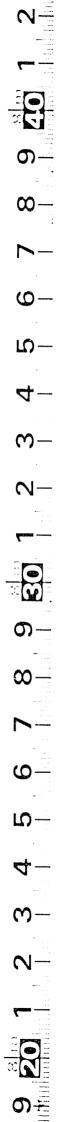
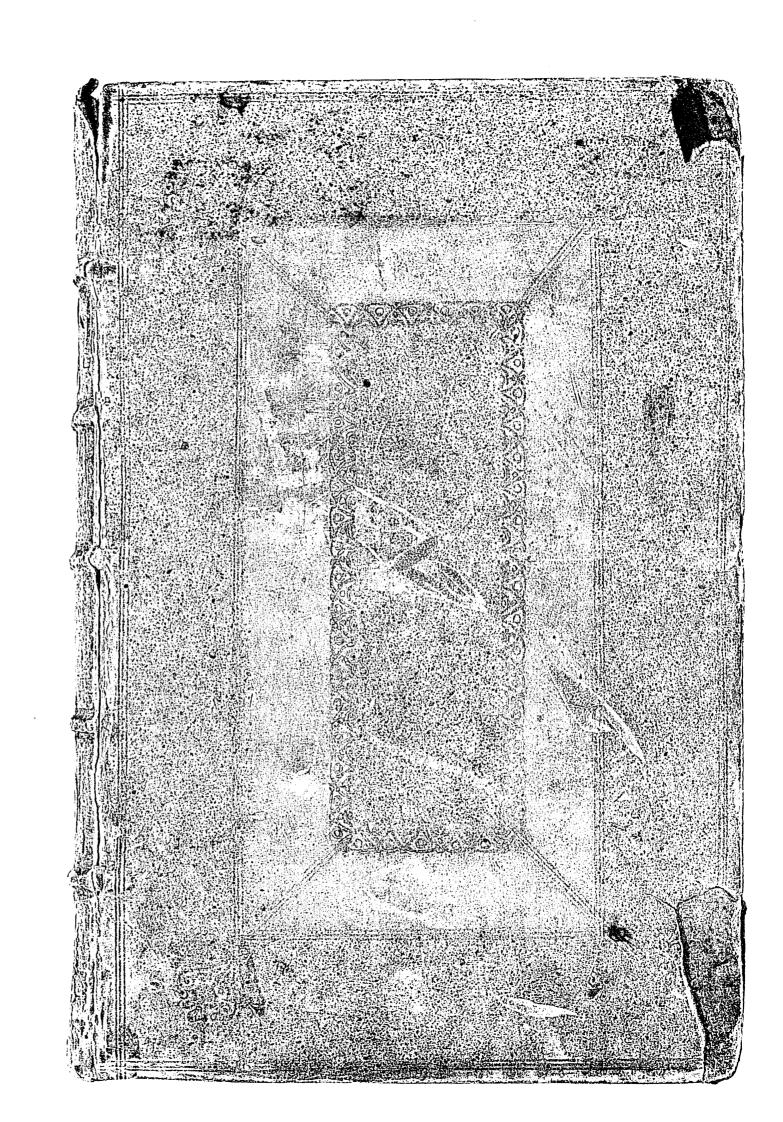
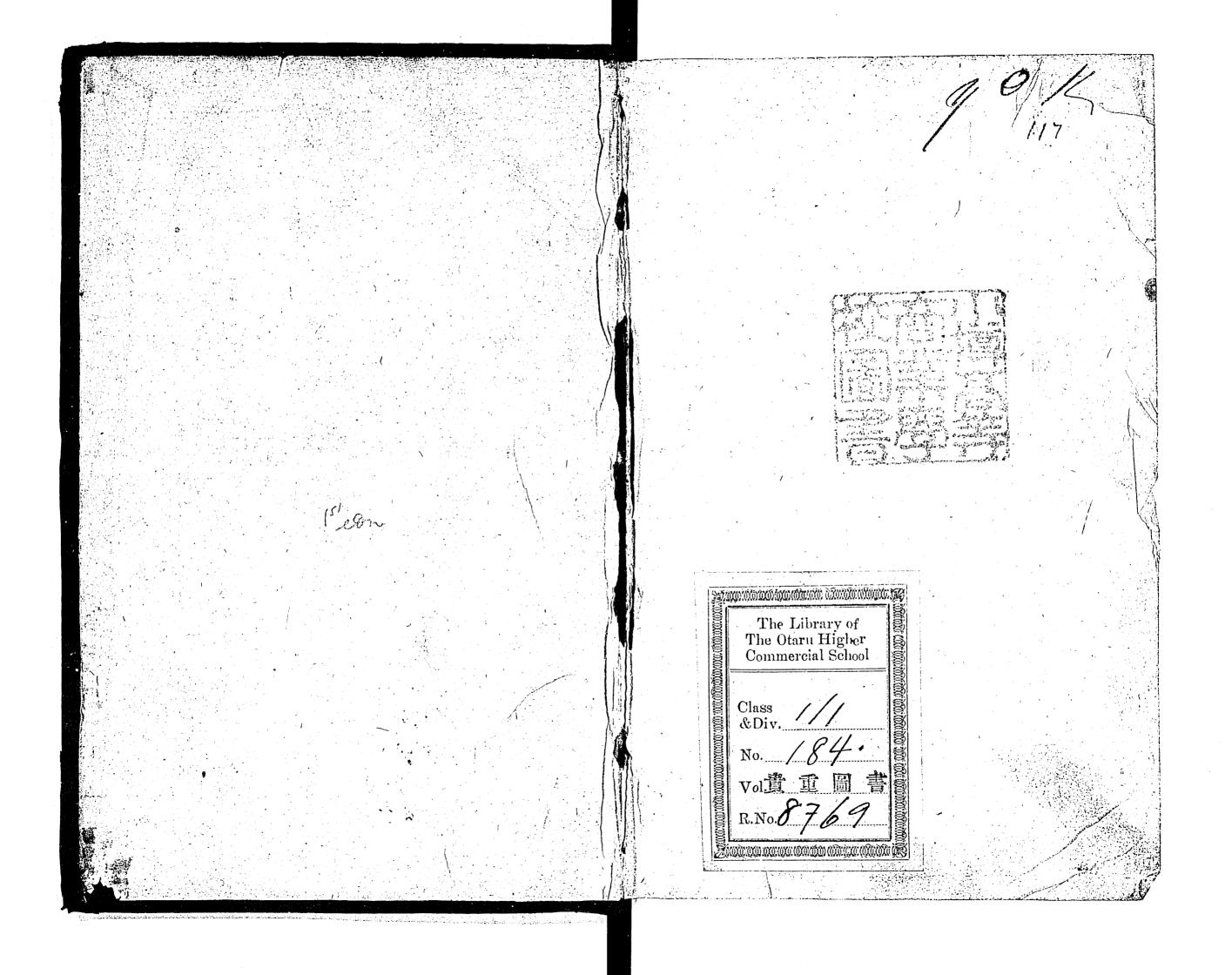
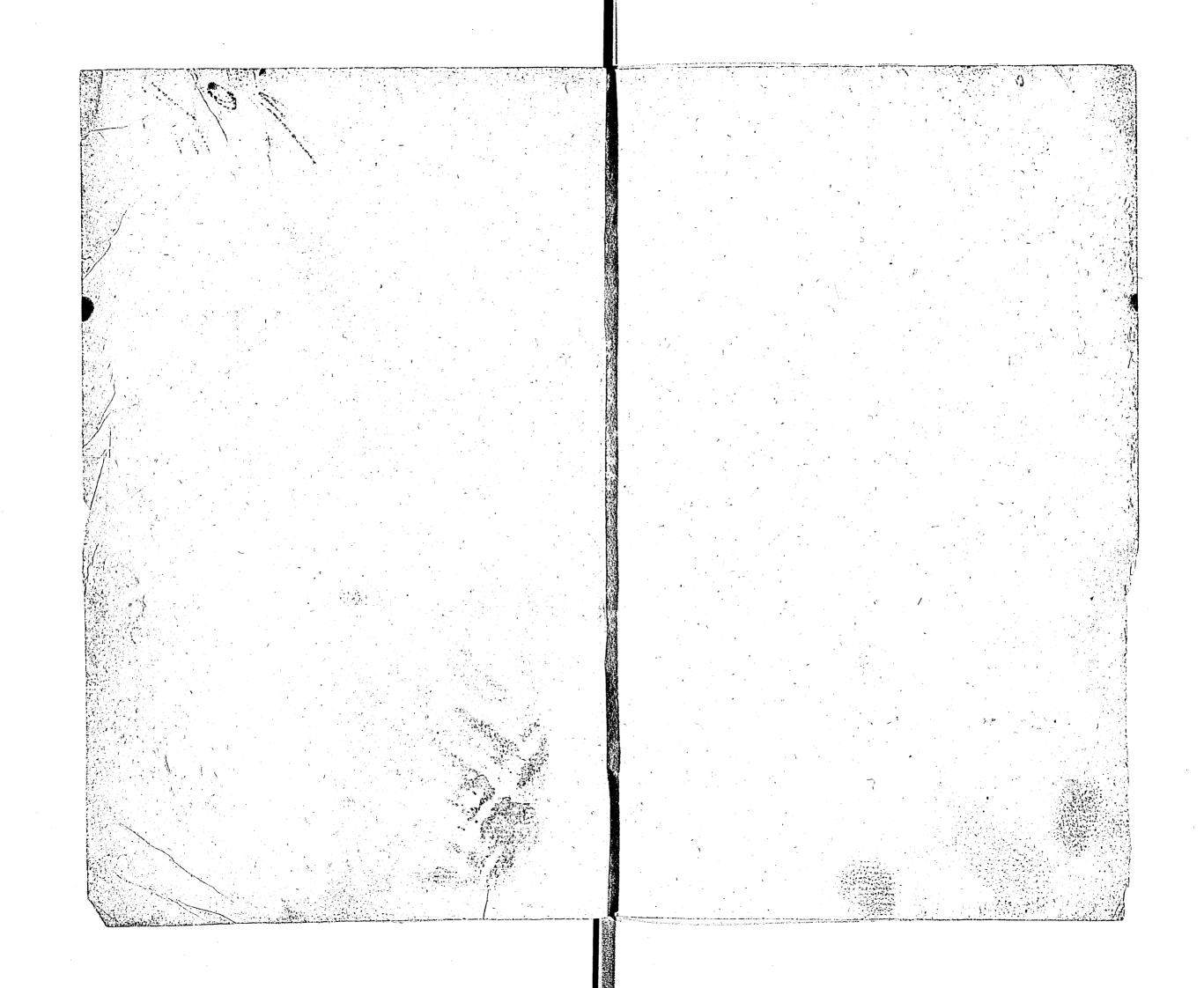
A plan of the English commerce: being a complete prospect of the trade of this nation, as well the home trade as the foreign: in three parts ...

Defoe, Daniel 1728









PLAN

OF THE

English Commerce.

BEING A

COMPLEAT PROSPECT

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The Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign.

In Three PARTS.

PART I. Containing a VIEW of the present Magnitude of the English Trade, as it respects,

The Exportation of our Own Growth and Manufacture.

2. The Importation of Merchants Goods from Abroad.
3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home.

PART II. Containing an ANSWER to that great and important QUESTION now depending, Whether our Trade, and Especially our Manufactures, are in a declining Condition, or no?

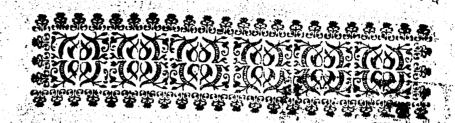
PART III. Containing several Proposals entirely New, for Extending and Improving our Trade, and Promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures, in Countries wherewith we have Hitherto had no Commerce.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the KING and PARLIAMENT.

LONDON:

Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON, at the Bible and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M. DCC. XXVIII.



THE

PREFACE



N a Nation rais'd as we are by Trade, fam'd for carrying on the most extended Commerce in the World, and particularly prosperous in the greatest Underta-

kings, whether for Improvement at Home, or Adventure Abroad, nothing is more wonderful, than to see how ignorant the Generality of our People are about it; how weakly they talk of it, and how little has been made publick for their better Information.

Every Man knows his own Affairs, moves in his own Circle, pursues the Mechanism of his own particular Business; but take him out of his Road, he knows nothing of the Reason, or the End of what he is about: The Clothier sorts his Wool, dyes and mixes the Colours; the Comb, the Card, by his Direction, and he is call da Master of his Art, and he is so; but ask him where

his Cloths are fold, by whom bought, to what Part of the Worldthey are shipt, and who are the last Consumers of them, he knows nothing of the Matter; he sends them up to London to the Factor that sells them, whether at Blackwell-Hall, or in his private Warehouse, and when sold, he draws Bills for the Money; there his Circle meets; the Money buys more Wool to be sorted, and comb'd, and Spun; and so on, he ends just where he begins, and he begins just where he ended. To talk to him of Trade, Ships, Exportation, Markets Abroad, and Returns in Specie, or in Merchants Goods, tis as much out of his Way, as the Race and the Paddock is to a Carryer's Packborle.

The Merchant on the other Hand moves in another Sphere; and he being a Man of Correspondence, besides his own Adventure, receives Commissions from Abroad to buy such and such Goods, and good Remittances by Bills to pay for them, then he ships them according to Order, sends his Invoyces and Bills of Loading by the Post; and there's his Circle finish'd. As to the Wool which is the Principal of the Manufacture; as to the many Hands it goes thro'; how many Thousand Families are employed by it; how the Poor are subsisted, the Provisions consum'd, the landed Interest rais'd, the Nobility and Gentry enrich'd, and the whole Nation Supported by the very Goods he buys; he neither knows or concerns himself about it.

The Captains, Masters, Owners, and Navigators of Ships, they move in another Orb, but still act in the same Round of Business; the Ship is built, and fitted out for a Voyage; Thousands of Tradesmen and Workmen subsist upon the petty Demands of the Captain or other Persons who direct the Voyage; the Timber, the Plank, the Iron-Work, the Masts, the Rigging, the Tar and Hemp, the Flax and Oyl, all pass thro' different and numberless Hands, till they center in the Builder's Tard; there the Frame of a Vessel is set on the Stocks. What Hands are then employ'd to creat the beautiful useful Form of a Ship! and what Art to perfect and launch her into the Water!

The Carpenters, Caulkers, Mastmakers, Joyners, Carvers, Painters, Smiths, &c. finish the Hull; the Tradesmen are employ'd to furnish and fit her out; the Sail-Makers, the Rope-Makers, Anchor-Smiths, Block-Makers, Gun-Founders, Coopers, and (for a Thousand small Things too trifling to mention, tho' absolutely needful) the Ship Chandler, and at last the Brewer, Butcher, Baker, &c. for Provision to victual her, all help on the Voyage.

All these supported by that glorious Head of Commerce, called the Merchant, are employed in the Outset of the Ship, but know nothing

nothing how to manage the Ship in the Ocean, how to cause her to find her Way on the wild and pathless Surface of the Water; they fit her out, and deliver all to the Commander, &c. But as to the sailing Part, that belongs to another Class of People, called the Sailers or Navigators; and when the Tradesmen have put the Ship into their Hands, their Work is done, till the Ship returns, and then they begin all again: So the Circle is conti-

nued, for ever the same. Again, the Navigator or Commander, he puts up his Ship on the Exchange for such a Voyage, Lisbon, or Cadiz, or Hamburg, or Leghorn; he takes in the Merchants Goods, carries them safe to the delivering Port; he reloads there, and brings back his Cargoe; he knows no more; even his Bills of Loading are sign'd, under a needful Profession of his Ignorance, naming the Bulk of what he receives on Board (so many Hogsheads, or Butts, or Bales) but adds the Contents unknown, &c.

When he brings home the Ship, he makes his Report at the Custom-house, and unlivers his Cargo, as they call it; then he receives his Freight, pays his Men, and lays the Ship up, and there's bis Circle finish'd; his Sphere of Action, however important, reaches no farther; as to Trade or Commerce, whether general or particular, he knows no more of it than just lies before him.

The PREFACE. I might run thro' almost all the Branches of Business, and all the Classes of the Men

of Business, and give Examples of the like; but 'tis enough, the Conclusion is short: Hence then a general or universal Plan of Commerce is certainly much wanted in

the World.

When we speak of some Men, who are the most acquainted in the World of Business, we say they are Men of a general Knowledge; and such a Man is an universal Merchant; I have indeed heard such Language talked among the trading Part of Mankind, but I cannot say that I ever saw the Man.

The Commerce of the World, especially as it is now carried on, is an unbounded Ocean of Business; Trackless and unknown, like the Seas it is managed upon; the Merchant is no more to be follow'd in his Adventures, than a Maze or Labyrinth is to be trac'd out without a Clue.

The Author of this Work is not quite So arrogant, after a Complaint of this Nature, as to tell you be shall present you with this universal Plan, for the whole Trade of the World: It is enough, if he is able to offer a Plan for the Trade of our own Country, in which it is but too true, there are many that talk of the general Commerce to one that understands it.

