would be in *England*.

For though the Labour in some whole Manufactures may bring a Superlucration to the Publick, of above One Pound Yearly, *per Head*, yet, the Mass of *Man-kind* reckon'd together, 'tis sufficient

not

Profit,

Profit, and will very much enrich a Country, if, One head with another, brings to the Publick 6 *s. 8 d. per Annum*, or seven shillings Gain, over and above his Nourishment, whereas these Planters, as the foregoing account shews, bring much a larger Profit to this Nation.

But here it may be objected, that the *Northward* Parts have drain'd us most of People, and yet yield Commodities of little Value; the Fact is so, but if it were otherwise, the Plantation Trade could not perhaps be carry'd on.

For those Soils which produce the richer Goods, are not proper to cultivate for the nourishment of Life, and to yield Corn, Beef, Pork, Pease, Flower, &c. So that the *Southern* Parts especially in a time of War, would be destitute of Necessaries, were it not for the Industry of the more *Northern* Climates.

'Tis true, these Provisions might be furnish'd from *England*, but, at such a Rate, as would peradventure much discourage the *Southern* Planters. And the *Northern* Planters, *viz.* the People of *New-England, Maryland, Pensilvania, Carolina, &c.* Tho' they furnish the Product of the Earth, to the *Southern* Colonies, yet they fetch from this Kingdom

Q

dom



dom, variety of Manufactures, all sorts of Cloaths, and House-hold Furniture, much oftner renew'd, and thrice as good, as the same Number of People could afford to have at home; So that the Question whether the Northern Colonies are good for *England* or no, will depend upon making a right Ballance between the Commodities we send thither, and the Provisions we might send to the Southward Plantations, if they were not supply'd from *New-England*, &c. but we are inclin'd to think, the present Course most advantageous to this Kingdom, and for this Reason, The Provisions we might send to *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. would be the unimprov'd Product of the Earth, as Grain of all kind, or such Product where there is little got by the Improvement, as Malt, Salt Beef, and Pork; indeed the Exportation of Salt Fish thither, would be more advantageous; But the Goods which we send to the Northern Colonies, are such whose Improvements may be justly said to be one with another to be near four fifths of the value of the whole Commodity, as Apparel, Household Furniture, and many Other things. *It is* true, if in *New-England*, or in other Parts there, they should pretend to

set up Manufactures, and to cloath, as well as feed their Neighbours, their nearness, and low Price, would give 'em such Advantages over this Nation, as might prove of pernicious Consequence; but this Fear seems very remote, because new Inhabitants, especially in a large Extent of Country, find their Accompt better, in Rearing Cattle, Tilling the Earth, clearing it of Woods, making Fences, and by erecting Necessary Buildings, than in setting up of Manufactures, which is the last work, of a People settled three or four hundred Years, growing numerous, and wanting Territory.

And as the Case stands, it seems reasonable to think, that the Northern Colonies, are a Help to the Southward Planters, as their Frugality, and Temperance of Living, is a Counterpoise to the Excess and Luxury with which a rich Soil, easy Acquisition of Wealth, and a warm Climate, has infected the *Southern* Inhabitants.

Tho' every *English* Head in the Southward Plantations, when they flourish'd, did employ about six Others, yet, reckoning the whole Colonies together, our People could not be but about double the number of the *Negroes*, and European Strangers; so that our Dominions

Q 2

there,

there, might contain about three hundred thousand Persons.

And 'tis matter of great Admiration, how in the space of so few Years, such a Number of Men should be got together in a Country, for the most part so wild and uncultivated.

There are very near a Sixth as many People there, as in all likelihood, *England* did contain about the Time of the *Norman* Conquest.

And such a large Increase, with so swift a Progress, is no where to be met with, but among the *Israelites* and the *Turks*; In the *Turkish* Dominions, where *Ertrogul*, a Prince of the *Oguzian* Tribe, planting himself with four hundred Families, at the Village *Saguta*, by the Mountain *Tmolus*, about the Year 1235, laid the Foundation of the *Ottoman* Empire, which in 215 Years after, came to subdue a great Part of *Asia*, and to get a considerable Footing in *Europe*.

'Tis true, they more enlarg'd their Dominions by Conquest, than by any Arts of Peace, however, those Numbers which their Wars continually wast-ed, could never have been supply'd, if they had not been a Sober and Temperate People, whereby they became long-liv'd, and fitter for Propagation.

And

And, to the Sobriety, and Temperate Way of living, practis'd by the Dissenters retir'd to *America*, we may justly attribute the Increase they have made there of Inhabitants, which is beyond the usual Proportion to be any where else observ'd.

The Supplies from hence, do, by no means, answer their present Numbers, it must then follow, that their Thrift, and regular manner of Living, inclines 'em more to marry, and makes 'em more healthful for Generation, and affords them better means of having the Necessaries to sustain life, as wholsom Food, and cleanly Dwelling, and Apparel, the want of which, in other Countries, is a High Article in the Burials of the Common People.

We do not pretend here to excuse the *Hetrodox* Opinions these Dissenters from our Church may have conceiv'd about Religious Matters, nor to justify their Schism, but it must be own'd that the Sobriety, which at least they profess outwardly, is beneficial both in Practice and Example.

For where Riot and Luxuries are not discountenanc'd, the Inferior Rank of Men become presently infected, and grow Lazy, effeminate, impatient of

Q 3

Labour,





Labour, and expensive, and consequently cannot thrive by Trade, and Tillage; So that when we contemplate the great Increase, and Improvements which have been made in *New-England*, *Carolina*, and *Pensilvania*, we cannot but think it Injustice, not to say, that a large share of this general Good to those Parts, is owing to the Education of their Planters, which if not intirely Virtuous, has a show of Virtue; and if this were only an appearance, 'tis yet better for a People that are to Subsist, in a new Country by Traffick, and Industry, than the open Profession and Practice of Lewdness, which is always attended with National decay and Poverty.

By what has been said in this Discourse, we hope 'tis sufficiently prov'd, that the Plantations are Advantagious to *England*, and that the Southward and Northward Colonies, having such a mutual Dependance upon each other, all Circumstances considered, are almost equally Important.

And to make these distant Colonies a lasting benefit to this Nation, must take it's rise from the Wisdom which shall be shown from time to time in their general Conduct and Government.

The

The principal Care will always be, to keep them dependant upon their Mother Country, and not to suffer those Laws upon any Accompt, to be loosen'd, whereby they are ty'd to it, for otherwise they will become more profitable to our Neighbours, than to us.

The late ill order in our Affairs, which perhaps was unavoidable in so big a War, does sufficiently evince what a mutual dependance the Southern and Northern Colonies have one upon another; For so little Care was taken for the Convoys that were to protect the Supplies of Provisions for our Islands, that tho' all necessaries might have been as well (tho' not quite so cheap) sent from *Ireland*, as from the Northern Plantations, Yet 'tis apparent that many times the Southern Parts must have perish'd for want, if they had not been supply'd by the Northern Colonies.

But however useful they may have been to His Majesties Islands during the late War, yet perhaps it will concern the Publick to look a little into the Posture of Affairs upon the Continent.

And there are some general Points which peradventure may deserve Consideration, when it shall be thought convenient to put our Business in *America*

Q 4

under

under such a Form and Settlement, as may be safe and lasting, and they are as follows.

First, Without doubt the Negligence of former times has suffer'd a greater number of Plantations upon the Continent, than do well consist with the Navigation and other Interests of their Mother Country.

Secondly, It cannot be for the Publick Good of a Kingdom, to furnish Colonies out of it with People, when the Product of such Colonies, is the same with the Kingdom's, and so rivals the Kingdom, both in it's Navigation, and it's Product, at the Markets where such Product is vended.

Thirdly, It can hardly be the Interest of a Country, to suffer it's People to make Settlements of several Plantations, that yield one and the same Commodity. For Inhabitants thus dispers'd, are neither so useful to each other in time of Peace, nor strong enough to defend themselves in times of War: So that their Mother Kingdom is usually at a great Charge for their defence, whereas if they lay in a more compact, and less extended Territory, they could be more ready to give each other mutual Help, and not be expos'd, as they are, to every

ry little Strength, and Insult of an Invader.

Fourthly, As many Empires have been ruin'd by too much enlarging their Dominions, and by grasping at too great an Extent of Territory, so our Interest in *America* may decay, by aiming at more Provinces, and a greater Tract of Land, than we can either cultivate or defend. Upon which accompt, it may perhaps be sometime or other worth the Consideration of the State, whether a Way might not be propos'd of collecting within a narrower Compass, the scatter'd Inhabitants of the Continent, by inviting some to cultivate the Islands where their Labour is certainly most profitable to this Kingdom, and by drawing the rest, if possible, to four or five of the Provinces best situate and most productive of Commodities, not to be had in *Europe*. But this is to be done with great deliberation, with a due regard to Property, by degrees, and by good Encouragement.

Fifthly, Former times have not only been faulty in suffering too many Provinces to be erected, but in the Repartition of the Land taken in, there are Corruptions conniv'd at very prejudicial to the Plantation Trade, and to the King's Customs



Customs from thence arising. As for Example, it is much wonder'd at, that *Virginia* the first *English* Settlement upon the Continent, made about 80 Years agoe, should have thriven no better; some attribute it to the badness of the Climate, but other Reasons may be plainly assign'd for it's ill Success, which perhaps are as follows.

The Planters and Inhabitants have been, and at this time, are discourag'd from planting Tobacco in that Colony, and Servants are not so willing to go thither as formerly, because the Members of the Council, and others, who make an Interest in the Government there, have from time to time procur'd Grants of very large Tracts of Land, so that there has not for many Years, been any wast Grounds left to be cultivated by those who bring with them Servants, or by such Servants as have serv'd their time faithfully with their Masters, it being all taken up and engross'd beforehand, whereby they are forc'd to pay a Yearly Rent for this Ground, or to go to the utmost Bounds of the Colony for Land to improve, by which means they are expos'd to danger, and this often furnishes matter for War or Quarrels with the *Indians*.

The

The manner of taking up Land in *Virginia* is thus; Every Adventurer or Planter has upon his Arrival, a right to Fifty Acres of Land in the Colony: If he intends to take up any, he is first to make Oath before the Governour or Council, or at a County Court, of the number of Persons he designs to Import, and they of Course grant him a Certificate thereupon, which is enter'd in the Secretarie's Office, and is then produc'd by him to the Surveyor of the County where the Land lies wast, who makes a Survey, allowing Fifty Acres, according to the Number of his Rights, *i. e.* Persons imported, which with the Rights, is carry'd to the Secretarie's Office, on which a Patent is made out, and Sign'd by the Governour in Council, who causes the Seal of the Colony to be affix'd to it, which gives the Claimer an Estate in Fee-Simple; but upon the following Conditions. *First*, To pay the King one Shilling *per Annum* Quit-Rent for every Fifty Acres. *Secondly*, To Seat such Land within three Years (otherwise 'tis presum'd to be deserted.) By Seating Land is meant, that they build a House, and put some Stock of Cattle upon it. *Thirdly*, To keep four able Men arm'd upon the

the new Plantation, if it lie far up in the Country.

These are the Terms upon which the Land is granted, but they are seldom observ'd. The Quit-Rent is rarely paid. Instead of building and Stocking they fell a few Trees, and throw up a little Hut cover'd with Bark, and put Three or four Hogs into the Woods: No Servants are left, either to defend, or cultivate the Ground, but in this fallacious way, they are suffer'd to keep up their Claim, and to maintain Possession.

And these Grants being procur'd upon such easie Terms, and very often upon wrong Suggestions, and false Certificates, it comes to pass that many hold twenty or thirty thousand Acres of Land apiece, and that largely Survey'd: Some Patents including double the quantity of Land that was intended to be granted. And from hence it proceeds, that many hundred thousand Acres are, as they call it, taken up, but not planted, which Practice drives away the Inhabitants and Servants bred up only to planting, and forces them into Colonies, where their Labour is not so profitable either to the Crown, or to the People of this Kingdom, as it would be in a Province not producing Commodities that

that are of *English* growth. And these Practices are without doubt a chief Cause that our Colony in *Virginia* has had no better Success.

We have dwelt the longer in representing this matter of Fact, concerning which we have certain Information, only to show of what ill Consequence it is to grasp at an extended, but a barren Dominion. And this Consideration perhaps will lead the Publick sometime or other to make provision:

First, Hereafter to hinder any new Plantation, especially on a Soil producing what may be had from the Soil of *England* or *Ireland*.

Secondly, To endeavour the rendring this Territory less extensive, but better Peopled, and consequently in a readier Condition to improve and defend it's self.

Thirdly, To establish something like an *Agrarian* Law, by which we would not be understood to propose a levelling the Property and rightful Possession of the Inhabitants, but only to restrain such a fraudulent taking up of Land (to use their own Term) as is a Bar to the Industry of Others.

Our



Our Interest in *America*, generally speaking, may bring an immense profit to this Kingdom, if it is well looked after by the Government here, but otherwise in all likelihood it will either decline, or come to be a strength that may be turn'd against us.

If such a Scheme of a Council of Trade, as we have propos'd in the 2^d Discourse, be not thought advisable, 'tis submitted to Publick Consideration, whether the Plantations are not of Importance enough to deserve a particular Council to be establish'd by the King, for the Inspection of Affairs thereunto relating, in the following, or some such like Method.

First, That the care of *America* be made the Province of a Select Number of Lords and Gentlemen of Reputation, both for Parts and Fortune, and in such a Number, as will admit of two Committees, that so Business may be better dispatch'd.

Secondly, That they be authorized under the Great Seal of *England*, by the Name and Style of Lords Commissioners for the *English* Plantations in *America*, to consider and inspect all Affairs relating to the Government, Trade, Re-

venues,

venues, Plantations, and further Improvement of those Countries.

Thirdly, And no Business being well done in this Kingdom, where Attendance is not recompenc'd with some Advantage, That every Commissioner have a Salary of a Thousand pound *per Annum*.

Fourthly, That the respective Colonies be requir'd to send a True State of their Case to these Lords, as for Example, Of their Situation, Extent of Territory, Numbers of People, Produce, Revenue, Civil Policy, with Proposals which way to improve every Country, to their own, and this Nation's Profit; And all to be Register'd in the Plantation Office.

This, compar'd with what Inquiries the Lords may themselves make, and Informations they may receive at home, may give them such an Idea and knowledge of all Affairs in *America*, as it will not be difficult for them to put things into a Form, and Order of Government, that shall always preserve those Countries in their Obedience to the Crown, and dependence upon this Kingdom; And probably, if they are thus made the Peculiar Care of some Body of Men, they



they will be a lasting Revenue to the King, an inexhaustible Mine of Treasure to *England* in general, and a great means to multiply Seamen, and increase our Navigation.

Such a Constitution will be something like what we call the Council of the *Indies* in *Spain*; But here it may be Objected, that the *Spaniards* are not very good Patterns to follow, in any Model or Scheme of Government; to which it may be answer'd, that whoever considers the Laws, and Politick Institutions of *Spain*, will find them as well form'd, and contriv'd with as much Skill and Wisdom, as in any Country perhaps in the World: So that the Errors that People is observ'd to commit, from time to time, do not proceed from a wrong and ill Projection, but from the negligent, loose, and unsteady Executions of their Councils.

Xenophon in that Tract which is publish'd at the End of the 1st. Part of these Discourses, says that Governments resemble their Governors. This Maxim of His is certainly right; And from thence it follows, that the Welfare of the *American Colonies*, will

will very much depend upon the Conduct and Behaviour of such as are sent to Reside and Govern there by the King's Authority.

In former times, this part of Policy, has without doubt, been very much neglected, there having generally been put at the Head of these Affairs abroad, Indigent, Ignorant, or Extravagant Persons, of which one Sort made a Prey, and the Others, by their Examples, corrupted the Manners of the People.

A Good General, by the very March and Demeanour of a Regiment, can make a near Guess at the Understanding, and Abilities of the Colonel, if he be unskillful, and without Discipline, every private Centinel shall carry the Marks of it about Him.

The same holds, and much more strongly, in the Government of higher Matters: It must therefore be of great Importance to the State, that He who is to command a Country, containing many Thousand Families, should be a Man of Abilities, Experience, Dexterity, Courage, Temper, and Virtue; He ought to



be endow'd with such a general knowledge, as may comprehend the Nature of the Soil where he is, what Improvements it is capable of, and what Trades will be most advantageous to it. He should be able likewise, to look into the Genius of the People he is to Govern: He should be a Man of Discipline, Sobriety and Justice, for he that is not so in his own Person, can never expect Order, nor compel Others to obey the Laws. A People to whom Riches and Plenty furnish Matter for Vice, and Luxury, should be govern'd by a Strict and Skilful Hand, which may reform their Manners, and at the same time, both promote and direct their Industry.

In all appearance, hardly any thing would more conduce to the good Government of these places, than to follow one Course which the King of *France* observes strictly in his Plantations, and it is to give very large Appointments to the Governors out of his own Coffers, not allowing them any Perquisites, or to draw any Advantages or Profit from the Inhabitants.

And

And as Care should be taken to keep them Obedient to the Laws of *England*, and Dependant upon their Mother Country, so those Conditions, Priviledges, Terms, and Charters should be kept sacred and inviolate, by which they were first encourag'd, at their great Expence, and with the hazard of their Lives, to discover, Cultivate, and Plant remote Places, where in truth, they labour as well for us, as for themselves, for here at last their Treasure centers.

The Northern Colonies are not upon the same Foot, as those of the South: And having a worse Soil to improve, they must find their Recompence some other way, which only can be in Property, and Dominion: Upon which Score, any Innovations in the Form of Government there, should be cautiously examin'd, for fear of entring upon Measures, by which the Industry of the Inhabitants may be quite discourag'd.

'Tis always Unfortunate for a People, either by Consent, or upon Compulsion, to depart from their primitive Institutions, and those Fundamentals,



damentals, by which they were first united together: Liberty, choice of their own Chief Magistrates and Officers, was the Part constituent of the principal Societies that have succeeded so well in the Northward Regions; To appoint them Governors from hence, will certainly be for the good of the Countries here, but whether this Course in the Event, will be advantageous for those Plantations, is not so easy to determin.

But without doubt, it must be very prejudicial both to the Southward and Northern Colonies, that many Offices and Places of Trust there, should be granted by Patent to Persons in *England*, with liberty to execute such Employments by Deputies, by which means they are generally farn'd out to indigent Persons, who grind and fleece the People: So that the Inhabitants tho' many of em are rich, sober, and judicious Men, yet they are excluded from Offices of Trust, except such as are chargeable in the Execution, which is inconsistent with all the Rules of well governing a Country.

They who have visited the North Tract of *America*, and who have observ'd

serv'd the several Ways and degrees of Cultivation, with respect to the Quality and Quantity of their Produce, the Oeconomy of the People, and the Administration of the respective Governments, cannot better express the Disproportion throughout, between Place and Place, than by comparing them with the many Principalities and States of *Germany*, where the Protestant Countries are for the most part better Peopled, and their Towns better kept, than those under Catholick Governments. And so it fares with the Hans or free Towns, as they are call'd, above those under Absolute and Arbitrary Princes; Where the Constitution is freer, and the Magistracy more sober, the People are more Industrious, and the Country improves in Proportion.

And had it not been for Provinces begun and carry'd on by People of Sobriety, the *English* Empire abroad, would be much Weaker than it is at present; It having been the Unhappiness of some, to take their Original from another Race of Planters, Vitious, Needy, or Criminal, who tho' a Profit to the Kingdom
by



by being there, yet by no means in proportion with the other Sort. And as Licentiousness breaks out much more apparently in such Places, so that is not all, for Governours (as is said) are too apt to make their Advantages of it, who by indulging such Extravagancies, find their own Accompts the better; it being plain, that the Common People are but too ready to exchange their Liberties, for Licentiousness, and to wink at those who will connive at them.

If ever any thing great or good be done for our *English* Colonies, Industry must have its due Recommendation, and that cannot be without Encouragement to it, which perhaps is only to be brought about, by confirming their Liberties, and establishing good Discipline among them: That as they see they are a free People in Point of Government, so they may by Discipline be kept free of the Mischiefs that follow Vice and Idleness.

And as great Care should be taken in this respect, so without doubt 'tis adviseable that no little Emulations or Private Interests of Neighbour

bour Governours, nor that the Petitions of hungry Courtiers at home, should prevail to discourage those particular Colonies, who in a few Years have rais'd themselves by their own Charge, Prudence, and Industry, to the Wealth and Greatness they are now arriv'd at, without Expence to the Crown: Upon which Account any Innovations or Breach of their Original Charters (besides that it seems a Breach of the Publick Faith) may peradventure not tend to the King's Profit.

In those Colonies, which by Charter are not govern'd from hence, as to all Dues belonging to the Crown Revenue, the King has as an immediate Influence, by having an Officer of his own upon the Spot, as in other Places.

And the dues of the Crown arising from the Improvements of the Soil, it seems more probable, that such Improvement should be made by those who have an Interest and Property in the Country, and who work for themselves, than by Governours sent from hence, whose most common Aim is, to grow rich by fleecing the Inhabitants; And this
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Property is without doubt the best Caution and Pledge for their good Behaviour, both to the King and to his Subjects in those remote Parts, who, as 'tis said, in former times, have been severely handled by transient Governors.

The Welfare of all Countries whatsoever, depends upon good Government, and without doubt these Colonies will flourish, if they are intrusted to honest, discreet, and skilful hands, who will let them perceive they enjoy the Rights and Liberties of *English* Men, tho' not in *England*.

Industry has it's first Foundation in Liberty: They who either are Slaves, or who believe their Freedom's precarious, can neither succeed in Trade, nor Meliorate a Country. We shall not pretend to determin whether the People in the Plantations, have a Right to all the Priviledges of *English* Subjects; but the contrary Notion is perhaps too much entertain'd and practic'd in Places which happen to be distant from *St. Stephen's* Chappel. Upon which Account, it will peradventure be a great Security and Encouragement to

to these Industrious people, if a Declaratory Law were made, that *English* Men have right to all the Laws of *England*, while they remain in Countries subject to the Dominion of this Kingdom. But as the Arbitrary Proceedings, and Male-administration of Governors should be severely animadverted upon, so frivolous and wrong Complaints should be as much discouraged.

And in this Place we think our selves oblig'd to take notice, that Publick Inquiry ought to be made into the oppressive and scandalous Behaviour of some Merchants, towards the Sugar and Tobacco Planters.

When the Matters of *America* shall come under such a Consideration as may produce a Settlement, the Parties concern'd in Trade, Property and Interest, will be able to instance many particular Regulations that may improve the Country, and render the Traffick more profitable. In the meanwhile we have offer'd what has occur'd to our Observation, to which we shall add some few Remarks relating to the Trade, Government, and Civil Policy of those Countries which are.

First, That no Province should Obstruct



fract or Clog the Passage of any Ship or Goods coming from *England* through it, with any Custom or Duty; for that it plainly incommodes and discourages the King's Subjects, and puts them upon making that without the use of those Goods, and so far hinders the Consumption of our *English* Produce, and Manufacture, and thereby hurts Trade and Navigation, besides it is unwarrantable by the Laws of *England*.

Secondly, That where the Navigation Act forbids it not, a Coast Trade from Province to Province should be allow'd there, as it is here from County to County: By which Means Sloath will be punish'd with Want, as it should always be; and Industry will receive it's just Reward.

Thirdly, That one Province should not protect the Fugitives of another for Crimes or Debts, but that Justice should be done according to the Constitution of the several Provinces.

Fourthly, It seems necessary to put *New-found-Land*, now growing considerable, under some Government or other Regulation as the Plantations are.

Fifthly, It may be worth the Consideration of the State, whether this present Peace may not be a proper Season

to build Forts and Cittadels for Security of the principal Islands, in Case of a future War.

Sixthly, Care should undoubtedly be taken, not to lay such heavy Duties upon the *West-India* Commodities, as may discourage Industry, dispeople the Mands, and in process of time, perhaps, make the Planters desperate. And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly of the high Impostion laid upon refined Sugars imported hither upon a wrong Notion of advancing our Manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the Account of about Fifty Families (for the Refiners of *England* are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the Industry of at least fourteen thousand Persons, which are about the Number of those who inhabit our Islands producing Sugar.

Seventhly, It would very much conduce to the Support and Prosperity of the Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, to put the *African* Trade into some better Order. So great a part of our Foreign Bullies arising from these Colonies, they ought undoubtedly to have all due Encouragement, and to be plentifully supply'd, and at reasonable rates, with *Negroes* to meliorate and cultivate the Land.

Land. The labour of these Slaves, is the principal Foundation of our Riches there; upon which account we should take all probable Measures to bring them to us at easie Terms.

There are three Ways of managing the *Affrican* Trade; By a Joint Stock; By an open Traffick; Or by a Regulated Company: Which, of these will be the best, is not very easie to determin; But in Matters of this nature, Experience is the surest Guide we can have to follow.

And Experience has taught us, that this Trade has not been govern'd with good Success, by a Company with a Joint Stock. For 'tis alledg'd that they have not supply'd the Planters with such a plenty of *Negroes* as was requisite; That they forc'd 'em to accept of such a Sort as they thought fit to bring; That the usual and fair rate should be, one Head with another, from 16 *l.* to 20 *l.* per Head, which by ill supplying the Market, they brought to 40 *l.* and 45 *l.* per Head. That in their dealings they took Bond and Judgment of the Planters, with an Interest of 10 *l.* per Cent, executing their Securities upon non-payment, by seizing the Plantations, with the utmost rigour. And that these Courses have almost depopulated the Southern Islands.

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It must certainly be prudent in any Trade, Manufacture or Business, to render the first Material as cheap as possible: Slaves are the first and most necessary Material for Planting; from whence follows, That all Measures should be taken that may produce such a Plenty of them, as may be an Encouragement to the industrious Planter.

For these Reasons, 'tis submitted to better Judgments, whither it may not be for the Interest of *England* to manage the *Affrican* Trade, as that to *Turkey* is carry'd on, by a regulated Company. By which we mean, That it should be free for any Merchant to deal to *Africa*, and from thence to the *Islands*; and from the *Islands*, to the other Colonies, paying so much per Pound, as may be thought needful to bear the common Expences of the Trade, and to maintain Ports and Garisons upon the Coast, if they are thought necessary.

In the Regulations of our Foreign Traffick, the Nature of the Trade it self, and the Manners of the People with whom we deal, are to be consider'd; but Experience is chiefly to be consulted.

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The Course of many Years, and the Practice of all our Neighbours, seem to approve of a Joint Stock, as the best Course of Managing the *East-India* Trade; and we shall endeavour to show, in the next Discourse, That 'tis not well to be Supported any other way.

But we are inclin'd to think, That to lay the *African* Trade a little more open, and to put it under a regulated Company, is more consistent with the Interest of our Plantations.

The Circumstances of the *African* and *East-India* Trade, differ extreamly: In the *Indies* we have Powerful Concurrants, who, in process of time, may be able to supplant us, against whom united Wisdom, Stock and Councils, are of absolute Necessity; but we are not under apprehensions of Rivals upon the Coast of *Africk*.

The Stock of the *East-India* Trade, was 1,574,608 *l.* and the Trade will bear a Stock of two Millions, which is too great a Sum, and too considerable a National Concern, to be trusted to the disorderly Measures of an Unskilful number

ber of Traders: Whereas experienc'd Planters will be the chief Dealers to *Africa*; and the Stock needful (as far as is yet known) for the *African* Trade, does not exceed 200,000 *l.* and the Stock employ'd by the late Company, as we are inform'd, did not amount to above 75,000 *l.*

The Writer of these Papers has seen a Scheme for the general Government of the Northward Plantations, which seems contriv'd with very good Judgment; upon which Account, he thought it not unseasonable, to offer the Heads of it here to Publick Consideration.

1. That the Colonies of *Boston*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Island*, *New York*, both the *New Jersey's*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*, may be Authoris'd to meet once a Year, and oftner if need require, by their stated and appointed Deputies, to debate and resolve of such Measures as shall be most adviseable, at any time, to take for their Publick Tranquility and Safety.

2. That in order to it, Two Persons, well qualify'd for Understanding, Sobriety and Substance, be appointed by





each Province, as their Representatives or Deputies, which in the whole will make the Congress to consist of Twenty Persons.

3. That the King's Commissioner, for that purpose especially to be appointed, should have the Chair, and preside in the said Congress.

4. That they should meet as near as conveniently may be, to the most Central Colony, for the Ease of the Deputies.

5. Since that may, in all probability, be in *New York*, both because it is near the Centre of the Colonies, and for that it is a Frontier, and the Governour in the King's Nomination; that Governour to be likewise the King's High Commissioner, during the Session, after the manner of *Scotland*.

6. That their Business should be to hear and adjust all Matters of Complaint or Difference, between Province and Province: As First, where Persons quit their own Province and go to another, that they may avoid their just Debts, tho' able to pay them. Secondly, where Offenders fly Justice, or Justice cannot well

well be had upon such Offenders, in the Provinces that entertain them. Thirdly, To prevent or redress Injuries in point of Commerce. Fourthly, To consider of Ways and Means to support the Union and Safety of these Provinces, against their common Enemies: In which Congress, the Quota's of Men and Charges will be much easier and more equally allotted and proportion'd, than it is possible for any Establishment made here to do: For the Provinces knowing their own Condition, and one another's, can debate that Matter with more Freedom and Satisfaction, and better adjust and ballance their Affairs in all Respects for their Common Safety.

7. That in times of War, the King's High Commissioner should be General or Chief Commander of the several Quota's, upon Service against the Common Enemy, as shall be thought adviseable for the Good and Benefit of the Whole.

This Constitution has some resemblance with the Court of the *Amphictiones*, which was a kind of Council where the general Affairs of *Greece* were debated; which if they could have pre-



serv'd in its Original Purity, and to the first Design of it, that Country had not been so easy a Conquest to the *Romans*.

The Welfare of all Countries in the World, depends upon the Morals of their People.

For tho' a Nation may gather Riches by Trade, Thrift, Industry, and from the Benefit of its Soil and Situation; and tho' a People may attain to great Wealth and Power, either by Force of Arms, or by the Sagacity of their Councils; yet, when their Manners are deprav'd, they will decline insensibly, and at last come to utter Destruction.

When a Country is grown vitious, Industry decays, the People become effeminate and unfit for Labour. To maintain Luxury, the Great Ones must oppress the Meaner Sort; and to avoid this Oppression, the Meaner Sort are often compell'd to Seditious Tumults, or open Rebellion.

Such therefore who have modell'd Governments for any Duration, have endeavour'd to propose Methods by which the riotous Appetites, the Lusts, Avarice,

rice, Revenge, Ambition, and other disorderly Passions of the People, might be bounded.

And to preserve Societies of Men from that perpetual War with which the State of Nature must be attended, and to restrain that Discord which must for ever embroil those who only follow the wild Dictates of ungovern'd Nature, the Founders of Cities, States and Empires, have set afoot Forms of Religious Worship to awe their Minds, and devis'd wholesome Laws to keep within Bounds the Persons of the People.

It has been set forth, in the Series of this Discourse, of what Profit the *American*-Plantations have been to *England*; and it may not be improper before we conclude, to add something concerning their future Polity and Government, and to show what Methods, in all likelihood, may preserve their Being in that remote Region, give them Stability and a firm Existence, and so render them a lasting Mine of Riches, and a perpetual Advantage to this Kingdom.

And as a Foundation, we think it necessary to lay down, That those Coun-tries

tries cannot subsist long in a flourishing Condition, and in their Obedience to this Crown, unless Care be taken to cultivate Morality and Virtue among 'em, to promote Religion, and to establish sound Laws, by which they may be well and wisely govern'd.

But here it may be objected, First, What Form of Religion shall be set up among a People, who, many of 'em, have left their Native Soil, chiefly to enjoy a more ample Liberty in Religious Matters? Secondly, How can virtuous Principles be instill'd into Men, the badness of whose Lives and Manners have compell'd most of 'em to seek another Habitation?