Nor even in this Plan of our Commerce, does he direct what the Trade of Europe,

A 4

in general is with us; but what and how great our particular Commerce is; how it is arriv'd to its present Magnitude; how to be maintained and supported in its full Extent; (and which is, or ought to be, the true End of all such Attempts:) How it

The PREFACE.

may yet be improv'd and enlarg'd. We have loud Complaints among us of the Decay of our Trade, the declining of our Manufactures, and especially of our woollen Manufacture; the contrary of which

is, I think, evidently prov'd in this Tract, and the Reasons given for it, will not be easily refuted. It is not any little Negative put upon our Manufactures, as to their

Consumption in this or that petty Province or Country in Germany, or else where: Our Manufacture, like a flowing Tide, if 'tis bank't out in one Place, it spreads by

other Channels at the same Time into so many different Parts of the World, and finds every Day so many new Outlets, that the Obstruction is not felt; but like the Land

to the Sea, what it loses in one Place, it gains in another.

It is plain, the Manufacture cannot be declin'd, if the Quantity of Wool is wrought up, and the Goods are consum'd; on the other Hand 'tis evident, the Consumption of our Manufactures, both abroad and at home, is exceedingly encreas'd; the first by the Encrease of our Correspondencies, and the last by the Encrease of our People; and that to such

a Degree, as infinitely out-weighs all that can be pretended of the Probibitions of them in Germany, or the Imitations of them in France; nor are those things able to wound us so deep as our phlegmatick Complainers would insinuate.

But that a full Answer may be given to all they can say of what Loss we yet suffer, and to all they can suggest of what we may suffer hereafter; this Work is calculated, to shew how we may counteract it all at once: Namely, by improving and encreasing our Trade in other Places where those Probibitions and Imitations cannot reach, and where, if half Europe Should drop our Manufacture, which yet'tis apparent can never happen, we shall raise an equivalent Vent for our Goods, and make Markets of our own; in which the whole World could not supplant us, unless they could subdue us.

This is the Substance of this Tract; 'tis the original Thought which gave Birth to the whole Work; if our Trade is the Envy of the World, and they are conspiring to break in upon it, either to anticipate it, or block it out, we are the more engaged to look out for its Support; and we have Room enough: The World is wide: There are new Countries, and new Nations, who may be so planted, so improv'd, and the People so manag'd, as to create a new Commerce; and Millions of People

shall call for our Manufacture, who never call d for it before.

Nothing is to me more evident, than that the civilizing the Nations where we and other Europeans are already settled; bringing the naked Savages to Clothe, and in-Aructing barbarous Nations how to live, has had a visible Effect already, in this very Article. Those Nations call upon us every Year for more Goods, than they did the Year before, as well woollen Manufactures, as others. The Portuguese Colonies in the Brazils, and on the East Coasts of Africa, are an unanswerable Proof of this. The European Manufactures now sent to those Colonies, are above five Times as many as were sent to the same Places, about 30 to 40 Years ago; and yet the European Inhabitants in those Colonies are not encreased in Proportion. We might give Instances of the like in other Places abroad, and that not a few.

New planting Colonies then, and farther improving those already settled, will effectually encrease this Improvement; for like Causes, will have like Effects; Clothing new Nations cannot fail of encreasing the Demand of Goods, because it encreases the Consumption, and that encreased Demand

is the Prosperity of our Trade.

Here then is an undiscover'd Ocean of Commerce laid open to us, and some Specimens are offer'd, which if entred upon,

with the Authority, Power, and Vigor of the Publick, would open such new Channels of Trade among us, as it would be very hard for our Manufacturers to overstock the Market, and as no petty Probibitions in Europe could stop the Current of.

It is surprizing that in a Nation where such Encouragements are given for planting and improving, where Colonies have been settled, and Plantations made with such Success; where we may truly be said to have filled the World with the Wonders of our growing Possessions, and where we have added not Provinces only, but Kingdoms to the British Dominion, and have launched out even to an Ocean of Commerce. That now, I say, We should, as it were, put a full Stop at once to all our great Designs; check the Humour of Encreasing, and from a kind of a mysterious unaccountable Stupidity turn indolent on a suddain. Not as if we found no more Room to launch out, for the Contrary to that is apparent; but as if we had enough, and sought no more Worlds in Trade to conquer.

In all other Cases, and among all other Nations Success encourages Men to go on; encreasing, they endeavour to encrease, Crescit amor nummi, &c. — So in Trade, the growing and enlarging the Bounds of a Plantation, the swelling and thriving of Commerce, and the Advantages to the Merchant and Planter in all those Things, cer-

tainly

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tainly encreases the Desire of planting, enlarges the Commerce and fires the Merchant with the Desires of enlarging his Adventures, searching out new Colonies, forming new Adventures, and pushing at new. Discoveries for the Encrease of his Trad-

The PREFACE.

ing Advantages.

It is so in other Nations, and it seems. wonderful it should not be so here; the Spaniards tho' an indolent Nation, whose Colonies were really so rich, so great, and so far extended, as were enough even to glut their utmost Avarice; yet gave not over, till, as it were, they sat still, because they had no more Worlds to look for; or till at least, there were no more Gold or Sil-

ver Mines to discover

The Portuguese, tho' an effeminate, haughty, and as it were, a decay'd Nation in Trade; yet how do they go on Daily encreasing their Colonies in the Brazils, in Africa, as well on the East Side, as the West? And how do they encrease their Commerce in all those Countries, by reducing the numerous Nations in Melinda, in Zanguebar, in Congo, in Angola, in the Brazils, as well North as South, and every where else, to the Christian Oeconomy, and to the Government of Commerce! by which they subdue whole Nations of Savages to a regular Life, and by that Means bring them to be subservient to Trade as well as to Government.

But how little have we done of this kind? How little have we gain'd upon the Natives of America in all our Colonies? How few of them are brought to live among us. how few to be subject to us? How little Progress of that kind can we boast of? All our Colonies seem to be carried on upon the meer Strength of our own People. Nor can we say we have any one considerable Nation reduced to entire Obedience and brought to live under the Regularity and Direction of a Civil Government, in all our Plantations; a few (very few) in New England only

excepted.

As for new Colonies and Conquests, how do we seem entirely to give over, even the Thoughts of them, tho' the Scene is so large, tho' the Variety is so great, and the Advantages so many? On the Contrary, we Seem to forget the glorious Improvements of our Ancestors, such as the great Drake, Cavendish, Smith, Greenfield, Somers, and above all, the yet greater Sir Walter Raleigh, upon the Foot of whose Genius almost all the English Discoveries were made, and all the Colonies and Plantations, which now form what they call the English Empire in America were settled and established. These I Say we seem to sit down with, as if we had done our utmost, were fully satisfied with what we have, that the enterprising Genius was buried with the old Discoverers, and there was neither Room in the World

Whereas on the Contrary, the World prefents us with large Scenes of Trade, new Platforms for Business, enough to prompt our Ambition, and even to glut our Avarice; yet we seem to have no Heart for the Adventure.

Nor is there any want of People among us; on the contrary, here are Thousands of Families who want Business, want Employment, want Encouragement, and many that want no Stocks to carry with them, and are ready to go abroad, were the adventuring Spirit reviv'd, and some Men sired with Warmth for the Undertaking, and but vigorous enough to make the Beginning.

This is the Way to raife new Worlds of Commerce, to enlarge and extend new Funds of Trade, to open Doors for an Encrease of Shipping and Manufacture; the Places are so many and the Advantages so great for the making such Attempts; that I say nothing is more wonderful of its kind, than to see how backward we are to push on our own Advantages, and to plant in the most agreeable Climates in the World, in a manner so advantageous as never to be supplanted, and such as should make the English Possessions abroad five Times as Great, as Opulent and as Prositable to Old England, as they have been yet.

The Description of these Places, so proper for Planting, so suited to Commerce, and so qualified to enrich and aggrandize the British Nation, is a Work not only too large for this Tract, but seems not suited to our present Tast; it must by till the Trading Genius revives and the adventuring Temper is restored among us: Then it will appear, there will neither want Encouragement to such Undertakings or Undertakers to embrace the Encouragements which offer.

As these are Things of the utmost Importance to our Trade in general, and in that to the Prosperity of all his Majesty's Dominions in particular, the Author humbly hopes it shall not be thought assuming, that as we say in our Title, they are humbly referr'd to the Consideration of the King and Parliament; they are Things worthy of a King, and worthy of a powerful Legislature to consider of; no Power less than that of King, Lords and Commons, can put these Wheels of Improvement into due Motion: And I conclude with an inexpressible Satisfaction, in saying, that as we know his Majesty has the Prosperity of all his Kingdoms at Heart, and will be always ready to listen to reasonable and practicable Proposals for that Purpose; and that the Parliament has always shewn their Readiness to concur in the same just Endea-

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Endeavour; and which is yet more, that the Proposals here offered, and others yet behind, are apparently practicable and rational; it cannot be doubted, but that the Time will come, and is near at Hand, when the Improvement of the British Commerce shall no more appear in Project and Theory, but shew it self in a due and daily Progression, till it compleats the Glory and Prosperity of the whole Nation.



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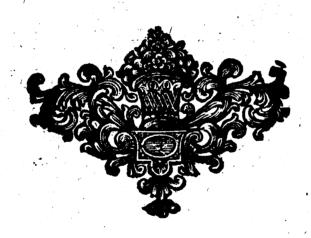
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- 2. Against oppressing one another by Engrossing, Underselling, Combinations in Trade, &c.
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- with the World; the great Advantages of it; with a Word of the scandalous Character of a Purse-proud Tradesman.
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PART II. Being useful Generals in Trade, describing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain; with large TABLES of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Consumption at Home, &c. by all which the infinite Number of our Tradesmen are employ'd, and the General Wealth of the Nation raised and increased.

The Whole calculated for the Use of all our Inland Tradesmen, as well in the City as in the Country.

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RADE

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GENERAL.

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RADE, like Religion, is what every Body talks of, but few understand: The very Term is dubious, and in its ordinary Acceptation, not sufficiently explain'd.

WHEN 'tis particular to a Place, 'tis Trade; when general, 'tis Commerce; when we speak of it as the Effect of Nature, 'tis Product or Produce; when as the Effect of Labour, 'tis Manufacture: In its Management 'tis the same, for when we speak

O F

speak of it in the gross, 'tis wholesale; when of the particulars, 'tis retale; when we speak of Nations, 'tis call'd Corresponding; when of foreign Import only, 'tis called Merchandizing; 'Tis the same also in the Manner, when we exchange Goods 'tis call'd Barter; when we exchange Coin, 'tis call'd Banking, Negoce and Negotiating; Hence, our Money-Goldsmiths were formerly called Bankers, and our great national Treasury of Commerce is at this

Day called the Bank.

THE general heads of Home-Trade are best contain'd in the two plain and homely Terms Labouring, and Dealing. 1st. The labouring Part, this consists of Arts, Handicrasts, and all Kinds of Manufactures; and those who are employ'd in these Works, are properly called Mechanicks; they are employ'd, generally speaking, about the first Principles of Trade, (viz.) the Product of the Land or of the Sea, or of the Animals living on both: In a Word, the ordinary Produce of the vegetative and sensative Life; such as Metals, Minerals and Plants, the immediate Produce of Vegetation, or such as Flesh, Skins, Hair, Wool, Silk, &c. grown with, and produc'd by the Animals, as the Effect of sensitive Life.

12. The Dealing Part; this consists of handing about all the several Productions of Art and Labour, when finish'd by the Hand of the industrious Mechanick, and made useful

useful to Mankind; conveying them from Place to Place, and from one Country to another, as the Necessity and the Convenience of the People call for them; and that upon such Terms and Conditions of Delivery, as they can best agree about among themselves, and this is Trade; whether it be carry'd on by the general Medium of all Exchangings call'd Coin, or by something substituted as Coin, and in the room of it, which we call Money.

N. B. Any Thing that is by the Authority of a Nation establish'd as the Medium of their Exchanges, is properly the Money of the Nation, tho' seldom any Thing but Gold, Silver, or other

Metals is call'd Coin.

Thus Dealing and Manufacturing comprehends all Trade; that is to say, in its meer natural and original Situation; and all the subsequent Divisions and Distinctions of Terms, by which we are taught to express the particular Parts of Trade, are but modern Names introduc'd by Custom, and legitimated by length of Time, and general Usage of the Men of Art, to distinguish Things, as accident and the Variety of the several Productions in Mechanism required.

So the Word Goods is a general Term, comprehending all the feveral Kinds and Sorts, whether of Manufactures or Product, that the greatest Dealer in the World

Superior to these, are the Guides or Mas-

ters in fuch Works or Employments, and

these are call'd Artists, Mechanicks or Crasts-

can be supposed to Trade in; it is a usual Thing to express it so to this Day, in the Language of Trade; for Example, in retailing, we say, such a Shop is well furnish'd with all Sorts of Goods: In wholesale Trade, such a Dealer has his Warehouse well fill'd with Goods: In Housekeeping, all the Furniture of a House are called the Goods, or the Houshold-goods: In Merchandizing, such a Ship was Loaden with BALE GOODS; and in the East India Ships, after the bulky Goods, (so they call the Pepper, Salt-petre, Red-earth, Tea, and fuch like) are taken out, it is faid the rest of the Loading was made up with PIECE GOODS.

As the Terms in Trade are various, fo the People concern'd in Trade bear differing Titles, and are ordinarily known by differ-

ing Denominations.

THOSE concern'd in the meaner and first Employments, are called in common, Working Men or Labourers, and the labouring Poor; fuch as the meer Husbandmen, Miners, Diggers, Fishers, and in short, all the Drudges and Labourers in the several Productions of Nature or of Art: Next to them, are those who, tho' labouring perhaps equally with the other, have yet some Art mingled with their Industry, and are to be particularly instructed and taught how to perform their Part, and those are called Workmen or Handicrafts. SUPERIOR

men; and in general, all are understood in this one Word Mechanicks; fuch are Clothiers, Weavers, &c. Handicrafts in Hardware, Brass, Iron, Steel, Copper, &c. Superior to these are the Dealers who only buy and fell, either by wholefale or retale as above; these are the Factor, the

Pedlar, and the Merchant.

-ALL these come under the general Denomination of Trading Men, and they are the principal Kinds or Professions which just now carry on the Trade of the World.

HAVING thus, once for all, accounted for these several Distinctions, and for the trading People in their respective Denominations as above, we shall have no more Occasion to explain the Terms as we go along, or trouble the Reader with running out to enquire our Meaning, when we speak of the several Branches of Commerce in their proper and particular Distinctions or Terms of Art.

WE must also remove some Scandal out of the Way as we go on, and this is another Difficulty. This Scandal relates to the Dignity, Antiquity, and other Honours due to Trade, and claim'd in its Behalf; concerning which we meet with much weak headed Strife in the World; and which, as I take it, belongs properly to

English COMMERCE.

N. B. OBSERVE, here I speak of our own Country chiefly, and of the Mistake. as it is particularly espoused in England, and nowhere elfe.

First, as to Antiquity; and even in this, I think the Tradesmen and the Gentry should never cap Pedigrees, since the most noble Descendants of Adam's Family, and in whom the Primogeniture remained, were really Mechanicks; for honest Jubal and TUBAL were the first Fidle-makers and Tinkers in the World: The first invented and made musical Instruments, Fidles, &c. and the fecond was the first Hard-ware Manufacturer, that is in English, a Tinker, and no better; N.B. for long, (many long Ages) after them, the Sons and Grandsons of these Mechanicks were Kings and Princes, Dukes and Lords.

AF, TER the second Peopling of the World, before there were any Distinctions of Nobility, or Mechanicks, they feem to have been all Labourers; as at the erecling that stupendous Work called Babel for Example; to be sure, the FREE-Masons and their Brother Bricklayers, who were the Master-Builders there, were some of the top of their Gentry at that Time.

A's the World encreased, Sidon, Noah's Grandson, built a City, which remains

this Place, at least I shall discharge my self of it here, and by doing so, shall have no more Occasion to trouble you with it in the rest of our Debate, however, the impertinent Cavils of the Times may importune

me upon that Head.

PRIDE, in Conjunction with abundance of Ignorance, is frequently in Arms against the peaceable trading World about Precedence, and in a Plea of Antiquity: They would divide the World into two Parts only, (viz.) the Gentry and the Commonalty; among the Gentry they rank the Nobility, the ancient Families of Gentlemen, (as they call them) Barons, &c. and those who were formerly called Barons; and with some Difficulty they admit the Men of Learning, and the Men of Arms, (viz.) the Soldiery and the Clergy, and all the Families, who by the Heraldry of their Houses claim to have been Gentlemen unmix'd with plebeian Blood for immemorial Ages.

This Family Jargon, for it is no more, they oppose to the trading Part of the whole World, whom they divest of all Dignity, as well as of Degree; and blend together under one general, or rather common Denomination of Mechanicks; tho' by the Accidents of Time, and Circumstances of Things, some of them are, and for many Ages have been true Members of the Gentry by collateral Branches; nay fometimes by in the same Place, and bears the same Name to this Day.

HERE Navigation began, and as Noah was the first Shipwright, or according to us, the first Ship-Carpenter, (a true Mechanick) his Posterity built the first Boats, and afterwards Ships at this Place; with these they traded to and with the neighbouring Nations upon the Coast, as Nature, Reason and Necessity guided them. In the Infancy of their navigating Skill, they Row'dalong in these Boats, (for at first they had no Sails) from Place to Place Northward, to the Gulph of Alexandria now Scandaroon, and so on to the Coast of Cilicia where they built Tarshish, the first grand Arsenal or Place for Ship-building in the World; whence great Ships were afterwards called Ships of Tarshish for many Ages, no Ships of Burthen being built any where else.

Also South they coasted to Joppa, now Jassa, thence to Damiata and Egypt, where their great Grandsather Cham reigned Emperor of all Africa for many Ages. See Sir Walter Rawleigh's History of the World.

ENCREASING thus in People, and in Wealth (by Trade) and growing too great for the Compass of one City, or the Commerce of one Port, they spread themselves by way of Colony, and settled first at Tyre, a convenient Situation also for Shiping and for Merchandizing.

Here they encreased again to such a Prodigy of Business, as I have good Reason to believe, was never equall'd in the World, except just now, (viz.) by the great Trade carry'd on at this Time in England; of which in its Place.

And here to prove to you beyond the Power of Cavil, that the Antients thought it not below their Quality to be Tradefmen; the Prophet Ezekiel fays, Thy wife Men were thy Pilots, and thy Merchants are Princes; or as some read it, Thy Princes are Merchants, as it is expressly in another Place, Ezekiel xxvii. 21. The Princes of Kedar were thy Merchants.

Thus much is sufficient for the Antiquity of Trade and Navigation; as to the Antiquity of trading Families, I say with a late low born Poet, but a Man of Wit,

Let Cæsar or Nassau go higher.

And why then are we to despise Commerce as a Mechanism, and the Trading World as mean, when the Wealth of the World is deem'd to rise from Trade? as the same Text said of Tyre, v. 33. of the same Chapter, Thou didst enrich the Kings of the Earth with thy Merchandise.

But to bring this down to our felves; Are we a rich, a populous, a powerful Nation, and in some Respects the greatest in all those particulars in the World, and do

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we not boast of being so? Tis evident it was all deriv'd from Trade. Our Merchants are Princes, greater and richer, and more powerful than some sovereign Princes; and in a Word, as is said of Tyre, we have made the Kings of the Earth rich with our Merchandise, that is, with our Trade.

IIF Usefulness gives an Addition to the Character, either of Men or Things, as without doubt it does; Trading-men will have the Preserence in almost all the Disputes you can bring: There is not a Nation in the known World, but have tasted the Benefit, and owe their Prosperity to the useful Improvements of Commerce: Even the self-vain Gentry, that would decry Trade as a universal Mechanism, are they not every where depending upon it for their most necessary Supplies? If they do not all fell, they are all forc'd to buy, and so are a kind of Traders themselves, at least they recognize the Usefulness of Commerce, as what they are not able to live comfortably without.

NAY, in many Parts of Britain, they are really Traders, both Buyers and Sellers; for Example, where the Landlords are obliged to take their Rents in kind, as the Clergy do their Tithes; here they are (in a word) general Traders; they fell their Barley to the Malt-makers, their Wheat to the Millers and Bakers, their Oates to the Corn-factors, their Sheep and Bullocks are fold at the Markets to the Butchers, or

at Fairs to the Graziers; they are Sheep-Shearers, and sell their Wool to the Stapler or Clothier; and when they kill a Bullock, or a Calf, or a Sheep, for their Family-Use, they are beholding to the Felmonger, and the Tanner, to buy the raw Hides and Skins; when they sell their Timber, they are oblig'd to turn Mechanicks, and sell the Bark to the Tanners, the Timber to the Ship-wright and the Carpenters, the Brushwood and Bavins to the Baker and the Brick-maker.

In a Word, useful Trade supports the Gentleman; and without these Mechanicks he could not dispose the Produce of his Estate, or make any Rent of his Land; and rather than not dispose of it, such is his Necessity, that we see he will stoop to buy and sell for himself, and trade and deal like a meer Mechanick.

But this is not all, if they would look a little nearer, they would fee themselves not by Practice only degenerated into Trading Men, but even their Fortunes, nay, their very Blood mingled with the Mechanicks, as they call them; the Necessity of their Circumstances frequently reconciles the best of the Nobility to these Mixtures; and then the same Necessity opens their Eyes to the Absurdity of the Distinctions which they had been so wedded to before.

Understanding, that those People would distinguish stinguish themselves in the Manner they do, when they may certainly see every Day prosperous Circumstances advance those Mechanicks, as they will have them called, into the Arms, and into the Rank of the Gentry; and declining Fortunes reduce the best Families to a Level with the Mechanick.

THE rising Tradesman swells into the Gentry, and the declining Gentry finks into Trade. A Merchant, or perhaps a Man of a meaner Employ thrives by his honest Industry, Frugality, and a long series of diligent Application to Business, and being grown immensely rich, he marries his Daughters to Gentlemen of the first Quality, perhaps a Coronet; then he leaves the Bulk of his Estate to his Heir, and he gets into the Rank of the Peerage; does the next Age make any Scruple of their Blood, being thus mix'd with the antient Race? Do we not just now see two Dukes descended by the Female Side, from the late Sir Fosiah Child, and the immediate Heir a Peer of Ireland? Many Examples of the like Kind might be given.

On the other Hand, the declining Gentry, in the Ebb of their Fortunes, frequently push their Sons into Trade, and they again, by their Application, often restore the Fortunes of their Families: Thus Tradefmen become Gentlemen, by Gentlemen becoming Tradesmen. I could give Examples diagonal.

ples of this too, but they are too recent for our maming. de long vie de la la Algunge

THEY that learn thus to despise Trading People as such, must either be intirely ignorant of the World, or perfectly uncapable of the just Impressions of these Things; they must forget sure, that the Gentry are always willing to submit to the raising their Families, by what they call City Fortunes; and how useful Trade has always been, and still is in the World on that Account; while others who call themfelves Gentlemen, by Way of Distinction, became unworthy, by the Scandal of their Morals, to match with the meanest Citizen, if she be a Woman of Modesty and Virtue.

But to go on in generals, which is proper to the Head I am talking of; Trade is the universal Fund of Wealth throughout the World; the Gold of Africa and Brazil, the Silver of Mexico and Peru had but for Trade remained undisturbed in the Mines, and in the Sands of the Rivers of Guinea and Chili: The Diamonds of Goiconda, and of Borneo had been glittering in the Dirt, and remain'd unpolish'd to this Day, if Diligence had not found them out; if Navigation had not affifted the Discovery, and if Trade had not spread and dispers'd them over the whole Globe.

EVEN Solomon had wanted Gold to adorn the Temple, unless he had been supply'd by Miracles; if he had not turn'd Merchant-Adventurer, and sent his Fleets to setch it from the East Indies, that is to say, from Achin, on the Island of Sumatra; which is supposed to be the Ophir which

his Factors procur'd it at.

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So effectually has Trade rais'd the Wealth of the World, that 'tis remarkable, and worth the most curious Observation; that throughout the known World, Nations, and Kingdoms, and Governments are rich or poor, as they have, or have not, a Share of the whole Commerce of the World, or more or less, some Concern in it.

THE Turks, who are Enemies to Trade, and who discourage Industry and Improvement, 'tis plain they dispeople the World, rather than improve and cultivate it: View their Condition; they are miserably poor! distressedly poor! they are idle, indolent and starving, their Governments have some Wealth, because they are tyrannical, and take what they please from the poor People, throughout a vast Extent of Dominion; so that if it be but a little in a Place, it amounts to a very great Sum in the whole, the People and Nations which are tributary to them, being so many; but those People and Nations are poor and wretched to the last Degree, and all for Want of Trade.

As to Trade, excepting what the Europeans and the Jews drive among them, it is

so little, that it hardly deserves the Name of Commerce; they have neither Produce of the Land, or Labour of the People; neither Merchandise or Art, nothing is encouraged among them; Ignorance boasts indeed of the rich Return we bring from them, such as Drugs, Hair, Silk, &c. But we know it is not of Turky, or the Growth of Turky, but is either the Product of Armenia and Georgia, the Provinces of Guilan and Indostan, Part of Persia on the Shoar of the Caspian Sea, quite out of the Turk's Dominions, and even there they are the Product of the old Christians Labour, the original Inhabitants of those Provinces; the Mahometans, have little or no Hand in it; they abhor Business and Labour, and despise Industry, and they starve accordingly; or those Goods are the Produce of the Islands in the Levant and the Archipelague, where the Cotton-yarn, the Grogram or Goats-Hair Yarn, the white or Beladine Silks, &c. are the Manufacture of the poor Greeks Inhabitants of those Islands, and who by their Labour in Cultivation, cause the Earth to produce the Silk and the Wool, and by their Labours in Manufacturing, spin and make it up into Yarn, and into Form, as we have it from them. Now, see the Consequence; as the Mahometans I say have little Trade, so they have little Wealth, the Produce of their Lands yields little, and that little sells for such a little Value, that one would pity

so vast a Body of People labouring, as it were, for nothing: All the fruitful rich Countries of Natolia and the Lesser Asia, from the Ægean to the Euxine Sea; once the most rich, populous, and fertile Provinces of the World, with all the Morea, the Achaia, (the Peloponnesus of the Antients) and the fruitful Plains of Thesfaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, from the Ionian Sea, to the Banks of the Danube; what do they now produce? The great City of Constantinople is supplied with Corn indeed, but how? (N.B. This is the Reafon of mentioning it) when produc'd, fold to the Merchant, shipt on Board the Vessels which carry it by Sea, the Freight paid, and all Charges of loading and unloading; yet their Barley has been bought in the Market at Constantinople for 3 d. per Bushel.

Ir this were some Ages ago, if it were not known to be so very frequently, and if there were not some Merchants now living in London, who are Persons of undoubted Credit, who affure me they have bought it so: I say if it were only, that it had been so some Ages ago, it had been nothing extraordinary, for all know it has been thus in England; but this has been fo at Constantinople within these Ten or Twelve Years, and I doubt not it might be prov'd is often so still in the same Place, when plentiful Years of Corn happen; what the poor Husband-man must have for

his plowing, fowing, harvesting, threshing, and carrying it out, is hard to imagine; or what the Landlord has for the Land: But I suppose the Grand-Seignior is general Landlord, and has his Tax from the whole Country, instead of Rent.

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Now, whence is all this Poverty of a Country? 'tis evident 'tis Want of Trade, and nothing else: And we may go back for an Example of it to our own Country, when the Product of the Land, and the Labour of the People were as low here, when good Wheat was worth about 4 d. per Bushel, a sat Sheep about 3 s. 4 d. and. a fat Ox about 18 to 24 s. and when was this? But when we had no Trade, and because we had no Trade; neither is the present Difference owing to any Thing else, but to the Increase of Commerce, as well here as in other Parts of the World; and 'tis evident the Rate of Provisions, and the Value of Lands in all Parts of the World are high or low, great or small, as the People have or have not Trade to support it.

TRADE encourages Manufacture, prompts Invention, employs People, increases Labour, and pays Wages: As the People are employ'd, they are paid, and by that Pay are fed, cloathed, kept in Heart, and kept together; that is, kept at Home, kept from wandering into Foreign Countries

to seek Business, for where the Employment is, the People will be.

This keeping the People together, is indeed the Sum of the whole Matter, for as they are kept together, they multiply together; and the Numbers, which by the Way is the Wealth and Strength of the Nation, increase.

As the Numbers of People increase, the Consumption of Provisions increases; as the Consumption increases, the Rate or Value will rise at Market; and as the Rate of Provisions rises, the Rents of Land rise: So the Gentlemen are with the first to feel the Benefit of Trade, by the Addition to their Estates.

AND here it would not have been improper to have made a Transition to our English History, and to have enquir'd how punctually the Course of Things have obey'd the Laws of Nature in this very particular; how as Trade has increased; so by equal Advances, Provisions have been consum'd, Lands cultivated, Rents raised, and the Estates of the Gentry and Nobility been improv'd: I mean as to Periods of Time, as well as to the Proportion of Value; which Enquiry would have been an unanswerable Proof of the Fact; but I am consin'd here to Generals, and must only lay it down as a Proposition.

As the Confumption of Provisions increase, more Lands are cultivated; waste Grounds Grounds are inclosed, Woods are grubb'd up, Forrests and common Lands are till'd, and improv'd; by this more Farmers are brought together, more Farm-houses and Cottages are built, and more Trades are called upon to supply the necessary Demands of Husbandry: In a Word, as Land is employ'd, the People increase of Course, and thus Trade sets all the Wheels of Improvement in Motion; for from the Original of Business to this Day it appears, that the Prosperity of a Nation rises and falls, just as Trade is supported or decay'd.

As Trade prospers, Manufactures increase; as the Demand is greater or smaller, so also is the Quantity made; and so the Wages of the Poor, the Rate of Provisions, and the Rents and Value of the Lands rise or fall, as I said before.

And here the very Power and Strength of the Nation is concern'd also, for as the Value of the Lands rises or falls, the Taxes rise and fall in Proportion; all our Taxes upon Land are a Kind of Pound Rate; and bring in more or less, as the stated Rents of the Land are more or less in Value; and let any one calculate, by the Rate of Lands in England, as they went in the Times of Edward IV. or even in King Henry VII. Time, when Trade began, as it were, just to live in England; and tell us how much they think

a Land Tax would then have brought in: For Example,

IF a Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound now brings in above Two Millions, I suppose it would have been thought very well then, if it had brought in Three hundred thousand Pound, all the rest is an Increase occasion'd by Trade, and by nothing else; Trade has increas'd the People, and People have increas'd Trade; for Multitudes of People, if they can be put in a Condition to maintain themselves, must increase Trade; they must have Food, that employs Land; they must have Clothes, that employs the Manufacture; they must have Houses, that employs Handicrasts; they must have Houshold Stuff, that employs a long Variety of Trades; so that in a Word Trade employs People, and People employ Trade.

I once faw a Calculation of Trade for the planting a new Town in the South Parts of England, where, for the Encouragement of People to come and settle, the Lords of the Manors, (for the Place lay in three Manors,) agreed to give a certain Quantity of Lands to Fifty Farmers, who would undertake to bring each two hundred Pound Stock with them, and settle there.

To every fuch Farmer, they allotted two hundred Acres of good Land, Rentfree for Twenty Years; and if the Farmer brought three hundred Pound Stock, he

had three hundred Acres; besides the Land, the said Lords agreed to find Timber, and all other Materials for the Building, to every Farmer a House, and out of their own Pockets to build to each House a Barn and Stables; and thus, with other Encouragements, Fifty Families of substantial Farmers were brought to live in a Kind of Circle within themselves, with every one a good Farm to manage, and sufficient Quantity of Land Rent-free; the Land was good in it felf, tho' never cultivated before, so that being clear'd and inclos'd, and gradually plow'd or improv'd, it soon return'd them a profitable Increase.

THE Land was so laid out in a large Circle, that all the Farm-houses being built at the Extremities of the respective Farms, toward the Center, left a handsome large Square Piece of Land which the Lords referv'd for the building a Town; and as the Farm-houses were so regularly plac'd, as to front all inwards, they left Ten Spaces like Streets before their Doors, of which Five of the Farm-houses, with their Out-Houses, made one Side, and the other remained to build into a Street as Occasion should present.

AT the same Time they publish'd, That whoever would come and build on that vacant Ground, should have a certain proportion'd Measure of Land allow'd him, according to the Size of the House he would

_ build,

build, should have Timber given him gratis, out of the Woods belonging to the Estate, sufficient for his Building; and to every House, Land also added for a Garden and Orchard, no Rent to be paid for ten Years, and then a moderate Rent for twenty Years more; and then a certain Rent (not at last immoderate) for the Time to come.

WHEN the Farmers were settled, for there is the Substance and Reason of the Thing, and in this it is exactly to my Purpose; immediately comes a Butcher, and he runs up a little Shed for the present, till he could build a House, and sets up a Shop, to kill and sell Meat for the Farmers.

N. B. As these Farmers had every one two Hundred Pounds Stock to begin, fo they are supposed to be all Men of Families, that had Wives and Children, and every one had at least one or two, and some three Servants.

Nor could one Butcher be sufficient to furnish Meat to fifty Families, but they were oblig'd to fend to neighbouring Towns for Provision, till the first Butcher having Encouragement, two or three more came afterwards, and set up also.

AFTER the Example of the Butcher, in the next Place came a Baker, and he erects an Oven to supply them with Bread.

FIFTY Families of Farmers must necesfarily find Work for a Smith or Farrier to Shoe their Horses, and at least two Wheelwrights

wrights to make and repair their Carts, Waggons, Plows, Harrows, &c. and these with the necessary Iron-work for so much Building, called in a couple of Black-smiths, whereof one being a Man of Substance, made himself a kind of Iron-monger, laying in a Stock of all Sorts of wrought Iron and Brass for Building and Furniture, which on fuch an Occasion they could not be without.

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This Collection of Tradesmen naturally requir'd a Shoe-maker or two to set up, who foon found Trade enough to supply the growing Numbers of People with Shoes and Boots; and likewise a good honest Country Cobler or two could not fail of Employment to repair them; and (to add the other Trades working in Leather,) they could not be without a Collar-maker or two, for Harness, Pannels, Saddles, and all the necessary Things relating to a Team.

ADD to these a Turner, an Earthen-ware Seller, a Glover, a Rope-maker, three or four Barbers, (perhaps a Midwife) and several fuch Trades as the Nature of things required.

But to go back to the building Part, three Master Carpenters would be the least that could be employ'd in building Houfes, and these would require at first five or: fix Pair of Sawyers at least, with Journeymen; that is to fay, Workmen; two or three Bricklayers, with their Servants and

Labour-

Labourers, and perhaps hard by a Brick and Tile-maker. Denominal and

To supply these, one of the Carpenters, a Man of Substance, builds himself a Windmil, and another builds a fecond, and they both find Work enough (as the Town encreased) to keep them constantly employ'd.