To the First Objection we answer, That the same Liberty of Conscience ought to be permitted there as here; but that the Governours and Magistrates should take Care to keep the People to the Observation of some Religion or other; and now more especially, since the Laws have, in a manner, allow'd every Man to chuse which *Seçt* he pleases.

To the Second Objection we say, That the *Roman* Nation was first compos'd of
Thieves,

Thieves, Vagabonds, Fugitive Slaves, Indebted Persons and Out-laws; and yet, by a good Constitution and wholesome Laws, they became, and continu'd for some Ages, the most virtuous People that was ever known: So that as loose Administration corrupts any Society of Men, so a wise, steady and strict Government, will in time, reform a Country, let its Manners have been never so deprav'd.

And the same good Government would undoubtedly reclaim those Vices which some of our *American*-Planters may have carried thither.

When-ever a Country loses that Reverence that is due to Religion and the Laws, we may safely pronounce, That its Ruin is not very distant.

And as Contempt of Religion and the Laws, is a sure Mark of a declining Nation; so new Colonies and Societies of Men must soon fall to pieces and dwindle to nothing, unless their Governours and Magistrates interpose, to season betimes the Minds of such a new People with a Sense of Religion, and with good and virtuous Principles.

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Themistocles did once say, That of a small City, he could make a great People. This he spake from the right Sense he had of his own Abilities and Skill. Governours and Magistrates that are the Reverse of him, and who rule weakly, can render a potent Country, in a short time, poor, despis'd and miserable.

Such to whom the Government of these Colonies is intrusted, should endeavour to hinder the Growth of all kind of Vices, as Intemperance and Luxury; for Luxury is the Parent of Want, and Want begets in the Minds of Men, Disobedience, and desire of Change.

To see that Impiety be not countenanc'd, nor Books expos'd to the Vulgar, which tend to the overthrow or weakening of the general Notions of Religion, should be no less their Care.

It is no less their Duty to promote Virtue, and to encourage Merit of any kind, and to give it their helping Hand: Such as have been counted great and able Statesmen, in all Countries, have so done; and judg'd that to propagate what was Good, and to suppress Vice, was the most material part of Government.

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They should discountenance Immoralities of all sorts; they should see 'em expos'd in Publick; they should cause the Pulpits to declaim against 'em; they should make them a Bar to Preferment, and the Laws should be all pointed against them.

Such a Conduct, with Encouragements to Learning, and learn'd Men, a careful Education of their prime Youth, in seasoning of them betimes with the Sense of Honour, and a Love to their Mother-Country, will go very far towards correcting the Manners of these new-planted and licentious People.

They will reap this Fruit by cultivating Letters and Learning, That the wise Precepts and great Examples, which are to be met with in ancient Histories, will inflame the Minds of their Young Men with a desire of the Renown and Glory with which good Actions are attended; and from thence they will learn to subdue those Passions and Appetites that otherwise may lead them into warm, foolish and destructive Councils.

But this is not a Dyet for the Vulgar; Philosophy and Moral Rules will prevail



vail very little with the common People, and but few Understandings are capable of the Benefits which may be receiv'd from thence: Wise Law-givers have therefore endeavour'd to keep the inferiour Rank of Men within Bounds, by a Sense of Religion, and a Fear of offending that Power by which they were Created.

And because the Capacities of Men were at first very gross, requiring gross Objects, the Divine Rights instituted in the beginning, had not their Foundation in the Mind, but consisted in Bodily Worship, Ceremonies and Sacrifice; 'tis true, the Wiser Sort had generally one Religion for themselves, and another for the Vulgar.

However, they govern'd and kept the common People in Awe with those Holy Mysterics, and that kind of Worship that was in practice by the Laws and Custom of their Country, never disturbing them with any nicer Speculations.

A few of the sublimer Understandings might adore God, because he is the most perfect Being; love Virtue for its own sake; and, upon the same Score, revere
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Justice; but these Principles were not sufficient to keep a giddy Multitude in Order; therefore in all Civiliz'd Countries, a Form of Divine Worship has been settled.

And here we cannot help taking notice, That if Philosophy will not suffice to bind the common People to their Duty; what must be said of some Modern Politicians, who show no desire of setting up Morality, and yet are pulling down reveal'd Religion?

Statesmen have been accus'd of being uncertain themselves in Religious Points; but till lately they were never seen to Countenance in others such a looseness, and till of late Years, it was never known a Recommendation to Preferment.

Would it any Thing avail the Publick, to have the settled Opinions concerning divine Matters quite alter'd by the Law? If not, Why do such as propose Innovations in reveal'd Religion, find so many open Advocates, and those of the highest Rank? On the contrary, Must it not much distract the State, to set the Minds of Men once more afloat in these mysterious Points, which are now believ'd,
and



and cannot perhaps be examin'd with any Safety to the Publick? How comes it to pass, That the Majority suffer themselves to be guided, and often with hard Reins, by a small Number? Can it be imagin'd, this is brought about by a right disposition of Power, whereby the Weak come to hold the Strong in their Dominion? Or can it be thought, That Laws are sufficient to subject the Bodies of Men to Government, unless something else did constrain their Conscience and their Minds?

'Tis hardly to be doubted, but that if the common People are once induc'd to lay aside Religion, they will quickly cast off all fear of their Rulers. But such as object against the reveal'd Religion, as 'tis now transmitted to us, have they another Scheme ready? When they have pull'd down the old Frame, can they set up a better in its room? Most certainly, by their own Lives, either in Private, or in relation to the Publick, they seem very unfit Apostles to propagate a new Belief.

When the common People all of a sudden become Corrupt, and by quicker Steps than was ever known; When they

do not revere the Laws; When there is no mutual Justice among them; When they defraud the Prince; When they prostitute their Voices in Elections, it may be certainly concluded, That such a Country is by the Artifice of some, and the Negligence of others, set loose in the Principles of Religion.

Nothing therefore can more conduce to correcting the Manners of a deprav'd People, than a due Care of Religious Matters; A right Devotion to God, will beget Patience in National Calamities, Submission to the Laws, Obedience to the Prince, Love to one another, and a Hatred to Faction; And it will produce in the Minds of all the different Ranks of Men, true Zeal and Affection to their Country's Welfare.

For these Reasons, if it should be thought convenient, to settle a Council of Trade by Authority of Parliament, as has been propos'd in the Second of these Discourses, or such a Council for the *Indies*, as is mention'd in this Tract, the Legislative Power may from time to time recommend to either of these Establishments, the Care of inspecting the State of Religion in our



American Colonies; and they may enjoin the Governours who shall be sent to reside there,

1. To look into the Lives and Manners of the present Clergy.

2. To see that no Doctrins are publish'd, destructive to the very Fundamentals of Religion it self.

3. Not to inflame, but rather to reconcile those Differences, which of necessity must arise among People of such different Perswasions.

4. To cultivate into the Minds of the Inhabitants, sober Living, Friendship, general Observance of the Devotion each professes, Charity, Meekness and Piety, especially among those who are trusted to guide the Consciences of others.

5. To season betimes the young Men of better Rank and Fortune, with a love to *England*, their Original Country, that when they return hither with the Riches, the Industry of their Parents has acquir'd, they may become good Patriots here, and useful Members of the Common-wealth.

In order to Protection, they ought to believe *England* their Native Soil; and in order to preserve them in their Obedience, we ought to Imprint this Notion in their Minds as much as possible.

Few Crimes, either Private or relating to the Publick, can be committed by those whose Minds are early season'd with the Principle of Loving and Promoting the Welfare of their Native Country. For, generally speaking, all our Vices whatsoever, turn to her Prejudice; and if we were convinc'd of this betimes, and if from our very Youth we were season'd with this Notion, we should of course be Virtuous, and our Country would prosper and flourish, in proportion to this Amendment of our Manners.

Where-ever Private Men can be brought to make all their Actions and Councils, Thoughts and Designments, to center in the common Good, that Nation will soon gather such Strength, as shall resist any home-bred Mischief or outward Accident.

No great Thing was ever done, but by such as have prefer'd the Love of
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their Country to all other Considerations; and where-ever this publick Spirit reigns, and where this Zeal for the common Good governs in the Minds of Men, that State will flourish and increase, in Riches and Power; and where-ever it declines, or is fet at nought, Weakness, Disorder and Poverty, must be expected.

This Love to their Native Soil, where it has been deeply rooted, and where it could be prefer'd, has made little Cities famous and invincible, as *Sparta*, *Corinth*, *Thebes* and *Athens*, and from thence all the *Roman* Greatness took its Rise. But where they are wretchedly contriving their own Ends, without any Care of their Country's Profit, or Trafficking its Wealth and Liberties, for Rewards, Preferments and Titles; where every one is snatching all he can from the Prince; and where there is a general Neglect of National Interest, they grow Luxurious, Proud, False and Effeminate; and a People so deprav'd, is commonly the Prey of some Neighbour, feason'd with more wise and better Principles.

In a Kingdom but too near us, we may see all sorts of Men labouring the publick Welfare, and every one as Vigilant in his Post, as if the Success of the whole Empire depended on his single Care and Diligence; so that to the Shame of another Place, they seem more intent upon the Prosperity and Honour of their Country, under a hard and oppressive Tyranny, than they are in some free Nations, where the People have an Interest in the Laws, and are a part of the Constitution.

Homer, in his two Poems, seems to intend but two Morals. In the *Iliads*, to set out how fatal Discord, among the Great Ones, is to States and Armies. And, in his *Odyssees* to show, That the Love of our own Country, ought to be stronger than any other Passion; for he makes *Ulysses* quit the Nymph *Calypso* with all her Pleasures, and the Immortality she had promised him, to return to *Ithica*, a rocky and barren Island.

The Affairs of a Country, relating either to Civil Government, War, the Revenues or Trade, can never be well and prosperously conducted, unless the



Men of principal Rank and Figure divest themselves of their Passions, Self-Interest, Over-weening Opinion of their own Merits, their Flattery, false Arts, mean Ambition, and irregular Appetites and Pursuits after Wealth and Greatness.

No People did ever become famous and powerful, but by Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, Reverence to the Laws, and Piety to their Country: And when any Empire is destin'd to be undone, or to lose its Freedom, the Seeds of this Ruin are to be first seen in the Corruption of its Manners. In vitious Governments all Care of the Publick is laid aside, and every One is plundering for himself, as if the Common-wealth were adrift, or had suffer'd Shipwrack: And where a People is thus deprav'd, their National Assemblies have the first open Marks of the Infection upon them, from whence spring all Disorders in the State whatsoever. For then such as have most Eloquence, Valour, Skill in Business, and most Interest in their Country, throw off the Mask of Popularity which they had put on for a time, and in the Face of the World desire Wealth, Honours and Greatness, upon any Terms; and

and this Ambition leads 'em to corrupt others, that their own natural Vices may be the less observ'd: So that in a Constitution ripe for change, those who are best esteem'd and most trusted, begin to buy the People's Voices, and afterwards expose to Sale their own Suffrages; which Practice is always attended with utter Destruction, or the loss of Liberty.

This Error in the first Concoction, does presently deprave the whole Mass; for then the Dignities of the Commonwealth are made the Reward of Fraud and Vice, and not the Recompence of Merit. All is bought and sold, and the worst Men, who can afford to bid highest, are accepted; and where the Management is once got into such Hands, Factions are suffer'd to grow, rash Councils are embrac'd, and wholesome Advices rejected; every One is busie for himself, and careless of the Common Interest; Treachery is wink'd at, and private Persons are allow'd to become Wealthy by the Publick Spoils: All which is follow'd with the loss of Reputation abroad, and Poverty at Home.



'Tis hop'd the Reader will not think this short Digression, about Moral Virtue, unseasonable, when he considers how much the Wealth and Prosperity of these Colonies, whom we would here recommend to publick Care, depends upon the Manners of their People.

Societies of Men are held together by the Bands of Religion and Laws; and having said something upon the first of these Heads, we shall now proceed to handle the second.

It will without doubt greatly conduce to the Welfare of the Plantations, if their Laws and Politick Institutions were revis'd and consider'd by disinterested Persons, who should have no Concern but to form them a Constitution, by which they may be well and wisely govern'd.

In order to this, 'tis submitted to better Judgments, Whether a Council of Trade, or a Council of the *Ladies*, or some such like Authority, to be appointed especially for this purpose, should not inspect all the present Laws and Politick Institutions of these Countries, to

the end that a true State of this Affair may, at a convenient Season, be laid before the Parliament of *England*.

And we are humbly of Opinion, That if such Laws as may be thought prejudicial to them, or hurtful to this Kingdom, were abrogated here; and if such of their old Laws as shall be judg'd sound and wholsome; and if such new Institutions as may be esteem'd necessary for those Parts, did receive some Sanction from the Legislative Power of this Kingdom, 'twould make our whole Business in *America* more consistent, and fasten with surer Ties those Colonies to this Nation.

What we propose is thus; That their first Model of future Government should be fram'd here; That afterwards they may have Power to make for themselves, such Laws as they shall think needful for their better Polity; and these Laws, thus Enacted among them, not to be rescinded but by Authority of Parliament in *England*.

And this seems the more necessary, because heretofore many good Laws form'd there, have been abrogated here,



upon the false and corrupt Suggestions of Interested Persons; besides, nothing can be more pernicious to a People, than Levity in making and rescinding Laws.

A Model has been offer'd, in this Discourse, to publick Consideration, for erecting the Ten Provinces or Places that lie Northward, into one National Assembly, where all Things relating to their better Government, may be transacted.

And 'tis submitted to better Judgments, Whither it would not greatly tend to the Welfare and Safety of those Places, That Laws, not contrary to the Law of *England*, enacted in such an Assembly, should remain in Force, till alter'd by the Legislative Power of this Kingdom.

Without doubt it would be a great Incitement to their Industry, and render them more pertinacious in their Defence, upon any Invasion which may happen, to find themselves a Free People, and govern'd by Constitutions of their own making.

All Governments have lasted according to the Strength and Vigour of Mind
with

with which they were at first begotten, and as their Founders have been skilful; and as weak, crazy and diseas'd Parents, engender sickly, short-liv'd and ricketty Children; so impotent Statesmen frame Politick Institutions not durable, easily overthrown, and unable to resist Accidents.

But peradventure Governments are by no kind of Wisdom to be render'd Immortal; at least those which in appearance were form'd with the greatest Skill, have been subject to frequent Changes, and are most of 'em bury'd in the Ruins of Time.

For as we are said to bring with us into the World, those Diseases by which our Decay and Death is to be wrought; so Governments, in their primitive Institutions, have within 'em the very Seeds of Destruction, by which at last they are to be subverted.

In the framing of absolute Monarchies, that Power which is given to a single Person for the Safeguard of the People, does always turn to such Excess and Tyranny, as in Conclusion proves destructive to the Whole: In the forming
of

of Common-wealths; that Division of Power which is made between the Many and the Few, gives Rise to that Discord and those Civil Wars, which in process of Time either destroy or quite alter the Constitution.

Mix'd Governments seem contriv'd for the longest Duration; but the Division of Power which is likewise in such Forms, and was intended for their Preservation, must in time prove their Ruin, unless Faction can be avoided, which is the Bane of all Politick Institutions: Some Tyrants indeed are wise enough to make it now and then subservient to their Designs, but in mix'd Governments 'tis equally pernicious to Prince and People.

For which Reasons, if it should be thought convenient to set afoot the National Assembly here propos'd for the Northern Colonies, early Care must be taken to put a Stop to the Growth of Faction; for if that be suffer'd to reign, 'twill, in process of time, render what was intended for their Good, a Burthen to the Country.

With

With good Government, 'tis not improbable but that these Colonies may become hereafter great Nations; upon which account it seems of Importance to give them, in their Infancy, such Politick Institutions, as may preserve them for many Ages in Wealth, Peace and Safety: And in order to this, the nearer they are brought to the Model of the English Government, will undoubtedly be the better.

And if they have Governors from hence, or to be approv'd of here, or of their own Electing (according to their several Charters) and if they are allow'd a National Assembly, it would give 'em the perfect Enjoyment of our Liberties and Constitution.

The Original Institutions and Laws of most Countries are sound and good; but as Vice prevails, they become obsolete and are forgotten; from whence grow those Diseases in the Body-politick, that require the ablest Physicians.

By how much a Government swerves from its first Institution, by so much it has a wrong Bent: It should therefore be the

the Care of those to whom the Rule and Direction of these Places is committed, to keep them as much as possible to their original Institution.

In the Model here propos'd, the Governours will of course be vested with all the Powers necessary for the Safety and Protection of the whole; and those Assemblies may have certain Rights, which will be as well an Ease and Safeguard to the Governours, as Beneficial to the People; but if either Part invades the other, it must throw the Publick into dangerous Convulsions.

That Government is happy, where the Bounds between the chief Power and the People, are so wisely laid out and fix'd, that no Inroachments can be easily apprehended; for the Disputes and Quarrels, concerning these Bounds and Limits, have always been the chief Gain and Harvest of bad and designing Men, and the Field in which they Exercise those wicked Arts, that so often embroil a Country.

To make this National Assembly a lasting Benefit to the Colonies, such as are sent to govern those Parts, should take

take all possible Care to cure the present Vices, and prevent the future Corruption of the People.

The natural Steps to Ruin in Politick Institutions, that have a mixture in 'em of popular Government, seem to be in this manner; First, extended Dominion, Power achiev'd by Arms or Riches, flowing in by Trade, beget Effeminacy, Pride, Ambition and Luxuries of all kind; these Vices, as they obtain Strength and Growth, produce quickly private Poverty, and then publick Want; private Poverty puts ill Men upon wicked Arts to get Wealth, and publick Want but too often makes those ill Men necessary in a corrupted State.

Thus the *Roman* Gentry were so debauch'd by their Luxuries, and press'd with their Wants, that they assisted *Cinna, Sylla, Marius, Cataline* and *Caesar*, to invade the Common-Wealth; 'till, at last, *Caesar's* Tyranny became all the Refuge which the Publick had in its Disorders and Calamities.

When the Gentry, for some time, have been set loose in their Principles, the common People begin to lay aside their
Worth



Worth and Integrity, and the whole Mass of Blood, in the Body Politick, grows so corrupted, as not to be capable of those Remedies, which good Lawgivers and wise Statesmen would offer: So *Augustus* saw the *Romans*, in that Age, not fit for Freedom, which probably hinder'd him from restoring Liberty, and made him choose rather to continue the Empire in the Hands of a single Person, and transmit it to *Tiberius*.

These National Assemblies, the use of which are here recommended for our Northern Colonies, will be of little Benefit, unless the People, by whose Voices they must be chosen, can be kept from being corrupted in their Elections; for otherwise, they will prove but a false appearance of Freedom, which is the worst kind of Slavery.

And in some Countries, we have formerly seen Liberty in danger, from that part of the Constitution which should have been the Guardians of it: And this has happen'd when Princes (having either had Favourites to support, or Designs to promote opposite to the Welfare of their Subjects, or intending to grasp at more Power than was given them by

the Laws) have secretly encourag'd Debauching the People in Elections, to make open Sale of their Voices.

In States where this is practis'd, intriguing Persons, full of wicked Arts, will get into Possession of being constantly elected, who at first shall seem the best Patriots, and most Jealous of the Nation's Rights; but this lasts no longer, than 'till they can bring to a good Market, that Credit and fair Repute they had gain'd before: When their Price is offer'd and agreed upon, they desert their Country's Cause, and help on, or at least approve of all that Misgovernment, which had been before the object of their popular Speeches and venial Eloquence.

Nor could it be difficult for former Princes, to corrupt both the Electors and the Elected; for in most Kingdoms, the Court has been a Shop with Wares in it to fit all kind of Customers: There is Hope for some, which feeds many at a small Expence; there are Titles for the Ambitious; Pleasures for the Young and Wanton; Places for the Busy; and Bribes to be closely convey'd for such as desire to maintain an appearance of Honesty, and



to betray their Trust but now and then in important Matters. With these Baits and Allurements, Princes might easily draw into their Nets, the unthinking Gentry of their Land, and thereby Poison the Fountain-Head of the Laws, and sap the very Foundations of the Politick Institution.

The common People are the first to complain of Mis-government, and the first who feel the bad Effects of it; long Wars are carry'd on at the Expence of their Blood; heavy Taxes pinch them most; Revenues are mis-manag'd at their Cost; they soonest feel Decay of Trade and the Nation's Poverty, and yet generally 'tis their Fault if Things are ill administer'd, or at least if they are suffer'd to continue long under an ill Administration; they are the corrupted Matter for false and designing Statesmen to work upon; they Fight the Quarrels of turbulent and ambitious Spirits; they are the first that follow seditious Orators. In the *Roman* Commonwealth, they first debauch'd the State, by making Sale of their Voices in Election of Magistrates; and in other Constitutions, they send up to National Assemblies, the Men whose mercenary Eloquence is so fatal to the Publick.

When

When those who have a right of Election in mix'd Governments, shall have been in this manner corrupted, they will send up to their National Assemblies, Persons by whom in all Senses they shall be truly represented; and when this happens to a People, they will soon be rent a sunder by Factions, publick Zeal shall be made ridiculous, and often dangerous to its Professors; Treachery shall have a stated Price, and the Shame of doing Ill, shall be quite extinguish'd: And in a Country, where the prime Youth have been thus bred in a vicious School, and receiv'd early a bad Tincture; How can there be found Hands, with which the Duties and Offices of State, can be well and wisely guided?

And when it happens in such Forms of Government, That the Spring-Head shall be tainted, from whence are to be drawn the Men of Experience, Action and Council, busie Persons, by different Arts, some by abject Flattery, others by perplexing Matters to be bought off, will soon prevail to be let into many of the chief Offices and Dignities of the State, which they will so pollute with
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their foul Dealings, and weaken and make contemptible by their Ignorance, that cleaner and abler Hands will afterwards be hardly invited in, to restore Things, and give 'em a better Completion.

And in such Times, the worst of Men, who intimate best, and are ever the most active, will get into many Posts of Trust and Importance; and endeavour, if possible, to engross the whole Common-wealth to themselves, and invade all her Parts, where they will lie strongly intrench'd, and warchful to oppress Virtue and Merit, of any kind, with which they are at open War; for if Endowments of the Mind, Love to the Nation, Integrity, Experience, Conduct and solid Wisdom, should once obtain, get Ground, and be taken Notice of, they who shine and are recommended by no such Qualities, must quit their Holds and withdraw, or remain the universal Contempt of that People; whose Affairs they are so little able to administer.

Princes well inclin'd, and dispos'd to Govern rightly, are very unfortunate, when their Lot is to Reign in a Country so corrupted. The Sun, tho' it be the Ele-

Element of Light and Heat, cannot Shine out to cheer and comfort Nature, in Places where there are always rising from the Earth, Damps, Foggs and unwholesome Vapours; in the same manner, when ill Men are got into a Court, they hang like so many dark Clouds before the Throne, obscuring the Prince's Glory, hindring him from exerting half his Native Worth, and rendring his Warmth and good Influence, less Beneficial to the People.

And tho' such a Nation should have on the Regal Seat, a Prince form'd after the Model of their own Wishes, Brave in the Field, and Wise in Council; those bad Men, whom bad and corrupted Times must of necessity bring about him, will endeavour, as much as in them lies, to make all his noble Qualities and Virtues, as useles to the World as possible; with their weak and pernicious Councils, casting a Mist before his Wisdom; and by their ill Conduct, of the Nation's Strength and Wealth, putting a Stop to the Progress of his Valour.

To preserve these Assemblies, which are here propos'd for the Northern Colonies,



lonies, it will not only be necessary to take Care of the Manners of the People, but likewise to provide, That the Assembly it self be not corrupted.

The ancient Custom in the mix'd Governments, form'd in these Northern Countries (which will be the best Model for them to follow) was, That National Assemblies should be frequently call'd and sent home, as soon as the Nation's Business was dispatch'd. The Wisdom of elder Times, did never think it convenient, that one and the same Assembly should sit many Years brooding of Faction; for 'tis in those continu'd Sessions, where the Skill is learnt of guiding, and being guided, where the Youth is deprav'd, and elder Sinners harden'd; where those Parties are form'd that give the cunning Speakers so much Weight and Value, and where they can bring their Subtilty and Eloquence to Market.

And in former Reigns, the departing from a Principle so essential in its Constitution, had like to have chang'd the whole Face of the English Government; for Leeches and other Blood-sucking Worms, are ingender'd in standing Pools, but

but flowing Waters, do not corrupt or breed so many Insects; the keeping a National Assembly, long sitting, debauches the Gentry of a Kingdom, and opens a way to Offices of Trust, not known among their Ancestors; but when such Assemblies are call'd together, to consult upon the Difficulties of State, and are dissolv'd as soon as the Publick Business is dispatch'd, the Measures of the false Politicians become presently quite alter'd: They who design to Rise, must mount by other Steps than formerly; Intreaguings, heading Parties, running into Faction, and sudden changing of Sides, will avail the busie Men but little: A Year or two, is not sufficient to Mold and Fashion an Assembly to their Designs; every new Sessions, young Gentlemen are sent up, whom it is not so easie to corrupt; they can fix nothing, where there is a perpetual Flux and Reflux of Matter, it is like building on a Quick-sand; when such as intend to advance themselves in the World, see all this, and that those Assemblies, are no more the Field in which they can Exercise their wicked Arts with any Advantage, they naturally fall into other Methods, and are Honest of course, when it is no longer their Interest to be otherwise.

In such a Constitution, there is no need to silence troublesome and perplexing Rhetorick, with some good Office, nor to buy off, and reconcile, at any rate, Men of turbulent and ambitious Spirits; and when it is not needful to hire People to save their own Country, how much cheaper, and more easie is Government render'd to Princes, who then have a free Choice among their Subjects, to call whom they please into the Service of the State? Whereas otherwise, their Favours are confin'd to one narrow Place; and as thereby their Goodness is made more extensive, so the Stations requiring Abilities and Experience, must be better fill'd, when a Court has not the Necessity upon it, to find out Places for Men, rather than Men that are fit for the Places.

In Countries where this Post, so essential to Liberty, is thus preserv'd from Corruption, all Matters relating either to War or Peace, Publick Revenues or Trade, will go on prosperously; and a National Assembly, so constituted, will always produce wholesome Laws, right Administration, and a perpetual Race of honest and able Ministers.

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What has been here said of great Empires, will in some proportion, hold in the direction of less Matters, and in the Rule of our Northern Colonies; but if the Governours now there, or to be sent thither, find the chief Magistrates and Officers in the Government, and the whole Mass of the People already corrupted, they will be but ill receiv'd and listned to, in their Endeavours to reform the general Vices and Immoralities of the Country; for Men, when they labour under any Disease, are fond of consulting Remedies; but 'tis not so with Governments, sickly and distemper'd, it being then the Interest of a great many, that the Malady should be rather nourish'd, than any Cure hearken'd after; and at such a Season, they who would promote Ethicks, in all likelihood, will meet but with a cold Reception: For if in the respective Colonies, wicked and ambitious Persons are got into Power, they will find their Accompt better, in having Flattery promoted, than in hearing Truth, since they would be undone, if the People should be waken'd out of their present Lethargy; they will not desire to have Abuses corrected, as being their best Foundation; they will be afraid

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fraid of wholesome Precepts and Examples, as being so many Reproaches to their Conduct; they will not dare to be brought to the Bar of right Sense and Reason, by which their Actings are never squar'd; they will not desire to have Morality advanc'd, as prejudicial to their Designs; they will dread Reformation of any sort, as knowing they must be laid aside with Scorn, and return to their first Obscurity when ever Things are capable of being mended.

And let the Governour be never so knowing and vigilant, either by the prevalency of their Faction, or by being able to give Opposition and to disturb his Business, or by having learnt the Ways of gaining such as are nearest his Person, or by affecting high Zeal to his Service, they will creep into Stations of the chiefest Trust and Importance, in which when they are once planted, 'twill cost him more Care and anxious Thoughts to defend them, than to protect his Country.

But they prevail most if he happens to be under any pressing Wants, because it recommends their Tricks and Arts, whereby this Want is to be supply'd;

and often they will entangle his Affairs, to render necessary their single Skill, which is how to deceive the People. At his first Arrival, they will never let him into a true Knowledge of Men, nor who are fittest for his Service; for they openly say, There is no more requisite to the discharge of any Trust, than an Interest to procure it; a right Maxim for them to establish, who are the Product of meer Favour. They imagine all Wisdom consists in sound Flattery, and that he who approves the Present, does enough to secure the Future. Men of deep Reach they are afraid of, and with Reason, for such look quite through their Deeds, which bear no Enquiry. Men of Experience they count dangerous, and so they are to Magistrates that want it. All-sufficient in their own Thoughts, and cloath'd with Presumption, they often take upon 'em to steer the Common-wealth, whose utter Ruin they madly venture every Moment, being so far unable to sit at Helm, that they are hardly fit to handle the very Sails; when it looks smooth above they believe all safe at bottom, never founding any Depths as having no Plummet, and when the Ship goes right, 'tis Chance only that brings it into Harbour.

In forming that National Assembly which is here propos'd for the better Government of the Northern Colonies, the principal Matter to be recommended to the Common People, is to elect Men of Fortune, Integrity, Publick Spirit and Vittue; and, above all things, to avoid those Pests of Humane Kind, fine Talkers and busie intreating Speakers, whom they anciently call'd Orators.

It cannot indeed be properly said, That Eloquence is a Plant of our Soil, (for it really never grew any where but in a Common-wealth) however we may have something like it; and in modern Times there have been some who could speak with a dangerous degree of Force: And grave Actions, Presidents, vehement Figures, and popular Arguments, can prevail very much in Assemblies, where a great many are dispos'd before-hand to be persuaded.

This Age must needs have something that at least resembles the former Eloquence; for as in *Greece* and in *Rome*, so not long since there have been seen great Speakers courted; and in the Pay of Foreign Kings and States, and bought up by

by their own Princes at any Price. Whether or no we have reach'd the ancient Strength of Speaking, shall not be now decided; but this may be boldly pronounc'd, That, in former Reigns, there have appear'd Men in this Kingdom as ready to betray the People, as turbulent and contriving, and who have made as bad use of their Faculties, and who have sold their Words as dear as any of the *Greek* or *Roman* Orators.

Whenever Liberty is subverted or a Constitution chang'd, the Mischief commonly proceeds from such Persons as first speak well to gain a good Opinion, and then do ill to get good Places; Never any private Men or collective Body of a People are betray'd, but by those in whom they put a Confidence: And hardly any have had the Power to do much Hurt, but we lifted them up with our own Voices; they were first the Nation's, and then the Prince's Favorites: And tho' the Breach of the People's Trust was their Original Rise, yet Princes have formerly been unfortunate enough to believe, they could be well and faithfully serv'd by Persons so loosely principled.

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When we have heard Men assert boldly our civil Rights and the Country's Cause, and speak Popularly, without fitting their Designs or surveying their Ambition, without examining their Pretensions or looking into their Discontents, we have surrender'd our Selves blindly to their Conduct and gone along with 'em in all Things, they have led and govern'd us; we have cry'd them up, extoll'd their Capacities, and augmented their Reputation; and all this has been but to make them worth the taking off, and but giving them something to betray, which they did with the first Opportunity: And in the mean while many Princes have heretofore been unhappily perswaded by their Bosom-Enemies, That these popular Speakers were the only Persons proper for their Service.

'Tis true, in mix'd Governments, whoever will be considerable, must be well skill'd in all Matters relating to its National Assembly; He must be Master of its Rules and Orders; He must have some general Knowledge in the Laws; He must know how to appease and allay a Heat, and be able to stir up and excite a little Warmth upon Occasions; and,

to recommend what he says, he must speak well, which they commonly do who think distinctly.

But many have been possess'd to a high degree of all these Qualities, who yet have been utterly barren and destitute of all other Worth and Virtues; ignorant in Men, without any knowledge of the true Nature of their own Government; Strangers to past and present History; unknowing in the Posture, Interest and Power of Foreign States; quite unskilful in the Condition, Strength, Wealth and Trade of their Native Country; and, which is worst of all, without any publick Spirit or right Zeal for the Common Good.