THE Town going thus forward, and standing in the great Post Road, comes an honest Victualler, and he sets up an Alehouse; and soon after, he is follow'd by five or fix more; as the first encreasing in Stock, sees Room for it, he enlarges his Building, and makes his little Ale-house out into a good Inn, and a fecond follows him, and then a third, and in Process of Time, the Number of Public-Houses encrease to eleven or twelve in all; whereof as above, three are very handsome Inns, and perhaps fell Wine as well as strong Drink.

By this Time the Lords of the Manors begin to think it proper to build their new Tenants a Church, for which they lay out a handsome Piece of Ground in the Center of the Town, and a large Burying-Ground added to it; and obtaining Licence from the Bishop, they consecrate the Building; and being joint Patrons, present in Turn, getting a Law to erect it into a Parish, and to affertain the Tithe and Maintenance of the Incumbent, as in like Cases.

HITHERTO Nature acted it all, but this Part indeed, the Piety of the Patrons supplies;

our Business is (in both) to observe the ordinary Course of Things, the Concourse of Tradefmen follow the Concourse of People, as naturally as Warmth attends the Approach of the Sun; the Settlement of the Farmers gives a Summons to the Tradesmen that supply them with Necessaries, and lets them know, that there they may find Bufiness and Employment: The necessity of Meat and Drink, brings the Butcher, Baker and Victualler to fettle with them, as naturally as Sutlers follow an Army.

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But to proceed; Fame spreads the News of a Town newly erected, and a Number of Families brought together; A Grocer goes to see if there is no Room for him, and finding no Supplies of his Kind, he takes a Piece of Ground in one of the principal Streets, and marks himself out a Place for his House; but first, as before, runs up a Booth or Shed, stores it with Goods, and opens a Shop, and two or three Chandlers Shops do the same in remoter Parts, buying their Goods perhaps of him.

An Apothecary does the like next Door to him, and a Mercer next to him; then a Haberdasher of Hats, a Draper and a Millener; and thus the Town is inhabited and furnish'd by Degrees with all Sorts of neceffary People and Things; till after some Time, the Lords of the Manors, to carry on the Improvement, get a Patent for a

Market

In these advanc'd Circumstances, other Trades fall in; as 1st, more Ale-houses; 2d, a common Brewer; 3d, a Cooper for Casks of all Sorts; a Pewterer, two or three Lawyers, (or Attorneys, rather) for drawing Writings, making Bonds, Bargains and Agreements between Man and Man, and one of these in Time gets himself made a Justice of Peace, and so there is an immediate Magistrate among them.

In the mean Time other Trades fill up the Streets; a Malt-house, perhaps two or three are erected, that the Inhabitants may brew their own Beer if they please; a Surgeon in Case of Disaster, for by this Time the Town begins to grow populous.

THE good Women also being diligent, and good House-wives, they spin, and in Consequence of that, there must be a Linen Weaver, and a Woollen-weaver, a Flax and Hemp-dresser, and in a word, whatever depends upon their Thrist.

Thus far the Nature and Consequence of Things agree with what is advanced above: Thus Towns and Families, nay Nations and Countries are planted and peopled, and made flourishing and populous by their Commerce.

LET us now cast up the Account, and according to antient Custom Number the

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the People, the List by the Poll will Gand

the People, the List by the Poll will stand thus.

Two Children each, one with and nother, which I take to be the least that can be supposed.

Two Men Servants and one Maid to each Farmer, no Farmer with

posed to make Shift with less.

The several Families of Tradesmen necessarily brought together on fuch an Occasion, I cast up at 143

Families, at 5 to each House.

Add to these hired Servants which would fall in from other Countries; Nurses, Midwives, Host-lers, Apprentices, &c. In all

1400

Here are fifty Farmers, who with their Servants make up but three hundred and fifty People in all; but necessarily draw one thousand one hundred People more to them. Thus People make Trade, Trade builds Towns and Cities, and produces every Thing that is good and great in a Nation; and wherever fifty Farmers were thus to settle, I insist, that at least one thousand People must of course throng to them, and live about them.

THERE

tic Gulph.

HERE they had Safety indeed, and Life; but nothing else. But falling into Trade, applying themselves to the Sea, to Navigation and Commerce; How foon did they raise themselves in the World, spreading themselves into the Archipelague, and into the Levant; conquering the great and rich Islands of Candia and Cyprus, Negropont and Scio, posses'd the Morea, Dalmatia and Epirus, and gradually rais'd their Dominion to such a Degree, as was superior to many Kingdoms.

THEIR City we see raised to a prodigious Splendor and Magnificence, and their rich Merchants rank'd among the ancient Nobility, and all this by Trade: Their Fleets of Men of War have oftentimes engag'd and beaten the Turkish Navy, driven them into Port, and dar'd them at the Mouth of the Dardanelli; and all this Power is rais'd

by Trade.

I might from this Example lead you to the Hans, the great Confederacy of Commerce, the greatest in the World; who meerly by the acquir'd Greatness of their Trade, became so rich, and so powerful, that ARTHI

they were many Years the Terror of the North; whoever hired their Men of War, were sure to conquer their Enemies at Sea, and several times they beat whole Fleets of the Danes, and at last brought the King of Denmark to make a dishonourable Peace with them; till the Kings of the neighbouring Countries grew justly jealous of them, and oblig'd all the Cities within their Jurisdiction to withdraw from their Alliance,

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and to renounce their Confederacy.

THE Dutch, I mean the States-General of the united Provinces, when they broke off from the Obedience of Spain, and as it may be rightly said, cast off the Spanish Yoke, were a poor, mean, frighted Generation, driven to the Refuge of the Water, by the terrible Power of King Philip, and reduc'd to such Distress, that, but for the Affistance of Queen Elizabeth, they had been ruin'd and destroy'd; yet pushing into Trade, and having Recourse to the Sea, they built themselves upon their Marine Power; and the Success of their Navigation rais'd them to that Pitch of Naval Greatness. which we now fee them at, in which they are superior to all the World, Great Britain excepted, of whom I shall speak by themselves.

As it has been with Nations, so it has been with Cities and Towns; such has been the Case of the Cities of Hamburgh, Dantzick, Lubec, Franckfort, Nurem-

berg, Rochelle, Marseilles, Genoa, Legborn, Geneva, and many other Cities that might be nam'd, who have been rais'd to a Pitch of Opulence and Wealth, equal to some Principalities, by their meer Situation for, and Success in their Commerce: I on the other hand might name several Cities, which being depriv'd of their Trade, have sunk again in Proportion, as their Trade has been taken away; such as the City of Antwerp, the Towns of Dunkirk, Southampton, Ipswich, and many more.

As their Trade has been cut off, their Merchants have removed, the Inhabitants decreased, and the Shells of the Towns remain without the Kernel, the Houses without the People, and the People without the

Wealth.

WHEN the Dutch cut off the free Navigation of the Scheld from the City of Antwerp, how did it decline? the English Staple remov'd to Hamburgh, the Fishing Trade to Amsterdam, and the Merchants followed; and what is that City now compar'd to what it formerly was?

WHEN the King of France was oblig'd by the late War to demolish the Works, and ruin the Harbour of Dunkirk, so that the Navigation received a Blow; How did the Town sensibly decay? from eighteen thousand Families, which once inhabited that Place, 'tis said, not two Thirds remain; all the People depending upon the Naval Affairs,

Affairs, are gone with the royal Arsenal; all the Magazines of Naval-Stores, either for the King or the Merchant, employ'd and carried off; and the Trade that attended that Part sunk with it; sew Ships now belong to it, sew Merchants now reside in it, and in a sew Years more, the empty Houses being unrepaired, may publish its Decay in a more visible Manner, and shew the Wounds receiv'd by the Loss of their Trade, as is the Case at Southampton, at

English COMMERCE.

Ipswich, &c. in a visible Manner. I need not travel over the Globe, to give you Examples in remoter Places, where the great Emporiums, the greatest trading Cities in the World, have sunk into Ruin by the Stop of their Commerce, such as Tripoli, Sinope, and Trapezond in the Euxine or Black Sea, whose Trade is cut off, by the Turks stopping the Navigation of the Bosphorus, and cutting off the Trade they carried on with Europe; or fuch as Suez, and Alexandria, Ports antiently of prodigious Concourse, both of Ships and Merchants; but emptied of both, by the Europeans finding the Way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good-hope; or fuch as the famous Cities of Tyre and Corinth, who having been the Envy of the World for Wealth, and that Wealth obtain'd by their Commerce, were overturn'd; the first by the Grecians, the last by the Romans, purely for the avaritious Part; and

who, their Merchants being destroy'd, and their Trade overthrown, never recover'd their Figure any more than their Fortunes in the World.

In a Word, it appears by innumerable Examples, that Trade is the Life of the World's Prosperity, and all the Wealth that has been extraordinary, whether of Nations or Cities, has been raised by it.

THE Nature of the Thing indeed implies it; as the Industry of Mankind is set on Work, their Hopes and Views are rais'd, and their Ambition sir'd: The View and Prospect of Gain inspires the World with the keenest Vigor, puts new Life into their Souls; and when they see the Success and Prosperity of trading Nations, it rouzes them up to the like Application.

Let us view the differing Face of the Nations, (and of the People who inhabit them) where they have no Trade; how miferable is the Scene of Life? The Countries look desolate, the People sad and dejected, poor and disconsolate, heavy and indolent; not for Want of Will to labour, but for Want of something to labour profitably at; the Rich are slothful, because they are rich and proud, the Poor, because they are poor and despair; for it will ever be true

That Poverty makes Sloth, and Sloth makes Poor.

รู้แล้ว ใน เป็นใช้ โดยการ เก็บกระก

We say of some Nations, the People are lazy, but we should say only, they are poor; Poverty is the Fountain of all Manner of Idleness; they have in short nothing to do, no Employment in which they can get their Bread by their Labour; their Work gets no Wages for Want of Trade, and their Trade no Increase for Want of Labour; Diligence promotes Trade, and Trade encourages Diligence; Labour feeds Trade, and Trade feeds the Labourer

and Trade feeds the Labourer.

THERE is hardly that Country to be

nam'd in the World, where there is no Room for Improvement by Industry and Application; nay, we find an industrious People often thriving and wealthy, under the weighty Difference of the weighty.

the weighty Discouragements of a barren Soil, an inhospitable Climate, a tempestu-

ous Sea, a remote Situation, having yet fomething or other for Trade to work upon.

The People of Norway and Russia having nothing but Mountains and Woods, and the most barren inclement Air and Soil in the World; yet, rather than not trade, and rather than not labour, they cut down their Trees, and send them abroad to build Cities, and build Navies in other Countries, and have hardly any of their own.

Is their Woods grow remote from the Sea or Water Carriage, Industry dictates to them to cut them down and burn them; and to trade, if it be but with the very

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Sap and Juices of the Trees: Hence they send us Tar, Pitch, Rozin, Turpentine; and we see as it were a whole Wood brought away in Cask; Ten, Twenty Thousand Last of Tar brought from Russia at a Time, every Last being Ten to Twelve Barrels.

IF Greenland and Spitsbergen are unfufferably cold; if Nature, not being able to support the Violence of it, leaves those Places uninhabited; the diligent Trader not being to be discouraged by Difficulties, slies directly thither; there among a Thousand Dangers, surrounded with Mountains of Ice, terrible, and Horrors enough to chill the very Soul to describe them, Hunts the great Leviathan of the Seas, and loads his Ships with the fat (BLUBBER) of a Thoufand Whales.

I might instance in the Severities of the torrid, as well as frigid Zone, and shew the Hardships undergone in Places scorch'd with the Violence of the Heat; and which are every Way as terrible in their Kind, as those of excessive Cold; such are the Difeases and Terrors of the long Calms, where the Sea stagnates and corrupts for Want of Motion; and by the Strength of the Scorching Sun stinks and poisons the distrest Mariners, who are rendered unactive, and disabled by Scurvies, raging and mad with Calentures and Fevers, and drop into Death in such a Manner, that at last

the Living are lost, for Want of the Dead, that is, for want of Hands to work the Ship.

YET nothing discourages the diligent Seaman, or the adventrous Merchant in Pursuit of Trade, and pushing on Discoveries, planting Colonies, and settling Commerce, even to all Parts of the World.

Now as I said before, that the Nations who want Trade look dejected and fad, fo on the contrary, let the curious Traveller observe, as he passes thro' the World, the trading manufacturing Nations have a quite different Aspect; their Labour, however hard and heavy, is perform'd chearfully; a general Sprightliness and Vigour appears among them; their Countenances are blith, and they are merrier at their Labour, than others are at their Play; their Hearts are warm, as their Hands are quick; they are all Spirit and Life, and it may be seen in their Faces; or which is more, it is feen in their Labour; as they live better than the Poor of the same Class in other Countries, fo they work harder: And here the same Antithesis is observable as before, tho' in its contrary Extreme; for as I said there, that Poverty makes Sloth, and Sloth makes Poor: So here,

> Labour makes Gain, and Gain gives Strength to Labour.

As they labour harder, so they get more for their Work than other Nations, and this gives them Spirit for their Labour. And this is the immediate Effect of Trade, for the Poor of the trading and manufacturing Countries are employ'd on better Terms, and have better Wages for their Work, than the Poor of those Countries

where there is less Trade.

WE are told, that in Russia and Muscovy, when for want of Commerce, Labour was not assisted by Art; they had no other Way to cut out a large Plank, but by felling a great Tree, and then with a multitude of Hands and Axes hew away all the Sides of the Timber, till they reduc'd the middle to one large Plank; and that yet, when it was done, they would fell this Plank as cheap, as the Swedes or Prussians did the like, who cut three or four, or more Planks of the like Size from one Tree by the Help of Saws and Saw-Mills: The Consequence must be, that the miserable Russian labour'd ten times as much as the other did, for the same Money.

We are told frequently, when such and such great Works or Buildings were sinished, Men work'd for a Penny a Day here in England; and perhaps they did so; but as I said before, speaking of the Cheapness of Provisions, that it was before we had any Trade among us; so it must be as to Wages,

Wages, for as Trade raises Wages, so Wages raise Provisions; and this is the Reason, why, as all Foreigners grant that our Poor in England work harder than they do in any other Nation; so it must be own'd, they eat and drink better in Proportion; and this is, because they have better Wages.

English COMMERCE.

I might examine this Article of Wages, and carry it thro' almost every Branch of Business in England; and it would appear, that the English Poor earn more Money than the same Class of Men or Women can do at the same kind of Work,

in any other Nation.

Nor will it be deny'd, but that they do more Work also: So then, if they do more Work, and have better Wages too, they must needs live better, and fare better; and it is true also, that they cannot sup-

port their Labour without it.

And here I may grant, that a French Man shall do more Work than an English Man, if they shall be oblig'd to live on the same Diet; that is to say, the Foreigner shall starve with the English Man for a Wager, and will be sure to win: He will live and work, when the English Man shall sink and dye; but let them live both the same Way, the English Man shall beggar the French Man, for tho' the French Man were to spend all his Wages, the English Man will out-work him.

It is true again, the French Man's Diligence is the greatest, he shall work more Hours than the English Man; but the English Man shall do as much Business in the fewer Hours, as the Foreigner who sits

longer at it.

To conclude this Head, I would not feem to be partial in Favour of our own Country; but it must be added, that their Work is better perform'd also; and I appeal for the Truth of it, to their several Performances, of which I could give Examples, and which all the Markets in the World are at this Time Witnesses to; but this begins to be particular, I shall speak at large to the several Examples of it in their proper Places.

It is sufficient to the Purpose here to observe as above, that the diligent trading manufacturing World work chearfully, live comfortably; they sing at their Labour, work by their Choice, eat and drink well, and their Work goes on pleasantly, and with Success: Whereas the unemploy'd World groan out their Souls in Anguish and Sorrow, not by their Work, but for want of it; and sink, as I may justly say, under the Weight of their Idleness and Sloth; what little Work they do, is done with Reluctance and Grief, because the small Wages they have for it, gives them no Comfort when it is done.

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TRAVELLING in the North Part of Britain, I observed, that, in the Time of their Harvest, they had always an Overfeer to keep the Reapers to their Work, and a Bag-pipe to encourage them while they were at Work: And one of our Company observing that we had no such merry Doings at our Harvests in England; another answer'd him, 'twas true, nor was there any need of it, for that the English work'd merrily enough without Musick; adding, our Workmen have good Victuals and good Drink: Let's enquire how these poor People feed, said he; and so we did, when we found that the best of their Provision was a Cake of Oat Bread, which they call a Bannock, and a Draught of Water only; and twice in the Day, the Farmer or Steward gave them every one a Dram of Glasgow Brandy, as they call'd it; that is to fay, good Malt Spirits.

UPON the whole, it was evident, the poor Men had need enough of Music to encourage them at their Labour; nor would the Music do neither, without the Overseer or Steward being in the Field too, to see that they stood to their Work.

In England we see the Farmers in Harvest Time, providing good Beef and Mutton, Pyes, Puddings, and other Provisions to a strange Profusion, feasting their Workmen, rather than feeding them; and giving them good Wages besides: But let any

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Man see the difference of the Work, these need no Music, the Feast is better than the Fiddle, and the Pudding does more than the Bag-Pipe; in short, they work with a Vigor and Spirit, not to be feen in other Coun-

tries.