Both Prince and People are very unfortunate, who much depend upon those whose chief Tallent is the Art of Speaking. *Olivier*, *Charles Cardinal of Lorain*, *Pomponne de Believre*, *Cardinal Ximenes*, the *Duke of Sully*, *Woolsey*, *Sir Tho. Moor*, the *Cecils*, *Treasurer Buckhurst*, *Secretary Walsingham*, the *Cardinals Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, *Secretary Thurlo*, *Cornelius de Wit*, and the *Treasurer Southampton*, with several others who may be reckon'd, were not recommended and did



did not subsist by this single Gift and Faculty, but shin'd with many Excellencies, and had variety of Endowments which enabled them to handle wisely the Affairs of State in their Times, and render'd their Ministry so successful.

Eloquence is without doubt an Instrument very necessary in Popular States, and it has introduc'd and brought upon the Stage of the World many good and famous Men; such as *Pericles*, *Epaminondas*, *Aristides*, *Cimon*, *Xenophon*, *Themistocles*, *Emilius Paulus*, *Cicero*, and the *Cato's*, who perform'd great Things for the Honour and Advantage of their Common-wealths. But if it happens to light into Hands not intirely virtuous, it is a Tool with which great Mischiefs may be wrought; for thereby *Sylla*, *Crassus*, *Pompey* and *Cesar*, crept first into that Power, which overthrew the *Roman Liberty*.

The Art of Speaking yields good Fruit to the Common-wealth, when 'tis join'd with Courage and Vigilance for the State, as in *Pericles*; with Love to the Publick not to be shaken, as in the *Scipio's*; and with Integrity and Justice, as in *Aristides*. But it does more Hurt than

than Good, when it is accompany'd with unlawful Ambition, as in *Cesar*; with Vanity and Riots, as in *Alcibiades*; with Cowardice, as in *Demosthenes*; and with Corruption, as in *Demades*; for nothing can sooner hasten the Ruin of a Country, than to have Men lifted high in the Opinions of the People, follow'd and trust'd, in whom their Vices are much more prevailing than their Virtues.

Many have wonder'd how it came to pass, that the Model of a Commonwealth which *Solon* recommended to the *Athenians*, had no longer duration. He was a Law-giver reckon'd inferiour to none that ever pretended to guide a State, endow'd with all noble Faculties of the Understanding, and born in an Age when Mankind had attain'd to the sublimest Perfection of Virtue and Wisdom; yet he liv'd to see his Scheme of a Democracy overthrown, to make room for the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*; and tho' forty Years after it was restor'd and mended by many excellent Laws, that Form of Government was soon rent asunder, and in One Century quite abolish'd.

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But tho' he had fortify'd his Constitution with all possible Foresight and Humane Prudence, yet there was something rooted in the very Nature of the *Athenians*, that must eternally hinder them from remaining long under one sort of Establishment; which was that in the most important Junctures, and in the nicest Business, they might at all times be blown any way by the Breath of Orators; and that in their Councils they might be guided, rul'd and manag'd by Eloquence: They seldom lik'd a Man so much for doing well, as for speaking finely; which is indeed the Vice of most States, whose Affairs are chiefly govern'd by popular Assemblies, and is peradventure the Reason that Governments, purely Democratical, are not durable and perfect; for in mix'd Constitutions, such as was that of *Sparta*, the Wisdom of a Few, the Senate, and the Authority of a single Person, the King, was some Counterpoise to that dangerous Interest and Power which bad Men will now and then obtain, by talking magnificently to the People: Whereas in Democratical Institutions, and principally in *Athens*, Orators have carried all Things before 'em with a Sway

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unlimited; and being first corrupted themselves with Money, have afterwards with false Rhetorick, corrupted their Cities, to give unrighteous Judgments, to Banish and put to Death their best Citizens, and to make unseasonable Leagues, and enter into destructive Wars, with other the like Measures, that were soon attended with Ruin to the Publick.

Whoever looks over with Care, the History of those Times, will plainly see, That the Liberty of *Athens* was subverted by their Orators; they were the first promoters of those rash Advices, that by degrees undermin'd the Constitution; and they were the Original Movers of that War with *Antipater*, which ended in the *Athenians*, being forc'd to receive a Garison in the very Port of *Munichia*, and at last in the Slavery of all *Greece*; and without seeking for other Reasons, we may safely affirm, That the Orators, with their Corruption, Violence and Fraud, pull'd down and destroy'd the Democracy of *Solon*.

When Men, who have thus recommended themselves by the Art of Speaking to a good Opinion in the World, have got

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into Power, their first Business is either to create or encourage Faction; they devise or revive Names of distinction to keep up Discord; and from the different Inclinations and Sentiments we naturally have, as well in Politick as in Religious Affairs, they find Matter to raise and foment Divisions, till at last they try to range the Church, the People and its National Assembly, as it were, under two Banners.

The corrupt part of these opposite Sides, growing quickly too strong for such as mean their Country well, produce what we call Parties; which, in process of Time must be the Ruin of mix'd Governments.

Rome, tho' a large Empire, form'd with great Wisdom, and supported all along by Men of the sublimest Virtue, was, notwithstanding, destroy'd at last by Factions; much more than must they pull down Nations deprav'd, weak within, and surrounded abroad by powerful Enemies, or false Friends.

But they are yet more dangerous to States, where both Parties have had the chief Power committed to them, with
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this Effect only, That each Side in its turn, has shown how little fit they were to be trusted with it.

Who would give up his Name to a Faction, and devote himself intirely to it, that has known grave Republicans become supple Flatterers, and old Flatterers grow zealous Patriots? And what Prince must not have a mean Opinion of such Parties, when he has seen neither of 'em at bottom, better Principled than the other, and both Sides agreeing to rob him, to give up any Thing when fairly invited to it, and ready to enrich themselves with the Nation's Treasure?

In former Times, when by their fine Talking, and by the Strength of their Parties, bad Men had got into the Management of Publick Business, they presently introduc'd Disorder, Decay of Trade, Private Misery, and National Want; they were an equal Weight upon King and People; by their Errors they first embroil'd the Crown, and to maintain those Errors, the Crown was often put to Hazzard. No Prince could have so much the Affection of his Subjects, but by their Conduct, he was in
X 2 a way



a way to lose it; the Kingdom had not Wealth enough for their Negligence and Profusion; they had neither Skill to recover a Misfortune, nor knew they how to make any right use of an Advantage, giddy with Success, and frighted by Calamity, wise after Danger, and distracted in it, they endeavour'd to give the Court a distinct Interest from the People, and yet were always dividing among themselves, hating each other as much as good Men hate them; they were without Experience of their own, and yet despis'd the Knowledge of others; arrogant and impatient of Contradiction, tho' always in the wrong; they were rash in resolving Points of the highest Nature, but slow in the Execution of the most trivial Matters; and tho' they first recommended themselves by finding Fault with former Ministers, yet they justify'd the worst of 'em by their Proceedings; they were eager and active enough, when the Nation was to be Fleec'd, but supine and indifferent, in what related to its Preservation; growing Rich, while their Country became Poor, and as careles of the publick Honour, as of their own.

And

And it has been the general Unhappiness of such corrupted Countries, that the bad Men are bold and enterprizing, forward and active; whereas such as keep their Integrity, are unactive, cold and lazy; contented with the barren Praise of not being guilty themselves, they suffer others to invade so much Power, as that they can do hurt, and do it safely; and in a Nation debauch'd in Principles, many Parts of the State may be fill'd by Persons of high Knowledge and Virtue, but their Love and Zeal for the Publick, and their Vigilance for its Safety, their Prudence, Foresight and Caution, shall be all render'd ineffectual, by the over-ruling Madness of others. The Side which would tread in the Path of Honesty and Wisdom, shall be overborn and shov'd out of the way, by the Crowd and strong Faction of those, who find their Account in promoting Disorder and Mis-government. Such as maintain their Understanding, in this general Frenzy, shall be admir'd but not follow'd, esteem'd but not consulted, heard but not regarded. Mend Things they cannot; if they will be quietly wise and say nothing, they are indur'd; and if unactive, they are suffer'd; when their superior



superior Skill is forgiven and conniv'd at; when such as have more than common Endowments, are allow'd to subsist and preserve themselves, tho' they cannot save their Country, 'tis thought a sufficient Favour; but all the while they shall be made uneasie, pursu'd with malicious Whispers, blacken'd as disaffected, and made obnoxious to the People; till at last, they are forc'd either to retire, or let their Brethren of the State ruin and betray the Nation in quiet.

When a Country thus generally deprav'd in its Manners, comes to have upon the Throne a virtuous Prince, with what difficulty must he labour the Publick Good, among a People fantastical, conceited, greedy, proud, designing, ambitious and mercenary? Such a King, when he contemplates in his high Wisdom, all their natural and acquir'd Vices, must hardly think 'em worth the Ruling.

Such a Country, may have a Hero come over to secure their Religion and Civil Rights, which were invaded, and to Arm 'em against an Enemy, whose Power threaten'd to enslave *Europe*; yet he may meet with but few to imitate

inferior

X

and assist his Virtues: And tho' his Ends were the same, with those of *Dion*, who came from *Athens*, to restore the *Sicilians* to their Freedom; yet like *Dion*, he may find the leading Men bury'd in their Vices, fitter Instruments of a Tyranny, than for the Sway of a good Prince, not thankful for his Benefits, nor capable of Liberty.

If such Men as are here describ'd, and of this Stamp and Character, in former Ages, by fine Words, join'd with wicked Arts, have crept into Stations of great Trust, where they rend and gnaw the very Bowels of the Common-wealth; there is reason to caution those, who would form a Model for the better ordering of our *West-India* Colonies, to fortify their Constitution, as much as possible, against the Fraud and Corruption of these busie Talkers, which peradventure is to be brought about, if the Governours to be sent thither, take Care to recommend to the People, to choose for the Assemblies here propos'd, Persons in whom they shall always have observ'd publick Virtue, by which we mean a constant and perpetual Will to do their Country Good.

X 4

Ab-



Absolute Monarchies, corrupted in their Morals and Discipline, impair'd in their Wealth, sunk in Credit, and weaken'd by imbred Disorders, do very rarely retrieve their Condition; but mix'd Governments, have an innate Vigour and Strength of Constitution, which can throw off those Diseases that seem to affect 'em, and whereby they can be recover'd from that decay of Health, to which they have at any time been reduc'd by unskilful Statesmen.

Machiavel says, That to render a Commonwealth long Liv'd, it is necessary to correct it often, and reduce it towards its first Principles, which is to be done by Punishments and Examples. If the wild Proceedings of rash and giddy Ministers are now and then look'd into, and animadverted upon, it creates Fear and a Reverence to the Laws; And in great Men, strong Examples of clean Hands, Self-denial, personal Temperance, and Care of the publick Treasure, do awaken the Virtue of others, and revive those Seeds of Goodness, which lie hid in the Hearts of most People, and would Spring out, but that they are choak'd up for a time, by Avarice and Ambition.

And

And now (in a few Words, to recapitulate the whole Matter of this Discourse) we have set forth, of what Advantage the Plantations in *America* are to *England*; there has been propos'd a Model for their future Government, in which, to manage their Affairs by a National Assembly, is chiefly recommend'd; we have shown the Steps by which Vice is first insinuated into a Country; we have laid down, That when a People is corrupted, its National Assembly grows soon debauch'd in Principles; That when the Vices of the Age are gather'd to a Head, they produce a great Ulcer, call'd Faction, which is a Complication of bad Humours, suffer'd to grow in the Body-Politick, thro' the Negligence and Weakness of ill Statesmen; We have set forth that corrupted Times, embolden bad Men to thrust themselves into the Affairs of State, who are always the Authors of warm and bold Councils, which (as * *Livy* says) are pleasant in their first Appearance, but difficult to manage, and fatal in their Event.

And all these Points have been here handled, with a Design to show, That if it should be thought Expedient to regulate

* Tit. Liv.
Lib. 35.
Conflia ca-
lida & au-
dacia, pri-
ma Specie
lata, trac-
tam dura,
eventu vi-
stia sunt.



regulate the Constitutions of the Northern Colonies, and to give them Power to govern their Affairs by a National Assembly, they, who form a Model of this kind, should take Care to propose Methods of correcting the Manners of the People, the mending of which has at all times and in all Free Countries, produc'd wise and just National Assemblies, and in such there have been always rear'd up able Ministers; and from Statesmen of that kind there may continually be expected a steady and safe Administration, wherein Faction shall be rooted out; for the progress of the Cure is by the same Steps as the Disease first grew upon the Body-politick.

To contrive for the Publick and to promote the Common Good, ought not only to be their Care to whom the Administration of Affairs is committed, but all private Persons should bend their Study the same way; and whoever has receiv'd any Lights either from Nature, Education or Experience, is bound to produce 'em for the Service of his Country.

As he who has gather'd any useful Instructions, by contemplating the Growth and

and Fall of many Monarchies and States, and by weighing the different Events of wise and foolish Councils, should communicate his Observations for the Benefit of others; so they, whose Understandings move in a lower Sphere, and who have employ'd their chief Time and Thoughts in considering the Revenues, Trade and common Business of a Kingdom, if they have gain'd any Knowledge either by Study or Practice should offer it to the World, since thereby at least they may furnish Materials, and give some Hints for abler Heads to work upon, and improve for the Nation's Profit.

Many may imagin they owe no more to the Common-wealth than to fight in its Defence, to pay the Prince his Dues, to be just to one another, and obedient to the Laws: 'Tis true, these are Virtues with which if a Majority of the People be not season'd, the Government must run into immediate Confusion: But a great deal more than all this is necessary to make a Country flourish.

A Government cannot be maintain'd without a sufficient Fond of Revenue; and a Revenue is wildly given, where the

the People's Strength that must grant it, is not duly understood; Taxes not contriv'd with Skill are a present Burthen, and yet answer so as to bring upon the Kingdom a great future Debt: When the Nature of the Commodities to be charg'd, and a true Consumption of them are not rightly consider'd, Fords given upon them prove defective and such as destroy all Credit; where 'tis not known how to manage and collect Revenues the People are disturb'd and frighten'd with a variety of new Impositions, and yet the Publick is no way eas'd nor reliev'd by what they bring in, but becomes still more and more necessitous.

But let the Taxes be never so well contriv'd and order'd, if a Nation be plung'd in great Debts which require large Payments from the People, nothing can support such an Expence but Foreign Trade; for all Countries have a certain Stock with which their Tillage, Labour, Arts and Manufactures, are carry'd on: And it is the radical Moisture of the Common-wealth, and if it be quite drawn away the Body-politick becomes Consumptive, Heetical, and dies at last (being subject to Diseases and
Death

Death it self, like Humane Frames;) and as Humane Bodies are not to be kept alive, but by receiving in of Nourishment to repair the hourly Decays which Time produces; so Nations cannot subsist long, unless they receive from time to time Reliefs and Refreshments from abroad, which are no way so well to be administer'd, as by the Help of a well-govern'd and extended Traffick.

These Considerations have induc'd the Writer of these Papers to communicate these Schemes, and his Notions concerning Credit, his Observations relating to the Publick Revenues and the Trade of this Kingdom, and in this Tract to give a short View of practical Ethicks; which, perhaps, may be thought needless at present, and rather useful to Posterity.

The Morals here advanc'd are directed to, and intended for our Colonies abroad: But in succeeding Times our Manners may come to be deprav'd, and when this happens all sort of Miseries will invade us, the whole Wealth of the Kingdom will not be sufficient for its Defence, Trade will forsake our Shores, and go to some Nation where the Rules of Virtue are better observ'd. The





The preventing Remedy against such Distempers is to be had from the Precepts of Morality, which Writers upon all sort of Subjects should endeavour to inculcate; for the Vices or Virtues of a Country influence very much in all its Business; so that he who would propose Methods by which the Affairs of a Kingdom may be any ways better'd, should, at the same time, consider the predominant Passions, the Morals, Temper and Inclinations of the People. And so far as to the Plantation Trade.

D I S-

DISCOURSES

ON THE

Publick Revenues,

AND ON

TRADE.

PART II.

DISCOURSE IV.

On the East-India TRADE.

THE Writer of these Papers did never imagin, That the Essay on the *East-India Trade*, written last Year, in a very few Days, would engage him in so long a Work as this is like to prove; but seeing his Computations attack'd, and finding many Persons of excellent

Un-



Understanding misl'd by the Authority of Mr. P——n, his chief Answerer, he thought himself oblig'd in this, and in the foregoing Discourses, to show the Foundation on which he builds his Reasonings upon the Trade of *England*.

'Tis true, that delighted with his Subject (and in some Measure compell'd to it by the great variety of Matter he handles) he has swell'd this Volume much beyond his first Intentions: However, if he can be clear, it may make some amends for that length which is indeed unavoidable in Points so difficult; and at times of leisure and recess from publick Business, these Tracts will, peradventure, be an Entertainment to the Country Gentlemen, for whose Service they were written.

The Author's Aim is to deliver Things plainly, without the disguise of hard Words and Terms; which Rubbish being remov'd, the precious Oar will sooner appear, that is to be found in Studies of this Nature.

His Ends are compass'd, if he can set out intricate Matters in an easie manner, hoping thereby to induce the young Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom to take a Pleasure in these sort of Contemplations; and he wishes his present Performance

did in any degree answer the Desire he has of serving the Publick.

'Tis a great Delight to him to observe, That many of our young Nobility and Gentry have express'd an Inclination to inform themselves of the State of *England*; and that Learning begins to be more in Fashion than of late Years, People being not asham'd now of understanding Greek and Latin. Nothing did more help to advance the *Roman* Greatness, than that their Youth was bred up to an early Knowledge of their Country's Business, to which they attain'd, by progressive Steps, through several Offices of the State, wherein they gain'd the Experience that fitted 'em at last for the Magistracies of chiefest Trust and Importance.

They qualify'd themselves for the Publick Service, by seasoning betimes their Understanding with the Love of Letters; for in those Days, whoever pretended to intermeddle in Matters of Government, did first cultivate his Mind with Wisdom and the Precepts of Philosophy, by which afterwards he might steer his Actions; giving to the Search into useful Arts or sublimer Speculations, those Hours, which, in this Age, are consum'd in Riots and vain Pleasures.

The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted, are the best Hopes of a diseas'd Common-wealth: The Warmth and Spirit of such, must assist their Measures, who desire and are able to promote a right Administration.

And in National Assemblies, it has been generally observ'd, That the young Men are least infected with Corruption; and that they would always follow Truth, but for the false Lights which crafty Guides set up, with a purpose to mislead them; for while we are Young we are either asham'd, or have not Leisure to play the Knaves, but we come to it as Age and Discretion grow upon us.

The Writer's Aim is to stir up the Youth of the Kingdom to bend their Thoughts to the Study of Trade, and the Publick Revenues; that being Masters of the general Notions thereunto relating, they may not be mislead by crafty and interested Merchants, or by ambitious and designing Politicians.

When the Youth of a Nation have well inform'd their own Reason, they follow her Dictates, deliberating well and wisely for their King and Country, without being hurried to and fro by the Whirlwind of a prevailing Faction.

Re-

Revenues can never be well order'd, right Ways and Means of supplying the State cannot be enter'd upon, nor can true Measures concerning Trade be taken, in a factious and divided Nation.

Where Factions reign, how can there be any sound Deliberations form'd concerning Trade? For many may be so servile as to promote a Foreign Interest, to the Prejudice of their own Country; and may weaken and undermine its Traffick, with design to give it to some other Nation. Others may vex and distress particular Societies of Trading Men, only to draw from 'em Bribes and Presents: And when these wicked Spirits are at work, there needs no more than that Four or Five should privately give the Word among their Friends, pretend the Government's Service, be very lowd and warm, and Trade it self may presently be render'd a Party Business.

In Countries thus divided, and subject to such Abuses, what true Judgment can be made in any Point relating to Foreign Traffick? And how can it be there well determin'd which Branch is profitable, and which is hurtful to the Nation?

Y 2

And





And where general Corruptions have taken deep Root, they give Growth and Strength to Faction, and those Divisions which we affirm to be so prejudicial to a Kingdom, and so much to influence in all Affairs; upon which Account it may not be unseasonable, in this Place, to recommend to all degrees of Men that Concord which alone can preserve a Nation, increase its Trade and Wealth, and make the King safe and happy: And tho' this Caution may be needless at present, peccadventure it will be of Use hereafter.

For suppose us now a virtuous and well-united People, that deliberate calmly, maturely and wisely of all Matters, that are not sway'd by private Interest, and who are full of Publick Zeal, yet, in process of Time, our Manners may become deprav'd like other Nations: And when this happens to us, we shall apparently find that it will affect all our Councils, especially such as relate to the Ways and Means of supplying the Government, or to the Trade of *England*.

When the young Nobility and Gentry employ their Time and Thoughts carefully to inspect and consider the Kingdom's Foreign Traffick, they will evidently see how much their Land-Interest

rest depends upon it: They will find, That as Trade brought Land from 12 to 25, and the General Rental from 6 to 14 Millions, and the Kingdom's Capital from 72 to 252 Millions (reckoning Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Personal Estates, 18 Years Purchase at a Medium;) so it may bring Land from 25 to 50 Years Purchase; and Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, &c. from 18 to 36 Years Purchase; the General Rental from 14 to 28 Millions, and the Kingdom's Capital from 252 to above 1000 Millions, if by Industry and prudent Management it can be render'd more extensive. But the mutual Dependence between Land and Trade, we hope, has been sufficiently made out in the Series of these Discourses.

And in the foregoing Tracts we have dwelt the longer upon that Subject, because there have been Notions expos'd in Print so directly oppos'd to the Welfare of this Country, with Insinuations as if *England* did rather lose than get by Trade; and delivered by one, whose Reputation for Skill in these Matters, Gravity and pretended Experience, may misguide unthinking People.

The Reader will best judge whither or no in Discourse I. we have refused



some of his General Maxims; and we shall now proceed to examin some Notions of his relating to the East-India Trade in particular, and to the Ballance of Trade in general, pronounced Magisterially, but, as we hope to make appear, without any Foundation in good Sense and Reason.

Mr. P—n
England and
East India
inconsistent,
&c. p. 6.

This Author says, *That there hath been exported for India annually ever since 1673. when the Trade in Manufactur'd Goods from thence begun first to increase, till Anno 1690. about 600,000 l. per Annum in Bullion, by the Company, private Traders or Interlopers, from England or Spain; and that the Goods bought from thence never brought back into England, nor saved the going out of 200,000 l. per Annum in Bullion. And therefore that this Trade, instead of being profitable to us, hath exhausted about 400,000 l. per Annum, of our Treasure, &c.*

That nothing but Bullion imported, can make amends for Bullion exported, p. 19.

Mr. P—n
A Discourse
of Trade,
Coin, Paper-
Credit, and
of Ways and
Means to
gain and re-
tain Riches;
written, as
appears by
the Date,
July 15,
1696.

And in another Book of his he lays down, *That for these 40 Years last past, all the Gold and Silver brought from the West-Indies and Coast of Africk, never amounted to 2,500,000 l. per Annum. That of this we have not, and cannot well expect for our Share, above 600,000 l. per An. in specie, p. 77.*

That there is consumed in Silver-lace, Wire, Fringe, and for Gilding, about } l. per An. 200,000

That the Northern Trades have, ever since the Fire of London, carried from us about } 200,000

That the East-India Trade has exported about } 600,000

That the Trade of France did exhaust of our Treasure, about } 1,000,000

Total ————— } 2,000,000

Brought into England, as he says, of Bullion, but — } 600,000

Exhausted then from England, according to his Computation ————— } 1,400,000

Our Luxury in Lace, Wire, Fringe and Gilding, is at least 30 Years old; and if his Computations hold right, there has been consumed on the First Article, during that time ————— } 6,000,000

If his Computation in the 2d Article is true, the Northern Trade has carried out from 1666 to 1697. — } 6,200,000

Carry over ————— } 12,200,000

Y 4 Brought



l. per An.
Brought over ——— 12,200,000

If, as he computes, the East-India Trade has carried out from 1670 to 1689, about 600,000 l. per An. that Trade has then exported in 19 Years ——— 11,400,000

And if, as he seems to say, p. 84. That for 30 Years successively the Wines, Brandy, Silks, Linens, and other Goods brought from France, amounted to a Million and a half, and our Commodities carried thither but to half a Million, the French Trade did then draw from England in that time ——— 30,000,000

And if his Computations on all these Articles hold right, England has been exhausted by these several Trades, to the value of ——— 53,600,000

And if, as he says, our Proportion of the Gold and Silver brought from America, amounts to but 600,000 l. per Annum, which in 30 Years is ——— 18,000,000

These

These Trades must have carried out in Specie, or run England in Debt abroad, in the 30 Years ——— 35,600,000

There is nothing here frain'd; and what we have now laid down, is a natural and (as is humbly conceiv'd) an undeniable Conclusion from his own Premises.

The Author of a Book, Intituled, *Britannia Languens*, [p. 147.] has publish'd an Accompt (taken and Printed in November 1675. for clearing a Debate, then before a Committee of Parliament) of the Gold and Silver Coin'd in 76 Years, viz. from the 1st of October 1599. to November, 1675. which amounted to ——— 21,851,876 l. 14 s. 7¹/₂ d.

And allowing for what was Coin'd from 1675. to 1689. yet if Mr. P— is a good Computer, and if his Schemes are right, concerning the Ballance of Trade, his Reader has Reasons to conclude, not only that there was not a single Shilling remaining in the Kingdom in 1689. but that we stood likewise at that time, very much indebted to the Nations abroad; for either there must have

have been a very great Debt, which some way or other would have appear'd, or the Species of Money must have been drain'd intirely from us; it being an undoubted Truth, That Countries which cannot satisfie their Ballance with Commodities, must do it with Money or with Bullion.

The Writer of these Papers, finds himself oblig'd to complain, That he has been but very ill assisted in his Endeavours to serve the Publick. If the Accompts of the Revenue had been open to him, as heretofore they were wont to be, to such who were making Enquiries of this Nature; he had been in a Capacity to prove, beyond all Contradiction, several of his Computations, relating to the Trade of this Kingdom. But as the Case stands, he is many times forc'd to grope in the Dark, the common Lights being with-held from him; and he is often compell'd to hunt after Truth, meerly by the Strength of Numbers; and tho' perhaps he finds her now and then, yet what he advances, would be less subject to Dispute, if he could have several Matters of Fact before him. But Secrecie is the Life of all Councils; and from this Maxim, peradventure it proceeds, That some Accompts of the Publick Revenues seem as warily kept, as were

anciently

anciently the Leaves of the *Sybil's*, which could not be inspected but by such as had the Secret, and who were of the Colledge of *Augurs*.

There pass'd lately an Act, to repeal a Statute of *Henry VII.* against multiplying Gold and Silver. So that the Chimists have now a legal right to the Philosophers Stone, if their Art can produce it.

'Tis to be apprehended, the Necessities of the State will be hardly supply'd by so rich and great a Discovery, as the *Magisterium* would prove; we ought therefore to bend our Thoughts to Attempts more Possible; and in all likelihood, to find out the true Ballance of Trade, in order to adapt thereunto our Laws and Form of Living, would bring as much Wealth to this Country, as is requisite to render a Nation Safe and Happy.

An exact Ballance between Us and every distinct Place, perhaps cannot by any humane Skill be attain'd to; nor is it certain, whither a Scrutiny so very Nice, would be of any Use.

But without doubt, a general State of this Matter, form'd upon strict Enquiry, with Deliberation and Skill; and such a one as would carry with it a Demonstration

monstration of being somewhat near the Truth, must be a great Help to the Rulers and Ministers of a Country, and a good Guide in many important Councils.

What we have propos'd in the First Volume of these Discourses, p. 32 and 33; will, peradventure, be a Step towards knowing how this Kingdom's Business stood formerly, with the several Nations to which it deals; for when Things past are set in a better Light before us, it will be less difficult to form a Judgment of future Matters.

And tho', as for Example, it may be hard to find from the Entries in the Custom-house Books, what was the true and exact Value of the Commodities Imported from *France* into *England*, and of the Goods Exported from *England* thither; yet no wise Man will deny, but that from a general State of the Fact, a Judgment may be form'd, which shall come a great deal nearer the Truth, than the wild Guesses of Mr. P——, and such like Writers, who having imbibed in their Youth, Prejudices, wrong Opinions, and ill grounded Notions, deliver 'em afterwards in the World, as the Result of Age, Experience and Wisdom.

There



There is Reason to think, That some of the Trades mention'd by this Gentleman, have hurt *England*; but in the degree he talks of, no Man in his right Senses can imagin: And when we shall come by and by, to show how few Trafficks he reckons Beneficial to us, it will appear, That if his Computations were right, the whole Island must have been Pawn'd some Years ago to Foreign States, as History says it was one engag'd to *Seneca*.

Mr. Fortrey, in a Book	l.	
publish'd 1663. has said,	}	2,600,000
That our Imports from		
<i>France</i> , amounted to upwards	}	1,000,000
of _____		
That our Exports thither,	}	_____
did not exceed _____		

England's
Interest
and Im-
provement,
p. 22.

Lost then in the Bal-	}	1,600,000
lance, _____		

'Tis to be wish'd this ingenious Gentleman had been more particular, in giving us an Accompt upon what Grounds he made his Calculations. By what may be gather'd from his Paper, there was about that time a Memorial laid before the French King, showing what Commodities were Yearly sent from *France*; which Mr. Fortrey enumerates



rates in 16 Articles, some of which will appear plainly to any common Reader, to be over rated: So that in all likelihood, either he had not a true Copy of that Memorial, or that the Facts were fallly represented by the Merchants of that Kingdom; for the Author says, *p. 25.* The King of *France* had some Thoughts at that time, to forbid the Trade with *England*.

But however, it was upon this Gentleman's Authority, many People, and most of the Writers about Trade, have concluded, That our Dealings with the French, turn'd every Year to our Prejudice at least a Million.

But whoever looks into the Nature of Things, and contemplates our universal Business abroad, and considers the Product and Manufactures of this Nation; and whoever takes a View of the Coin we had in the Kingdom before the War, with what may be now probably remaining, must be convinc'd, That by our Consumption in Silver-Lace, &c. by the Northern Trade, *East-India* and French Trade, we could not be drein'd in Thirty Years, of such an immense Sum as is Thirty Five Millions and upwards.

If the Body-politick had been exhausted by such large Issues, as these are pretended

tended to be, it must have expir'd long ago, unless the Breaches had been repair'd by some other Means. We shall therefore examin those Foreign Trafficks, which Mr. P——n allows *England* to be a Gainer by; and perhaps from thence, some Light may be had to guide us in the Search of that general Ballance, which we are looking after.

As to the Trades we drive to *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, he says, *That the* Mr. P——n Discourse on Trade and Coin, p. 85. *Wines from the Canaries, and Currants from Zant, which cost great Sums Annually, do abate much out of the Ballance of those Trades; but that upon casting up the Total of our Exportation and Importation, will probably appear Beneficial.*

As to the *Turkey* Trade, he says, *It* ibid. *may be reckon'd as one of our best.*

As to the *Plantation* Trade, he ad- p. 86. *mits we are Gainers by it.*

As to our Trade with *Holland*, he says, *That to adjust how the Ballance of this* P. 87. *Trade stands, will be more difficult than any other; and adds afterwards, Which Na-* P. 88. *tion hath the Advantage, is uncertain.*

As to the Trade with *Ireland*, he is so Dark we cannot find his meaning, but perhaps the Reader may. He says, speaking of the Irish, *And unless some* P. 89. *may can be found out to secure their intire*

De-

Dependance upon England, grounded as well on Religion as Laws, that England may be sure to reap a lasting Advantage by the Labours of the People there, and they can be brought to be more Industrious; perpetual Obstructions will from such Objections arise, against Endeavours to increase Riches in that Kingdom, by improving it to the uttermost, which will be a continual Prejudice to the English Interest there. These are the Author's own Words, which indeed seem not very intelligible; so that whether we get or lose by this Trade, he leaves undetermin'd.

Ibid.

As to the *Hamborough* Trade, by which great Quantities of our Cloth go to *Germany*, by the Rivers *Elbe*, *Weſer* and *Eyder*, he allows it to be great and beneficial.