I could give like Examples among the Manufacturers; the Spirit and Courage of the Workmen, is feen in the Goodness and Substance of their Manufacture; of which, this must be said, our Manufacture may not be so cheap as the same Kinds made in other Countries; but bring them to the Scale and try their Substance, you will find the English Man's Work, according to his Wages, out-weigh the other; as his Beer is strong, so is his Work; and as he gives more Strength of Sinews to his Strokes in the Loom, his Work is firmer and faster, and carries a greater Substance with it, than: the same Kinds of Goods, and of the same Denomination made in foreign Parts.

I remember in our former Contests about Commerce, great Noise was made of the French imitating our woollen Manufacture, and making them to fuch Perfection, as to out-do us in foreign Markets; from whence it was inferr'd, that they would in Time supplant our Trade, and carry away the Business from us: The Reafon that was given, was, that their Poor could work fo much cheaper than ours, that their Goods would be fold cheaper than

the English, and consequently they would have the first and best of the Market always from us; and had this been fully and fairly made out; had they brought sufficient Evidence of the Facts suggested, the Inference had been good. Now to prove how finely the French perform'd, and how good their Cloths were; Patterns were shew'd here of their several Cloths, as finish'd for the Turky Trade, by the great Manufactory, as they call it, in Languedoc; for it was this Part that was brought for the Support of the Argument; and it is true, that the Patterns were extraordinary, the Cloth well dress'd, the Colours well dy'd; nay, to Perfection; and to a superficial Eye, they rather went beyond the English, than come short of them.

But when they came to be look'd well into by Clothiers and Workmen who understood it, and whose Business it was; the Deficiency soon discover'd it felf; their Cloths appear'd to be slight, thin, without Substance and Proportion, and unfit to do Service in wearing; in a word, they were no Way equal in Goodness to the Eng. lish Manufacture of the same Kind. This was farther prov'd by the Armenian Merchants at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and other Places in Turky, where the faid Goods were usually fold; where upon bringing the English and French Cloths to the Scale, there was no Comparison between them;

but the English always out-weigh'd them forty to fifty Pound per Bale, and sometimes much more; the Consequence of which was,

vould very seldom buy the French Cloths, so long as there were any of the English Cloths left at the Market.

2. That when they did buy them, they always had them at a much cheaper Rate.

THIS is an evident Proof of the English manner of performing; and it will hold in many other Cases, perhaps in all Manufacturing Cases: The strong Labour of the English Workmen in all their manual Operations is very remarkable in the Works themselves: And I say, it is evident in many other Manufactures, besides that of Broad-Cloths; in a word, our Workmen, by the meer Vigour and Strength of their Spirits, supported by their strong Feeding, and by their better Wages than in any other Nation, are not used to work slight and superficially, but strong and substantial in every Thing they do; and as they have better Wages for it than other Nations give, and perform their Work accordingly, so their Goods make it evident, for that they fetch a better Price at Market, than any Goods of the same Species, made in any other Country.

It is the same Thing in their several Manufactures of Brass and Iron, and other Hard-ware Works; but especially, in their building of Ships, in which it is evident, the Dutch and French, Swedes and Danes, build cheaper; but the English build stronger and firmer; and an English Ship will always endure more severity, load heavier, and reign (as the Seamen call it) longer, than any foreign built Ship whatever; the Examples are seen every Year, particularly in the Coal Trade, the Loading of which is very heavy, and the Ships swim deep in the Water, by the Eagerness of the Masters, to carry large Burthens; and yet it is frequently known, that a New-Castle or Ipswich built Colier, shall reign, (as I say the Seamen call it) forty to fifty Years, and come to a good End at last; that is, be broken up; not founder at Sea, or break her Back upon the Sands, as Ships weaker built, often, nay generally do.

The firm Building, as well as beautiful Moulds of our Men of War confirm this also, in which they out-last, as well as outshine, the strongest and finest built Ships of most other Nations, if not of all Nations in Europe, except only those Castle-built clumsy Things called Galeons, which are built so strong, that is, so thick, that they are scarce sit for any thing.

THE Comparison is still to my Purpose in every Part, (viz.) that Trade invigorates

the World, gives Employment to the People, raises Pay for their Labour, and encreases that Pay as their Labour encreases, and as their Performance excels; and it appears that what is said of England is no Compliment to our own Country, but a real, historical Truth; for that 'tis undeniable, that the Labour of the Poor is no where rated so high as in England: There is no Nation in the World where the Poor have equal Wages for their Work as in England, in Proportion to the Rate of Money, and to the Rate of Provisions.

By this Means the labouring Poor are kept in Heart, kept strong, and made able for the Business they are employ'd in; and the contrary, is the Reason why the French, the Italians, and most other Nations, rather make their Manufacture (of any Kind) gay than good, fine than strong. I allow them to be as exquisite in Art, nay I may allow them to be more apt to invent and contrive, and perhaps finish some Things with more Ornament: But for Strength of Hand in their Works, where Strength is essential to the Value of the Work, there our People out-do them all.

I could carry this on thro' many Particulars, and it would lead me into some very useful Speculations, but they would be remote from my Purpose; I bring it back therefore to the fingle Point which I am upon; namely, the great Advantage of Commerce to the World, and to particular Nations.

. WHEN we had no Trade, we had no Ships, no populous Cities, no Numbers of People, no Wealth compar'd to what we see now; Provisions bore no Price, Lands yielded no Rent; and why? The Reason is plain and short; 'tis sum'd up in a Word, Labour brought in no Wages.

N.B. OBSERVE by the Word, no, or none, is not meant litterally and strictly. none at all; but comparatively none compar'd to what is seen now.

THE People were divided into Master and Servant; not Landlord and Tenant, but the Lord and the Vassal; the Tenant paid no Rent, but held his Lands in Vasfallage; that is, for Services to be performed; such and such Tenants plow'd his Land; fuch and fuch fenc'd his Park; fuch and fuch Lands were let out to furnish the Lord's Kitchen with Poultry, such with Eggs, some with one Thing, some with another; and thus the Lord liv'd, as the Scots call it, in the middle of his Geer.

THE under People to these Tenants held by Villenage; that is, the Labourers, those we now call Husbandmen and Cottagers, these did the Drudgery, were Grooms to look after his Horses, drive his Teams, fell his Woods, Fence, Hedge, Ditch, Thresh, and in a Word, do all fervile Labours; and for this they had their Bread; that is, they

they had a poor Cottage, scarce so good as a tolerable modern Hogstye to live in, they drank at the Pump, and eat at the Kitchen Door, Beggar-like: As for the rest, the Lord of the Manor was their King; nay, if I had said their God, I had not err'd, so much as some may think; for they worship'd him with such a blind Subjection, that at his Command they would rebel against their King, and take up the Bow and Arrow against whomsoever he commanded them.

This was the Case, even in this flourishing Nation of England, till Trade came in to make the Difference; and give me leave to assume so much, I insist upon it, that Trade alone made the Difference; and the

Climax is very remarkable.

Before the People fell into Trade, what was the Case as to Wealth? You see how it stood with the People; but what was the Case of the Trade.

We had no Manufacture; we had Wool indeed, and Tin, and Lead, those were Funds, and brought in some Substance; but who had it? Truly, the Church and the Gentry; the religious Houses and the Barons had the Lands and the Sheep, and consequently the Wool: And we find that in King Edward III's Time, the Clergy and the religious Houses gave the King a fifth Part of all their Wool for carrying on his Wars against France: This Wool

Wool was fent abroad to the Flemings, and this Money was the Wealth of the Nation.

2. This Money went all abroad again generally speaking, for those ruinous Wars, which for many Ages the Kings of England carried on, sometimes in France, sometimes in the Holy Land, sometimes in Flanders, sometimes in Brittany, and the like in other Places; so that still the People were impoverished, I mean the Gentry and Clergy; for this Wealth was theirs, and they paid all the Taxes: As for the labouring Poor, they scarcely knew what Money was.

3. As to Trade, it was carry'd on by the Esterlings; that is to say, the Hans Towns, and by the Flemings; and they carry'd away your Wool, Lead, Tin, and whatever else you had, and supply'd you again with Cloths, Spice, (Wine there was none, or but little to be had) and in a word, with Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Iron, and whatever else was to be had from Abroad; and these run away with all the little Wealth which the King and the Wars lest among you; they brought you Ships, they coin'd your Money, and they in short grew rich by you, and you look'd on and starv'd.

AT last, by the Prudence of King Henry VII. you fell to Trade among yourselves; and gradually getting Ground of the World,

you

you made yourselves Masters of your own Manusactures, about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; and what she did to encourage it, I shall shew in its Place. And now what follow'd? The Consequences were most gloriously seen in a few Years, as follows.

A PLAN of the

follows.

as well as Manufacturers at home: They tasted the Sweets of Commerce, and being encourag'd by the Gain, soon supplanted their Supplanters, built their own Ships, sent out their own Goods, brought Home their own Returns, cashier'd the Esterlings, forbid the Wool going Abroad, and thereby ruin'd the Flemings; and thus they set up

for themselves. 2. As to the Country, the Revolution of Trade, brought a Revolution in the very Nature of Things; the Poor began to work, not for Cottages and Liveries, but for Money, and to live, as we say; at their own Hands: The Women and Children learnt to spin and get Money for it, a Thing entirely new to them, and what they had never seen before. The Men left the Hedge and the Ditch, and were fet at Work by the Manufacturers to be Wool-Combers, Weavers, Fullers, Clothworkers, Carriers, and innumerable happy Labours they perform'd, which they knew nothing of before; nay the Flemings came over (for Money) and taught them how to perform those Things

Things at first, I say at first, for the People foon became able to fend Home their Masters, and teach one another; then the Villains and Vassals were taken Apprentices to the Manufacturers, till coming to be Masters, the Name, nay the very Things themselves call'd Vassalage and Villanage grewout of Use. The Vassals got Money by Trade, and the Villains by Labour; and the Lords found the Sweets of it too, for they foon buy off the Services, and bring the Lords to take Money. Thus the Cottagers growing rich, bought their little Cotts with right of Commonage for their Lives, renewable so and so, as they could agree, and this was called Coppy-hold. On the other hand, the Vassals and Feuholders, as they are call'd to this Day in the North, growing rich, lump'd it with the Lords, and for a Sum of Money bought off their slavish Tenures, and got their Leases turn'd into Free-holds; and to finish the great Fabrick, the Farmers of Lands were now enabled to take them at a Rent certain, and the Gentry got a Revenue in Money, which they understood nothing of before.

I might enlarge here upon the differing Effects of Luxury and Frugality, which became more than ordinarily visible upon this Change of Affairs; namely, that as the frugal Manusacturers, encourag'd by their Success, doubled their Industry and E good

good Husbandry, they lay'd up Money, and grew rich; and the luxurious and Purse proud Gentry, tickl'd with the happy Encrease of their Revenues, and the rising Value of their Rents, grew vain, gay, luxurious and expensive: So the first encreas'd daily, and the latter, with all their new encreas'd and advanc'd Revenues, yet grew poor and necessitous, till the former began to buy them out; and have so bought them out, that whereas in those Days, the Lands were all in the Hands of the Barons; that is to fay, the Nobility, and even the Knights and Esquires who had Lands, and were call'd the Gentry, held them by fervile Tenures, as above: Now we see the Nobility and the ancient Gentry have almost every where sold their Estates, and the Commonalty and Tradesmen have bought them: So that now the Gentry are richer than the Nobility, and the Tradesmen are richer than them all.

I have given this Sketch of the growing Wealth of the World by Trade, as in England; that is, I have placed the Scene as in England, because being talking to the English Nation, it will be understood with the more ease. But the Subject is general, and the Thing is not of private Interpretation: It will hold in its Degree, in all the trading Nations of Europe, as well as here; tho' perhaps in none more eminently, the Trade here having made so visible a Change

in the Face of the Nation, and in the Circumstances of the People, that the like is not to be shewn of any other Nation, in so very remarkable a Degree; so that if I had been Writing in any other Country or Language, I should certainly have singled out England for an I-real and I-re

out England for an Example. I may, however, refer to other Nations for Evidence in their Proportion, for in all the Manufacturing Countries in Europe the Case is the same in Degree; as Trade has encreas'd, the Miseries of the People have abated, the Poor being employ'd by Manufacture, by Navigation, and the ordinary Labours which Trade furnishes for their Hands; they have accordingly liv'd better, their Poverty has been less, and they have been able to feed, who before might be faid only to starve; and in those Countries'tis observable, that where Trade is most effectually extended, and has the greatest Influence, there the Poor live best, their Wages are highest; and where Wages are highest, the Consumption of Provisions encreases most; where the Consumption of Provision is most encreas'd, the Rate of Provision is highest; and where Provisions are dearest, the Rents of Lands are advanc'd most.

AGAIN, for the Climax does not end here; where the Rents of Lands are advanc'd, the Taxes and Payments to the Governour are the larger; and where the larger Taxes

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are levy'd, the Revenue being encreased, that Prince or Governour is the richer; and where Nations grow richer, they in Proportion grow more powerful.

Thus Trade is the Foundation of Wealth, and Wealth of Power: In former Days the Poverty of the northern Nations added to their Multitude, made them formidable; as the People encreas'd, the Country not being able to maintain them, the old ones drove the young ones out, as Bees cast their Swarms, to feek Place to dwell in, and by the force of their Arms, to make Room for themselves in warmer Climates, and move in a more fruitful Soil. Thus the Alani, the Gauls, the Hunns, invaded Italy; the Goths overrun Spain; the Vandals, Spain and the Northern Parts of Africa; the Thracians, Natolia and Macedonia, and the like.

But in our Times, the Case alters univerfally, the Art of War is so well study'd, and so equally known in all Places, that 'tis the longest Purse that conquers now, not the longest Sword. If there is any Country whose People are less martial, less enterprising, and less able for the Field; yet, if they have but more Money than their Neighbours, they shall soon be superior to them in Strength, for Money is Power, and they that have the Gelt, (as the Dutch call it) may have Armies of the best Troops. in Europe, and Generals of the greatest Experi-

Experience to fight for them at the shortest Warning imaginable; thus upon sudden Quarrels, Princes and States do not now go Home and raise Armies, and list Men, but they go Home and raise Money; and that being done, they look abroad to hire Armies, and hire Men, and even to entertain Generals; so that they need never bring any new raised Troops into the Field, but old Veteran experienc'd Soldiers, such as Swiss, Germans, &c. well Officer'd, and led on by the greatest Generals in the World; so that War is made in a trice, and decisive Battles are fought now in shorter Time than Troops in former Times could

be brought into the Field.

Thus the Venetians have had their Generals Shuylenbergh, Coningsmark, Baden, &c. to lead their Troops; the Spaniards had their Marquis de Lede; the Muscovites their Duke of Croy, their Generals Gordon, Konning seck, &c. and Armies of Danes, Prussians, Lunenbergers, Saxons, Hessians, and Bavarians, and other Germans, besides Swiss and Grisons, are to be hired for Money, alternately to fight, for now one Side, than another; I say, alternately, as the Persons direct them whose Money they take; without Regard to Parties or Interests, either of Politicks or Religion, tho' whether for or against the Party or Religion they profess; to Day for Papist,

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to Morrow for Protestant; be it for God or for Baal, as they're hired, they go

And always fight according as they're paid.

Thus Money raises Armies, and Trade raises Money; and so it may be truly said of Trade, that it makes Princes powerful, Nations valiant, and the most effeminate People that can't fight for themselves, if they have but Money, and can hire other People to fight for them, they become as formidable as any of their Neighbours.

SEEING Trade then is the Fund of Wealth and Power, we cannot wonder that we see the wisest Princes and States anxious and concerned for the Encrease of the Commerce and Trade of their Subjects, and of the Growth of the Country; anxious to propagate the Sale of such Goods as are the Manufacture of their own Subjects, and that employs their own People; especially, of such as keep the Money of their Dominions at Home, and on the contrary, for prohibiting the Importation from Abroad, of such Things as are the Product of other Countries, and of the Labour of other People, as which carry Money back in Return, and not Merchandize in Exchange.

Nor can we wonder that we see such Princes and States endeavouring to set up fuch Manufactures in their own Countries, which they see are successfully and profitably carried on by their Neighbours, and to endeavour to procure the Materials proper for setting up those Manufactures by all just and possible Methods from other Countries.

Hence we cannot blame the French or Germans for endeavouring to get over the British Wool into their Hands, by the help of which they may bring their People to imitate our Manufactures, which are so esteem'd in the World, as well as so gainfull at Home.

Nor can we blame any foreign Nation for prohibiting the Use and Wearing of our Manufacture, if they can either make them at Home, or make any which they can shift with in their stead.

THE Reason is plain; 'tis the Interest of every Nation to encourage their own Trade, to encourage those Manusactures that will employ their own Subjects, consume their own Growth of Provisions, as well as Materials of Commerce, and such as will keep their Money or Species at Home.

Tres from this just Principle, that the French prohibit the English Woodlen Manufacture, and the English again prohibit or impose a Tax equal to a Prohibition, on the French Silks, Paper, Linen, and several others of their Manufactures. Tis from the same just Reason in Trade, that we prohibit the

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wearing of East India wrought Silks, painted Callicoes, &c. that we prohibit the Importation of French Brandy, Brasil Sugars, and Spanish Tobacco; and so of seve-

ral other Things.