P. 90.

As to the *Newfoundland* Trade, he says, *It is much diminish'd*; and that *Our Northern-Fishing Trades are much disus'd*. But we take it for granted, he means they were heretofore profitable to this Kingdom.

We have here, from his own Words, set down the Map he has drawn of our Foreign Traffick; to show, what an ill-rising Ground the City of *Lisbon* is to stand upon, for one who pretends to give a View of the whole Commercial World.

If

If his Computations are right, where had we the Thirty Millions, in which Sum (as has been shown Discourse I.) several Accidents might impair our Stock before the Year 1688? And how came we by the Five and twenty Millions, or more, which have been actually levied during the late War? And where had we the Five and thirty Millions that were exhausted from us by the several Trades he mentions? Could 600,000 *l.* per Annum coming into us and no more, as he lays down, have supply'd all those Expences? Could such an immense Sum have arisen from the *Turkey* and *Hamborough* Trades only? Without doubt not. And as to our other *European* Business, he seems to make the Balance but even.

But we can by no means allow his State of the General Balance to be well grounded: And in the single Article of *France*, if his Computations were right, this Kingdom long since must have been utterly impoverish'd and exhausted.

Men are ever inclin'd to think better of the past, than of the present Times; and if every Age had as much declin'd in Morality and Virtue, as is commonly imagin'd, we must have been now arriv'd to a degree of Vice, that would be

Z

in-



inconsistent with Humane Fellowship. In the same manner, if we did as much impair in Wealth from 1666. as some melancholy Writers have suggested, we could never have resisted so strongly the last War, and other Calamities, with which, since that time, this Nation has been afflicted.

Mr. Fortrey's Book being out of Print, we think it not improper here, to insert *verbatim* the several Commodities which he says were Imported from France, with his Valuation upon 'em: In order to this, That such Merchants as shall peruse these Papers, and who either from their Memory or by their Accompts, can tell how Trade stood at that time, may judge whither our Yearly Consumption of the respective Goods, did answer his Estimate.

There is transported out	l. Sterl.
of France annually into	
England, great Quantities	
of Velvets, plain and	
wrought; Satins, plain and	
wrought; Cloth of Gold	150,000
and Silver, Armoysins and	
other Merchandizes of	
Silk made at Lions, to the	
Value of _____	

Brought

l. Sterl.

Brought over _____	150,000
In Silks, Stuffs, Taffeties, Poudesois, Armoysins, Cloths of Gold and Silver, Tabbies plain and wrought, Silk-Ribbands, and other such like Silk Stuffs as are made at Tours, to the yearly Value of above _____	300,000

In Silk-Ribbands, Galloons, Laces and Buttons of Silk, which are made at Paris, Rouen, Chaimont, St. Estienes in Forrests, to the yearly Value of about _____	150,000
---	---------

A great Quantity of Serges which are made at Chalons, Chartres, Estamines and Rhemes; and great Quantities of Serges made at Amiens, Crevecœur, Blicourt, and other Towns in Picardy, to the yearly Value of above _____	150,000
--	---------

Carry over _____	750,000
Z 2	Brought



l. Sterl.

Brought over ————— 750,000

‘ In Bever, Demicafter
‘ and Felt Hats, made in
‘ the City and Suburbs of
‘ Paris, besides many others } 120,000
‘ made at Rouen, Lions, and
‘ other Places, to the yearly
‘ Value of about —————

‘ In Feathers, Belts, Gird-
‘ les, Hatbands, Fans, Hoods,
‘ Masks, gilt and wrought
‘ Looking-glasses, Cabinets,
‘ Watches, Pictures, Cafes, } 150,000
‘ Medals, Tables, Brace-
‘ lets, and other such like
‘ Mercery Ware, to the
‘ yearly Value of above —————

‘ In Pins, Needles, Box-
‘ combs, Tortois-Shell } 20,000
‘ Combs, and such like, to
‘ the yearly Value of a-
‘ bout —————

‘ In perfumed and trim-
‘ med Gloves that are made
‘ at Paris, Rouen, Vendosme, } 10,000
‘ Clermont, and other Places,
‘ to the yearly Value of
‘ —————

Carry over ————— 1,050,000
Brought

l. Sterl.

Brought over ————— 1,050,000

‘ In Papers of all sorts,
‘ which are made at Au-
‘ vergn, Poictou, Limosin, } 100,000
‘ Champaign & Normandy, to
‘ the yearly Value of above
‘ In all sorts of Ironmon-
‘ gers Wares, that are made
‘ at Forrests, Auvergn, and } 40,000
‘ other Places, to the yearly
‘ Value of about —————

‘ In Linen-Cloth that is
‘ made in Brittainy and Nor-
‘ mandy, as well Course as
‘ Fine, to the yearly Value
‘ of above ————— } 400,000

‘ In Household-stuff, con-
‘ sisting of Beds, Matresses,
‘ Coverlids, Hangings, } 100,000
‘ Fringes of Silk, and other
‘ Furnitures, to the yearly
‘ Value of above —————

‘ In Wines from Gaf-
‘ coigne, Nantois, and other
‘ Places on the River Loire;
‘ and also from Bourdeaux, } 600,000
‘ Rochel, Nants, Rouen, and
‘ other Places, to the yearly
‘ Value of above —————

Carry over ————— 2,290,000
Z 3 In



	<i>l. Sterl.</i>
Brought over ———	2,290,000
‘ In <i>Aqua Vita</i> , Sider, Vi- ‘ negar, Verjuice, and such ‘ like, to the yearly Value } ‘ of about ——— } 100,000	
‘ In Saffron, Cattle-soap, ‘ Hony, Almonds, Olives, } ‘ Capers, Prunes, and such } ‘ like, to the yearly Value } ‘ of about ——— } 150,000	
‘ Annual Importation } ‘ from <i>France</i> ——— } 2,540,000	

‘ Besides 5 or 600 Vessels of Salt loaden
‘ at *Maron, Rochel, Brouage*, the Isle of
‘ *Oleron* and Isle of *Rhee*, transported in-
‘ to *England* and *Holland*, of a very great
‘ Value. So as by this Calculation it
‘ doth appear, That the yearly Value of
‘ such Commodities as are transported
‘ from *France* to *England*, amount to
‘ above 2,600,000 *l.* And the Commo-
‘ dities exported out of *England* into
‘ *France*, consisting chiefly of Woollen
‘ Cloths, Serges, Knit Stockings, Lead,
‘ Pewter, Allum, Coals, and all else, do
‘ not amount to above a Million *per An.*
‘ By which it appears, That our Trade
‘ with *France* is, at least, Sixteen hundred
‘ thousand Pounds a Year clear lost to this
‘ Kingdom. We

We have here inserted Mr. *Fortrey's*
Words, upon which every Reader may
make his own Comment.

To which we shall add a Computa-
tion of Mr. *P——n's*; *That the Eupences* Essay on
of our Gentry travelling into France, did Trade and
Coin, p. 93.
drein us of near 200,000 l. per Annum.
Wherein, very probably, he reckons
much at Random.

So that these two Calculations, if they
are well grounded, put the Ballance a-
gainst us ——— 1,800,000 *l. per An.*

Mr. *H.T.* another Writer upon Trade,
has quoted these Valuations of Mr. *For-
trety*, upon which he says; ‘Tis true that *Britannia
Languens,*
p. 190.
since this, there was an Estimate of the
‘ French over-balance, taken in *England*
‘ by some English Merchants, from the
‘ Entries of the Port of *London*; by
‘ which it was computed that the French
‘ over-balance amounted to about a
‘ Million. This was presented by our
‘ Merchants to our Lords Commis-
‘ sioners, upon a Treaty of Commerce
‘ with *France* in 1674. (which came to
‘ no Conclusion) and afterwards to the
‘ Parliament; which seems to impeach
‘ the Estimate of the French over-bal-
‘ lance reported by Mr. *Fortrey*, as to
‘ the *Quantum*.

However, the same Author adds afterwards, 'But that I may not totally desert Mr. Fortrey I shall take notice, 'That this English Computation was 'taken from the Entries of the Port of 'London only, from whence there may 'not be so just a Calculation for all the 'rest of our Ports; and that the Entries 'do not comprehend any of those 'French Commodities which were prohibited by our former Laws, and are 'therefore imported without Entry, 'which are accounted to amount to 'some hundreds of thousand Pounds 'yearly, perhaps near to another Million. From which Words may be gather'd, That this Author is inclin'd to think Mr. Fortrey's Estimate was right.

'Tis to be wish'd Authentick Copies might be recover'd of the Papers from whence these Writers made their several Computations, that the Grounds may be seen upon which they went. And if any One has Memorials relating to this Subject, he would do his Country good Service, in this Juncture, to expose 'em to Publick View.

A Council of Trade (by Authority of Parliament) compos'd of industrious and skilful Men, would go a great way in finding out how this whole Matter stands.

For

For if the Imports from *France*, and our Exports thither for Six Years before the War, were carefully extracted out of the Custom-house Books; and if the prime Cost of the respective Investments or Parcels of Goods, were truly valued and stated by judicious and disinterested Persons, a Judgment might from thence be made somewhat nearer the Truth, than the random Guesses here taken Notice of, which seem without any true Foundation.

And tho' no certain and positive Judgment could from thence be form'd, which should come demonstratively within less than a Hundred or 2 Hundred thousand Pound of the real Fact; yet to come so near the Truth, as within 1 or 2 Hundred thousand Pound, which peradventure is Practicable, may be a Light, and give some Aim in making a new Treaty of Commerce with that Kingdom.

And, without so exact a View, as is here propos'd, into the Custom-house Books, it seems a Demonstration, That we could not be over-ballanc'd in our Trade with *France*, near the Sum which any of these Authors have mention'd.

But if, upon Examination, the Fact should prove to be as they have suggested; 'tis evident, *England* did gain much more

in



in the Ballance of its other *European*, the *West* and *East-India* Trades, than the Writer of these Papers has any where computed, or this Kingdom must long ago have been utterly exhausted.

Sir *Josiah Child*, in his excellent Discourse, *On the Ballance of Trade*, has laid down all along, That the true State of it is very difficult to be come at, however he recommends the Notion as useful; to which we shall venture to add, That this Speculation well follow'd and assisted, may, in all likelihood, lead us to know whither we lost by our Dealings with *France*, Annually, a Million, or 16 Hundred thousand, or 18 Hundred thousand, or 7 Hundred thousand, or 3 Hundred thousand Pounds, or peradventure very little; for there are Men well vers'd in the Nature of our Trade, of all these different Opinions.

By what the Writer of these Papers has seen upon this Subject, and by what Helps he has been able to procure, which he owns not to be Perfect; and by Computing from the general State of our Foreign and Domestick Business, he is rather inclin'd to think, This Matter has been all along mistaken.

And his Thoughts are, (which he humbly submits to better Judgments)
That

That when the French first began to mind Trade, (which was towards the latter end of *Richlieu's* Ministry) the Ballance lay of our Side, as being a Nation more vers'd in Traffick than they could be; for it holds in Countries, as in smaller Affairs, that a subtle Man, in all Dealings, will Out-wit his less cunning Neighbour. Besides, till the Year 1660. Foreign Modes and Vanities, and other Luxuries had not so much obtain'd among us.

'Tis true, as our Luxuries increas'd, our Profit from that Kingdom might diminish; but we cannot help being of Opinion, That we rather got than lost in the Ballance with the French, till they began to lay high Duties, amounting to a Prohibition, upon our Manufactures, and upon some Commodities of our Importation, and till they prohibited the use of our *East-India* Goods.

'Tis granted indeed, after those high Duties and Prohibitions began to Operate, that our Dealings thither began to grow very disadvantageous to this Nation; but whither in the degree commonly reckon'd, seems at least very doubtful.

For if the Bulk of our Trade, when it ran highest, did not amount to above
ten



ten Millions, reckoning our Exports and Imports at the Value here; whereof our Exports in Commodities, being but about two Millions and three quarters (and Mony and Bullion included but about three Millions and a half;) it follows, That if the Trade to *France* took up one Million thereof, and was so prejudicial to us, the other part of our Exports in Commodities being but one Million and three quarters, must make a Profit of near two Millions, to Ballance the Loss by the French Kingdom only; and we must make a Profit of about three Millions, to Ballance that and our other suggested Losses by Trade; and how such a Profit shall be made, unless our Importations be greater than our Exportations, is hard to imagin: For if our Gain by Trade be only so much as our Exports do exceed our Imports, than a Million and three quarters exported, to the rest of the Commercial World, besides *France*, could enrich us only so much as our Exports amount to, in case we imported nothing by way of Return, or nothing but Mony. But if our whole Exports are about three Millions and a half, and our Imports are six Millions and a half, it follows, That tho' our Imports do exceed our Exports three Millions, it is so far from



from being an Argument that we lose three Millions yearly by the over-balance; that, quite contrary, if three Millions and a half will purchase six Millions and a half, we are enrich'd even by what is commonly reckon'd an over-balance.

However, the wise Conduct of the Parliament, during the late War, has put Things upon a more equal Foot than formerly they stood. Both Countries are Arm'd now with the same Weapons; we have high Duties and Prohibitions, with which to combat their Edicts and Tariffs of the same Nature; but 'tis hop'd, that upon mature Consideration, both Kingdoms will think it their mutual Interest to meet upon more friendly Terms; and now the Peace is concluded, not to remain at such a distance, as the present Interruption of Traffick between 'em must occasion.

There is already concluded a Treaty of Commerce between *France* and *Holland*, which seems fair of both Sides; and there can be no good Reason given, why *England* should not expect as equal Conditions; especially, since the Legislative Power here, has put what appears a Bar to the Trade it self, until the Balance between us can be better rectify'd.



The general Terms of that Treaty are, in all likelihood, what this Kingdom may very well infist upon; and without 'em, the Trade betwixt us can hardly be upon an equal Foot.

In order to publick Consideration, some of the principle Articles of that Treaty, shall be here inserted.

A R T. VI.

Les Sujets & Habitants des Pays de l'obeissance de Sa Majeste, & desdits Seigneurs Estats Generaux vivront, converseront, & frequenteront les uns avec les autres, en toute bonne Amitie & correspondance; & jouiront entre eux de la liberte de Commerce & Navigation dans l'Europe, en toutes les limites des Pays de l'un & de l'autre, de toutes sortes de Marchandises & denrees, dont le Commerce, & le transport, n'est defendu generalement & universellement a tous tant Sujets qu'Estrangers par les Loix & Ordonnances des Estats de l'un & de l'autre.

A R T. VII.

Et pour cet effect, les Sujets de Sa Majeste & ceux desdits Seigneurs Estats Generaux pourront franchement, & librement frequenter avec leurs Marchandises & Navires, les Pays, Terres, Villes, Ports, Places & Rivieres, de l'un & de l'autre Estat, y porter & vendre a toutes Personnes

nes indistinctement; acheter, trafiquer & transporter toutes sortes de Marchandises dont l'entree ou sortie, & transport, ne sera defendu a tous Sujets de Sa Majeste, & desdits Seigneurs Estats Generaux; sans que cette liberte reciproque puisse etre defendue, limitee ou restraincte, par aucun Privilege, Octroy ou aucune concession particuliere; & sans qu'il soit permis a l'un ou a l'autre de conceder, ou de faire a leurs Sujets des Immunités, Benefices, dons gratuits ou autres avantages, par dessus ceux de l'autre ou a leur prejudice; & sans que lesdits Sujets de part & d'autre soyent tenus de payer plus grands, ou autres Droits, Charges, Gabelles ou Impositions quelconques sur leurs Personnes, Biens, Denrees, Navires ou Frets d'iceux directement ou indirectement, sous quelque noms, titre ou pretexte que se puisse etre, que ceux qui seront payes par les propres & naturels Sujets de l'un & de l'autre.

A R T. VIII.

Les Sujets des Estats Generaux ne pourront aussi etre traite autrement ou plus mal dans les Droits de contablie d'ancreage, du Sol parisif & toutes autres charges & impositions de quelque nom qu'elles puissent etre appelees, soit sous le titre du Droit etranger ou autrement, sans aucune reserve ou exception, que les Sujets memes de Sa Majeste Tres-Chretienne, qui ne seront pas Bourgeois dans les lieux, ou lesdits Droits se leveront. ART.

A R T. IX.

Qu'a l'égard du Commerce du Levant en France, & de vingt pour cent qui se leve a cette occasion, les Sujets des Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies jouiront aussi de la meme liberte & franchise, que les Sujets du Roy Tres-Chretien, tellement qu'il sera permis auxdits Sujets des Estats Generaux de porter des Marchandises du Levant, a Marseille & autres Places permises en France, tant par leurs propres Vaisseaux, que dans des Vaisseaux Francois, & que ny dans l'un ny l'autre cas lesdits Sujets des Estats Generaux ne seront assujettis audit vingt pour cent, si non dans les cas, ou les Francois y sont Sujets, portant des Marchandises dans leurs propres Vaisseaux a Marseille, ou outre Places permises, &c.

A R T. X.

Il sera permis aux Sujets des Seigneurs Estats Generaux d'apporter, faire entrer & debiter en France & dans les Pays conquis, librement & sans aucun empeschement du Harang sale, sans distinction, & sans etre Sujets au rempacquement & ce non obstant tous Edits, Declarations & Arrests du Conseil a ce contraires, & notamment ceux des 15 Juillet, & quatorzieme Septembre mil six cent quatre vingt sept, portant defences d'apporter ny faire entrer dans les ports de France ou places conquises du Harang autrement qu'en

qu'en vracq & sale du Sel de Brouage; & qui ordonnent que ledit Harang sera apporté dans les Ports de Mers en vracq dans des Barils, dont les dixhuit composeront douze de Harang pacque, lesquels arrests demeureront revokes & annulles.

A R T. XI.

L'on depeschera reciproquement a la Douane ou aux bureaux, tant en France qu'aux Pais des Estats Generaux également & sans aucune distinction les Sujets de l'une & de l'autre Nation aussi-tot qu'il sera possible, sans leur causer aucun empeschement ny retardement, quel qu'il puisse etre.

A R T. XII.

L'on fera un nouveau tarrif commun & suivant la convenance reciproque, dans le tems de trois mois, & cependant le tarif de l'an 1667, sera execute par provision, & en cas, qu'on ne convienne pas dans ledit tems dudit Tarif nouveau, le tarrif de l'an 1664. aura lieu pour l'avenir.

A R T. XV.

Les Sujets desdits Seigneurs Estats Generaux ne seront point reputes Aubains en France, & ainsi seront exempts de la loy d'Aubaine, &c.

A R T. XIX.

Ce transport & ce traficq s'estendra a toutes sortes de Marchandises a l'exception de celles de contrebande.



ARTICLE SEPARÉ.

Que l'imposition de cinquante solds par Tonneau établie en France sur les Navires des Etrangers cessera entièrement à l'avenir, à l'égard des Navires des Sujets des Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies, &c.

These are the most material Articles relating to the Mercantile Business, between *France* and *Holland*: And if our Treaty of Commerce, now to be settled with that Kingdom, be upon the same Foot, with Submission to better Judgments, the Trade thither can never hurt *England*.

And if 'tis expected the high Duties now lying upon French Commodities should be taken off, the Legislative Power here may reasonably insist upon the following Terms.

I. That we may carry thither all sort of Goods, the Importation of which is not universally forbidden to their own Subjects.

II. Particularly, as to the *Levant* Goods, that we may be permitted to carry them to *Marseilles*, and other Places in *France*, where their Importation is allow'd of; and that the Imposition of 20 per Cent. thereupon be taken off.

III.

III. That the Duties laid upon our Woollen Manufactures may be lessen'd, if 'tis expected the Duties upon French Wines and Linen should be lessen'd here.

IV. That it may be free for us to carry thither Sugars, Tobacco, and other Goods of our Plantation-Product, under moderate Duties.

V. That all Edicts and Tariffs be revoked, which forbid the importing or wearing of our *East-India* Goods; and that the Impositions upon 'em be reduc'd to the same proportion, as shall be thought convenient to lay here upon the Luxurious Consumption of Commodities brought from *France* hither.

VI. That the Imposition of 50 Pence upon Foreign Shipping, be taken off as to *England*.

In general there seems Reason to think, That the Publick of this Kingdom may very well insist upon having Things brought as near as possible to the Posture they were in about the Years 1664 and 1670. And if this Point can be firmly settled, peradventure we need not be apprehensive of losing by the Trade with *France*.

The Writer of these Papers did think it necessary to touch upon this Subject of



the Ballance of Trade, in order to illustrate and inforce what he has said concerning the Plantations, and what he shall hereafter advance in relation to our East-India Traffick.

For upon a strict Examination it will perhaps be seen, That this Ballance so much talk'd of, so little understood, and so hard to be truly found out, is no way to be kept even but by the Wealth arising to us from both the *Indies*: And, if so, it must certainly import the Nation to protect, encourage and secure, the two main Fountains of its Strength and Riches.

But before we leave this Matter, it will be requisite to answer one Difficulty concerning the Ballance of our Trade, started by the Author of *Britannia Linguens*, at which most People stumble who either think or write upon this Subject.

He makes the Mint the principal Touchstone by which we are to try whether a Nation gets or loses by Trade: And to prove *That our National Trade has been Consumptive*, he gives the following Account.

Vide Scheme.

The Author would argue from this Scheme, because the Coinage was very great during the 2d and 3d Period of

the Tower of London, from being 76 Tears, divided into three first parts proportionally decreased in the fourth

Increase.	Total Increase.		
s. d.	l.	s.	d.
10 4	2,243	283	1 2
4 17 7½	3,076,762	14	10½
Decrease.	Total Decrease.		
10 9½	5,291,009	19	4½

his Scheme, p. 356.

An Account of all the Gold and Silver Coined in his Majesties Mint within the Tower of London, from the 1st of October 1599, being the 41st of Eliz. to November 1675. being 76 Years, divided into four parts; Showing how the Coin of this Kingdom did increase in the three first parts proportionable to the increase of Trade and Navigation, and how much it hath decreased in the fourth part.



	Coin'd Total.		Yearly Medium is.		Yearly Increase.		Total Increase.	
	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
From the 1st. of October 1599.	4,779,314	13 4	245,092	11 6				
To the last of March 1619.								
From the last of March 1619.	6,900,042	11 1	363,160	02 1 $\frac{1}{2}$				
To the last of March 1638.								
From the last of March 1638.	7,733,521	13 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	407,027	09 1				
To May 1657.								
From May 1657.	2,238,997	16 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	121,026	18 4				
To November 1675.								
					Yearly Decrease.		Total Decrease.	
					161,934	17 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,076,762	14 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
					286,000	10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,291,009	19 4 $\frac{1}{4}$

Total Coin'd in the Four Periods. } 21,851,876 14 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Place this Scheme, p. 356.



tion, That there is a certain Quantity of ready Cash sufficient to transact common Business, beyond which Coin'd Money may not be needful: And when this happens, the Mint stands still of Course.

'Tis very probable that about the Year 1657. there was of Gold and Silver Coin in *England* about 14 Millions, as we have shewn Discourse I. p. 33. which was a Sum competent to carry on our Foreign and Domestick Trade: And this Satiety of the Species, might peradventure be the Reason that there was less Money coin'd from 1657. to 1675. than in the other 3 Periods of Time mention'd in the Scheme.

A Man succeeding in the World, does generally most abound with Cash in the very beginning of his Business, it being then most convenient for him; but when he comes to such a degree of Riches, he makes Purchases of Land, he lends upon Securities, and converts his Substance into another sort of Wealth, and can command less ready Money than heretofore. In the same manner, Nations that begin to thrive by Trade, Coin apace at first, a large Species being necessary to carry on an extended Commerce; but when they have a Sum sufficient for this Use, they

they convert Bullion, which is the Result of Traffick, into Stock of another kind; That is, they send it to buy Effects abroad, they purchase Foreign Materials for Building Houses, and for Fitting and Rigging Ships; they buy Jewels, Furniture and Things of Ornament, and they turn their Overplus of Bullion into Plate, and have by 'em great Stocks of Foreign Commodities.

And in many of these Instances, the Species of Gold and Silver is employ'd more usefully, and turns more to National Profit, than if it were Coin'd into Money, of which, all above what is necessary for common Use, becomes hidden Treasure, as was plainly seen in the nine Millions that probably were hoarded in this Kingdom, before the War, as we have shewn, Discourse II. p. 160.

And from hence follows, That we might thrive as much by Trade, from 1657. to 1675. as we did before, tho' there was less Work at the Mint during those Years, if at the same time we had a great Stock of all kinds, either circulating abroad or remaining at home, which was the Result of Bullion, and that was convertible into Money again, upon occasion; and that we had such a Stock is apparent to any one, who con-



siders what Expences *England* has been able to make, for these last Forty Years.

We have dwelt the longer upon this Head, because most of those who think this Nation has, for some time, carried on a destructive Trade, and who from thence argue for Prohibitions, and against the Exportation of Bullion, have deriv'd their Notions from this Author, whose Book contains very many fine Observations, and might be seasonable at the time it was written, when the State was entering into pernicious Measures; but 'tis evident, the Gentleman's Zeal against *France*, and his Care of the Publick Good, did give him a more Melancholly Idea of our Affairs, than he had Reason to entertain.

'Tis strange, *Xenophon*, so long ago, should see that Exportation of Bullion, in the way of Traffick, could not be Prejudicial to a Country; and yet that we, who are a Trading Nation, should startle at it, to whom Experience should have given better Lights. His Words are,

* Part I.
Discourse
on the Re-
venues of
the State
of *Athens*,
p. 17.

* 'And whereas in other Trading Cities, Merchants are forc'd to Barter one Commodity for another, in regard their Coin is not Current abroad; we abound not only in Manufactures and Products of our own Growth, sufficient

sufficient to answer the Demands of all Foreign Traders; but in case they refus'd to Export Goods, in return for their own, they may Trade with us to Advantage, by receiving Silver in Exchange for them; which Transported to any other Market, would pass for more than they took it for at *Athens*.

This wise Statesman, long vers'd in Affairs, (being 80 Years old when this Discourse was written) not only saw that Bullion, but that Coin'd Money might be exported with Safety, when a gainful Return did arise from the Commodity purchas'd.

But here it may be objected, That *Athens* had Silver Mines, and that Bullion was the Native Product of the Place; and therefore might be Barter'd like any other Commodity, without Damage to the Publick.

To which we answer, That Nations which have a way of bringing in Bullion, to answer what is carried out, are in this Sense upon the same Foot with Countries that have Mines in their Possession, and that Bullion becomes there a Commodity like any other of its own Product.

Spain is possess'd of the chief Silver Mines, and the Exportation of it was till



till last Year, Capital by the Laws, and yet the Country continues Poor, but the Reason of this is evident.

The strict Prohibition to Export the Species, was an early Bar to Industry, and render'd their Treasure useles to the Body of the People. If it had been there allow'd a Commodity, as in other Places, of course it must have put 'em upon Methods, of turning it to more Advantage; whereas, while their Hands have been bound up by their own Laws, their Gold and Silver brought from thence by stealth, are the very Tools wherewith wiser Nations have wrought, and by which so much Wealth has been gather'd. If this mistaken Policy had not at first diverted their Thoughts from Trade, they might have set up Manufactures of their own, and then could not have been drain'd so much by the Manufactures of other Countries; Trade would have bred 'em up Seamen, and produc'd great Merchant-Fleets, with which they might have obtain'd the *East-India* Traffick; and by the help of that vast Treasure they were Masters of, they might have carried the whole Commercial World before 'em.

The *Spaniards* are a People who will, the latest, quit either a good or a bad Council;

Council; and it was near Two hundred Years before they could be convinc'd, That it was pernicious to 'em, to Fetter up their Gold and Silver by Laws and Prohibitions, but at last they have found it out; and yet a great many among us, seem desirous of taking up the Measures which even *Spain* has laid aside, as hurtful to the Publick.

This Notion, that our Bullion should be kept at home, runs through all Mr. P——n's Schemes of Trade, and it is the Ground of all his Rancour to the *East-India* Traffick.

But whoever looks carefully into the Foundation of any Trading Country's Wealth, will find it chiefly to arise from this Liberty of Exporting Gold and Silver; and it is this that has so enrich'd the *Hollanders* and *Venice*, *Leghorn* with the other Trading Towns of *Italy*.

But here it may be objected, That these Places have but small Territory, and little Native Product of their own, so that Bullion is almost the only Commodity they can deal in.

To Answer this Objection, which is indeed Material, we must look back into the Original of Trade it self.

We have laid down, Discourse I. p. 6. That Mankind subsisted by their Labour,



bour, and from what the Earth produc'd, 'till their Corruptions brought in Fraud, Avarice and Force: But when the Strong began to invade the Weaker, and when Strength was to be maintain'd by Policy, they built Cities, disciplin'd Men, and erected Dominions; and when great Numbers were thus confin'd to a narrower Space, their Necessities could not be all answer'd, by what was near 'em and at Hand, so that they were compell'd to seek for remoter Helps, and this gave Rise to what we call Trade, which, at first, was only Permutation of Commodities.

This general State of the Matter, is peradventure undeniable; to which we shall add, That a Country, in the beginning of its Establishment, may subsist for some time, without Foreign Aids at all; and tho' it increase in Numbers, its Wants, for a while, may be supply'd from abroad, by the vent of its own Product; but if it grows yet more Populous, a more extended Trade becomes necessary, than can be had from what its Soil produces.

For there is doubtless a proportion of People, to the Quantity of Acres in a Country, (respect being had to the Nature

ture of the Soil) beyond which the natural Product of the Country is not well able to maintain more.

This Proportion seems to have been in *England* about 9 Acres per Head, in *France* 10, and in *Holland* 8 Acres per Head. And to have been the State of *Holland* 150 Years ago, of *England* about the Year 1600. and of *France* about the latter end of *Richlieu's* Ministry; from which Periods of Time the Necessity of Foreign Traffick seems to have been unavoidable in the Three Nations.

And it may be farther concluded, That as either of the Three Countries become more populous, their Foreign Traffick must be proportionable in some measure to the Superabundance of People beyond that here taken notice of, Respect being had to the Conveniency and natural Advantages of each Nation for such Foreign Traffick.

And as they shall yet further advance in Numbers of People, the Necessity in some proportion must increase of Bartering, not only the Commodities of their own Country with Foreign Nations, but likewise those of one Foreign Nation with another.

There seems Reason to think, That about the Year 1688. there was a Change made



On the East-India Trade.

made in these Proportions, as the Inhabitants of each Country increas'd; and the Numbers of People at that Period of Time consider'd in *England, France and Holland*, that the Account might run thus; and that each People might be sustain'd from the Rents of Land, and from Trade and Labour, in the Proportions set down in this Scheme.

The People of *England* by a Medium — At 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ Acres per Head.
 At 6 s. 2 d. per Acre.
 At 2 l. 4 s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per Head.

The People of *France* by a Medium — At 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Acres per Head.
 At 5 s. per Acre.
 At 2 l. 7 s. 6 d. per Head.

The People of *Holland* by a Medium — At 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ Acres per Head.
 At 10 s. per Acre.
 At 1 l. 16 s. 8 d. per Head.

The Proportions here allotted are in no degree capable to sustain the Mass of Mankind together; for, upon a moderate Computation, 'tis reckon'd, That to sustain the Body of the People, one with another, in Food and Raiment, and other Conveniences consum'd or spent, reserving something by way of Increase, there is a Proportion necessary, peradventure according to the following Scheme.

From

	From Rents of Land.	From Trade and Labour.	Annual Income.
The People of <i>England</i> , by a Medium per Head	1 s. d. 2 4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 13 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 18 0
The People of <i>France</i> , by a Medium per Head	2 7 6	2 3 6	4 11 0
The People of <i>Holland</i> , by a Medium per Head	1 16 8	3 3 4	5 0 0
			Land,



Land, as the preceeding Articles show, falls short in each Country of furnishing this Expence; from whence follows, That the remainder must come from Industry and Trade.

'Tis true, as a People increases in Numbers, Meliorating of Land (a Consequence of such Increase) helps a little; but these Improvements can by no manner of Means keep pace with the natural Increase of People by Procreation, which must happen in Countries wisely govern'd, and which are not interrupted in their progressive Course by great Wars, Plagues or Famine.

Improvements upon Land help a People to more Native Product for Exportation; but all this will not suffice to maintain Countries grown very Populous, especially if they are now and then obliged to Foreign Expence; upon which Accompt the Three Nations here mention'd, have been naturally driven to increase in Trade, as they have increas'd in People.

The *Low Countries* were the first frightned in Territory, and so were the first compelled to seek for the Reliefs that are to be had from an extended Commerce.

bus.

England

England increas'd very much in Inhabitants by the Dissolution of Monasteries, and by almost a hundred Years Peace which this Kingdom enjoy'd, from the Death of *Henry VII.* to the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth*; about which time we fell into another sort of Trade than our Ancestors had follow'd, whose smaller Numbers were plentifully enough maintain'd by the Vent of their own Product.

The People of *France* had been very much diminish'd by a Civil War, that lasted 40 Years; and having a large Extent of Country thinly Peopled, in respect of Us and the *Netherlands*, Trade was not so soon necessary to that Kingdom, as to Us and *Holland*. But when the French had that Complement of Inhabitants which of course must put a Nation upon new Industry (and this might be about the Year 1667.) they began to follow those Schemes *Richlieu* had laid, and in Earnest to think of Foreign Traffick.

England (considering the Accession we have had of Strangers) is very little Dispeopled by the last War; and our present Numbers being near the same as they were about 1688. 'tis very probable that in the ensuing Age, we shall increase in the like Proportion as heretofore; and if so, an increase of Trade, proportionable to our increase of People, will be necessary to

B b

main-



maintain this Nation in the Strength and Plenty we for many Years enjoy'd. To which may be added, (our Situation and Natural Advantages consider'd) That if our Foreign Business were enlarg'd to the utmost Extent it is capable of imbracing, we should thereby acquire such Wealth and Power, as that in the course of no long time, *England*, with its proper Forces, might be able to deal with any Nation whatsoever.

The *Hollanders* have augmented in Inhabitants since 1688. and their Land being capable of little farther Improvement, of consequence their Industry will be yet more active than heretofore, to Nourish so great a People, penn'd up in a narrow compass; so that as their Numbers will daily increase, they must every Year enlarge their Trade.

As to *France*, the Accompts are very different concerning its present Number of People; if they are so decreas'd by Persecution of the Protestants, by the late Dearth of Corn, and the last War, as some affirm, there will lie no Necessity upon 'em to enlarge their Foreign Commerce, the Quantity of Acres being more than sufficient for the remaining Heads. But if as others pretend, they are not these last nine Years diminish'd above a Million, that is a Breach which Peace will soon repair; and if their Num-

Numbers happen to increase, they must likewise augment their Trade abroad.

We have given this View of these three Nations, and what seems to have been their past and present Condition, to show that there lies, in a manner, the same Necessity upon great Empires, as upon single Cities and small Dominions, to extend and enlarge their Traffick, as they increase in People.

England is capable of receiving all the Benefits that Trade can bring to any Country; we have a vast Native Product of our own to Export; the Growth of our Plantations creates us Business in all the *European* Markets; the Herring-Fishery is a new Mine of Treasure, which we can open when we please; and our Ports at Home and in *Ireland*, enable us to carry on the Beneficial Commerce, of buying Goods in one Place to sell in another, with more Safety than most Nations.

France needs only to depend upon its own Product, if the Author of *Britannia Langvens*, be right in his Accompts of that Kingdom's Exportations; for he says, 'Besides what the French receive from all the other Regions of the World, that they draw from the Northern Countries only, [p. 208.]



On the East-India Trade.

	l.
' By their Wines ———	2,500,000
' By their Salt ———	1,000,000
' By their Brandies ———	500,000
' By their Silks, Stuffs, } ' Toys and Fripperies }	4,000,000
In all ———	8,000,000

If this Account be true (which we are far from allowing to have ever been their Case) they may gather Wealth sufficient by the vent of their Manufactures and Materials of their own Growth, without entering upon those Methods of Traffick, which *England* and the *Netherlands* have follow'd, and without cultivating Plantations or aiming at an *East-India* Trade, which notwithstanding we see they have attempted: And this is an Argument, join'd with what they have been able to Export in the last War, First, That their Exportations were never so large, as this Gentleman and other Writers have suggest- ed; And Secondly, That as their People has increas'd, they have Naturally fallen into the same Measures of enlarging their Foreign Business, as are pursu'd by other Countries, under the like Circumstances; but 'tis probable, That neither the Genius of the Nation, their Site nor Ports, will allow 'em the same Success, in such an At- tempt,

On the East-India Trade.

tempt, as has attended the English and Dutch, more Skilful in Trade and in Sea Matters.

The *Hollanders*, as they have a narrow Extent of Territory, so their Native Pro- duct is very small. And, as Sir *Josiah Child* has observ'd, *Tho' they thrive so exceedingly by Trade, they will, in probability, never en- damage this Kingdom by the Growth of their Plantations; since in Fact, they have never much succeeded by Planting in America.* So that to Nourish those Multitudes, which will be still increasing in their Country, in all likelihood they will proceed to encourage their Manufactures for Foreign Exporta- tion; they will endeavour still to be the chief Carriers of the World, as they have been for many Years; and they will Strengthen themselves as much as possible in the *East-Indies*, by sending Colonies thi- ther, and by fortifying Towns and Castles upon the Sea Coast, to secure that Com- merce, which will be a perpetual Spring of Commodities, wherewith they may deal with the *European* Nations, and keep up their most gainful Trade, of buying in one Place to sell in another; by which they not only get largely by Freight and breed Sea- men, but have a full Employment for their People.

These Heads have been the longer dwelt upon, only to expose their weak and nar-

Sir J. C.
Discourse
of Trade,
p. 196.

row Notions, who would run all the Treasure, procur'd by Trade, into the Mint; from whence all above just what is necessary, will of course, and according to late Practice, be carried into the Userer's Chest, where it is Useless; whereas, if what is more than necessary for the Kingdom's use remains in Bullion, it might be a Productive Stock abroad; for as Money that Circulates at home, begets Money to private Men, so Bullion, Circulating abroad, begets Bullion to a Country.

By what has been here advanc'd, we hope to have made it apparent, That there may and does lie the same Necessity upon greater Empires, to enlarge their Foreign Business, as upon smaller States and Dominions; and that it imports *England*, as well as *Amsterdam*, *Venice*, *Leghorn* and the other Trading Cities of the World, not to Fetter up its Treasure, by Laws and Prohibitions, but rather give it a free Course, in order to get more.

And we thought it needful to endeavour, at the clearing this Point, before we come more closely to handle the *East-India* Trade, against which carrying out the Species of Gold and Silver has been always a principal Objection.

And upon the same Account, we believ'd it proper to try, whether the Ballance of Trade might not be set in a truer Light than

than Mr. P——n has put it; and if he has grossly err'd in its general Posture, he may as well be mistaken in a particular Instance; especially when he asserts, That *England*, for a long Time, did lose 400,000 *l. per An.* by the *East-India* Traffick.

We have not answer'd his strange Notions upon Trade, Paragraph by Paragraph, as thinking it not a right, and a tedious way of Arguing; but have rather chose all along to set up a different Structure, and to propose another Hypothesis, humbly submitting to the Publick, whither of us proceeds upon Grounds most fair and probable. Whatever Errors, the Writer of these Papers has or may be guilty of, he will most willingly retract upon better Information, and hopes his Opposite will deal as candidly; for in Points so dark and difficult, sounder Heads than either of us are Masters of, may very well be mistaken.

But by the way, we must here take notice, That the Treaty of Commerce here mention'd, concluded at *Ryswick*, the 20th of *September* 1697. between *France* and *Holland*, seems only to be a Preliminary, which is to be follow'd by some other Treaty; However, the XII. Article seems to give it Force, or at least to put the *Hollanders* in a good Condition, tho' nothing should be done hereafter. The Words of the Article are; *A new Tarrif shall be made on both*



Sides, according to mutual Agreement, within three Months; in the mean time, the Tarrif of the Year 1667. shall be provisionally executed; and in Case a new Tarrif be not agreed upon, within the said Term of Time, the Tarrif of the Year 1664. shall be in Force hereafter. And the English Nation needs desire no more, than that our Trade with France, in all Circumstances, should be upon the same Foot, as it was in that Year. But now 'tis time, more closely, to take in Hand our present Argument.

This Tract may perhaps be read by some, whose Curiosity may not lead 'em to peruse the foregoing Discourse; upon which score, or to help the Reader's Memory, there shall be again inserted, what (upon the best Lights we can procure) we conceive might be the general State of Trade about 1688. to make up the two Millions National Profit thence arising,

That the Plantation Trade	} l. per An.	600,000
might bring in		
That the East-India Trade	} 500,000	
might bring in		
That the European, African,	} 600,000	
and Levant Trades, by our own Product, might bring in		
Ditto, by Re-exports of Plan-	} 120,000	
tation Goods		
Carry over	—	1,820,000
		Ditto,

		l. per An.
Brought over	—	1,820,000
Ditto, by Re-exports of East-India Goods	} 180,000	
In all	—	2,000,000

And we shall here repeat what we said in the preceding Discourse; That upon a better View of the East-India Trade, than we were able to make last Year, when the Essay was written, we find that the Exports to India in Bullion and Wares, might be about 500,000 l. per An. of which the Returns might be about 1,800,000 l. whereof there might be consum'd at Home, to the Value of 1,300,000 l. when it comes into the 2d, 3d or 4th Hand, as shall be explain'd hereafter; and re-exported to Europe at least 500,000 l. which 500,000 l. may be stated as the clear Gain by that Trade; and the said 500,000 l. exported to Europe, producing 680,000 l. leaves a Gain of 180,000 l. to the Trade of Europe.

Our meaning in this Accompt, is as follows; That supposing 500,000 l. to have been Annually sent, for some time, into India, either by the Company or by Interlopers; (which perhaps was the Fact) that this prime Cost does not return quite four Fold, as we had laid down before, following the generality of Writers upon this Subject, but may bring back in Commodities, to the Value of about 1,800,000 l.



not at the *East-India* Sales, as Mr. P——n mis-understands us, but when they come into the 2d, 3d or 4th Hand.

That by a Medium of several Years, at least to the Worth of 500,000 *l. per An.* was bought up here for Foreign Consumption; the Returns of which might be 680,000 *l. per An.* which Profit of 180,000 *l.* (tho' arising truly from the *Indies*.) yet we think in a general Ballance, should be more justly plac'd to the Account of *Europe*; and that 1,300,000 *l.* might be consum'd at Home.

In this Computation, the Article most liable to exception, is the 180,000 *l.* Profit made by Re-exports of *East-India* Goods; however, it holds good, if much the greatest part was carry'd out by our own Merchants; but if the greatest part was bought up here, on the Account of Foreigners, without any return but Money or Bills, then the Article of 180,000 *l.* seems proportionably; but considering the Expence of other Foreign Commodities, which *East-India* Goods save to *England* in the main, our Computation will peradventure be found right.

But here Mr. P——n will object, If 500,000 *l. per An.* be exported, and that this brings back but 680,000 *l.* the Gain can properly be but 180,000 *l. per Annum.*

To which we answer, That in arguing upon these Matters, the whole Chain of Things, and universal Posture of Affairs, must be consider'd.

When

When we say, This Traffick is the Cause of 680,000 *l.* Profit to *England*, 'tis not pretended, That for 500,000 *l.* in Bullion carry'd out, there comes regularly back every Year from abroad 1,180,000 *l.* and that so there is added every Year 680,000 *l.* in Bullion to the Nation. However, if the same thing be done another way, and if in the Progress and whole Circuit of Trade, there has been through the means and by the help of this Commerce, either sav'd or added to the Kingdom's general Stock every Year, to the Value of 680,000 *l.* our Proposition is well founded. But to explain this, we must look of each side us, and a little backward.

Mr. Fortrey has computed our Consumption of wrought Silks from *France*, only to amount to 600,000 *l. per An.* but suppose our Imports of that Commodity from all *Europe*, do not exceed 400,000 *l. per An.* which may be nearer the Truth. Now all experienc'd Merchants agree, That *East-India* Goods have lower'd the Price at least 25 per Cent. of all Silks from *France*, *Italy* and *Holland*; and if so, there is sav'd to *England* upon that Article, *per. An.*

Mr.

Mr. Fortrey has computed our Consumption of Linnen from *France* only, at 400,000 *l. per Ann.* and we import Linnen from several other Places. But suppose our whole Import of this Commodity does not exceed 400,000 *l. per Ann.* which may likewise be a truer Estimate. Experienc'd Merchants agree, That Callicoes have lower'd the Price of Linnen throughout all *Europe* at least 25 *per Cent.* and if so, there is sav'd to *England* on that Article

As to what may be consum'd at Home, amounting to 1,300,000 *l.* in the 2d, 3d and 4th Hands, who all have their Proportion of Gains out of what was sold at the Sales for may be 500,000 *l.* We say, all reasonable Men must agree, That Commodities rising to such a Sum, did purely in their Expence upon *European* Goods of the like Use and Nature, and partly by enabling them to export more of their own Product, in the room of which these Goods are consum'd, save or get to the Nation

This

This, with Submission to better Judgments, we take to be the general State of the Case; and if so, the Account will run thus,

Bought at the Sales for Foreign Consumption	l. per An. 500,000
The Returns of which might add to the <i>European</i> Ballance	180,000
Sav'd, by lowering 25 <i>per Cent.</i> in the Price of Foreign Silks	100,000
Sav'd by lowering 25 <i>per Cent.</i> in the Price of Foreign Linens,	100,000
Sav'd in Expence of Foreign Goods of the like Nature, in the room of which <i>East-India</i> Goods are us'd	200,000
Sav'd in the Consumption of our Home Materials which these Goods supply, and whereby our Exportation is enlarg'd	100,000
In all	1,180,000
Out of which deduct for Bullion and Commodities exported	500,000
And there remains	680,000

Which Sum of 680,000 *l.* we humbly conceive the *East-India* Traffick did Yearly either add to the Stock of *England*, or hinder us from losing, which is one and the same

same Thing, when the general Ballance of Trade comes to be computed. And upon these Grounds we went in the *Essay*, publish'd last Year upon this Subject, in the Main of which the Writer finds himself confirm'd by every fresh Inquiry, tho' he has now modell'd his Scheme somewhat in a more particular manner, as he has procur'd better Information.

All the Accompts he has been able to obtain agree in the chief Article, *viz.* That there was 500,000 *l.* Value of *East-India* Commodities exported for Consumption abroad, when the Trade flourish'd. As to the other Inferences and Deductions, 'tis hop'd they will appear well founded to such as look into the Nature of Things, and contemplate the universal Posture of our Foreign Business.

The System here offer'd to the Publick is thus, That unless there had been an Addition, for some time, to the Stock of *England* of about Two Millions *per Ann.* the Nation must have sunk under the Expences of the last War: That Two Millions could not be gain'd from the Vent of our own Product: That the Growth of our Plantations could yield but such a Proportion of this Sum: That the Remainder may be reasonably concluded to have proceeded from our Traffick to the *Indies*: That the Bulk of our Exports and Imports together, which

which in one Word may be call'd Trade, amounted to about Ten Millions *per Ann.* That the National Profit from thence arising might be 20 *per Cent.* tho' the Gains of particular Merchants were not probably above 10 *per Cent.*

And 'tis hop'd we are right in the Repartition now offer'd, and in the respective Allotments, for what *England* gets from *America*, from the *East-Indies*, and from its *European* Traffick; which last Article our present Scheme makes amount to 100,000 *l.* *per Ann.* more than the former; which Alteration we made upon having better consider'd the Ballance with *France*, than formerly. And tho' Objections may be made to some Particulars of our Hypothesis, such as inquire nicely into the Matter, will peradventure find, That in the Whole we come very near the Truth (which is all we pretend to) and that there is no material Error in the substantial Part of these Computations.

And in relation to our present Subject, If for the 500,000 *l.* carry'd to the *Indies* in Goods and in Bullion, *England* partly saves abroad, and partly draws from other Countries so much; and if the Goods brought from thence save the Expence of so much in the Consumption of our own Product, and thereby enlarge our Exportation; all this may very well be accounted National Gain.

If



If, but for these Commodities, Silks and Linnen abroad would have been 25 *per Cent.* dearer: If, for near a fourth Part of the Value, Goods from the *Indies* were had, that answer'd all the use of Vanities which we should have otherwise fetch'd from the *European* Markets at the Par: If Commodities bought in *India* cheap, answer'd the Use of richer Materials here at Home, which thereby we might Export, then this Trade did by so much help every where to rectify the Ballance. And the trite Saying, *That a Penny sav'd is a Penny got*, holds full as well in National Concerns, as in Domestick Business.

We conceive the general State of the Case to be thus, That when the Trade flourish'd, there might be exported in Bullion and in Goods, to the Value of about 500,000 *l. per Ann.* That this yielded at the first Hand, and in the Sales, about a Million; That 500,000 *l. per Ann.* was bought for Foreign, and 500,000 *l.* for our Home Consumption; That out of the Million is to be deducted the Company's Expences abroad, and at home, which are at least 100,000 *l. per Ann.* There is likewise to be deducted for Losses at Sea a very large Sum, when reckon'd by a Medium of any number of Years; There is also to be deducted for Freight, and for the King's Customs: And all this together, may reduce the Gain made.

made abstractedly by the Company, to a Sum not at all invidious. That the 500,000 *l.* sold for Home Consumption, when it comes into the second Hand, *viz.* the first Buyer at the Sale, and the third and fourth Hands, who are the Retailers and Improvers, *viz.* Painters, Stainers, Printers, Embroiderers, Flourishers, Raisers and Stitchers, and so to the last Consumer, may come to about 1,300,000 *l.* which is a Profit to the Nation, tho' not strictly a National Profit.

That there was 500,000 *l. per An.* exported, one Year with another, for Foreign Consumption, when the Trade flourish'd, we have the Authority of most who have either thought or writ upon this Matter. Sir *William Petty*, [*Pol. Arith.* p. 84.] values the Salt-petre, Pepper, Callicoes, Diamonds, Drugs, and Silks, brought out of the *East-Indies*, above what was spent in *England*, at 800,000 *l. per Ann.* And the Writer of these Papers has in his Hands a general Estimate of the Trade of *England*, made the 14th *January* 1695. by a very nice Computer, now in a considerable Station in the Customs, who values the former Exports of *East-India* Goods at 500,000 *l. per Ann.* by a Medium.

Having endeavour'd to set the Ballance of Trade in a truer Light, and that to export Bullion is not so fatal as some imagine;



and having made it appear, that there lies a Necessity upon great Empires, as well as upon smaller Dominions, to extend their Traffick; and having shown how much our Commerce to the *Indies* did probably contribute to rectify this Balance, and upon the whole to put it of our Side; we shall now proceed to examin what Methods, in all likelihood, will most certainly tend to enlarge the Trade, and preserve it to this Kingdom.

Whenever the *East-India* Trade comes to be seriously consider'd, two Points perhaps will appear very evident to such as employ their Thoughts upon Matters of this Nature.

First, That it must have at Home a Constitution not defective, but sound and wisely order'd, and such a One as may invite the People to venture largely in it; for if but a few imbarck therein, and that fearfully and with a sparing Hand, other Nations, with a greater Stock, will force it to take another Course, and bring it into their Channel; and a Trade once lost is hardly, by any Skill, to be recover'd.

Secondly, Its Constitution must be such as to be able to Protect it self Abroad: For two Adventurers in a Foreign Country will deal upon very unequal Terms, where one is strong enough to compel Justice from the Natives, and where the other can only beg or buy it.

The Question therefore will be, which Form or Constitution will best answer these Ends? And which way the Trade will be most enlarg'd, and best preserv'd and protected, either by laying it open to the whole People under a Regulated Company, or by managing it with a Joint-Stock, as they have done for many Years in *England* and *Holland*?

They who are for a Regulated Company desire, That the whole People should have Liberty to deal to those Parts, only under such Rules and Restrictions as the Law shall establish.

They who are for a Joint-Stock mean, That a Company should be fix'd, with certain Powers and Immunities, exclusive of all others.

To establish a Regulated Company will be Plausible and Popular; for Men do not love to be restrain'd from the Exercise of any Power, tho' they are certain never to make use of it with any Advantage to themselves.

But there seems good Reason to fear, That a Regulated Company will not invite into the Trade so large a Sum of Money, as may be brought in by Adventurers in a Joint-Stock; That such a Form will be inconsistent with the Nature of this Traffick; That it will so weaken us in the *Indies*, as that the *Hollanders*, in a convenient Season, may



may exclude us from those Countries. These Points, fairly handled and impartially stated, will set the Matter in a true Light, and show what Measures may be taken, with most Safety, in this present Juncture.

There is no doubt to be made but if a Regulated Company were establish'd, as is propos'd, the first 3 or 4 Years very large Adventures would be made, and many Ships might perhaps be sent thither; for it is our Nature to run eagerly into new Things: But when all these Buyers resort to the Market abroad, we must expect the Price of Goods will rise in some Proportion; and where each Dealer has a private Interest of his own to follow, we have reason to believe they will bid one upon the other, as they are guided by the hopes of Profit.

From whence must follow, That when these Adventurers return with their Goods to the *European* Markets, they must be undersold by the Dutch, who shall have bought at a more easy and a better-govern'd Rate; for, in the *Indies*, the Dutch can have the Price enhanc'd upon them but by us, we by them, and by one another, so that they shall deal only at a single, and we at a double Disadvantage.

'Tis true, That the Multitude of Traders may make the *India* Goods, for some time, cheaper here at home; but our own

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Consumption being probably but about a half of what we bring from thence, and the largest National Profit arising from what we sell abroad, and not from what we consume at home, we are to put the Trade in such a Posture, that we may be able to supply our Neighbours, and to sell cheap in Foreign Markets.

If by disagreement among the Merchants, the Goods shall become dear to the first Buyer, or if Losses should happen at Sea by Storms or from an Enemy; or suppose that by a prosperous Trade, a great Glut of these Goods should be imported into *England*, in any of these Cases, if the first Adventurers should be disappointed of the Gain which they promis'd to themselves, 'twill bring a Dis-reputation upon the Traffick, and discourage others from engaging in it.

'Tis not a great Sum, employ'd two or three Years in this Trade, must preserve it to the Kingdom; nor can the Nation, in general, reap Advantage by the Fortunes which a few Merchants may raise to themselves by Skill and good Conduct.

But 'tis a large Treasure, running in this Channel, with a constant and continu'd Course, that must enrich *England*, and not a few Ventures made by Starts at Random, and in an unsettled Manner.

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If the Publick can have assurance, such as will bring Conviction at first Sight, That a Million and a half will be employ'd, as much to the Nation's Profit, by a regulated Company, as it may be under a Joint-Stock, and this for a long Tract of Time, without Interruption, the Parliament will have Reason to listen to those who desire it, because it will be pleasing to the People, that all should be upon an equal Foot, in a gainful Traffick.

Perhaps under such a Settlement of the *East-India* Trade, Men would venture largely, and our Merchants might agree Abroad, and not be discourag'd at Home by Losses: But all this is only Presumption, and no one can well affirm, That this is sure to happen; nor can a wise Government, upon such Reasonings grounded, may be, upon Interest, take any Measure, or form any Resolution.

But there are strong Objections to such an Establishment, arising from the Nature of the Trade it self; which will appear plainly to such as have consider'd the Manners of the People, and Form of Government, in those Eastern Countries.

The *Mogul* generally resides in the inmost Part of his Empire worshipp'd, and now, in his extream old Age, rarely seen by his own Subjects; much less can Strangers have Access to him, upon any Injury or Oppression.

The distant Provinces (chiefly the Sea Coasts where our Dealings lie) are rul'd with absolute Command, by *Rajahs* and *Nabobs*, who are generally his Sons or near Kinsmen; the Native Wealth of the Place is such, That the Prince need not Court Foreign Trade which must Court him; and this makes his Governours Rapacious and Insolent.

The Common People are Heathen, and retain much of the ancient Virtue and Morality; but the chief Ministers of State, and the Lieutenants of the Empire, are *Mahometan*, and season'd with all the Fraud, Pride and Avarice of the *European* Nations.

The Greatness of the Monarchy is such, and so flatter'd by the Subjects, That no Prince can make any Alliance there, upon equal Terms, nor have his Ambassadors treated with due Respect among them.

These Considerations have oblig'd all Nations that trade thither, to take in Places of Strength either by Force or Agreement; for whatever Prince deals with a Nation so remote, that War cannot be made in case of Injury, must either have Hostages from thence, or cautionary Towns put into his Hands, for the Security of his People: And such we may reckon those Forts and Castles, which we now possess in the *Indies*; nor in all likelihood, can *England* carry





carry on this Trade, without such Pledges for our Safety.

And they do not only serve for Protection against the Natives, but are the Magazines in which our Factors lay up such Commodities, as they buy at convenient Seasons, and there we have our Naval Stores, and under them we can retire in case of danger from any *European* Enemy; and in them chiefly we must place our Hopes, upon any Revolution or Civil War that may happen, and which is expected after the Death of the present Emperor.

The Pepper-Trade, now remaining to us, is preserv'd by Fortifications we have erected in the Island of *Sumatra*, and in the Queen of *Attinga's* Country on the Coast of *Malabar*, in both which Places the Dutch have likewise Forts and Colonies; 'tis true, the Pepper-Trade does in no wise answer the Expence; but if we should quit it, the Dutch will have the sole vending of that Commodity, and may put what Price they please upon it: And the Monopoly of a Thing so much in use, would be much more gainful to them, than their Herring-Fishery; for we see to what a Price they have rais'd Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Mace and Cloves, by having sole Possession of the Spice Islands.

We have Fort *St. George* and the City of *Madrassapatan*, which gives us the
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Command over One hundred thousand People, and Fort *St. David's* on the Coast of *Choromandel*; we have likewise the Island of *Bombay*, near *Surrat*; all which Places create us an Interest in the Country, and by them we raise Customs and Duties upon the *Indians*, amounting in the whole to near 40,000 *l. per An.*

The Question therefore will be, in case of a regulated Trade, Whither these Forts and Places of Strength shall be preserv'd or slighted?

If it be not thought convenient to quit such Holds, who must purchase them of the present Company, upon their Dissolution? Will a Stock be rais'd to that purpose, among the new Adventurers? And in what Proportion shall each Adventurer be rated towards it? And who shall rate and determine these Proportions? Shall the first Adventurers do it by a Pound-Rate, upon their exported Goods, and reimburse themselves for their first Cost, by a Pound-Rate, upon succeeding Traders? In what Proportion shall each Adventurer pay, towards the maintaining these Garrisons? And where shall they be rated, in *England* or in *India*?

Must each Ship have a particular Factor? Or grant that one may execute many Commissions, With what Honesty will they be perform'd in so remote a Country?

Sup-



Suppose our Ships should continue to make Depredations upon the *Indian* Coasts, and seize their Junks or Trading Vessels, as *Every* the Pirate and others have done; Can loose Adventurers, without Discipline, Power or Command, in the Country, hinder or punish such a Fact? And will not all Goods, indifferently, be seiz'd for Reparation of such an Injury?

Some will pretend to answer these Objections, by affirming these Forts and Castles may be slighted, and that according to the Model of the *Turkey* Company, this Trade may be govern'd and manag'd by a Treaty of Commerce with the *Mogul*, and by an Embassador residing at his Court.

Such a Scheme or Model might perhaps save Expence and be adviseable, if the Cases were at all parallel, if the Countries were no more distant one than the other, if the Forms and Constitutions of Government were alike in each Place; and lastly, there may be peradventure no danger for us to quit our Forts, if the *Hollanders* would be contented to slight theirs.

The *Turks*, tho' accounted a barbarous People, are not ignorant of the Strength, Power and Interest of the Christian Princes, of which the *Indians* as yet have but little Knowledge.

There are always at the Port divers Ambassadors, who in case of Injury, are ready

to mediate or represent, and to give one another mutual Help and Assistance, which can never happen at the *Mogul's* Court. The Sultan and his Ministers know that Christian Princes can League together, and in case of Wrong or Injury to their Merchants, revenge themselves by Incurfions into his Land, or by Capture of his Ships; and they are sensible the Imperial City it self is liable to be insulted from the Sea: All which the *Mogul* has no occasion to apprehend.

England and *Constantinople* are not so distant, but in Case of Oppression Complaints may be made, and Redress had in a few Months, which under three Years cannot be dispatch'd in *India*.

The *Turkey* Company deals principally but with three Cities, *Constantinople*, *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*. The *East-India* Merchants have several Factories, some in Countries whose Princes are Sovereign, but Tributary to the *Mogul*, to which the several *Raja's* are not much inferiour: And if we pretend to manage this Trade by Virtue of an Alliance to be made, we must have distinct Treaties with these Princes, and a Minister at all their Courts.

Bonds, Pacts and Agreements, would be of no Value among private Men, but for that Coercive Power which the Law has to compel both Parties to performance.

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As the Laws are wont to decide those Disputes which happen between Private Persons, so in Case of Difference War determines between Princes.

As Contracts would be vain and ineffectual where no Law could be had, so a Treaty of Commerce and Alliances would be absurd and fruitless between Princes, who, in Case of a Breach, are so distant, that they cannot make War the One upon the Other.

But admit an Alliance were made, and that there should be in the *Indians* a Disposition to observe it with all Faith and Integrity; are we yet safe? And have we not still reason to apprehend the *Hollanders*?

In the Spice-Islands where they have Forts and we have none, they do not allow us to have any Dealing. Our Places of Strength give us hitherto a Share with 'em in the Pepper-Trade; but if by any fatal Council we should be induc'd to slight those Holds, will the Dutch give us better Quarter than they have done in other Places? Will they not quite exclude us also from those Parts, and engross that Commodity wholly to themselves? Commonwealths do seldom forego any Advantage: And a Common-wealth, consisting chiefly of Merchants, may perhaps think any thing just and lawful, that will so much increase their Power and Riches.

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'Tis true, we have not reason to apprehend such Usage from Allies who have been so faithful to us; but Circumstances may alter, and wise Governments are to provide against the remotest Accidents.

If we quit our Places of Strength in *India*, is there not reason to think the *French*, *Scots*, *Danes*, *Brandenburghers*, or some other People, will take Possession of them?

If our Neighbours, the *Hollanders*, are willing to slight their Forts, both Nations will be indeed upon a more equal Foot; but if not, these, among many other Inconveniences and Dangers, may be expected.

I. When we have lost our Strength we shall probably lose our Interest, since Power is the only Thing that is look'd upon and valued in those barbarous Countries; and they who want it, must be sure to pay largely when they ask for Justice.

II. Our Merchants will be eaten out with Demurrage, when they shall have no Magazines in which they can safely store *Indian* Goods, to be bought against the arrival of their Ships.

III. There must be 10 *per Cent.* difference at least between laying up Commodities at proper Seasons, and buying them in a Hurry just when the Ships arrive.

IV. If we have no Magazines there for Naval Stores, upon any Necessity we must pur-



purchase them of the Dutch at their own Rates.

V. Upon any Civil War or Disturbance in the Country, we must be protected by the Dutch; or if any Enemy, with whom we may be at War hereafter, come upon that Coast, we must retire under their Forts: In both which Cases our Trade will be precarious.

VI. If there should be a Breach between *England* and *Holland*, which is not impossible to happen hereafter, it will be in their Power to seize our Effects, and to exclude us for ever from those Countries.

VII. If no Rupture should happen, they may notwithstanding embroil us with the *Indians*, stop our Ships, interrupt our Voyages, insult us, spoil our Markets, and seize our Goods; and in any of these Cases we can have no Redress, but to complain, by tedious Embassies, in *Holland*: All which is inconsistent with the Nature of a remote Traffick, and must make it in time be abandon'd by the Merchants.