I remember a Story told me by a Gentleman who liv'd many Years in Muscovy, where as weak and fordid a Nation as the Russians were, and how gross soever in their Politicks; yet this Principle prevailed with them, as the Result of meer Nature in

Trade: The Case was thus;

An English Man who had lived long in the City of Casan upon the Wolga, and was it feems concern'd in the great Salt Mines there, had observ'd with Regret, the great vast Luggage Boats, as we might call them, and which he call'd Ballatoons, carrying Goods by the River from Astracan, and from the Caspian Sea, and perhaps from Persia to Muscow; these Boats as the Relater told me, carry'd a prodigious Burthen, from 100 Ton, to near twice as much; but were unwieldy, heavy, ungovern'd Things, and requir'd as they might well do, a great many Hands to guide, and perhaps to tow them up against the Stream of that mighty River, and the Distance being above 1800 Miles too, they were in Proportion a long Time on the Voyage.

THE English Man fancy'd with himself, that he could contrive a kind of Vessel, that tho' it should not carry quite so much

Bur-

Burthen, should yet carry near 100 Ton, and should, by the help of Sails and good Management, perform the Voyage in much shorter Time, and with much fewer People.

N. B. THOSE Ballatoons it seems had each 100 to 110 or 120 Men employ'd in them to drag them along; and the English Man proposed to do the same Work with 18 or 20 Men, and perform the Voyage in about one third of the Time.

Big with this Project, and expecting to be very well accepted at Court, and rewarded too, away goes the English Man to Moscow, where after some Attendance, and making known to some of the Boyars and great Men, that he had a Proposal to make to the Great Duke, that would be very much to the Advantage of their Country, and for the Advantage of the capital City, and the like, he obtain'd Audience, and lay'd the whole Scheme before his Majesty.

THE Grand Duke, for they did not then call him Emperor, took the Thing very readily, and at the second and third Audience, called him to him, and began to question him about several Particulars, but chiefly this: How many Men were employed in these Boats before? And the English

Man answer'd, 120.

And how many will you perform it with, fays the Grand Duke.

EIGHTEEN

EIGHTEEN or twenty Men at most, fays the Projector.

AND how long Time are my Subjects performing the Voyage now? Says his Russian Majesty.

ABOUT four or five Months, fays the

English Man. AND how long will you perform it in? Says his Majesty.

In about two Months, fays the English

Man.

UPON this the Great Duke stop'd, and look'd angrily; but feem'd to be musing, as if he was calculating the Thing; after some Paule, he turns to the English Man, And what Country Man are you? Says his Ducal Majesty.

AN English Man, says the Projector.

VERY well fays his Majesty, 'tis well for you, that you are not one of my Subjects; do you come hither to set up Projects, to starve my People? Get you gone forthwith, and with the utmost Expedition out of my Dominions upon pain of Death: You perform that Work with eighteen Men, which now one hundred and twenty Men are employ'd, and get their Bread by! What must the hundred and two Men do, that are to be turn'd out of their Business! Must they perish and be starv'd for want of Employment! Get you gone, adds his Majesty, and see my Court no more; and immediately gave Orders for having him car-

ry'd away directly to Novogorod, on the Frontiers of Muscovy, towards Livonia and the Swedish Dominions, lest he should propagate such dangerous Inventions, as should lessen the Employment and Labour of his Subjects.

THE Folly of this Conduct makes a kind of Jest upon the People of Moscow; but the Moral of the Fable, be it so or not, is good; tis certainly the Wealth and Felicity of a Nation, to have the People fully employ'd for Wages, let that Wages be what it will.

By the same Rule, those Nations are the richest and wealthiest, as well in general as in particular, where the Labour of the People, without Injury to the Government, brings the most Money for their Work.

It is certainly a wrong Maxim which some People dogmatize so very much upon, viz. that it is the general Interest of this Nation to reduce the Price of their Manufacture.

It is true, there are some old Notions which chime in with this Piece of trading Policy, viz. that Cheapness causes Confumption; and that by underfelling ofther Nations, we shall carry away the Trade from them; and there is something popular in the Notion too: But it will not hold in all Cases, and particularly not in our Manufacture.

FIRST,

FIRST, I insist, that if you would reduce the Price of our Manufacture, by reducing the Wages of the Poor, who are the Workers or Manufacturers, it is not possible but that you will reduce the Value and Goodness of the Manufacture.

IF you expect the Poor should work cheaper, and not perform their Work slighter and more overly, as we call it, and superficially, you expect what is not in the Na-

ture of the Thing.

AGAIN, if you lower the Wages of the Poor, you must of Course sink the Rate of Provisions, and that of Course will fink the Value of Lands, and fo you wound the Capital at once; for the Poor cannot earn little and spend much, the End of that is, starving and misery; the Rate of Provisions will follow the Rate of Wages, there is no possibility of its being otherwise; it has ever been so, and ever will be so, the Nature of the Thing requires it.

THIS therefore is beginning at the wrong End of Trade; but the true Way is, keep up the Goodness of your Manufacture, so as to make it excel in Quality, and its exceeding in Price will be no Deficiency in

Trade.

THINGS are not dear or cheap, according as they fell for more or less; but according as the Price they sell for, bears a Proportion to the goodness or meanness of the Goods sold. A high priz'd Manufacture may

may be as cheap, as a low priz'd Manufacture of the same Kind, according to the well or ill performing and finishing the Work; as a fine Piece of Painting may be cheaper than a coarser Piece of the same Dimensions, in Proportion to the Goodness of its Workmanship; the one should be fold for one hundred Guineas, and the other for one hundred Shillings.

English COMMERCE.

LET your Manufacture gain the Credit of the best in the World of its Kind, it shall accordingly bear the best Price of any in the World, and yet be cheap too; that is, it shall be cheap of the Price, tho' not

under Price.

I shall speak more of this in its Place; 'tis only hinted superficially here, to argue the great Advantage to a Nation, of having fuch an Employment for their Poor, as may make them not live only, but live comfortably. The poor Muscovite Wretches who mann'd the Ballatoon with one hundred and twenty Men, liv'd on that Employ; that is to fay, they did not immediately perish; but the Truth is, they might be said to starve at it, not live at it.

But our labouring Poor really live, keep Families, pay Taxes, Scot and Lot, as we call it, wear good Cloths, eat the Fat, and drink the Sweet; and yet, labour hard too. And this is not only the Glory of Trade in general, but of our Manufacture in particular; nay, and is the Support of the

Manu-

verb, the best is best cheap.

Manufacture too; for by this means, the Manufacture is kept up to its Price at Market; the Goodness being kept up at Home, the Credit of it is kept up Abroad, and one reciprocally is the Life of the other; the Wages support the Manufacture, and the Manufacture supports the Wages; by the good Pay, the Weaver and all his Dependent Tradesmen are encouraged to make the Wares good, by the Goodness their Credit Abroad is kept up, by the Credit the Price, and by that Price the Wages; one Hand washes tother Hand, and both the Hands the Face.

HENCE I insist also, that our Manufacture is the cheapest in the World, because it is the best; and our Poor work as cheap as any Poor in *Europe*, because their Work is best perform'd: And this I shall prove

more particularly as I go on.

Let us therefore cease those narrow Notions in Commerce, or at least lay less Stress upon them; that Cheapness causes Consumption, may be allow'd in many Things; but 'tis not a Rule without Exception, nor a Foundation to build upon in every Case; it is true, in the Consumption of Trash, and in the Consumption of Eatables and Drinkables: If good Wine was to be sold at six Pence a Quart, instead of two Shillings, or at three Pence a Pot, as strong Beer, there would be much more Wine drank than is now; but in Things of Substance,

NEITHER is it true in every Article, that the Consumption of Quantity is the Prosperity of Trade, unless it be also true, that some Gain is made by the Trade: For Example, when our Gold Coin in England, was with the greatest Infatuation imaginable, advanc'd from twenty one Shillings and fix Pence, to thirty Shillings each Guinea, the same Price being not in Proportion raised in foreign Countries, the Dutch, Germans, French, and Portugueze, hurry'd over their Gold hither, coin'd it at forty per Cent. Profit, and immediately vested it in our Produce and Manufacture. Had they gone on thus, and bought all the Woollen Goods, Corn, Tin, Lead, wrought Iron and Brass, Sugar and Tobacco in England, as they would foon ha' done with Gold at fix Pound an Ounce, that Consumption of Quantity would ha' ruin'd the whole Commerce; for they would have stagnated all our Markets Abroad, being able to sell twenty or thirty per Cent. cheaper than the English Merchants, they would in short have carried away all our Quantity, and left us full of Gold, at a third of Price more than it was worth.

But this is not all; neither may the carrying off the Quantity of our Goods be always a Benefit, if the Price should be reduc'd below the Standard of our Trade: By the Standard of our Trade, I mean, the stated ordinary Rate of the Poors Labour. What Benefit is a great Consumption of your Goods, at a Rate with which the Merchant cannot gain, and the Maker cannot live? There is no Question, but you may sell all the woollen Manufacture at this Time in the Nation, in three Months Time, if you will give them at an Abatement of twenty to thirty per Cent. upon the Value; and so the Cheapness will certainly cause the Consumption.

But what Gain would this be to the Commerce, and what Advantage to the Trade in general? Since you cannot replace the Quantity at that Price, and you cannot hold the Trade upon that Foot without falling into Circumstances as ruinous to Trade, as want of a Market; namely, the sinking Wages, sinking Provisions, and sinking Land; which, in a word, is a sinking Fund in the literal Sense.

A much better Way to support Trade, is to sink your Quantity at Home, proportioning the Quantity to the Consumption, if you cannot proportion the Consumption to the Quantity; and you had much better have some of your People want Work, and seek Employment some other Way, than to have all Hands at Work to no Prosit: Of which also I shall speak fully and at large in its Order.

UPON

Upon the whole, I insist, and doubt not to make it appear, (without any Impeachment of the old popular Notion, of Cheapness causing Consumption;) That it is the true Interest of any Trading People to keep up the Value, I mean the intrinsic Goodness of their Manusactures, to their just Standard; and make them cheap by their real Worth, rather than by meer lowering the Price at the Expence of their Credit, and meerly to bring them to a low Rate at the Market.

I insist, that this keeping up the Credit of a Manusacture, by its intrinsic Worth, is the only Prosperity of a national Production, by which the People that make it are enrich'd, and the Nation they live in made prosperous and powerful.

China, India and other Eastern Countries, they have, it is true, the most extended Manufacture, and the greatest Variety in the World; and their Manufactures push themselves upon the World, by the meer Stress of their Cheapness, which according to the Principle mentioned above, causes their Consumption.

But then look back to the Country or Countries from whence they come, and there you see the Consequence most evident; the People who make all these fine Works are to the last Degree miserable, their Labour of no Value, their Wages would fright us to talk of it, and their way of Li-

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ving raise a Horror in us to think of it: Their Women draw the Plough instead of Horses; their Men perish and fink under the Weight of their heavier Labour, because the Food they eat is not of sufficient Nourishment to support them, and the Wages they get cannot provide better Food for them; and yet their rigorous Task-masters lash them forward as we (cruelly too) fometimes do our Horses.

Mons. Niuenhoff in his Description of China gives such an Account of the Misery of the poor People dragging, or as we call it, towing the Boats up the Stream of the royal Canal there, the greatest in the World; and how their Drivers, like our Carters, whip them on till the poor exhausted Creatures drop down and die under the Labour of it: I fay, he gives such an Account as would make the Heart of a merciful Man bleed to think of it; and the utmost of their Wages for all this Labour does not, as I can calculate it, amount to so much as 2 d. a Day Sterling in England; and the like no doubt is the Case in their Manufacture in Proportion.

If then these Gentlemen, who are for forcing the Consumption of our Manufacture in England, (or in any of those Countries in Europe where they work cheapest,) by their meer Cheapnels, are content to reduce the Wages of the People that make them, to the Rate of those in China or in India,

India, there is no doubt they might encrease the Consumption, and sell off the Quantity; but what would be the Advantage? They would fell their Goods and ruin their People; the Benefit of which in the Gross, I confess I do not understand.

I shall speak of all this again, as it more particularly relates to our Commerce in England; and therefore I only mention it here, as this Notion of reducing the Price of the Manufacture is received, for a general Principle in Commerce, and apply'd

by Mistake to particular Cases.

THERE is an Exception in the Article of Wages, which may be brought here against what I have advanc'd above as to England, viz. that we give the highest Wages to our Poor, of any Nation in the World; and it may be thought I have either forgot, or am ignorant of the high Wages given in the European Colonies in America, as well English, as French, Spanish, &c. where a Piece of Eight, or rather five Shillings, and in Jamaica, six to seven Shillings per Day, is given to Handicrafts, and labouring People for their Work; and where the Price of Slaves is risen within these few Years, from twenty Pound a Head, to thirty and forty Pound, on the meer Account of the Dearness of Wages.

But this is explain'd, and fully answered in few Words; namely, that the Dearness of Wages there, is occasioned by two things

Things, viz. the Dearness of Provisions, and the want of People; the Dearness of Provisions in the Islands, and the want of People in the Colonies on the Continent; and let any Man of Experience calculate the Proportion of those Things, and he will find that in a due Equality or Proportion to the Dearness of Living, the Wages are as cheap there as here, and in some Articles rather cheaper; the particular Examination of it, I refer to its proper Place.

Upon the whole, to sum it up in a few Words, Trade is the Wealth of the World; Trade makes the Difference as to Rich or Poor, between one Nation and another; Trade nourishes Industry, and Industry begets Trade; Trade disperses the natural Wealth of the World, and Trade raises new Species of Wealth, which Nature knew nothing of: Trade has two Daughters, whose fruitful Progeny in Arts may be said to employ Mankind; namely,

MANUFACTURE And NAVIGATION.

SEE how they unite their Powers to do good to the World, and to teach Men how to live happy and comfortably; let us fee, I say, how these two join, and that in the only Means of living comfortably,

I mean Diligence, for a Life of Sloth and Idleness, is not Happiness or Comfort; Employment is Life, Sloth and Indolence is Death; to be busy, is to be chearful, to be pleasant; to have nothing to do, is all Dejection, dispiriting, and in a word, to be fit for nothing but Mischief and the Devil.

Manufacture supplies Merchandize.
Navigation supplies Shipping.
Manufacture is the Hospital which feeds the Poor.

NAVIGATION is the Nursery which raifes Seamen.

MANUFACTURE commands Money from Abroad.

NAVIGATION brings it Home.

MANUFACTURE loads the Ships out.

NAVIGATION loads them in.

MANUFACTURE is Wealth.

NAVIGATION is Strength.

To conclude, Manufacture for Employment at Home, and Navigation for Employment Abroad, both together, feem to fet all the bufy World at Work; they feem to joyn Hands to encourage the industrious Nations, and if well managed, infallibly make the World rich.

OF THE

OF

ENGLAND

IN PARTICULAR.

CHAP. II.



HEN I speak of the Trade of England in particular, as in the Title of this Chapter, I claim to to be understood, not in too nar-

row and confin'd a Sense, as if I meant it meerly of England abstracted; limited to its geographical Dimensions, and that little Spot within the Lines of its Situation, as it appears on the Surface of the Globe, which is little indeed.

But I am to be understood in the Language of Trade; and so the Trade of England is the Trade of all the Places within the Dominions of England; or, as it is usually express'd, the Countries subject to the English Government.

I am not at all fond of that modern affum'd Stile, by which some Authors think they do us an Honour, when they call the extended scattered Colonies and Dominions of the English or British Nation, the English Empire: I don't think they do His Majesty or the English Nation any Honour at all by it; 'tis enough the King of Great Britain has the Opulence of an Emperor, without affecting or at all valuing the Title.

Nor but that as the Humour of the World goes, I believe in a few Ages more all Degrees of Men, or at least many of them, will advance their Plumes, and cock their Feathers, in proportion as their Pride increases, in all the Nations about us, and that as the Counts and Princes are increased in several Nations already, even to

a Scandal; fo they will go on.

Thus in Time the Counts may be Dukes, the Dukes Princes, the Princes be Kings, and the Kings Emperors; in a Word, 'tis not improper, as we are talking of Trade, to observe how Honour is become a Merchandize, Nobility grows cheap, and Dignities come to Market upon easy Terms in the World; and what with the Church Politicks on one Hand, and State Politicks on the other, the World may in a few Years be overrun, not with real Honours,

but

but with Titles. Honour blooms and runs to Seed; (I mean Abroad, not in England) and Titles without Merit are the Scandal of the World. But of this hereafter.

But I return, The Trade of England, I fay, is the Trade of the English Dominions, the Commerce of the Countries subject to the English Government, particularly, 1st, The Trade of Great Britain and Ireland. And, 2dly, The Trade of the English Colonies and Factories in America, Asia, and Africa; These all put together, make

the Trade of England.

When I come to speak of the general Commerce of the Subjects of England, in other Countries, where they are said to trade as Merchants, not to be possest of the Country in Sovereignty; that is quite another Thing, and will be discoursed of in another Manner, for we must always distinguish between the Trade of a Country, and the Dealings of the People, by Correspondence in other Countries; and I shall take Care to preserve that Distinction, as Justice requires, on all Occasions as we go on.

THE Trade of England is one Thing, the Trade of the English People is another; the first is confin'd to the Place, the second is carried on by the Persons; however, and wherever they may be scattered, removed, and by Industry settled, as Occasion directs.

rects, in any or every Part and Country of the known World.

It is true the Greatness and Opulence of the English, as a trading Nation, is very conspicuous on this very Account, viz. that not only the Merchandize, but the Merchants also of our Nation, are found in all the trading Parts and Ports of the known World; and which is still more, they are placed there, and supported by the Strength of their own Stocks, and the Value of the Merchandizes they carry thither, more than of the Goods they buy there.