Several Things look well in Notion, which cannot be reduc'd to Practice: We can see the Errors of any present Constitution, and either mend them or let them go on, if they be not such as may bring Dammage to the Publick: But no Human Foresight can provide against, and reach all the Mischiefs with which a new Frame may be attended. The

The well governing a People is what has most employ'd the Thoughts of Men, and yet no Politick Institution was ever perfect: Upon which Score the wisest Rulers have always desir'd to tread in the Old Path, to follow ancient Customs, and to observe those Methods in their Proceedings, which have been approv'd of by longest Experience.

England and *Holland* have hitherto managed the *East-India* Trade by way of a Joint-Stock, by which the Wealth and Strength of many are guided by the Care and Wisdom of a few, and so great a Matter is govern'd by united Councils.

This Form of Management has been for a long time successful to both Nations; and tho' perhaps defective in many Parts, it seems notwithstanding liable to fewer Objections than any Scheme that can be readily propos'd.

New Schemes of governing any Matter are always to be suspected, nor can it be safe to unhinge a settled Trade; besides, such as claim an Interest in this Traffick, under the present Constitution, have a great deal of Equity in their Case: Their late Losses deserve Pity, and did not proceed from any Fault of theirs, and without such Losses their Stock had been double its present Value; they are in Possession of a Charter (fram'd according to most of the Regu-



Regulations prescrib'd by Parliament) which they have not forfeited; by Virtue of this Grant, and as it were under Protection of a Vote of the House of Commons, some Hundreds of new Adventurers are come into the Old Stock, and a great Sum of Money was rais'd, which as yet has brought no Return of Profit: They have an undoubted Right to the Forts and Places of Strength abroad, they are in the Track of the Business: The Faults and Errors in their Conduct or Constitution may be sooner mended, than a new Model can be fram'd: And lastly, a Change in this Matter is peradventure not seasonable, unless we were in such a certain Condition of Strength, as to struggle with all the Mischiefs and Dangers it may occasion.

For if a Regulated Company should not fall readily into their Geers; if the want of Species and deadness of Credit cause but few Ships to be fitted out; if any Disputes should arise concerning the Price or Possession of the Forts abroad; if thereupon any Quarrels should happen in *India*; if, for want of Skill and Experience, there should be a general Misgovernment in this Affair, under a new Constitution, which is very probable; our Neighbours, who have a quick Eye upon our Errors, and lie ready to take all Advantages, may, during any of the foremention'd Disorders, engross

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the whole Trade, and exclude *England* from the *Indies*.

Upon the whole Matter, it does seem evident enough, That this Trade cannot be preserv'd by an Alliance and Treaty of Commerce with the *Indians*; That Forts and Places of Strength, are essential to its Preservation and Protection; That these Forts cannot be conveniently held and maintain'd, by Adventurers, under a regulated Company; That a regulated Company may set the Trade so loose at Home and so weaken it Abroad, as to endanger its utter Loss; and, That to manage it with a Joint-Stock, seems most for the Good of this Kingdom.

The principal Rivals in this fair Mistress, are the English and Dutch; 'tis true, that by our Coldness and Neglect, we have well nigh lost her Kindness, which the *Hollanders* have gain'd by Diligence and warmer Application; the *Scots*, *Danes* and *Brandenburghers*, are Suiters at a distance; and *France* stands by, Subtle, Insinuating and Liberal, ready either to Court or to Force a Favour.

All Trades have such a mutual Dependance, and are so link'd together, that the Loss of one, will of necessity bring decay upon all the rest.

The *East-India* Trade has extended and enlarg'd our Concerns and Interest abroad,

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begot new Trafficks to us; and (as we have shown) this Commerce, with the Growth of the *West-India* Plantations, have principally contributed to put of our Side the general Ballance between Us and other Countries; from whence follows, That we shall be confin'd to a very narrow compass, and must no more pretend to the Dominion of the Sea, if by ill Conduct, in these two important Branches, we should be reduc'd to deal only in our Native Product and Home Manufactures.

A Country that has no fortify'd Towns, and but few Places of Strength, will be expos'd to frequent Invasions, unless it has a great standing Army (which will be thought dangerous to Liberty) or a great Fleet at Sea; which without infinite Expence, is never to be compass'd, but by the Help of Trade. So that there seems to lie a Necessity upon us of cultivating and improving our Plantations, and of taking all right Measures whereby the *East-India* Trade may be preserv'd to *England*.

But there will arise a Question, whether this is any way to be brought about, unless it can receive more Encouragement, and unless there be given to it some better Existence in the Law.

The present Constitution of the new Charter seems too narrow, and not ample and firm enough, and not to have Powers suf-

sufficient to support the Trade upon an equal Foot with our Neighbours; nor probably will the People think it in a right Condition, till they see it well establish'd and become the Care of the whole Legislative Authority.

The *East-India* Company had flourish'd in this Kingdom upwards of thirty Years, and went on increasing from time to time; but not long since, either because their Charter had its Foundation only in the Regal Power, and for that some of their Goods were thought to hinder the Consumption of our own Manufactures; and because it was seen what they really carry'd out, by those who did not enough consider what Bullion their Effects brought hither in return; and because there might be heretofore some ill Government in their Affairs, this Trade has lately been look'd upon with an evil Eye by many People.

And few great Things, being able to bear a narrow Search, subsisting more by Fame and Credit, than by any real Strength, their Weak part was presently discern'd, till at last the validity of their Constitution and Charter came to be call'd in question; upon which the Interlopers, presuming, gave them disturbance both at Home and in *India*.

No sooner had this happen'd, but Men, suspecting their Condition, call'd in from





thence their Money; their Actions lessen'd, and by that Anger and Discouragement they found every where, the Company grew dispirited and dishearten'd, and had not the Courage to enlarge their Stock; and for want of Stock they could not send out such a number of Ships as were needful for their Trade, and necessary to form and compose such a Strength, as might enable them to return with Safety to *England*; by which the original Design of the Government, in making them a Corporation, came to be disappointed; for it was thought from the beginning, That nothing but a Joint-Stock could produce such a Joint-Force, as might be able to preserve the Traffick safe, against Pirates or Foreign Enemies, in so long a Voyage.

And after many Debates, their Business was transmitted to the Regal Authority, which was desir'd by the House of Commons, to put it under some Regulation; but by the Scope of these Debates, it did not appear to be their Sense (nor perhaps could it be done by any single Part of the Constitution) That a Charter should be granted with such ample Authorities, as may be requisite for supporting so great a Trade, and which ought to have many Liberties and Priviledges, and some sounder Existence in the Law, by being establish'd by Act of Parliament, to invite to it such
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a Sum as will be wanting to carry on this Traffick with lasting Safety and certain Advantage.

And this Traffick having turn'd a great Proportion of the Ten Millions, we were commonly esteem'd to have running in the Stock of Trade; its having receiv'd so many Shocks and Disorders both abroad and at home, must certainly have wrought very bad Effects in our whole Commerce, whose several Branches hang together, and depend so much the one upon the other; and in the Decay of this particular Branch, perhaps may be found the Reasons for part of that over-balance, which lay upon us during the late War. For to give only one Instance: If the Five last Ships that were taken had come home safe, the Goods with which they were Freight'd, according to all Estimation, would have yielded Twelve hundred thousand Pound, of which half would probably have been exported, and by consequence we should have had to pay just Six hundred thousand Pound less in other Countries; for the Commerce of Money, by Exchange, goes in a Circle; and a Debt in *Flanders* may be paid by Commodities sold in *Spain* or *Italy*. And if this Trade had proceeded in its usual Course, a great part of that Money, the War carry'd out, might still have remain'd within the Kingdom.



Now to bring what has been here said, to bear in our present Argument, this Trade being one principal Branch of our Commerce, and Importing those Commodities to *England*, that either fetch Bullion or hinder its going out; and being by several Accidents reduc'd to a low Ebb and into bad Circumstances, and the Misfortunes under which it has for some time labour'd, seeming to arise from a Defect in its Constitution; it must certainly concern the united Wisdom of the Nation, to give it a better Form, and to put it upon a more certain Foot.

And if it cannot be well and safely manag'd but by a Joint-Stock, and if this Joint-Stock cannot be sufficiently enlarg'd without some better Existence in the Law; and if, as is probable, more Powers would invite in more Stock, supposing a larger Stock requisite; it must follow, That it will be worth Consideration, whither it may not be necessary, and for the Publick Good, to establish the *East-India* Trade by Act of Parliament.

England and East-India inconsistent, &c. p. 37.

Mr. P——n says, *That the Dutch yet never sent out one seventh part so much Bullion to the East-Indies, as We.* And tho' he be mistaken here, as in most other of his Computations; 'tis however agreed, That they carry less thither, and that they have manag'd the Trade with more National

tional Advantage than *England* has hitherto done, as he says, *By Trading with their Ships, Spices and Goods in those Parts, and bringing home what thus got for the European Markets.* But let him consider, whither this does not proceed from the Nature of their Constitution.

The original Stock of the Dutch, was 600,000 *l.* Sterl. and this in 1602. and some Writers say, it was made up near Three Millions Sterling in 1608. Their Company was almost Co-æval with the State it self; 'Twas establish'd by the Government, and has been all along one of the principal Objects of its Care; Its Members are compos'd of the best and ablest Heads of the Country; They have been contented with little Dividends, suffering the growing Profit to be laid out in such Improvements, as might for ever secure the Trade to their Nation: But this they were enabled to do from the Stability and Strength of their original Constitution. Their having such a firm Existence in the Laws, encourag'd them so to enlarge their Stock and to forego immediate Gain, in prospect of future Advantage; for they were all the while improving a sure Inheritance, and not laying out Money to better a disputable or a precarious Title; Their Interest stands on as good a Basis as the Government it self: And upon this



Foundation, they have expended so many Millions to advance and perpetuate their Interest in the *Indies*.

They have sent thither large Colonies, erecting strong Castles and fortifying Towns; so that they are become there another and a very potent People, under a good Politie, with safe Harbours, and in most Places well defended against the Natives: And 'tis by the Strength of this Constitution, into which they were put from the beginning of their Dealings thither, that their Company has been enabled to carry on a Twofold Trade, *viz.* from Coast to Coast in the Country, and from *India* into *Europe*.

But if they had not been betimes form'd into a powerful Body, they could never have kept Possession of the Spice-Islands, nor of those Places where Pepper grows; upon which Commodity their Coast-Trade depends, and whereby they are enabled to carry on the Bulk of this Traffick with less Exportation of Bullion.

As the Validity of their Settlement did induce the first Adventurers to embark largely in this Business, so it has encourag'd their Successors to pursue Measures and Councils that tend to a National Advantage. But if their first Establishment had been unsound, precarious, litigated, subject to every popular Fury, and always in dan-

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ger to be overthrown, such a transient and momentary Constitution would have only look'd upon the present Gain, without consulting the common Welfare of their Country.

How comes it to pass that, since their Original Incorporation, the Dutch *East-India* Company have been contented with such small Dividends? Do not all Men agree, That this proceeds from letting the Profits of the Stock go to Improvement of their Capital in the *Indies*? 'Twould exceed all Belief if we should set down what they are reported to have laid out in fortifying *Ceylon*, and other Places. So thrifty and wise a People would never have done this without sufficient Reason, and unless they had been convinc'd it would turn at last to some Accompt. They prudently foresaw from the beginning that a Joint-Stock was necessary; upon which Accompt they incorporated into one Constitution the Seven Chambers of the Seven Provinces, which before traded apart: They found that the general Traffick would be render'd more National by a Coast-Trade, but that it could not be carry'd on without settling in the Country, without a sure Footing there, nor unless they had good Harbours, and strong Places of Abode and Retreat, by which, upon any Emergency, they might be protected from the Natives.

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To compass this they have us'd all possible Arts, and spar'd no Expence. 'Tis said, they maintain'd one Person at *Bantam* for about twenty Years, who liv'd very high and kept a fine House, pretending to be there only for Intelligence; but his true Business was (as appear'd afterwards) to watch a good Opportunity of seizing the Place, which he did by bringing down the Forces of *Battavia* to dispossess the English, to assist the young Prince, and put him in Possession of the Kingdom: And, 'tis credibly reported, they did something like this at *Macasser*.

And lately a Raja, Rebelling in *Bengall*, plunder'd the whole Country towards the Bay, and had ravag'd the English Factory at *Chuttanutte*, and taken all the Company's Effects, had he not been stop'd in his Career by the English Fortifications. The *Hollanders* took hold of this Occasion to fortify at *Hughley*, and have done it so effectually that they declare for Themselves; and are so Strong, as not to apprehend any thing the Mogul or Natives can attempt against them. *Hughley* is a great Town lying on the River *Ganges*, which, by their Fortifications, the Dutch now command. *Chuttanutte* lies on the same River nearer the Sea; but tho' it could resist a sudden Incurfion, 'tis but a small Place, and the Works

Works not of Strength sufficient to withstand any formal Siege of a great Army.

They think no Cost too much in making Regular Fortifications where-ever they can, thereby to secure themselves and their Trade: And by this Warlike Posture they are in, they have it in their Power to interrupt the Trade of other *Europeans*.

Having set forth by what Measures and Methods the *Hollanders* have probably secur'd and carry'd on their Coast-Trade, which Mr. P——n, with good Reason, says, *Has render'd the general Traffick a more National Advantage to them than per-adventure it has been to us, though* (as we have shown) *England has been a large Gainer by it*; we shall now go on to examine whither our Affairs there, are not to be put upon a Foot as profitable to this Kingdom.

If their Success has chiefly proceeded from the Validity of their Settlement; if thereupon their Stock has been enlarg'd to the utmost the Trade will bear; if a sound Constitution has encourag'd the Adventurers not so much to respect immediate Gain, as future Advantage; if it has invited and enabled them to make such Expences as may render 'em safe abroad, which has put 'em in a Capacity to carry on a Coast-Trade; why may not the Establishment of an *East-India* Company in *England*, by Act of Parliament, have the same Effect? Mr.



Mr. *Dampier* has shown, That 'tis not impracticable for us to have Spice-Islands as well as our Neighbours, and to come in with them for a Share in that rich Commodity.

But admit such a Design should meet with great Opposition and Difficulties insuperable, yet, considering the vast Extent of those Countries, and the different Degrees of Latitude they lie under, 'tis no remote Fancy at all to imagine, That we may carry on a Coast-Trade, not the same, but almost as profitable, by the single Help of our own Manufactures.

The use of our Cloth obtains very much in *Persia*; 'tis not impossible to find ways of giving it Vent in *Tartary*. Time and Industry may open us a Passage to *Japan*, which Country being of large Extent, very Wealthy and full of People, and lying far Northward, might alone, as 'tis generally believ'd, take off great Quantities of our English Manufactures. We may get larger Entrance into the Trades of *Cochin-China* and *China*, by Factories at *Tywan*, *Tonqueen*, *Amoy*, and other Places; nor would a Company, establish'd on a firm Basis, be frighted at the Expences which Experiments, Discoveries, and settling new Trades, must without doubt occasion, when they shall have a Prospect of recommending themselves to the Nation by

an Attempt so much for the Publick Good, as the Design would be of promoting the Consumption of our Woollen Manufactures in those Climates, which are not quite so warm as the other Regions of *India*. So that our Commodities may get footing in those Parts two ways, our finer Cloaths may further obtain in *Persia* and *China*, where our Scarlets and Draperies begin already to be in Request; and the worser Sort, and Stuffs (which will promote the Expence of our long and courser Wooll) may find a Market in North *Tartary*, *Japan*, and other Countries.

'Tis very evident to such as have consider'd of this Matter, That our Woollen Manufacture is capable of great Improvement; but to make it a more National Profit, the way must certainly be to promote a larger Exportation, and a greater Consumption of it, in Foreign Countries.

The Value of the Wooll yearly shorn in *England*, viz. about 12 Millions of Fleeces, by a Medium at 3 s. 4 d. per Fleece, or 1 l. 8 s. per Tod, at 12 d. per Pound, and above eight Fleeces to the Tod, may probably be about

2,000,000
What the Worth of this Wooll may be when Manufactur'd is hardly capable of any Computation, because the Commodities in-



to which it is wrought are of such different Value.

But suppose our Yearly Exports (not including Gold and Silver) to be about 3,000,000 *l.* there are Reasons to think that our Woollen Manufactures are above two thirds of this Exportation, and consequently amount to

Now suppose, by a general Medium, that the Material is improv'd, one with another, fourfold in the Workmanship; the Value of the Woollen Manufacture made here, then amounts to

Deduct for Exportation
Consum'd then at Home

But if partly by the use of a cheaper Material here at Home, and partly by enlarging our Stock of Sheep, (which a quick Market for Wooll would certainly occasion) we could be enabled to Export every Year, yet greater Quantities of our Woollen Manufactures, more than now to all Parts; (besides paying for the Materials consum'd at Home in their stead) such Exports would bring a yearly Superlucration to the Kingdom, of a mighty Sum.

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Tho' Wooll be the general Concern of England, there is nothing in which some Men are more mistaken. And let Mr. P--z say what he pleases, we think our selves able to maintain, That the Publick of this Country, can by no manner of means be understood to get so much by what of this Commodity is consum'd in the Nation, as by what is carry'd to Foreign Markets. And that our Industry would be better employ'd in finding out Ways by which its Expence Abroad may be increas'd, than in contriving, by Prohibitions and unnatural Methods, to force a Trade at Home.

That Wooll should bear a good Price, is most certainly the Interest of the Landed Man; but then this must come in some natural Course; for suppose that by a Rot of Sheep, its Value should be advanc'd to two Shillings *per* Pound, would this make for the Interest of Land? Most certainly not; no more than to have Wheat brought from thirty Shillings to three Pound *per* Quarter, by Blights or an ill Season. But it would be well for Land here, if a Dearth abroad should occasion such a Call for our Grain, as to bring it to that Price. In the same manner, whatever Value Foreign Consumption puts upon the Woollen Manufacture, is Natural and Good for England. But in relation to our own Expence, without doubt it must be the Interest of this



this Kingdom, to have Wooll bear such a moderate Price, as may not discourage the Working it; and that being wrought up, it may come so cheap to Foreign Markets, that other Countries may not be able to under-sell us, by which its future Vent must be lessen'd.

England and East India inconsistent, &c. p. 21.

But here Mr. P—n will urge, That our Woollen Goods are already a Drug beyond Sea. To which may be answer'd, That very often in Germany, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey and in the West-Indies, our Woollen Manufactures are scarce, and therefore sold very dear, and that much more of 'em would go off, if they were upon the Place, and that yet greater Quantities of them might be vend'd, if we could afford them cheaper.

Perhaps indeed the Markets abroad are sufficiently supply'd with the finer sort of Draperies; but 'tis the Interest of the Landed Man, that this Manufacture should be put upon such a Foot, as that more Wooll may be expended. And that such a sort of Cloth may be vend'd, as may consume our own as well as Spanish Wooll: 'Tis true, we get by the Manufacture of this Commodity; but something that will promote the Consumption of our own Material, would be most important to us. An account of the fine Drapery may not be unacceptable to the Reader, which we have procur'd from a very skilful Hand, and is as follows: From

From 25th December 1687. to the 25th December 1688. Pieces.

Exported Spanish Cloaths from the Out-Ports } 614
From the Port of London — 8420

9034

Consum'd in England, about — 10,000

Total of fine Cloth made in England } 19,034

'Tis true, the Manufactures lately set up of Crapes, Serges, Stuffs, &c. have consum'd great Quantities of the long Wooll: But there may arise a Question, Whither it would not be a more National Profit, that this Wooll should be converted to other Uses, and made into courser Cloaths and Stuffs for the Markets abroad, and at such a Price as might discourage the Manufacture in other Places. And this way of employing the Wooll, would give it a Price, as well Profitable to the Kingdom in general, as to the Landed Interest; it being a most undeniable Truth, That a Rise in its Value of a Penny per Pound, proceeding from Foreign Expence, does more enrich the Body of the Nation, than a Rise of three Pence per Pound, occasion'd only by our own Consumption.

'Tis so rich and a noble Material and capable of such Improvement, as that it may

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be turn'd a hundred ways to increase the Wealth and Trade of *England*.

And considering the vast extent of Territory in those Countries, their different Climates, their Riches, and how well many of those Regions are Peopled; we cannot help being of Opinion, That by a good Settlement of the Trade, by Industry and good Conduct, there may be procur'd a far greater Consumption of our Woollen Goods, every Year, in the Nations beyond the Line.

And if this could be brought about, we might carry on our Trade there, with as much National Advantage as the *Hollanders* have done; at least by such a Course of Proceeding, we shall need to export less Bullion. And considering the vast Expence they are at in keeping their Possession of the Spice Islands, peradventure it may be affirm'd, That the *East-India* Trade may be render'd more profitable to *England*, than it has ever been to *Holland*.

'Tis true, a great Part of their Importations into *Europe* are, in a manner, Returns of the Country's Growth, viz. Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves and Nutmegs, but some of these Spices are a Burthen upon their intire Dealings there; and the Expences of both Sides ballanc'd, if we could carry thither our own Manufactures, our

Gain

Gain in the whole would perhaps be found Superior.

Not only our Draperies, Course and Fine, may obtain in those Regions, but our other Manufactures and Commodities may be there introduc'd, with which we may purchase the Goods of one Country for the Use of another, and so carry on a Coast-Traffick; till, at last in the Circuit of Trade, a large part of the Goods brought from thence shall become the return of our own Exportations.

But this is not to be compass'd without sufficient Powers, and but by great Application and Industry, in time, and by degrees: So great a National Benefit must be the result of Patience, and of Councils that look forward a great way, and which more regard future Good than the present Advantage.

If the *East-India* Trade can be put upon such a Foot, all its Adversaries will be silenc'd, the Clamours of exporting Bullion will be at an end, and who would complain that *Persia* or *Indian* Silks were worn here, if they were the Return of English Cloth; and when the Value of Five Pound sent thither, brings back what yields to some Persons or other Eighteen Pound in *England*?

But no wise Man can imagin, That an Undertaking of this vast Extent and Com-



pass, where the Expence will be sure and the Profit doubtful, can be proceeded upon by a Company who shall have an uncertain Foundation, and a precarious Character.

Can it be worth the while of any Society of Merchants to attempt Discoveries, to endeavour the settling of new Trades with distant Nations, and to alter the whole Course of their Affairs for the Publick Good, when they are either every Year in danger of being ruin'd themselves, or liable at every turn to have their whole Projections defeated?

A Company may send out Manufactures and Commodities, but an Interloper may go with ready Bullion and spoil their Markets. They may, at their great Expence, lay the Foundations of some Trade, which may turn to the Accompt of *England* twenty Years after; but long before they themselves can reap any Fruits of their Labour and Expence, their Charter may be question'd, and perhaps destroy'd.

What Encouragement can they have to enlarge their Trade, so as to imbrace a more ample Traffick, when every Season a Fleet of Interlopers may be fitted out, who shall bring home such a Glut of Goods as will depreciate all their Commodities, and consequently reduce their Actions to peradventure a half in Value.

How

How can a Society of Merchants have large Minds, and expatiate their Thoughts for great and publick Undertakings, whose Constitution is subject to such frequent Changes, and who every Year run the Risk of their Capital?

The *East-India* Company have expended vast Sums in preserving the Pepper-Trade on all Parts of *Sumatra*, and on the *Mallabar* Coast, at the Factories and Settlements of *Carwar*, *Callicut*, *Tellicherry*, *Anjenge* and *Retorah*, the first and fourth of which Places are fortify'd; and they have laid out upwards of 100000*l.* in Attempts of settling Factories and new Trades with several Nations of that Country: And particularly, about the Year 167½. they lost 50,000*l.* in their Attempt of making a Settlement at *Japan*, which if it had succeeded, must have prov'd an unspeakable Advantage to this Kingdom; and it had been compass'd, but that our Neighbours represented King *Charles II.* to be marry'd to a *Portuguze*, a Nation which they hate; but the Prejudice thereby, and through other Misrepresentations conceiv'd, may be in time remov'd. Such Disappointments and Losses they must frequently meet with, and be able to bear, who consult future Benefit, and to render a Trade Nationally good. They must plant one Year, that, from which peradventure, they must expect no Fruit, till

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next

next Age. They must lay Designs to ripen hereafter; and often sow, with a liberal Hand, what Posterity must reap; which any Society will be encourag'd to do, that is upon a solid Foundation.

That Immortality which Humane Kind has in View, has been the Cause of all the great and noble Things that have been at any time perform'd: Before Reveal'd Religion, we plac'd the Hopes of it in the Fame to be acquir'd by Virtuous Actions; but since we have been enlighten'd better, the Prospect of another World has been the principal Incitement to all the Good that remains among us. This Hope runs through all our Deeds and Designments whatsoever. Laws are contriv'd, and Politick Institutions are erected, thro' an Opinion, that by Skill at first, and afterwards by a long Series of Wisdom, Governments may be render'd Immortal. We build strong Houses in Prospect, that at worst, the time of Death is uncertain, and that Life may be extended to a great length. Large Estates and Titles are acquir'd with much Labour and Hazard in View, that our Posterity may continue on the Earth many Ages. But if the Life of Man were as short as that of some Animals, 'tis a Question (notwithstanding Humane Reason) whether we should have any more Laws, Politie, Arts, Designs or Contrivance, than Flies or Summer Insects.

What

What has been here said, holds generally in all Human Affairs, and by Consequence in our present Argument: So that no Society of Trading Men can bring about any great Thing for the Common Good, who think themselves but in a precarious and momentary Possession of their Rights and Priviledges.

And 'tis upon these Grounds and Principles, that we offer to Publick Consideration, Whither it may not be adviseable, and for the Interest of *England*, to settle the *East-India* Trade by the Legislative Authority, for such a Term of Time, and upon such Conditions, as shall be thought fair, equal and reasonable, by the united Wisdom of the Nation.

We are far from presuming to lay down any Scheme about this Matter; and the Aim of all these Papers being only to give some little Hints for abler Heads to work upon, we shall go no further than to say, That for a good Establishment, for a certain term of Time, it may turn to their Accompt who are concern'd in this Trade, to advance upon such a Fond as shall be agreed upon, a considerable Sum of Money, either towards clearing some Branch of the King's Revenue, in order to come at a present Fond for the Civil List, or to pay off some of the Debts that press hardest on the Government.

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The Publick Engagements consider'd, and the Impositions that lie already upon most Commodities both of Foreign Growth and of our Home Product examin'd, it will be very difficult to find out Materials which may be the proper Object of a new Imposition. And such as maturely weigh the present Circumstances of this Kingdom will peradventure be of Opinion, That to Establish this Trade by Authority of Parliament, in consideration of a Loan to be made, may deserve to be thought on among the other *Ways and Means of raising Money*; for upon strict Inquiry it will perhaps be found, That hardly any other Method of bringing in a ready Sum can be propos'd, which will lie with so little Weight upon the whole Body of the People: So that by taking this Course, in all Probability, two very Important Points will be gain'd at one and the same time; that is, The Publick will be supply'd with a large Sum in an easy manner, and one of the principal Branches of our Foreign Traffick will thereby be secur'd to *England*.

A Company thus protected and countenanc'd by the State, would have more Credit at Home, make a better Figure Abroad, and be abler to contend with the Wealth, Power and Subtilty of our Neighbours.

When their Affairs shall be thus made to have some Consistency, when they shall have

have a Being in the State, and a firm Existence in the Laws, they will be encourag'd to make such Settlements, and constitute such new Factories, as may promote and enlarge the Consumption of our English Product: And they may be enabled upon such a Bottom, so to strengthen Themselves in *India*, as not to stand in Fear hereafter of any Attempts, either from the Natives, or their *European Rivals*.

They would be in a Capacity to deal with the Difficulties that may arise from the *Scotch* Establishment, which seems now but a small Scratch upon the Body of our Trade, but, if not kept under by early Remedies, may grow to a dangerous Ulcer.

And, under this kind of Constitution, they would be able to maintain in *India* such a Naval Force, as would certainly suppress those Pyratial Designs, either of our own People, or of other Nations, which embroil us with the Princes of that Country, and if not prevented, must in a short time put an end to our whole Traffick thither.

They would have Power enough, either by fair Terms to remove, or by Force of Arms to destroy any Settlement of Pyrates, such as is now forming at the N.E. end of *Madagascar*, upon or near *St. Marie's* Island; where, 'tis said, a considerable Number of Freebooters are Nesting themselves, and grow so formidable, as that, in Process of time,



time, they may give great Disturbance both to our *East* and *West-India* Trades.

When a Company has the Strength and Wealth such an Establishment would beget, they might exert themselves boldly in high Attempts, for the Honour and future Advantage of their Country; They may launch into profitable Designs, and not fear the Expence of fresh Discoveries, or the unsuccessful Event of any new Settlement; They will be able to bear that Loss with which, repeated Endeavours of introducing the Wear and Fashion of our Manufactures in those Nations, must in the beginning be attended. That which has discourag'd Adventurers upon a narrow Bottom, ill supported and continually attack'd, will not frighten those who shall stand upon a firmer Basis: For as Men who suspect they hold their Estates by a slight Tenure, fell Woods, break Ground up, and try to make the most, tho' the Heart of the Land be eaten out; whereas they who think they have a surer and longer Title, commit no Waste, but study Improvements; so it fares with Bodies of Men engag'd in Trade, who will make all the present Profit they can, if they expect hourly to be supplanted; whereas they consult future Advantage when their Trade is become in the Nature of an Estate for Term of Years, which they can transfer at a higher Value and Price, the more it thrives,

thrives, and the more it is in the way of Improving.

Nor is it at all reasonable to apprehend, That a Constitution of this kind will be too Strong, too Independant, and consequently liable to Abuses; for suppose a Bargain made and an Establishment granted for so many Years, upon a valuable Consideration, the Supream Power can never be so bound up, but that it may justly exert it self, whenever Corruptions, Misgovernment, neglect of National Interest, or any other Abuses of their Priviledges and Settlement, shall call upon the Legislative Authority for Correction.

On the contrary, a Company so settled, will always stand in need of Protection and Countenance, and consequently must do things Popular, National, and for the Publick Good, in order to recommend themselves to the Favour of that Power from whence their Establishment shall be deriv'd; for if they fall into wrong Measures, they will be the perpetual Object of Clamour and Envy; but if they order their Affairs so as to carry out little Bullion, and to make a large part of their Imports hither, in process of time, the Returns of our own Manufactures, theirs will become the Favourite Traffick of the Kingdom.

'Tis hop'd we have sufficiently shown, That the Exportation of Bullion is not so dan-



dangerous to a Country as it has been vulgarly thought; but we must own, That a Trade carry'd on by Permutation of Commodities, is more advantageous; for it gives Employment to the People at home, and at the same time, may bring an Overplus of Gain: But such a National Good must be the result of long Industry, and must be effected by leisurely Steps, and is rather to be constantly recommended by the State, than inforc'd by any Law; for if our Merchants are ty'd up to one only Exportation, while other Countries are left Free, our Neighbours and Rivals may easily supplant us in all the *Indian* Markets.

But upon mature Consideration of our own Product and Manufactures, and the Situation, Manners and way of Living among those People, as far as can be collected by Books and from Inquiry; we are come to entertain a firm Opinion, That *England* may carry on this Trade with as much National Advantage, as it has been manag'd by the *Hollanders*; but then both Countries must be upon an equal Foot in their Constitution.

To form a right Scheme of this whole Matter, will not be difficult, because there are several Charters both abroad and at home, which (with some Amendments adapted to our Laws and Government) may be good Models to go by; to which may be added, That

That for the general Satisfaction of the People, in a new Establishment, great Care should be taken to prevent Frauds in the Company's Sales, or any Corruption or Misgovernment among themselves; and, That they should be enjoyn'd to divide nothing but clear Profit, which will preserve their Capital, increase their Credit, and make their Creditors secure.

That they should be empower'd to raise Money by a general Court among themselves, to make up their Capital, in case of great Losses; by which Method the Trade will never be at a stand for want of Materials.

That to put them upon a more equal Foot with the *Scotch* Company, all their exported Commodities should go out Custom-free; and that severe Laws should be made to prevent the bringing in *Scotch East-India* Goods by the North.

Some other Regulations might be here propos'd, but this Discourse is already swell'd much beyond our first Intentions.

There were antiently great Honours paid to such as had been the Inventors or Restorers of any useful Arts, and who could contribute this way to the Good of Humane kind; and without doubt, whoever could propose Means, and by his Application and Industry bring it about, that a greater Quantity of our *English* Draperies might be consum'd in these remote Nations, would deserve



serve considerable Praise, as the Author of an universal Benefit to his Country.

The Writer of these Papers, is very far from the Vanity of thinking himself qualify'd for so great a Work; but he may with Modesty say, he has made all these Things very much his Study; and he who gives into any Matter, with true Zeal and a hearty Affection, to do his Country Service, will proceed very far in it, tho' his natural and acquir'd Abilities do not equal those of other Men. And with this Thought he has lately offer'd himself to go for *India*.

He desires to try, whither he can reduce to Practice the Rules he has laid down, and to view with his own Eyes, upon the Spot, the Institutions, Manners, different Climates, and form of Living in those distant Parts, and from such a Prospect, perhaps he may be enabled to propose right and certain Methods to secure this Trade, and to render it as Grateful and Popular, as it has been Beneficial to *England*; the Hopes of bringing which about, have made him think of this (at his time of day) hazardous Undertaking; and he is willing to venture his Life upon an Attempt so much for the publick Good.

'Tis not to build a Fortune, at the Expence of his Employers, that he proposes this long Voyage; his Labour of some Years for the Publick, without any thought
of

of Recompence; his unspotted Reputation and clean Hands, in former Employments, will sufficiently convince the better Sort, to whom his Writings are directed, That his Courage and Education have put him above such a mean Design; he who has so boldly attack'd high Vices, will hardly give a Hold upon himself: Besides, Time and Books have, he thinks, mortify'd in him all immoderate Appetites, but that after Fame, which he covets to purchase, by aiming at something for his Country's Profit.

If his Endeavours can any way contribute towards removing the Clamours that lie upon this Traffick; If he can lay a Scheme of introducing a full Vent of English Drapery, by degrees, in *Persia*, *China* and *Japan*, whereby this Trade will be upon a good Foot, and have a right National turn, he shall think the Honour to be gain'd by compassing these Designs, will render him more Happy, than if he should acquire all that Wealth others propose to themselves by such a Venture.

The little Cavillers about Town will peradventure object, That he promotes the new Constitution here propos'd, to recommend himself, and to make his Court; but 'tis notorious to very many, that if he could subject his Mind to base Flattery and servile Arts, he need not go so far to seek Employment; and the free Spirit which runs thro' all
his

his Writings, is a sufficient Proof, That he has all along consulted more the publick Good, than his own private Interest.

He thought he was oblig'd to take notice of these Things, because 'tis commonly known, he has offer'd to go for *India*; but 'tis with an honest Design, and upon Principles that respect the Kingdom's Service. And whoever know themselves to be Uncorrupt, Active, and to have a publick Spirit, with any useful Talents, ought never to be asham'd of pretending to Business. On the contrary, both here and elsewhere, they ought openly to brigue for Employments of Trust; they have the Examples of the best Men in all Ages, to justify this Proceeding; and lazy Virtue is almost as detrimental to the Publick, as active Vice: So that it seems a Duty incumbent upon such as love their Country, to make Voluntary Tender of their Service, as often as they see Occasion, in order to rescue the Common-wealth from weak and polluted Hands.

And now, in a few Words, to recapitulate the whole Matter of this Discourse; We have look'd into the Ballance of Trade, and examin'd the former Notions relating to it, because these Opinions may have an Influence in our present Councils; We have humbly submitted our Thoughts to the Publick, upon that nice Subject; We have

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endeavour'd to show what Proportion, the Branch now handled, may bear in the general Bulk of our Foreign Business; We have set forth some of the Methods us'd by the Dutch, in managing their *East-India* Trade, and what Measures may probably contribute to secure our Interest there, and render our Dealings thither a more National Benefit to this Kingdom.

Since the Printing of the first part of this Discourse, we have seen a Memorial deliver'd by the Council of Trade; by which we find the most material Computations of this Tract confirm'd. This Memorial says, *From East-India our Importations from 70 to 88 have amounted upon the Sales here, to about a Million per An. as we are inform'd; of which we suppose about one half is usually Re-exported.*

The Writer has in this, and in the former Discourses, more particularly examin'd Mr. P——n's Notions concerning Trade, not out of any Resentment; not thinking himself at all touch'd by the Reflections in his Answer, nor out of any Prejudice to the Gentleman; for all that have the Honour to know him, must grant he is a Man of Worth, a good Patriot, and that he preserv'd his Integrity in the worst of Times: But in a general Search after Truth, Errors (whatever the Person be who commits 'em) must be detected; and perhaps it has been here made out, That he is not Infallible.

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434

On the East-India Trade.

Since the Printing of the first part of this Discourse, we have likewise seen a *Calculation* of the Naval Trade of *England*, Anno 1688. and the Profit then arising thereby; done by Mr. *Gregory King*, with the Judgment and Accuracy that always attend his Performances; the Sight of which, has made the Writer of these Papers, entertain Thoughts of handling, some time or other, more at large, several Points concerning the Ballance of Trade; but at present he is weary, and fears the Reader is in the same Condition. God be thanked his tedious Work is at an End, which peradventure would have been more Perfect, if he had receiv'd those publick Helps, which might have been reasonably expected, in such an Undertaking.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 33. line 9. read about, p. 51. l. 23. r. of two Millions,
p. 70. l. 6. r. After-game, p. 126. l. 4. r. shall, p. 283.
l. 21. r. obsolete.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE First Part of these Discourses, which Treat of the following Points, viz. I. Of the Use of Political Arithmetick, &c. II. On Credit, &c. III. On the King's Revenues. IV. On Farming the Revenues. V. On the Publick Debts, &c. By the same Author.

A New Voyage round the World, describing particularly, The Isthmus of America, several Coasts and Islands in the West-Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, &c. their Soil, Religion, &c. By W. Dampier. The Third Edition.

Both Printed for James Knapton, 1693.

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
East-India-Trade.

BY THE
AUTHOR
OF

The Essay on Ways and Means.

Publis'd last Year, and now Reprinted.

London, Printed for J. K.

To the Most Honourable

J O H N,

L^d. Marquis of *Normanby*, &c.

A N

E S S A Y

O N T H E

East-India Trade.

My LORD,

YOUR Lordship was pleas'd,
the other Day, to intimate,
That You would willingly
know my Opinion, in general, of the
East-India Trade; Whether it is Hurt-
ful





An Essay upon

ful, or Beneficial to this Nation? And my Thoughts, concerning the Bill, for Prohibiting the Wearing all *East-India* and *Persia* Wrought Silks, Bengals, and Dy'd, Printed, or Stain'd Callicoos. What has occur'd to my Observation in these Two Points, I shall Offer with great Sincerity, having no Interest, or Engagement, to sway me, in the Questions, one way or other.

But, before I begin, I must beg leave to say, I am very glad to see Your Lordship bend Your Excellent Wit, and right Understanding, to Inquiries of this Nature.

For nothing can be more Important to a Noble Man, than a true Knowledge of the Manufactures, Trade, Wealth, and Strength of his Country: Nor can Your Eloquence be any way more Usefully employ'd, than in Discourfing Skillfully upon this Subject, in that Great Assembly of which You are so much an Ornament.

Richlieu has left behind Him an Evidence how much He made these Matters His Care and Study: Which, however Neglected by the Ministers of the present Age,

the East-India Trade.

5

Age, are notwithstanding the only Foundation of a Solid and Lasting Greatness.

For who can give a Prince sound Advice, and under Him steer the People rightly and well, either in Peace or in War, that is Ignorant of the Posture, Condition, and Interest of the Country where he lives? Is there any thing in the World, that should be more thought a Matter of State than Trade, especially in an Island? And should not that which is the Common Concern of All, be the Principal Care of such as govern?

Can a Nation be safe without Strength? And is Power to be compass'd and secur'd but by Riches? And can a Country become Rich any way, but by the Help of a well-managed and extended Traffick?

What has enabled *England* to support this Expensive War so long, but the great Wealth which for Thirty Years, has been flowing into us from Our Commerce Abroad?

The Soil of no Country is Rich enough to attain a great Mass of Wealth, meerly by the Exchange and Exportation of its Own Natural Product.



An Essay upon

The Staple Commodities that *England* Exports, are the Woollen Manufactures, Tin, Lead, Hides, and sometimes Corn.

But considering our Luxury, and our great Expence of Foreign Wares here at Home, we could not have grown Rich without other Dealings in the World.

For set our Own Exported Product in the Ballance with the Imported Product from *France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany* and the two *Northern Kingdoms*; at the Foot of the Accompt it will be found, that, but a Fourth part of Our Riches, arifes from the vent of Our Own Commodities.

Whoever looks Strictly and Nicely into Our Affairs, will find, That the Wealth *England* had once, did arise chiefly from Two Articles: First, Our Plantation Trade. Secondly, Our *East-India* Traffick.

The Plantation Trade gives Employment to many Thousand Artificers here at home, and takes off a great quantity of our Inferiour Manufactures. The Returns of all which are made in Tobacco,

the East-India Trade.

bacco, Cotton, Ginger, Sugars, Indico, &c. by which we were not only supply'd for our Own Consumption, but we had formerly wherewithal to send to *France, Flanders, Hamborough, the East-Country* and *Holland*, for 500,000*l.* per *Annum*, besides what we Ship'd for *Spain* and the *Sireights*, &c.

Since we were Supplanted in the Spice-Trade by the Dutch, and since great part of the Pepper-Trade is gone by the Loss of *Bantam*, our chief Investments or Importations from the *East-Indies*, have been in Calicoes, Wrought Silks, Drugs, Salt-Petre, Raw Silks, Cottons, and Cotton-Yarn, Goats Wooll, or *Carmania* Wooll, and other Products of those Countries; part of which Commodities are for our own Use, but a much greater part in Times of Peace were brought up here for the Consumption of *France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Italy*, and our Plantations.

So that by the Means of our *East* and *West-India* Trade, though we might lose by our Dealings to some Parts, yet we were Gainers by the whole, and in the General Ballance.



An Essay upon

The Woollen Manufacture, Tin, Lead, &c. are indeed the Basis of all our Traffick, and the first Spring of our Dealings Abroad; but if by Carelessness or false Measures, we should come to be confin'd only to deal in our own Product, we must think no longer to preferre the Dominion of the Sea.

As Bread is call'd the Staff of Life, so the Woollen Manufacture is truly the principal Nourishment of our Body-Politick. And as a Man might possibly live only upon Bread, yet his Life would be ill Sustain'd, Feeble and Unpleasant; so though *England* could probably subsist barely upon the Exportation of its own Product, yet to enjoy a more florid Health, to be Rich, Powerful and Strong, we must have a more extended Traffick than our Native Commodities can afford us.

The Woollen Manufacture is undoubtedly by Laws, and all possible Care, to be Encouraged; but 'tis its Exportation Abroad, and not the Consumption of it at Home, that must bring Profit to the Kingdom.

Some of our Gentry have been for many Years of Opinion, That the intire Wel-

the East-India Trade.

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Welfare of *England* depends upon the high Price of Wooll, as thinking thereby to advance their Rents; but this proceeds from the narrow Mind, and short View of such who have all along, more regarded the Private Interest of Land, than the Concerns of Trade, which are full as Important, and without which, Land will soon be of little Value.

Men in their Private Capacities may be allow'd to prefer their single Profit, but should consult only the General Good in Publick Councils.

In a Trading Nation, the Bent of all the Laws should tend to the Encouragement of Commerce, and all Measures should be there taken, with a due regard to its Interest and Advancement.

Instead of this, in many Particulars, our former Laws bring Incumbrances and Difficulties to it, and some seem Calculated for its utter Ruin; so little has it been of late Years the Common Care.

And yet 'twill be found at last, when all Things come to be rightly consider'd, that no Plenty at Home, Victory Abroad,
Af-



An Essay upon

Affection of the People, nor no Conduct, or Wisdom, in other Things, can give the Publick effectual Help, till we can mend the Condition and Posture of Trade.

In our Great Assemblies, it has never been sufficiently thought a Matter of State, but managed rather as a Convenience, or an accidental Ornament, than the chief Strength and Support of the Kingdom.

As it has never been greatly the Care of our Ministers of State, so it has not been enough the Study of our Nobility and Gentry, who, (give me leave to say) for want of a right Knowledge in the General Notions of it, have been frequently imposed upon by particular Merchants and other Interested Persons, to enact Laws so much to the Prejudice of Trade in General.

My Lord, I shall be very free to communicate the few Lights I have gather'd from Observation, and Inquiry into these Matters, and shall be very glad if my Endeavours can give Your Lordship any Hints, which I am certain will be improv'd by your deep Judgment and Understanding.

First,

the East-India Trade.

II

First, I am clearly convinc'd in General, that the *East-India* Trade is greatly Beneficial to *England*.

Secondly, I am of Opinion, (with Submission to better Judgments) That the Bill now propos'd, to prohibit the wearing *East-India* and *Persia* Wrought Silks, Bengals, &c. will be absolutely destructive to the Trade, and very prejudicial to the Kingdom. Which two Points shall be impartially handled in the Sequel of this Discourse.

As to the *East-India* Trade in General; if all *Europe* by common Consent, would agree to have no further Dealings to those Parts, this side of the World, by such a Resolution, would certainly save a great and continual Expence of Treasure.

For *Europe* draws from thence nothing of solid Use; Materials to supply Luxury, and only perishable Commodities, and sends thither Gold and Silver, which is there bury'd and never returns.

I have good Grounds to think, That the Silver and Gold brought from *America*, the Gold Dust brought from *Africa*,
and



An Essay upon

and the Silver produc'd from the *European* Mines, in the Two Hundred Years last past, has not amounted to less, in the whole, than Eight Hundred Millions.

There is no appearance of this immense Sum in any Country of *Europe*. 'Tis true indeed, there is Yearly a great Consumption of these Metals, by the wear of Gold and Silver Coin, waste in Coinage, waste in working Plate, The wear of wrought Plate, The wear of things made of Gold and Silver Thread, and Wire (a high Article), Leaf and Shell Gold and Silver, Liquid Gold and Silver. There is also much loss in Casualties by Sea, Fires, and Inundations, and by being privately bury'd and never found.

But, having computed what may be allow'd for the Yearly Consumption of Gold and Silver, on all the foregoing Heads, and what quantity of those Metals may be now remaining in *Europe*, I cannot find what is become of the Eight Hundred Millions dug out of the Earth, unless a Hundred and Fifty Millions of it be carry'd away and Sunk in the *East-Indies*.

From

the East-India Trade.

13

From whence I have Reason to conclude, That the *European* Nations in General, had been Richer by a full Third, than they now are, if that Trade had never been discover'd and undertaken.

But since *Europe* has tasted of this Luxury, since the Custom of a Hundred Years, has made their Spices necessary to the Constitutions of all degrees of People, since their Silks are pleasing every where to the better sort, and since their Callicoes are a useful wear at home, and in our own Plantations, and for the *Spaniards* in *America*, it can never be adviseable for *England* to quit this Trade, and leave it to any other Nation.

The Burthen which this Commerce lays upon the Collective Body of *Europe*, does bear hard only upon those Countries which Consume the *Indian* Commodities, without having any Share of the Traffick, and therefore *France* did about Twelve Years ago very wisely prohibit the wearing Callicoes, that were not of their own Importation.

The *English* and *Dutch*, which together are not a Tenth part of *Europe*, enjoy this Traffick almost without any Rivalship;



Rivalship; and if it be a Burthen, it lies not upon the one, but on the other Nine parts, so that if the *East-India* Trade carry out the Gold and Silver from this side of the World, 'tis truly, and properly, at the Cost, and Expence, of *France, Germany, Spain,* and the Northern Kingdoms, who have little or no Opportunities of Trading thither.

To imagine all *Europe* will come to an Agreement of Dealing no more to those Parts, is an absurd and wild Notion; Since therefore the Western Nations are contented to be deceiv'd, and for a Hundred Years have been accusom'd to bear this Deceit, 'twould be Egregious Folly in us, to quit this Advantage, and leave it intirely to the *Hollanders*.

By the best Account I can have, and from Impartial Hands, *England* before the War for some time, one Year with another has Exported for this Traffick, either in Bullion, or our Manufactures (of which the Manufactures might be near an Eighth part) about *per Annum* _____ 400,000 *l.*

Suppose we consume at home the Returns of _____ 200,000

But,

But, by the way, I must take Notice here, that the Company of late Years, have carry'd out the value of 100,000 *l. per Annum* in our home Manufactures.

If the Company Export to other Nations the Returns of the other Two Hundred Thousand Pounds (which I may safely affirm they did, and will do in time of Peace) *England* must certainly be a great Gainer by this Traffick.

For no one vers'd in Merchandize will deny, but that the Returns from *India* of 200,000 *l.* when Exported to other Countries, much Increase the first Sum at least Four-fold, and produce 800,000.

So that the Accompt of *England* with the *Indies,* and the *European* Nations, may be thus Ballanc'd.

The Returns Exported yield	
<i>per Annum</i> _____	800,000 <i>l.</i>
The Returns Consum'd at home are to the Nation--	200,000

Total—	1,200,000
Carry'd over—	1,000,000

Brought



An Essay upon

l.

Brought over	—	1,000,000
Deduct for the prime Cost		
of Bullion or Manufac-		
tures Exported	—	400,000
		—————

England Net Gainer by this		
Traffick	—	600,000

Nothing can be a Clearer Gain to the Kingdom, than the Returns of the 200,000 l. consum'd at home; because treble that Sum would otherwise be carry'd out for Foreign Silks and Linnen, which is hindred by the Importation of *East-India* Commodities.

The Inspection I have made upon other Occasions, into the general State and Condition of this Kingdom, has led me upon very good Grounds to think, That the *East-India* Trade did annually add to the gross Stock of *England* at least 600,000 l. per Annum in times of Peace.

For I have many Cogent Reasons inducing Me to believe, That from about *Anno* 1656. to *Anno* 1688, this Nation has every Year gradually increas'd in Riches, by what degrees, is needless here to incert; but upon mature Consideration, I may safely State, That about

Anno

the *East-India* Trade.

Anno 1688. the Increase or Addition to the Wealth and General Stock of *England*, arising from Foreign Trade, and home Manufactures, was at least Two Millions Yearly.

And after much Thought and Study on this Subject, and by consulting Others vers'd in Speculations of the like Nature, I find that this Increase to the Nation's General Stock, did probably arise from the Three following Articles, viz.

From our Manufactures and		
Home Product, sent to the		
Plantations, and from the Re-		
turns thereof, Exported to Fo-	900,000	l.
reign Parts,	—	—————

From our Woollen Manufa-		
cture, Lead, Tin, Leather, and		
our other Native Product sent	500,000	
to <i>France</i> , <i>Spain</i> , <i>Italy</i> , <i>Ger-</i>		
<i>many</i> , &c.	—	—————

From the Net Profit accru-		
ing by the <i>East-India</i> Trade,	600,000	
	—	—————

Total—2,000,000

If the *East-India* Trade did in Peaceful Times, bring so great an Increase to the

B b b

Annual



Annual Income of the Kingdom (and I think the contrary is capable of no clear Demonstration) the Legislative Power ought to proceed with much Caution, in any Matter relating to it.

Whatever Country can be in the full and undisputed Possession of it, will give Law to all the Commercial World.

Should we quit the Hold we have in *India*, and abandon the Traffick, our Neighbours the *Dutch* will undoubtedly engross the whole: And if to their Naval Strength in *Europe*, such a Foreign Strength and Wealth be added, *England* must hereafter be contented to Trade by their Protection, and under their Banners.

As War does vary all the Circumstances of Trade, alter its Channel, give it to one People, and take it from another; so in seasons of War, 'tis by no means proper nor adviseable, to embrace New Councils in relation to it: Nor can we then take any True Measures, or make any Right, and Sound Judgment about it.

The Scarcity of Money in a long War, makes any Exportation of Bullion thought

thought a great Grievance; of which, in quiet Times, we should not be sensible.

In the same manner, the Interruption of any Manufacture, though never so Prejudicial to the Kingdom, is grievous in a Time of War, when Business is scarce, and Trading dull; but in a Time of Peace, and full Employment, these Hands can shift from one Work to another, without any great Prejudice to themselves, or the Publick.

There having been for three Years last past, a great want of *East-India* Goods, and there hapning of late a great Call for the Woollen Manufactures, and indeed for all the Product of *England*, some unthinking Persons, grew presently to imagine that the want of *East-India* Goods (and no other Reason) had brought the Woollen Manufacture into Request, and increased its Consumption; from whence very many have begun to argue and infer, That the *East-India* Trade is, and always was, prejudicial to the Kingdom.

But the sudden Call which was then for all kind of *English* Commodities, as



An Essay upon

well as the Woollen Manufacture, viz. Lead, Tin, Leather, Butter, Cheese, Tallow, &c. did not proceed from the want of *East-India* Goods, but indeed from the Posture of the Exchange Abroad, the Ill Condition of our Silver Coyn, and the high Price Guineas were brought to: For we plainly see this great Demand, both Abroad and at Home, for our Goods does cease, now Guineas are lower'd, and the Coyn is alter'd.

My Lord, it has been too often the Fault of *English* Councils, to determine Rashly of the the most important Matters.

And (with Submission to better Judgments) I doubt it may be of very dangerous Consequence at this Time, to meddle with, or give any Disturbance to a settled Traffick.

The concern of Wooll is, without doubt, to be taken care of, but not so as upon that account, to slight all our Foreign Interest.

The *East-India* Company has been for a long time look'd upon with an Evil Eye,

the *East-India* Trade.

21

Eye, by some People, because there has formerly been ill Management in their Affairs; and for that some of their Goods were thought to hinder the Consumption of our own Manufactures; and because it was seen what Silver they really carried out, and not enough consider'd what Bullion their Effects brought hither in Return.

Some Persons (without Doors) either Bribed by the Dutch, or to flatter that Interest, profess themselves open Enemies to the Traffick in General; others thro' Inadvertency, and for want of Examining into the bottom of Things, give into their Notions; and others joyn with them out of immoderate Zeal to promote the Woollen Manufacture: So that any discerning Man may see, that the utter Ruin of this Trade, and its intricate Loss to *England* will be compassed, unless the King, assisted by the Legislative Power, out of His Fatherly Love to his People, interpose, with His Wisdom, in the Matter.

One of the principal Dangers now, of taking new Councils about it, is, That in a Time of War, if by any false Steps and Measures, we should lose Ground



An Essay upon

in *India*, neither our Condition, nor the Nature of our present Alliance with the *Dutch*, will permit us to assert our Right in those Parts by Force of Arms.

And if we should come so to lose our Hold in *India*, as not to trade thither at all, or but weakly and precariously, I will venture to affirm (and I hope Your Lordship will remember hereafter this Prediction of mine) That *England* will thereby lose half its Foreign Business.

For all Trades have a Mutual Dependance one upon the other, and one begets another, and the loss of one, frequently loses half the rest. By carrying to other Places the Commodities brought from *India*, We every where enlarg'd our Commerce, and brought Home a great over-balance, either in Foreign Goods, or in Bullion. In *Holland* we Exchanged our Wrought Silks, Callicoes, &c. for their Spices: By *Indian* Goods, we could Purchase at a better Rate, in *Germany*, the Linnens of *Silesia*, *Saxony* and *Bohemia*. In times of Peace we did, and may again Traffick with *France*, for our *India* Goods against the things of Luxury, which will always be brought from thence; and thereby

the East-India Trade.

23

thereby we may bring the Ballance more of our side, between us and that Kingdom.

And, My Lord, there being a Peace now in agitation between Us and *France*, the Wisdom of the State perhaps may think fit to insist, as an Article, That the Prohibition of our *East-India* Goods may be taken off in *France*; and if that can be obtain'd, it will put the Trade of *England* with that Kingdom, upon much a more equal Foot.

As to *Spain* and the *Streights*, and Parts within the *Streights*, &c. 'tis apparent that a large share of the Bullion return'd hither, from thence, did proceed from the Sale there, of Callicoes, Pepper, and other *East-India* Goods consum'd in those Parts, and also bought up by the *Spaniards* for their own, and the Consumption of their Plantations in *America*.

'Tis hop'd, My Lord, the foregoing Arguments have sufficiently prov'd, That this Traffick in General is beneficial to the Nation.



An Essay upon

I shall now proceed to deliver my Opinion concerning the Bill for Prohibiting the Wearing all *East-India* and *Persia* Wrought Silks, Bengals, and Dyed, Printed or Stained Callicoës, which was the Second Point I propos'd to handle.

They who promote this Bill, do it, as is presum'd, upon the following Grounds, and Reasons.

First, They believe such a Prohibition will advance the Consumption of Wooll, and the Woollen Manufactures.

Secondly, They think it will advance the Silk and Linnen Mannufactures of *England*.

Thirdly, They Imagin such a Prohibition may be made by Act of Parliament, without Ruin to the Traffick in General.

These Three Points, My Lord, I shall endeavour to Examine and State fairly before Your *Lordship*: And I shall discourse of the *East-India* Trade First, as it has Relation to the Woollen Manufacture.

the East-India Trade.

25

facture. Secondly, as it has Relation to the Silk and Linnen Manufactures. And Thirdly, I shall show how this Prohibition will affect the *East-India* Trade in General.

*And First as to the Woollen
Manufacture.*

Trade is the General Concern of this Nation, but every distinct Trade has a distinct Interest. The Wisdom of the Legislative Power consists, in keeping an even Hand, to promote all, and chiefly to Encourage such Trades, as increase the Publick Stock, and add to the Kingdoms Wealth, consider'd as a Collective Body.

Trade is in its Nature Free, finds its own Channel, and best directeth its own Course: And all Laws to give it Rules, and Directions, and to Limit, and Circumscribe it, may serve the particular Ends of private Men, but are seldom Advantagious to the Publick.

Governments, in relation to it, are to take a providential Care of the whole, but



but generally to let Second Causes work their own way; and considering all the Links and Chains, by which they hang together, peradventure it may be affirm'd, That, in the main, all Trafficks whatsoever are beneficial to a Country.

They say few Laws in a State are an Indication of Wisdom in a People; but it may be more truly said, that few Laws relating to Trade, are the Mark of a Nation that thrives by Traffick.

Laws to compel the Consumption of some Commodities, and prohibit the use of others, may do well enough, where Trade is forc'd, and only Artificial, as in *France*; But in Countries inclin'd by Genius, and adapted to it by Situation, such Laws are needless, unnatural, and can have no Effect conducive to the publick Good.

I have often wonder'd upon what Grounds the Parliament proceeded in the Act for Burying in Woollen: It Occasions indeed a Consumption of Wooll, but such a Consumption, as produces no advantage to the Kingdom.

For

For were it not plainly better, that this Wooll made into Cloth, were Exported, paid for, and worn by the Living abroad, than laid in the Earth here at home.

And were it not better, That the Common People (who make up the Bulk and are the great Consumers) should be bury'd in an old Sheet, fit for nothing else, as formerly, than in so much new Wooll, which is thereby utterly lost.

The natural way of promoting the Woollen Manufacture, is not to force its Consumption at Home, but by wholesome Laws to contrive, That it may be wrought cheaply in *England*, which consequently will enable us to command the Markets abroad.

The only Beneficial way to *England*, of making Wooll yield a good Price, is to have it Manufactur'd cheaply.

No Country in *Europe*, Manufactures all kind of Goods so dearly as this Kingdom; And the *Dutch* at this very Day buy up our Cloaths here, which they carry Home, and Nap and Dye so Cheaply, that by this means they are able to

un-



under-sell us, in our own Native Commodity.

The Act for maintenance of the Poor, is the true Bane, and Destruction to all the *English* Manufactures in General. For it apparently Encourages Sloth, and Beggery; whereas if the Legillative Power would make some good Provision, that Work-Houses might in every Parish be Erected, and the Poor, such as are Able, compell'd to Work, so many new Hands might thereby be brought in, as would indeed make the *English* Manufactures flourish.

I have reason to think, That the People receiving Alms in this Kingdom, are Twelve Hundred Thousand; if but half could be brought to Work, besides their own Nourishment, their Labour one with another might produce to the Publick at 20 s. per Head, at least per Annum 600,000 l.

If this could be compass'd, the Woollen Manufacture would advance without any Unnatural Driving or Compulsion. For we want Hands, not Manufactures in *England*; and Laws to Compel the Poor to Work, not Work where-

wherewithal to give them Employment.

To make *England* a true Gainer by the Woollen Manufacture, we should be able to work the Commodity so Cheap, as to under-sell all Comers to the Markets abroad.

I shall, My Lord, advance Two Propositions which may sound very strangely, and yet perhaps will be thought very right, and true, upon a Mature Examination.

First, That 'tis not the Benefit, nor Interest of *England* in General, that Wooll should bear a high Price in our Markets at home.

Secondly, That by a great Consumption of the Woollen Manufactures within this Kingdom, the Publick will not reap such an advantage as some imagine.

Fine broad Cloth, was the Antient Drapery of *England*, and which first recommended this Manufacture to the Use of Foreign Countries. This is the Natural Issue and Product of the Kingdom, inimitable abroad, and it must be very great



great Carelessness and want of Conduct, that can make us lose this Trade so Beneficial to the Nation.

But tho' the Wooll of other Places is not so fit for Workmanship as ours, yet the Commodity is abounding almost in all Countries of *Europe*; and if the Cloth of *England* be brought any way to bear too high a Price, it may put some of our Neighbours either upon the Industry of Manufacturing their own better, or upon the Frugality to content themselves with what they can make at home; and it may reduce other Parts, to set up new Manufactures in their own Countries, which will be very detrimental to the Vent, especially of our Narrow and Courser Cloaths.

Nothing can make this Commodity Beneficial, so as to Enrich *England*, but to have the Woollen Manufacture so Cheap, as that great quantities of our Cloth may be Exported, and at such a Rate, as that we may be able to undersell all Nations, and discourage all People from setting it up.

But this can never be, if by Arts and Inventions, we endeavour to give Wooll an

an unnatural Price here at home; upon which Score, I have advanc'd the Second Proposition, That *England* reaps no such Advantage by a large Consumption of the Woollen Manufacture within this Kingdom.

For it is the Interest of all Trading Nations whatsoever, that their Home-Consumption should be little, of a Cheap and Foreign Growth, and that their own Manufactures should be sold at the highest Markets, and spent Abroad; since by what is Consum'd at Home, one loseth only what another gets, and the Nation in General is not at all the Richer; but all Foreign Consumption is a clear and certain Profit. So that in the Woollen Manufacture, *England* does not get by what is spent here by the People, but by what is sold abroad in other Countries.

If the People of *England* are willing, and pleased to wear *Indian* Silks and Stuffs, of which the Prime Cost in *India*, is not above a Fourth part of what their own Commodities would stand them in here; and if they are thereby thus enabled to Export so much of their own Product, whatever is so sav'd, is clear



An Essay upon

clear Gain to the Kingdom in General.
But to set this Matter in a clearer Light.

Suppose 200,000 *l.* per *Annus* of the
Prime Sum sent to *India*, is return'd in
Commodities for our own Consumption:
And,

Suppose half this Sum, *viz.* 100,000 *l.*
to be return'd in such Goods as are worn
here, in the stead and room of the Wool-
len Manufactures.

From 100,000 <i>l.</i> Prime	} <i>l.</i>
Cost to <i>India</i> , there may rea-	
sonably expected Goods that	} 400,000.
sell here for	

So that by sending to *India* 100,000.

We gain for our own	} 300,000.
Consumption clear	

Now this must be clear Profit to the
Kingdom, because this Sum would be
other ways laid out and consum'd in our
own Product; which Product we are,
by this Means, enabled to Export. For
when we come to examine into the true
Reason of the Great Wealth of *Holland*,
we shall find it chiefly to arise from this
Frugality of Consuming at Home what
is Cheap, or comes Cheaply, and carry-
ing

the East-India Trade.