In some parts of the World, indeed, they seem to be settled and employed rather to buy, than to sell; as in the several Factories and trading Ports of India, at Mocha, at Suratte, the Bay of Bengale, and all the Coasts of India and China; but in most of the other Parts of the World, we rather sell than buy; at least we trade equally both Ways, to the great Advantage of the English Commerce in general, and of the Merchants in particular; as in Turky, Italy, Spain, the Coast of Barbary, and the Kingdom of Portugal; the Dutch, the German, and the Danish Coasts, the Baltick, and Northern Seas, &c.

In all these Countries, the Growth and Product of our Lands and Seas, as mentioned already, and the Labour and Manufacture of our People are the principal Subject

But the Trade of England in particular, as distinguish'd above, and as we are to speak of it under the Title of the English Commerce, is contain'd in these Generals.

1. THE Product and Manufacture of the Country, for Exportation into foreign Parts only.

2. THE Shipping and Navigation.

3. The Home Consumption of our own Goods, and foreign Importations.

4. THE Employment of the People in Consequence of all these, and in the particular Works for the Management of them.

UNDER these four Heads, what an immense Weight of Business is carried on, or, as it is ordinarily express'd, is managed in this Kingdom? How many Millions of People are kept in constant Motion, Men, Women, and Children employ'd, Infants (so they may properly be called) of five, six and seven Years of Age, made capable

of getting their own Bread, and subsisting by the Labour of their own Hands, and a prodigious Wealth, accumulated among the common People? insomuch, that it it were cast up together, the Poor, that is to say, such as were formerly counted among the Poor, I mean the Tradesmen, the Shopkeeping, trading and labouring Part of the People, have more real movable Wealth among them, than all the Gentry and Nobility in the whole Kingdom, not reckoning the real Estates in Lands, Tenements, &c. of which they possess a surprizing Share also.

English COMMERCE.

AND here it is worth our making a Stop, and reflecting a little on a most considerable Incident, in the English Trade, and which is to be parallel'd in no Place that I know of in the World; namely that the Fund of our Trade in England is raised wholly within it self; it is a Kind of Peculiar to us, that all our Commerce is deriv'd from our felves: It is not so in other Nations; the Trade of the Hollanders is all exotick; it consists in meer Buying and Selling, Fetching and Carrying, and they export little or nothing, but what they first import; even the Linnen which they are faid to make, they import most of the Yarn (for it) from Silefia and Saxony, and the Flax for the rest from Russia and Poland.

THE Dutch buy to fell, the English plant, dig, sheer, and weave to fell; not

only our Manufactures are our own, but almost all the Materials of them are our own; I say almost, because there are some Exceptions, but they are not many.

In our Manufacture of Wool, all the Materials are our own, but the Oyl, and fome dye Stuffs, such as the Galls, the Indigo, the Cocheneal, and a few others; as to Spanish Wool, it is an Extra, 'tis a Step out of the ordinary Way; most of our Manufactures are, and might be, made without it.

In our Manufacture of Hard Ware, the Tin, the Lead, is our own; the Copper, and Iron are our own, except a part of the Iron from Sweden and Spain, and but a part: For in the Gross, and in all our Foundaries of Iron, the Metal is our own.

In our Manufacture of Silk, it is true, the grand and fundamental Materials are foreign. But then, 1. The Silk Manufactures are but of late called our own; it is an Improvement, and it is within the Reach of our Memory, that we bought all our wrought Silks, a few Ribbands excepted, from Abroad, to the Value of near two Millions a Year; and it may not be long before an improving Nation, as we are, may raise the Silk at Home too, or at least in our Colonies, as well as other Countries have done, which had none before, viz. France, Italy and Spain: For tis well known, that Italy at first, and France but lately, had no Silk of their own, but brought

brought it all from Turky and India: As to our Product for Exportation, 'tis all our own, or of our Colonies, which is the same thing, fuch as,

English COMMERCE.

Corn, Lead, Alloms, Cotton. Coal, Fish, Sugar, Melasses. Salt, Drugs, Tobacco, Ginger, Malt, Copperas, Peltry (Furs,) Indigo, Tin, Rice, Flesh ভ*ে*.

THESE as Exportations, being all our own, and being in themselves so vastly great, are the Fund of our Wealth, and the Encrease of our Numbers.

A People numerous and rich, necessarily make a great Home Consumption, as well of their own Growth, as of foreign Importations: And this is the Sum of the English Trade.

It is no Boast, much less is it assuming to fay, that we consume at Home the greatest Quantity of Foreign Product, but the least of Foreign Manufacture of any trading Nation in the World; the only foreign Manufactures we may be faid to import wholly, is Linen and Paper, and Tin Plates; and yet those not wholly neither, tho' 'tis acknowledged they are chiefly imported.

Spain imports the Manufactures of other Countries more than we, but very little of their Growth and Produce, except Fish; the like is said of France, tho' they have

now so great a Share of Manufacture of their own.

We import Gold, Silver, Wine, Brandy, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Flax, Wax, Oyl, Iron, Steel, Fruit, Wool, Silk, Hair, Drugs, Dye Suffs, Salt-Peter, Tea, Coffee, Timber, Spice: All these and many more. But these are all the Growth and Produce of the Lands, not the Manusacture and Workmanship of soreign Countries: And all these we consume at Home in such Quantities, as are not to be equalled in any other Country.

But of the Manufacture of other Countries, we import very little, Linen excepted, Paper and Tin-Plates; and of all these, except Tin-Plates we make now great Quantities at Home also: The Consumption of Wine and Linen in England is prodigious, and we import more than any single Nation in the World, notwithstanding a very great Quantity of the sirst made at Home especially in Scotland and Ireland; as for East India Manusactures, the Quantity now consum'd in England is small, and those that are, (viz.) the Callicoes may be esteem'd as Linen, being of the same Species as to their Use.

But to bring it back to the first Head as a Trade, the Trade of *England* consists then in short,

Of the greatest Inland Production Exported, and the greatest foreign Production tion in Eulimported rope.

THE Exportation lays in a Stock of Wealth from Abroad, multiplies and enriches our People, and our People in general being in good Circumstances, I mean the middling, trading, and industrious People, living tolerably well, their well-faring gives Occasion to the vast Consumption of the foreign, as well as home Produce, the like of which is not to be equalled by any Nation in the World; the Particulars we shall enquire into in their Order.

How far the Multitudes of our People are encreased by these very Articles, and that to such a Degree as is scarce conceivable, is worth our Enquiry, were it not too tedious for this Place. What populous Towns are rais'd by our Manufactures, from within few Years! how are our Towns built into Cities, and small Villages (hardly known in ancient Times) grown up into populous Towns! Let any one that is curious in such Observations, take notice of the manufacturing Counties and Towns, the Sea Ports, and the Coast Counties, and compare them with the Counties where there are no Manufactures carried on, and where there being no part of the Land bordering

on the Sea, the Encrease of Trade could not have that immediate Influence on them; and let them but observe the Difference between these in the Numbers of great and populous Towns, the Throngs and Multitudes of People, and the still encreasing Greatness of the Towns that were larger before.

LET them see how the People gather about the Manufacture, how they crowd into the clothing Countries, however barren and remote: And on the contrary, how thin of Inhabitants, compared to those populous Parts, tho' otherwise populous too, are the other Parts of the Country; some of which are much more fruitful and fertile, the Soil richer, the Situation more agreeable, and the Air milder and wholfomer than those that are so populous? But where the Trade is, there are the People, there the Wealth, there the great Markets, and the large Towns; and in a Word, there the ready Money: For it is the Trade that has made the common People rich, as Pride has made the Gentry poor.

Well might I say, as in the foregoing Chapter, That it is a Scandal upon the Understanding of the Gentry, to think contemptibly of the trading part of the Nation; seeing however the Gentlemen may value themselves upon their Birth and Blood, the Case begins to turn against them so evidently, as to Fortune and Estate, that they

they fay, the Tradesmen cannot be made Gentlemen; yet the Tradesmen are, at this Time, able to buy the Gentlemen almost in every part of the Kingdom.

And let me add, were it not for two Articles, by which the Numbers of the Families of Gentlemen are recruited when lessened by Fate and Folly, and restored when sunk and decayed, and both by Trade, this Nation would, in a few Years, have very few Families of Gentlemen lest; or, at least, very few that had Estates to sup-

I. The ancient Families, who having wasted and exhausted their Estates, and being declin'd and decay'd in Fortune by Luxury and high Living, have restor'd and rais'd themselves again, by mixing Blood with the despis'd Tradesmen, marrying the Daughters of such Tradesmen, as being overgrown in Wealth, have been oblig'd, for want of Sons, to leave their Estates to their Female Issue; we find innumerable Families not of Gentlemen only, but even of the Nobility of the highest Rank, have restor'd their Fortunes by such Heiresses, and by such Matches, to the Degree of 50, to 100 and

2. As thus the decay'd Estates of the Nobility and Gentry have been restored, and their Family Wounds heal'd by the Daughters of the richer Tradesmen; so on

G

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the other Hand, by the Tradesmen themselves, or by their Sons, the Numbers of the Families of the Gentry have been recruited, when funk quite out of Rank, and lost in Poverty and Distress:

FAMILIES are as effectually extinct, and lost, and as much forgotten, when the Heirs are left in Misery and Poverty, and the Estate sold from them, as if they were sunk into the Grave. I could instance at this Time, in a Family, who once flourish'd within a few Miles of this City, the eldest Son a Baronet without Bread, wears a red Coat without a Commission, and goes in a disguised Name, that he may not have a SIR tack'd upon his Rags, and have his Honour be an Addition to his Misery: The Children that are young, are kept upon Charity, and the grown Daughters go to Service, from a Coach and four Horses.

THE Estate (of one thousand eight hundred Pound per Annum) is purchased by a Citizen, who having got the Money by honest Industry, and persuing a prosperous Trade, has left his Books and his Warehouses to his two younger Sons, is retir'd from the World, lives upon the Estate, is a Justice of Peace, and makes a compleat Gentleman: His eldest Son bred at the University, and thoroughly accomplish'd, is as well receiv'd among the Gentry in the County, and upon the valuable Fund

of his true Merit, as if he had been a Gentleman by Blood for a hundred Generations before the Conquest.

I might add here, that it would be worth the while for those Gentlemen, who talk so much of their antient Family Merit, and look fo little at preserving the Stock, by encreasing their own: I say, it would be worth their while to look into the Roll of our Gentry, and enquire what is become of the Estates of those prodigious Numbers of lost and extinct Families, which now even the Heralds themselves can hardly find; let them tell us if those Estates are not now purchased by Tradesmen and Citizens, or the Posterity of such; and whether those Tradesmens Posterity do not now fill up the Vacancies, the Gaps, and Chasmes in the great Roll or List of Families, as well of the Gentry, as of the Nobility themselves; and whether there are many Families left, who have not been either restored as in our first Head, or supply'd, as in the second, by a Succession of Wealth, and new Branches from the growing Greatness of Trade.

TRADE, in a word, raises antient Families when tunk and decay'd: And plants new Families, where the old ones are lost and extinct.

I dare oblige my felf to name five hundred great Estates, within one hundred Miles of London, which within eighty

eighty Years past, were the Possessions of the antient English Gentry, which are now bought up, and in the Possession of Citizens and Tradesmen, purchased fairly by Money raised in Trade; some by Merchandizing, some by Shop-keeping, and some by meer Manufacturing; such as Clothing in particular, of which Sort, notwithstanding all that is, or has been said of the Decay of our Manufacture, it is not difficult to find in the clothing and manufacturing Countries of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, many, (very many) Clothiers, worth forty to fifty thousand Pounds a Man, and some of them worth from five hundred to one thousand Pound per Annum, Estates in Land, besides their Stock in Business; whose Posterity will never be reproach'd with their being upstart Gentlemen, or be thought Mechanick, for being of the Blood of a Clothier.

But to return to the populous Towns rais'd by these Manufactures, let the curious examine the great Towns of

Froom, Manchester, Leeds, Warrington, Wakefield, Taunton, Tiverton, Maccles field, Sheffield, Hallifax, Birmingham, and many others.

Some of these are meer Villages; the highest Magistrate in them is a Constable,

and few or no Families of Gentry among them; yet they are full of Wealth, and full of People, and daily encreasing in both; all which is occasion'd by the meer Strength of Trade, and the growing Manufactures establish'd in them; and of every one of them it may be faid, they have feverally more People in them, than the City of York; besides that, (as I have said above) they are all visibly and daily en-

creafing, which Tork is not.

FROM these which are all Inland Towns, let the same curious Enquirer cast his Eye upon some of our Sea-Port Towns, where Trade flourishes, as well foreign Trade, as home Trade, and where Navigation, Manufacturing, and Merchandize seem to affift one another, and go Hand in Hand to encrease both the Wealth and the People: Few Cities in England, London and Bristol excepted, can equal them; and in Time, some of them bid fair to be superior to even Bristol it self; such as

Yarmouth, Hull, Plymouth. Leverpool, New-castle, Whitehaven, Colchester, Lyn, Biddeford. Deal, and feveral others.

How are all these Towns raised by Trade, and the Numbers of their Inhabitants drawn to them by the Employment, and confequently the Money which Trade G_3 **fpreads**

spreads and diffuses so liberally among the

People.

BUT this is not all; let the curious Enquirer travel a little farther, and look into the Countries adjacent to these Towns, and there they will see a manifest Difference in the very Face of Things, where the Manufactures are fettled and carry'd on; they shall see the Villages stand thick, the Market Towns not only more in Number, but larger, and fuller of Inhabitants; and in short, the whole Country full of little End-ships or Hamlets, and scattered Houfes, that it looks all like a planted Colony, every where full of People, and the People every where full of Business.

LET them view the County of Devon, and for 20 Miles every Way round the City of Excester, where the Trade of Serges

is carry'd on.

THE County of Norfolk, and for as many Miles every Way about the City of Norwich, where the Stuff-weaving is carry'd on.

THE County of Effex, for near (40 Miles every Way, where the Bay-making

Trade is carry'd on.

THE County of Wilts, thro' that whole flourishing Vale, from Warminster South, to Malmsbury North inclusive, and all the great Towns of Bradford, Troubridge, Westbury, Tedbury, Froom, and the 200vizes, &c. where the Manufacture of fine Spanish,

English COMMERCE. Spanish, and Medley-Clothing, and Drug-

get-making is carry'd on.

THE Counties of Gloucester and Worcester, from Cirencester and Stroudwater, to the City of Worcester, where the White-Clothing Trade, for the Turkey Merchants is carry'd on.

THE Counties of Warwick and Stafford, every Way round the Town of Birmingham, where the Hard-Ware Manufacture and Cuttlery Trade is carry'd on;

as also about Coventry.

THE Counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, round about, and every Way adjacent to the great Manufacturing Towns of Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds and Hallifax, where the known Manufactures of Cottonware, Iron-ware, Yorkshire-Cloths, Ker-

fies, &c. are carry'd on.

In all these, and many others which might be mention'd, how infinitely populous is the Country? not to fay bow rich; how thick the Towns, how full the Markets, how ftor'd with People are the Villages, and even the open Country! in fo much, that in the Parish or Vicaridge of Hallifax alone, they reckon up fixteen Chapels of Ease, and an hundred thoufand Communicants, besides sourteen or fifteen Meeting-houses, the People of all which live at large, scatter'd and spread over Hill and Dale, (for 'tis a mountainous Country) as the Convenience of Water, Coal, Coal, and other Things proper to their Manufacture obliges them; so that the whole Parish, which is a Circle of twelve Miles diameter, is, as before, like a planted Garden, or a Colony where every Family lives as it were within it self, and by it self, for the propagating their Business; and where, tho' the whole Country is infinitely populous, yet, if you pass in the middle of the Day thro' the Villages, and by the straggling Houses on the Road, you shall hardly see any Body to ask the Way of: But if you go in the Evening, after working Hours, you are surprized at the Multitude of the People every where to be seen.

Having taken a View of these Countries, let the same Person take a Tour through those sew Counties in England, where Trade has the least Concern, and where the Inhabitants consist chiefly of Landlord and Tenant, the Gentry and Husbandmen; and the there you see no want of needful People to cultivate the Ground, or to dispatch the necessary Labours of the Place; yet the Face of Things differs extremely, and the following Particulars discover it.

I. THE Market Towns are few and small, compar'd with such as I have nam'd, and compar'd with the general Bulk of the smaller Towns, not sit to rank with those great ones nam'd; nay, the Villages in those manufacturing Countries, are equal to the Market Towns in these.

2. THE

fmall and thinly inhabited; and as for the open Country, you see here and there a Farm-house, and a Cottage indeed, but nothing like the numerous Dwellings which spread the enclosed Counties mention'd above, and where the Roads as you travel are like one continued Street, for sometimes twenty or thirty Miles together, and full of Inhabitants.

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3. In these unemploy'd Counties, you see the Women and Children idle, and out of Business; these sitting at their Doors, and those playing in the Streets; even in the Market Towns, and the most populous Villages, where they might be supposed to be employ'd, the Poor by the Rich, yet there 'tis the same, much more in the single scattering Villages, where they have no Business but their own.

WHEREAS, in the manufacturing Counties, you fee the Wheel going almost at every Door, the Wool and the Yarn hanging up at every Window; the Looms, the Winders, the Combers, the Carders, the Dyers, the Dressers, all busy; and the very Children, as well as Women, constantly employ'd.