33

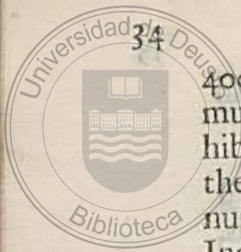
ing Abroad what is Rich, and will yield
most Mony.

'Tis granted, That Bengals and Strain'd
Callicoes, and other *East-India* Goods,
do hinder the Consumption of *Norwich*
Stuffs, Crapes, *English* Razines, Sha-
loons, Says, Perpetuanas and Antherines:
But the same Objection will lye against
the Use of any Thing that is of Foreign
Growth; for the Importation of Wine,
undoubtedly hinders the Consumption
of Barly; and *England* could subsist,
and the Poor perhaps would have fuller
Employment, if Foreign Trade were
quite laid aside; but this would ill Con-
sist with our being great at Sea, upon
which (under the present Posture of Af-
fairs in *Europe*) all our Safety does cer-
tainly depend.

That the *East-India* Goods do some-
thing interfere with the Woollen Manu-
facture, must undoubtedly be granted;
but the Principal Matter to be consider'd,
is, Which way the Nation in General is
more Cheaply supply'd.

If 100,000 <i>l.</i> Prime Cost to <i>India</i> ,	} 400,000 <i>l.</i>
brings Home so many Goods as stand in the stead, and supply the room of	

Ccc



An Essay upon

400,000 *l.* of our own Manufactures, it must certainly be adviseable not to Prohibit such a Trade, but rather to divert the Wooll used in these our Home Manufactures, and the Craft, Labour and Industry employ'd about 'em, to the making fine Broad Cloth, course and narrow Cloths, Stuffs and other Commodities, fit for Sale in Foreign Markets; since 'tis an undoubted Truth, that 400,000 *l.* worth of our Native Goods sold Abroad, does add more to the Nations General Stock and Wealth, than Four Millions worth of our Home Product consum'd within the Kingdom.

But, besides, suppose the wearing *East-India* Wrought Silks, &c. in *England* were Prohibited, and that their whole Importation were Interdicted, I do not see how such Prohibitions would at all advance the Vent of our Home Product. For in one Case, if they hinder the Consumption of the Woollen Manufacture at Home, will they not, when Exported, hinder its Consumption, and the Sale of Cloaths in Foreign Parts? And in the other Case, if the English were forbid to bring *Indian* Goods into *Europe*, will not the Dutch Import them,

the East-India Trade.

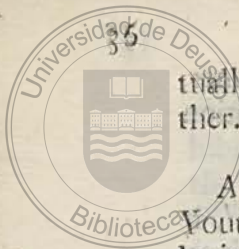
35

them, and thereby in the same manner, hurt Abroad, the Vent and Consumption of our English Cloaths?

Upon the whole Matter, My Lord, it is my Opinion, (which I submit to better Judgments) That the Importation of *East-India* and *Persia* Wrought Silks, Stain'd Calicoes, &c. though it may somewhat interfere with the Manufactures of *Norwich*, *Bristol*, and other particular Places; yet, that such Importation adds to the Kingdoms main Stock and Wealth, and is not Prejudicial to the General Woollen Manufacture of *England*.

*And Secondly as to the Silk
and Linnen Manu-
factures.*

Wisdom is most commonly in the Wrong, when it pretends to direct Nature. The various Products of different Soiles and Countries, is an Indication, that Providence intended they should be helpful to each other, and mutually



35
ually supply the Necessities of one another.

And as it is great Folly to compel a Youth to that sort of Study, to which he is not adapted by Genius and Inclination: So it can never be Wise, to endeavour the introducing into a Country, either the Growth of any Commodity, or any Manufacture, for which, nor the Soil, nor the General Bent of the People is proper: And as forc'd Fruits (though they may look fair to the Eye) are notwithstanding Tasteless and Unwholesome; so a Trade forc'd in this manner, brings no Natural Profit, but is Prejudicial to the Publick.

We have such Advantages by Situation, and in several Commodities and Materials, Natural, and almost peculiar to us, that if the Improvement of them were sufficiently look'd after, and encourag'd by the State, we might encrease in Wealth, Greatness and Power, peradventure beyond all Nations in Europe.

It is our Fault, if we do not enjoy the Woollen Manufacture without any Rivalship; but undoubtedly it might be very much advanced, if Work-Houses were

were set up, if the Laws did provide, and the Magistracy in the Execution did take Care, to set the Poor to work.

Such an increase of Hands would likewise produce more Tin and Lead, and enable us to afford Leather cheaper! And it is a large Exportation, and being able to under-sell all others, in Foreign Markets, that brings National Profit.

More Hands would quicken Industry, and improve waste Ground, which would enable us to carry our Corn at a cheap Rate.

And generally speaking, all Laws restraining Idleness, and that will invite People hither, must better the Manufactures, and make 'em more gainful to the Nation.

There is no Trade so Advantageous, especially to an Island, as that of buying Goods in one Country, or sell them in another; and it is the Original and chief Article of the great Wealth in Holland. There is Gain by the Freight; it occasions Consumption of our Home Product; it breeds Seamen, increases Shipping, and improves Navigation: And



any Home Manufacture that hinders this kind of Traffick, or that indeed interferes with it, is pernicious, and ought in Wisdom, and by all Rules of Policy, to be discouraged by the Publick. This kind of Commerce *England* was formerly in a large Possession of, and it may be retriev'd, and in the best of Times was capable of great Improvement.

Our Plantations (if we take care to preserve them from Foreign Insults and Invasions) as they Increase in People, will consume more of our Home Manufactures than we have Hands to make; They produce Commodities indispensably necessary to this part of the World, and not to be produc'd elsewhere, and with Industry and Conduct, may be made an inexhaustible Mine of Treasure to their Mother Kingdom.

If there be such a Multitude of Hands that want Work in *England*, the Herring Fishery would employ many Thousands of Men, and one Million of Money; and, the Advantages our Situation gives us for it consider'd, we might at least come in for a Share, with the Dutch, in that Trade, which brings them so immense a Profit.

Some

Some of the foregoing Materials are Peculiar Gifts and Blessings to this Soil; our Inclinations to the Sea, fit us as well as the Dutch, for the Traffick of carrying Goods from one Country to another (the most certain Gain a Nation can make) our Ports are safer and fitter than theirs for this purpose. Our Plantation Trade, to carry it on to its Height, would require a greater Stock than we are Masters of at present, and would consume more of our Manufactures, and Home Product, than we can make and furnish at reasonable Rates. As to the Fishery, if we are not intirely in Possession of it, and if other Nations have been suffer'd to make such a Profit upon our Coast, it has proceeded from want of Industry in the English People, and through the Negligence of former Governments.

In the foremention'd Particulars, an unforc'd and a natural Improvement may be made in our Wealth and Substance, and 'tis here the Legislative Power may, to good effect, interpose with its Care and Wisdom.

Ccc 4

Most



Most Countries have a certain Number of their People, who addict themselves to Trade and Manufactures, and most Nations have limited Stock to be employ'd in those Uses, which they cannot well exceed; And 'tis the Prudence of a State, to see, that this Industry, and Stock, be not diverted from things profitable to the whole, and turn'd upon Objects unprofitable, and perhaps dangerous to the Publick.

The Stock *England* formerly had running in Trade and Manufactures, was very considerable, and I am sorry, upon a careful Inquiry, to find it so much decreas'd: What remains, and more than can be gather'd in many Years of Peace, will be sufficiently employ'd in that Business, where the Nation is a certain and known Gainer; and therefore should not be diverted upon uncertain Objects, and turn'd upon new Inventions, in which it cannot be determin'd, in many Years, whither we get or loose, and how the Ballance stands: And of this nature and kind, are the Silk, and Linnen Manufactures in *England*.

Silk is a Manufacture of a Foreign Extract, and not the Genuine Product
of

of this Country; It Employes indeed the Poor, but is not compos'd from a Material of our own Growth. Whatever Encouragement it meets with, it cannot thrive with us, being not Calculated for our Meridian: 'Tis fit only for frugal Nations, where Parsimony renders Craft and Workmanship not dear, upon which score the *French*, *Italians* and *Dutch*, will always be able to under-sell us in that Commodity, and hinder any Success we can propose. And as an Example of this, Did not the *Hollanders*, lately, bring hither *French* Lustring, under their Seal, which they could afford so Cheap, as to under-sell the Projectors of it here, tho' they were at the Charge of Freight and Custom?

The Stock and Industry laid out on the Silk Manufacture, would be more usefully employ'd, in such as are made from Materials of our own Growth.

If the Luxury of wearing Silk could be quite Abolish'd, such a Reformation would undoubtedly be beneficial to the Kingdom; but since this is not easily to be Compass'd, a wise State must consider which way the Folly of their People can be supply'd at the cheapest rate,
of for,



42
An Essay upon
for, Frugality of this Nature, as certainly enriches the whole, as it does any private Person.

There are brought from *India* Two sorts of Silks.

The one is of such a sort as is not made in *England*, and consequently only hinders the Importation of the like kind, at a dearer Rate, from *Holland, Italy, France, Turkey* and other Places.

The other is of the like sort with those made here, notwithstanding which, it must certainly be prejudicial to the Interest of *England*, to forbid their Importation from *India*, unless those, and all other kinds of Silk applicable to the same Uses, could be Prohibited to be brought from Foreign Countries: Since by such Prohibition (unless the vanity it self can be cured) we only enrich the Neighbouring Nations at our Expence.

The *East-India* Goods since they were in use, have apparently lower'd the Price of Silks from *France, Spain* and *Italy*, at least 25 per Cent. and if their Importation should be prohibited, will it not follow

low Naturally that the *European* Countries will again advance upon us?

And the *French, Italians* and *Dutch*, who upon several Account are able to under-work us, will undoubtedly fall to making and sending hither such Commodities, as may stand in the room here of *Indian* Goods, and at the low Rates they can afford 'em, they will quickly ruin our Silk Manufactures: And when the Fabrick is destroy'd, and the Stock and Hands employ'd in it, are diverted to other Uses, they may put what Fine they please upon our Vanity.

The *Dutch* have such a Silk Manufacture in their Country, that by Computation, there is Imported hither, from thence, more of that Commodity, one Year with another, than we bring from *India*. Most of the Velvets us'd here, come from thence, and are purchas'd by us at a dearer Price, than could be afforded from *India*, or made here at Home, if we were skill'd in the Workmanship.

And notwithstanding the *Dutch* have so considerable a Silk Manufacture of their



their own, instead of Prohibiting, they encourage the Importation of all *East-India* Silks; well knowing, That 'tis the Interest of every Nation, to go to their own, or Foreign Markets, with Goods as cheap as they can, thereby to beat out all others. And that the Cheapness of any Commodity, will force a way into those Countries where it is prohibited, if any of the like sort and kind is indulg'd and permitted to be worn there; Nothing being able to render the Prohibition of Goods intirely Effectual in any Nation, but a Capacity in the Inhabitants of such a Country, to afford them at Cheaper Rates, which can hardly be the Case of *England*.

As to the Linnen Manufacture, it is no more the Genuine Offspring of this Kingdom, than that of Silk.

'Tis true that some of the Materials for it, may be had from our own Soil, but not enough to supply our whole Consumption, and we can never pretend to make the finer sort.

And if the now intended Prohibition should so Operate, as utterly to lose us the *East-India* Trade (which peradventure

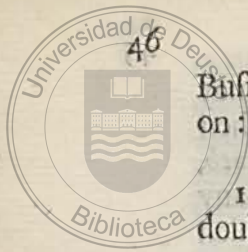
ture may be the Case) the *Dutch* may put what rate they please upon their Callicoes; And the *Dutch* and *French*, and other Nations, will Impose any Price upon their Fine Lintens (which our Callicoes for some Years have kept down) So that, our necessary Consumption in this Commodity, will stand us in above 40 *per Cent.* more than it does at present.

This Manufacture is proper only for Countries where they can have Flax and Hemp Cheap, and where the Common People work at very easie Rates.

But tho' with forcing Nature, and by Art and Industry, we could bring it to greater Perfection, yet upon other Accounts 'tis perhaps not adviseable, nor for the Nations Interest, to promote it.

First, Our Soil and the Labour of the People may be employ'd about Materials more Advantageous, and wherein we cannot be under-fold by other Countries.

Secondly, The growth of this Manufacture would obstruct Trade, and other
Bu-



Business more Important to the Nation: For,

1. Our Noble Staple of Wooll is undoubtedly capable of a great Improvement, to which the Increase of Wages (that must happen upon an Increase in the Linnen Manufacture) will be a considerable hindrance. And one cannot rise, but to the prejudice of the other, because we really want People and Hands to carry on both to their full Perfection. And,

2. It is more the General Interest of *England* to Export Woollen Manufacture in Exchange Abroad for Linnen, than to make it here at Home; which Trade has been set a-foot, and prosper'd very much, to the great Benefit of this Kingdom, since the Prohibition of *French* Goods during this War.

But if we provide our selves at Home with Linnen sufficient for our Consumption, and do not want that which is brought from *Silesia*, *Saxony*, *Bohemia* and *Poland*, this Trade must cease; for these *Northern* Countries have neither Money, nor other Commodities; and if we deal with them, we must be content-

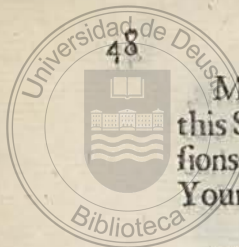
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ed, in a manner, to barter our Cloaths, for their Linnen; and 'tis obvious enough, to any Considering Man, that by such a Traffick, We are not Losers in the Ballance.

In Process of Time, when *England* shall come to be more Peopled; and when a long Peace shall have increased our Wealth and Stock, perhaps we may be able not only to carry on our old Manufactures to their full height, but to embrace new Ones, such as are that of Silk and Linnen; but as our Case stands, it seems sufficient to let them take their own Natural Course, and not to drive them on; for too many sorts of Businesses may be as well hurtful in the Publick, as they are often to Private Persons.

If the Nation finds a General Profit from them, their own Weight will bear them on; but in the mean while, it cannot be Adviseable, in their Favour, to exercise any extraordinary Act of Power; and for their sake, by Prohibitions, to distress, embroil, and disturb any settled Trade, by which, beyond all contradiction, the Nation, before the War, was so great a Gainer.

My



My Lord, After much Thought upon this Subject, I am come to these Conclusions, within my self, which I submit to Your better Judgment.

First, That our Silk and Linnen Manufactures obstruct Trades more Important, and more profitable.

Secondly, That tho' a Prohibition of *East-India* Goods, may advance their present Interest, who are engag'd in the Silk and Linnen Manufactures here, yet that it will bring no future Advantage to the Kingdom.

Thirdly, That Luxury is so deeply rooted in this Nation, that should this Prohibition pass, it will only carry us to *European* Markets, where, we shall pay perhaps 50 per Cent. dearer, may be, for the same, or for Vanities of the like Nature. So that

UPON the whole Matter, My Lord, I am humbly of Opinion, That the Importation of Wrought Silks, Bengals, Stain'd Callicoes, &c. does not so interfere with our Silk and Linnen Manufactures, as to hurt the Publick, and bring dammage to the Collective Body of *England*.
And

And Thirdly, As to the Effect such a Prohibition will have upon the *East-India* Trade in General.

IN all Argumentations, 'tis requisite to settle and agree upon Principles; for which Reason, in the beginning of this Discourse, I did endeavour to prove, That, in general, the *East-India* Trade was Profitable to this Kingdom. And I dwelt the longer upon that Head, because some People are quite of a contrary Opinion, and believe it hurtful to *England*.

And I am satisfied that many (without Doors) promote the Bill, in Question, in hopes thereby utterly to destroy the Traffick.

And, truly, My Lord, it seems plain to me, That the intended Prohibitions must prove, though not a sudden, yet a certain destruction to it. And that 'tis a lopping from this Trade, the Branches, and taking away some of the Bark, and part of the Root; the Trunk indeed is left; but so Maim'd and Injur'd, that it can never Spread and Flourish.

If it can be made appear, this Prohibition is no ways to be render'd effectual: And if it can be shown, That the said Prohibitions will utterly disable the present *East-India* Company, or any other to

Itself D d d be



be hereafter Erected, from Supporting and Carrying on the Trade, to the Advantage of *England*, Your Lordship will certainly think the Bill, now a foot, of dangerous Consequence, and not fit to receive a Sanction in the House of Peers.

No Prohibitions of a Foreign or Domestick Commodity, can have any Effect without Sumptuary Laws, strictly penn'd and rigorously put in Execution.

For the Importation of French Wines, and Linnen, has been forbidden under high Penalties during this War, yet the Consumption of those sort of Commodities, is not much lessen'd, and they are brought in upon us from other Countries, at much a dearer Rate. For these three Years last past, French Wines have been convey'd hither by the way of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the French Silks and Linnens, have been all along secretly brought and smuggled upon our own Coast.

Perhaps if severe Sumptuary Laws had impos'd a high Duty or Penalty upon the consumers of French Wine, Silks and Linnen, the Prohibition might have had its designed Effect: But how such Laws could have been made Practicable, I shall not pretend to determine.

In the same manner, if a severe Mulct, or a high Duty, can be laid on such as shall

shall wear or use any *India* or *Persia* Wrought Silks, Bengals, &c. and if this were super-added to the Prohibition, peradventure it might be render'd Effectual.

But, otherwise, notwithstanding the Prohibition, of wearing such Goods, and the Penalties upon the Retailers that shall vend them, their Consumption will be little lessen'd in this Kingdom, for they will be brought in upon us from other Countries, *Scotland* and *Holland* more especially.

However, though such a Method is peradventure the only way of keeping down this Luxury, I am very far, My Lord, from thinking it Advisable.

For the Laws of all Countries must be suited to the Bent and Inclinations of the People: And (which I am loth to say) there is sometimes a Necessity, they should be a little accommodated to their deprav'd Manners and Corruptions.

The People of *England*, who have been long accustom'd to mild Laws, and a loose Administration, can never indure that Severity, which is needful to make such a Prohibition have Effect: Nor can they suffer high Duties, or Penalties to be impos'd upon their Pleasures, or bear a strict Inquisition into their Furniture and Apparel.

There



There is no Country without a multitude of Sumptuary Laws, but hardly a Place can be instanc'd where they are observ'd, or produce any Publick Good. They were somewhat regarded in the Infancy of the *Roman* Common-wealth, before Riches and Pomp, had banish'd Vertue and Obedience: But their chiefest Strength was always deriv'd from the Sanctity and Veneration, in which was held the Office of *Censor*. And in *England*, they will be immediately contemn'd and derided; and any Magistrate must become the Publick Scorn, that should think to put them in Execution.

And yet without strict Sumptuary Laws, well observ'd, the Wisdom of the Parliament will find it self eluded, when it endeavours to banish Foreign Vanities and Luxury, in favour of our own Product and Manufactures.

For in all probability, the Consequence of such a Prohibition will be, That Goods of the same kind, or Goods applicable to the like use, instead of those Imported from *India*, will be brought hither from Abroad; and the Consumption will not be less, but at a much dearer Rate. It may indeed somewhat better our Manufactures, but will more advance those of *France*, *Italy* and *Holland*, who can afford to work Cheaper: And, in all appearance,

ance, will thereby prove such a drain of this Kingdom's Treasure, as may bring utter Destruction upon us.

But the principal Question is, Whether under such Prohibitions, any Body of Men can find their Account in carrying on this Trade?

To make this Traffick an Addition of Strength, as well as Riches to the Kingdom, Encouragement should be given to send thither Large and Strong Ships, which will be Expensive to the Undertakers.

Their Business in *India* cannot be Manag'd without frequent Gifts and Presents, to the Rajahs and Governours, according to the Practice in all the *Eastern* Countries.

Ports and Castles, with good Garrisons, are there indispensably necessary, for the preservation of the Pepper-Trade, and indeed, needful upon many other Accompts, as Magazines for Naval Provision, and as Store-Houses, in which to lay Goods, bought in the Country, at proper Seasons: Besides, they are a Safety to our People, from any Insults of the Natives, and a Refuge upon any Disorder, Revolution, or other Emergency in the *Mogul's* State and Empire.

A Trade Limited and Circumscrib'd



in the Manner propos'd, cannot well undergo these Expences, which notwithstanding are necessary for its Preservation.

I have before divided the 400,000 *l.* Prime Cost, sent into *India*, into two parts, *viz.* half for Foreign Exportation, and the other half for Home Consumption.

The Returns of 200,000 *l.* }
in Time of Peace, may probably yield abroad } 800,000

The Returns of 200,000 *l.* }
in Time of Peace, might probably yield at home } 800,000

Total ——— 1,600,000

But we must take Notice, That the 1,200,000 *l.* Profit, suppos'd in Time of Peace, to arise from this Trade, did not, all of it, accrue to the Adventurers in the Company, but was National, and divided among many Thousands of the People. The Merchants, who at the Companies Sales, bought Goods for Exportation, had their Share, and the Retailers here had their Proportion in the Gain, which this Traffick, in the whole, might be Computed to produce.

And particularly for their Share in the 600,000 *l.* suppos'd to be gain'd by our own Consumption, in Time of Peace, by this Traffick: There came in, the King for his Customs; Owners of Ships; Such

as got by Victualling them; Seamen for Wages: And lastly, Factors and Servants, both Abroad and at Home.

The Gain made Abstractedly by the Company, has never been Invidious: For if their whole Stock be Computed from their Beginning, to this Day, it will be found, by their Dividends, That they have not one Year, with another, divided 20 *per Cent.* which considering the Length and Hazard of their Voyages, is not a Profit to be envied.

But since this War, the Company have without doubt been great Losers, and nothing but the Invincible Courage, which has been always observ'd in English Merchants, could have hindered the Trade from being intirely Lost.

Notwithstanding all the Companies late Losses at Sea, and their former Ill Conduct in *India*, they have not lost footing there, but have, hitherto, preserv'd the Trade, indeed, at their own Expence.

However, if any thing should be done that will Interrupt any great part of their Commerce, they must apparently give it over, or sink under the Burthen; for the Charge and Expence abroad, must be full as much to support a little, as a more extended Traffick.



If this Trade be so Re-
frain'd, by Prohibitions, as
that there can be sent to *In-*
dia, not above *per An.* — } 200,000

The National Profit from
thence arising cannot Reason-
ably exceed — } 600,000

The Companies Charge
and Expence, to Support and
Carry on their Affairs abroad, }
may be modestly Computed, } 100,000
at *per An.* — — — — — }

Which Sum will be a great
Weight upon *per An.* — — — } 600,000

But will fall lightly upon }
per An. — — — — — } 1,200,000

According to the best and most Im-
partial Accounts I can receive, the Bill in
Agitation, must lose *England* half the
Trade to *India* in General, all the Traffick
to the Coast and Bay of *Bengal*, and
half the Business to *Surrat*.

And, particularly, as to the *Coast* and
Bay, The Company did usually send thither
Yearly Five or Six Ships, of be-
tween Six and Seven Hundred Tons each:
The Fifth part of which, returns Freight-
ed with Salt-Petre; One other Fifth part
with Fine Mullins, Floretta Yarn, and
Raw Silks; The other Three parts, with
Goods by the Bill Prohibited: The Con-

sequence

sequence of which must be, That the
Trade to the *Coast* and *Bay*, will prove
so inconsiderable, that it must be aban-
don'd, and *England* reduc'd to buy all
its Salt-Petre from the *Scots*, *Danes* or
Hollanders.

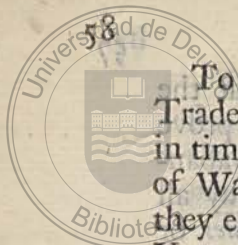
I take our Home Consumption, which
is half of the returns of the Prime Cost
sent to *India*, to be the main Foundation
upon which the Trade stands, especially,
in a Time of War.

'Tis that alone can bear the Incident
Charges at home and Expences abroad,
necessary for the Support of so large a
Traffick; and 'tis that only, can enable
any Company to indure Losses at Sea, by
Storm, or a Foreign Enemy.

What Encouragement can there be to
go on with so vast a Business, if our Mar-
chants must singly depend upon the Mar-
kets abroad? One Country, to advance
their own Manufactures, may prohibit
our Goods, the *Hollanders* will buy 'em up
at their own Rates, when their Use is for-
bidden here, and they will be a Drug,
and blown upon, all over *Europe*.

There is great difference between a
Merchants having a choice, or a Necessity
to sell his Ware. In one Case he may
in some Measure make his own Price, in
the other he must take what is offer'd.

To



To speak generally, the *East-India* Trade is Profitable to the Adventurers in time of Peace; but rarely so in seasons of War and Trouble. In time of Peace, they enrich their Country by a Foreign Vent and Exportation of their Goods, and in time of War, the Home Consumption chiefly enables 'em to support and carry on their Traffick.

Your Lordship may see all along in this Discourse, that 'tis my Opinion, They do not interfere with such Manufactures as 'tis the Interest of *England* to promote and encourage: But though the prohibited *East-India* Goods did greatly prejudice our own Product and Manufacture; yet I do not think a Prohibition of 'em at all adviseable, during the War, for these Reasons:

First, Our Condition is so weak, that we cannot struggle with any the bad Events, with which a new Council may be attended.

Secondly, If to their Losses at Sea, their Misfortunes in *India*, on the Score of *Every's* Piracy, and their want of Mony; arising from the general Want of Species in the Nation, a Prohibition of the Consumption of so many of their Goods be likewise added; 'tis to be apprehended, That upon such a discouragement, the Traders

to those Parts, will by degrees withdraw from thence, their Effects and Stock, and quite abandon the whole Traffick.

Thirdly, If this should happen, and that either through Sullenness, or because the Prohibition does really bring insuperable difficulties, our Merchants should actually quit the Trade; the Dutch, our Rivals in all other Traffick, will certainly seize the Derelict. And such an Addition to their Riches and Power at Sea, can by no means be consistent with the Welfare and Safety of this Nation.

My Lord, in this Discourse (which proves much longer than I intended) I have endeavour'd to show your Lordship, First, That this Trade is Beneficial to the Kingdom. Secondly, That 'tis not prejudicial to the General Woollen Manufacture of *England*. Thirdly, That it does not so interfere with our Silk and Linnen Manufactures, as to hurt the Publick. Fourthly, That the intended Prohibitions may probably occasion an utter Loss of the whole Traffick.

No alteration in so considerable a Branch of our Foreign Commerce should be attempted, unless the whole Matter had been for many Months consider'd maturely, by a Council of Trade, compos'd of the ablest Men in the Kingdom; And I



will venture to affirm, That no sound Judgment can be made in things of this Nature, without contemplating the universal Posture and Business of the Nation: And when so important Deliberations are a foot, the Number of the People should be examin'd, their annual Consumption, both of Home and Foreign Materials, should be well stated, the ready Mony, and other Stock of the Kingdom, should be inquir'd into, the Sum of Mony, and Hands employ'd in every distinct Trade, should be duly contemplated; and upon such a general Inspection and View of the whole, we might be Ripe to deliberate on any single Point.

Any false Measures and rash Councils in Affairs so important, are hardly capable of a future Remedy.

The *Hollanders* have in their Possession all the Spice Islands, which they have strongly fortified; and by this means they lay a kind of Excise upon those necessary Commodities which all *Europe* is forc'd to pay.

By the seizing of *Bantam*, they have got almost three Parts in four of the Pepper-Trade.

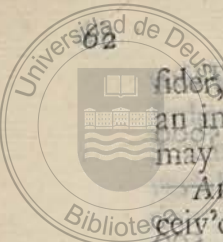
Brought

Brought into <i>Europe</i> since the	Tuns.
Loss of <i>Bantam</i> , and before the pre-	} 5000
sent War (<i>Communibus Annis</i>) of	
Pepper, about	—
Of which Imported by the	} 500
<i>French</i> and <i>Danes</i> , about	
By the <i>English</i> , about	900
By the <i>Dutch</i> , about	3600
Total	5000

The *Hollanders*, at this time, are very Powerful in *India*; they have many good Forts and Castles well provided, and large Colonies of Men; and they can, upon any Occasion, call together there 40 strong Frigats: So that if it agreed with the present Circumstances of their Affairs in *Europe*, or with the Nature of the Alliance they are engag'd in, 'tis undoubtedly in their Power, to engross this rich Traffick wholly to themselves, and to expel us for ever from those Countries.

Perhaps they may not think it a safe advice, to attempt doing this by Force, but we shall have no reason to complain, if they take in hand, what we give over and abandon.

But suppose they should drive us from thence by force of Arms, or that we should quit the Trade to them thro' Negligence and Folly, it will be worth while to consider,



sider, what addition of wealth and strength, an intire Monoply of East-India Goods may prove to that Common-wealth.

And, My Lord, if I am not much deceiv'd in Political Arithmetick, it would bring Yearly a much greater Mass of Treasure to the United Provinces, than is brought into Europe from the Mines of Peru and Mexico.

This side of the World is so fond of these Vanities, that if they could be had but at one Market, such a Market might, by their means, draw from the rest of Europe continually per An. at least 6 Millions.

To prove this Assertion, will take up more time than consists with the Brevity intended in this Discourse; I shall therefore only give one Instance, and that is of Pepper, by which some Judgment may be made of all the other Commodities.

Pepper 5000 Tuns at } l. s. d.
2 d. per l. as it may Cost the } 74,666-13-4
Dutch in India amounts to }

Add to this 3 d. per l. }
for Freight into Holland, }
then it Costs 5 d. per l. } 186,666-13-4
which amounts to — }

Ditto 5000 Tuns sold }
in Holland at 12 d. per l. }
the Profit being 7 d. per l. } 261,333- 6-8
will amount to — }

But

But this Commodity is grown so necessary, and has so obtain'd, and is of such general Use, that it may be sold in Holland at Six Shillings per l. which is less than any of the other Spices, as Cheap in India as Pepper.

Then 5000 Tuns sold in } l. s. d.
Holland at 6 s. per l. the pro- }
fit being 5 s. 7 d. per l. will } 2,498,836-13-4
amount to — }

If from the single Article of Pepper, such a Sum as 2,498,836 l. may be rais'd, it will not be difficult to conceive, That by raising the Price of other Spices, Wrought Silks, Callicoes, Raw Silks, Salt Petre and other Indian Goods, the Hollanders by an entire Monoply of this Trade, may drain the rest of Europe, every Year, of at least Six Millions.

Considering their Naval Force, and their Competition with us in Trade, such an addition of Wealth, must make them a very formidable People.

And tho' they may not peradventure turn their Strength to hurt the Traffick or Peace of England, yet 'tis no very remote Fear, to apprehend, That notwithstanding all their Riches, they may at last become a Prey to France.

And if the French, with the Dutch Shipping in their right, and as their Lords, should once become Masters of this Rich Trade, such an Accession to that Wise, well Peopled, and large Empire, must prove our Ruin.

And



An Essay upon, &c.

And I must here take Notice, That (as I am inform'd) all the Salt-Petre, produc'd in this side of the World, is not sufficient to take such a Place of Strength as *Dunkirk*. If the Fact be so, as War is made now, must not whatever Country can obtain the sole Trade to *India*, and the Monopoly of that Commodity, give Laws to the rest of *Europe*?

The principal Care, My Lord, incumbent upon Persons in Your Station, is very Cautionously to weigh New Councils, to which You are adapted by Nature and Practice.

Wise Men will never engage in Rash Advices; from whence, if they succeed not, there is no good Retreat: And Empericks of State only, will be tampering at every turn, with the Body politick, and venturing upon bold and unsafe Remedies.

That the Common People want Work, that there is a general deadness of Trade, and that our Home Manufactures are in an ill Condition, must certainly be granted; but these Mischiefs proceed not from the Importation of *East-India* Goods, and may be plainly assign'd to other Causes.

UPON the whole Matter, My Lord, I am of Opinion, (with Submission to better Judgments) That the intended Prohibitions of *East-India* and *Persia* Wrought Silks, &c. will be destructive to the Trade in General, and hazard its being utterly lost to the Kingdom.

b7A

FINIS.