4. As is the Labour, so is the Living; for where the Poor are sull of Work, they are never empty of Wages; they eat while the others starve; and have a tolerable Plenty; while in the unemploy'd Coun-

Counties it goes very hard with them: And whence is all this? Look to the Lands, and confequently to the Estates of the Gentry, the manufacturing Counties are calculated for Business, the unemploy'd Counties for Pleasure; the first are throng'd with Villages and great Towns, the last with Parks and great Forrests; the first are stored with People, the last with Game; the first are rich and fertil, the last waste and barren; the diligent Part of the People are sled to the first, the idler Part are lest at the last; in a Word, the rich and thriving Tradesmen live in the sirst, the decaying wasting Gentry in the last.

THE Product of the first, tho' improv'd by Diligence and Application, is all consumed among themselves; the Product of the last, tho' not half what it might be, is carried away for want of Money to the Markets of the first; the first eat the Fat and the Kernel of all, and enjoy the Soft, being by their Diligence made able to buy it; and the last eat the Husk, the course, and the hard; pinch, and live miserable, being without Employment, except meer Drudging, and consequently without Money.

THE Reason of the Thing answers for it self; a poor labouring Man that goes abroad to his Day Work, and Husbandry, Hedging, Ditching, Threshing, Carting, Ec. and brings home his Week's Wages, suppose at eight Pence to twelve Pence a

Day, or in some Counties less; if he has a Wise and three or sour Children to seed, and who get little or nothing for themselves, must fare hard, and live poorly; tis easy to suppose it must be so.

But if this Man's Wife and Children can at the same Time get Employment, if at next Door, or at the next Village there lives a Clothier, or a Bay Maker, or a Stuff or Drugget Weaver; the Manufacturer sends the poor Woman comb'd Wool, or carded Wool every Week to spin, and she gets eight Pence or nine Pence a Day at home; the Weaver sends for her two little Children, and they work by the Loom, winding, filling Quills, &c. and the two bigger Girls spin at home with their Mother, and these earn three Pence or four Pence a Day each: So that put it together, the Family at Home gets as much as the Father gets Abroad, and generally more.

This alters the Case extremely, the Family seels it, they all feed better, are cloth'd warmer, and do not so easily nor so often fall into Misery and Distress; the Father gets them Food, and the Mother gets them Clothes; and as they grow, they do not run away to be Footmen and Soldiers, Thieves and Beggars, or sell themselves to the Plantations, to avoid the Goal and the Gallows, but have a

Trade

Trade at their Hands, and every one can get their Bread. The said has still

N. B. I once went through a large populous manufacturing Town in England, and observ'd, that an Officer planted there, with a Serjeant and two Drums, had been beating up a long Time, and could get no Recruits, except two or three Sots, who they had drawn in to be drunk, and so listed when they were not themselves, and

knew not what they did.

ENQUIRING the Reason of it, an honest Clothier of the Town answered me effectually thus, The Case is plain, says he, thus, there is at this Time a brisk Demand for Goods, we have 1100 Looms, added he, in this Town, and the Villages about it, and not one of them want Work; and there is not a poor Child in the Town of above four Years old, but can earn his own Bread; besides, there being so good a Trade at this Time, causes us to advance Wages a little, and the Weaver and the Spinner get more than they used to do; and while it is so, they may beat the Heads of their Drums out, if they will, they'll get no Soldiers here; but let them come when Trade is dead, and the People want Work, and they may get Soldiers enough; the Gentleman Officer

Officer took the Hint, and went off with his Drums, to try his Luck in the Counties where there was no Manufacture, and there he pick'd up young Fellows enough, where they were Poor and Proud, Idle and Lazy, as among the Farmers, Horse-Breakers,

Gentlemens Servants, &c.

In a Word, 'tis Poverty and Starving that fills Armies, not Trade and Manufacturing; and therefore the Swiss and the Grisons, the Danes, and the Lunenburghers, the Hessians, and the Prussians, are glad when they hear the Drums beat, and rejoice when other Nations will hire their Troops, and entertain their Men for Soldiers; for their Numbers are their Grievance: And for the same Reason, the Scots and the French are found dispersed over all the Nations of Europe, and indeed of the World, to feek Employment, either as Soldiers or Slaves (that is Servants) merely for want of Entertainment at Home; whereas on the other Hand, in England, in Holland, and Flanders, where the People have Manufacturing, and are well employ'd at Home, nothing is more difficult than to raise Men upon any extraordinary Occasion; it was found so here, in the late War with France, after a few of the first Campaigns had carried off the loose Fellows that a long Peace had left among us; then they were oblig'd to make Acts of

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Parliament to empower the Justices to send away all the poor Fellows they could pick up, and force them into the Service.

Nor would this do neither; in the next Reign the War being renewed, Men were fo hard to be had, the Queen was oblig'd to hire Troops from all the neighbouring Princes, to form her Armies; such as Saxons, Hessians, Danes, Lunenburghers, and the like, few English could be had without the utmost Violence and Compulsion; even the Scots themselves, what with Disaffection, and better Business, were not able to supply any sufficient Numbers; the Reason was plain; Trade sourish'd, the Manulactures were in Demand, the Merchants gave out large Orders, and the Men were full of Business) Indeed what poor Man in his Senses, that could get nine Shillings, ten Shillings, and twelve Shillings a Week at his Loom, and at the Comb-Pot, or at the Clothworking, Dressing, &c. of the Manufactures, and live at home warm, easy, and fafe, would go abroad and starve in a Camp, or be knock'd on the Head on the Counterscarp, at the Rate of three Shillings and fix Pence a Week?

And here give me Leave to remind you of a Piece of History recent in every Man's Head, and full to my Purpose. There was, one Year of the late War with France, a very terrible Scarcity of Corn throughout the whole Kingdom of France, such a Scarcity, that

that had it not been for the Merchants, who, as we might say, rumaged the World for Corn, many Thousands of People must have perish'd more than did, for many died of meer Want.

IT happen'd that there having been three terrible Blows given to the French King the Year before, and his Armies having been routed on several great Occasions, as at the Relief of Barcelona, the Battle of Turin, and the Battle of Ramellies in Flanders, all in one Campaign, the King of France found himself greatly embarrass'd with the Difficulty of recruiting his Armies, and it was the Opinion of most of the Confederates, that the Fate of France was come; that the Fall of the French Empire was at Hand, for that his Armies were ruined, his Country threatned on all Hands, and his People starving, and ready to cut one another's Throats for Bread, so that it seem'd impossible for him to restore his Troops.

In this Distress the General Officers were almost affraid to speak to the King, the old Monarch unacquainted with Misfortunes, was so wayward, so fretful, and so full of Resentment, that none car'd to meddle with it, and yet they saw all was going to Wreck.

In the mean Time, the King publish'd feveral Orders, and employed People, and issued out Money every way for the amassing Corn, from all the Quarters of the World;

even from the outmost Ports in the Levant, to Egypt, to Syria, to Cyprus, to all the Isles of the Arches, to the Gulph of Volo, to Salonichi, and even to Constantinople it felf, and great Quantities of Corn were procured, which the King gave express Orders should be brought into the publick Magazines, for the supply of his Troops; but took not the least notice, nor spoke one Word about raising Men to recruit his Regiments, and replace the many whole Brigades that had been lost and cut off in the unhappy Campaign that was past; nor did he order his Finnanciers or Paymasters to issue out any Money for the Supply of that important Article, as he was always wont to do.

At last, some of the Mareschals of France, who presumed upon their great Interest in his Favour, and were greatly concern'd at the dangerous delay, as they look'd on it to be, resolv'd to move it to him: His Majesty foresaw the Errand they came about, but began with them pleafantly upon other Business, entertaining them so warmly with other Discourse, that he gave them no Opportunity to speak a Word about the main thing they came for, namely raising Recruits, and augmenting his Troops, his Discourse still running another Way.

PARTICULARLY, His Majesty enquired of them separately, how the People far'd in their Provinces, and in those Provinces

he knew were particularly under their Government, with Respect to the want of Corn; and all agreed, that the Misery was inexpressible, and that many of the poor People perish'd for Want. But, says the King, How do my Troops fare? are the Orders I gave for supplying my poor Soldiers put in Execution? Yes Sir, says one of the Mareschals, and I think it was Monsieur Villeroy, such of your Majesty's Armies as are listed, are taken care of. I understand you, says the King, I have given no Orders for Recruits, nor do I intend it till next Spring, and with that spoke again of the Corn, Are my Magasins kept full? says the King. They anfwered, Yes, the Magasins were well supply'd, and were all kept full.

The Officers were surprized at what his Majesty had said about Recruits; but such was the fiery Disposition of the august Tyrant, that no body cared to make the least Reply to it; but with a profound Submiffion went away; as acquiefcing with the King's Measures, tho' they thought them the most ridiculous in the World, and thought the King little better than stupid, or

lunatick.

AT their going away, the King repeated his Orders to them, to take effectual Care that his Troops might be supply'd with Corn out of the publick Magasins in all the Provinces where they were respectively quartered, and told them he would have it publish'd

publish'd that this was his Order, That so fays the King, my good Soldiers shall know that if they suffer any Want, it is not my Fault, but the Fault of the Mareschals of France.

ACCORDINGLY, publick Notice was given in Print for the Encouragement of the Troops, that the King had given express Orders, that the Soldiers should be supply'd with Corn out of the publick Magasins, and the Regiments, whose Quarters were remote from the Magasins, were forthwith removed, so as to be

This was no sooner done, and that it was every where known, that the Soldiers had plenty of Bread, but the Mareschals complimented the Wisdom of the King, which they did not understand before; for the poor starving Peasants run every where to the Army, and listed so fast, that the the Army wanted near 80000 Men, the Troops were fill'd up without any Expence, and twenty new Regiments were raised by way of Augmentation; and all this with a surprising Expedition.

This Story abundantly confirms what I have faid, and for that Reason I told it, viz. that Poverty and Want raises Soldiers. Trade is a Friend to Peace, and provides for the Peoplea far better Way: Trade sets them to work for their Bread, not to fight for it; and if we want Men in England, 'tis not that the Number

Number is deficient, but because they live too well to go for Soldiers.

This also confirms what has been said above, namely, that as the trading, middling fort of People in England are rich; so the labouring, manufacturing People under them are infinitely richer than the same Class of People in any other Nation in the World.

As they are richer, so they live better, fare better, wear better, and spend more Money, than they do in other Countries; and I make no doubt 'tis the same in some other Places in their Proportion, as well as here; at least, in free Nations, where the People are not affraid to own their Circumstances, and to appear in good Condition when they are in good Condition: In short, the Tradesmen in England live in better Figure than most of the meaner Gentry; and I may add than some of the superior Rank in foreign Countries; nay, not to magnifie Things here, and lessen them Abroad, it is very evident that we have Tradesmen or Shop-keepers, of very ordinary Employments in London, such as Cheefemongers, Grocers, Chandlers, Brasiers, Upholsterers, and the like, who are able to spend more Money in their Families, and do actually spend more than most Gentlemen of from 300 to 500 Pounds a Year, and that with this remarkable Addition, that the Tradesman shall spend it, and grow rich, and encrease under the Weight of the

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Expence; whereas the Gentleman spends to the Extent of his Revenue, and lays up

nothing.

How many Shop-keepers, Ware-house-keepers, and Wholesale Traders, (to go a Step higher) have we seen in London, such as Drapers, Iron-Mongers, Salters, Haberdashers, Blackwell-hall, and other Factors, &c. who shall spend 500 Pound a Year in their Housekeeping, and other Incidents, and lay up 500 Pound a Year more, while a Gentleman of a Thousand Pound a Year Estate, can hardly bring both Ends together at the close of the Year, and not live in a much better Figure than the Tradesman, and not at all in better Credit?

How do our Merchants in London, Brifol, Liverpole, Tarmouth, Hull, and other trading Sea-Ports, appear in their Families, with the Splendor of the best Gentlemen, and even grow rich, tho' with the Luxury and Expence of a Count of the Empire! so true it is, that an Estate is but a Pond, but

Trade is a Spring.

But to look at the meaner People (for among them, generally, the Wealth of which I am now speaking is lodg'd, because their Number is so exceeding great) those, it is evident, are in *England* supported after a different manner from the People of equal Rank in Trade among other Nations; let any Man that has seen how the trading People, and the labouring Poor live Abroad

abroad, make the Comparison, it is too evi-

dent to be disputed.

It is upon these two Classes of People, the Manusacturers and the Shopkeepers, that I build the Hypothesis which I have taken upon me to offer to the Publick, 'tis upon the Gain they make either by their Labour, or their Industry in Trade, and upon their inconceivable Numbers, that the Home Consumption of our own Produce, and of the Produce of foreign Nations imported here, is so exceeding great, and that our Trade is raised up to such a Prodigy of Magnitude on I Call Consumption on I Call Consumption of Magnitude on I Call Consumption

Magnitude, as I shall shew it is.

I need not describe it at large, a few Words will give a Sketch of it, and a great Volume will not line it out compleatly: They eat well, and they drink well; for their eating, (viz.) of Flesh Meat, such as Beef, Mutton, Bacon, &c. in Proportion to their Circumstances, 'tis to a Fault, nay, even to Profusion; as to their Drink, 'tis generally stout strong Beer, not to take notice of the Quantity, which is fometimes a little too much, or good Table Beer for their ordinary Diet; for the rest, we see their Houses and Lodgings tolerably furnished, at least stuff'd well with useful and necessary household Goods: Even those we call poor People, Journey-men, working and Pains-taking People do thus; they lye warm, live in Plenty, work hard, and (need) know no Want.

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THESE

THESE are the People that carry off the Gross of your Consumption; 'tis for these your Markets are kept open late on Saturday Nights; because they usually receive their Week's Wages late: 'Tis by these the Number of Alehouses subsist, so many Brewers get Estates, and such a vast Revenue of Excise is raised; by these the vast Quantity of Meal and Malt is confumed: And, in a Word, these are the Life of our whole Commerce, and all by their Multitude: Their Numbers are not Hundreds or Thoufands, or Hundreds of Thousands, but Millions; 'tis by their Multitude, I say, that all the Wheels of Trade are set on Foot, the Manufacture and Produce of the Land and Sea, finished, cur'd, and fitted for the Markets Abroad; 'tis by the Largeness of their Gettings, that they are supported, and by the Largeness of their Number the whole Country is supported; by their Wages they are able to live plentifully, and it is by their expensive, generous, free way of living, that the Home Consumption is rais'd to such a Bulk, as well of our own, as of foreign Production: If their Wages were low and despicable, so would be their Living; if they got little, they could spend but little, and Trade would presently feel it; as their Gain is more or less, the Wealth and Strength of the whole Kingdom would rife or fall: For as I said above, upon their Wages it all depends; the Price of Provisions depends

A PLAN of the

on the Consumption of the Quantity; upon the Rate of Provisions the Rent of Lands. upon the Rent of Lands the Value of Taxes, and upon the Value of Taxes, the Strength and Power of the whole Body: So that these are originally the first Spring of all the Motion.

In like manner it affects foreign Trade; if the Poors Wages abate, the Consumption of Quantity also, as above, would abate; if the Quantity abates, the foreign Importation would abate, the Brandy, the Oyl, the Fruit, the Sugar, the Tobacco: For if the Poor have not the Money, they can't spare it for Superfluities, as those foreign Articles generally are, but must preserve it for Necessity; upon their Necessity depends the Confumption of the ordinary Food, which is the Home Produce; and upon their Superfluity depends the Confumption of their Extraordinaries, which is the foreign Importation.

EVEN the Wine, the Spice, the Coffee and the Tea, after the Gentry have taken the nice and fine Species off, are beholding to the mean, middling and trading People to carry off the coarfer Part, and the Bulk of the Quantity goes off that way too: So that these are the People that are the Life of Trade.

THE Silk Manufactures are indeed a Branch, the chief part of which the Gentry may be faid to support, and to help out Trade

Trade in: As to the Linen, they take indeed the finest Hollands, Cambricks, Muflins, &c. But the middling Tradesmen break in upon them, and follow them so at the Heels, that 'tis to be questioned, whether, as the Humour runs now, the Tradefmen by the help of Numbers do not out go them, even there also; not to mention the vast Quantity of Linens of other Kind, which they confume every Day, imported from Ireland, France, Russia, Poland and Germany.

HAVING thus mention'd the Substance of our Trade, and the Support of it, it remains to examine a little the Magnitude of these several Branches, as well of Exportation, as of Importation, in Order to make this Discourse be according to my Title, a true Plan of the English Commerce; and here it is necessary to make some little Provisos, against the too forward Expectation of the Reader, as to Numbers and Calculations, in which it may be impossible to go the Length which may be unreasonably expected.

THERE are many Things in our Commerce, as well Abroad as at Home, in which no exact Calculation can be made; and yet perhaps our Estimates and Conjectures may not be fo remote as some may imagine, or so, as that no probable Prospect, no rational View of the Commerce may be made from them: For Example,

IT is not possible to make any Calculation of the Number of Shop-keepers in Great Britain, or of the Number of Spinners, or of the Quantity of Wool, or of the Bulk of the woollen Manufacture: and yet, from what has been, and shall be faid, I doubt not, we shall form just and rational Ideas in our Thoughts, of the Greatness of our Manufacture, and of our home Trade; and so of many other Things which we cannot otherwise judge of, than by fuch general Estimates.

English COMMERCE!

THE World must be left in the dark, concerning many useful Parts of Knowledge, if we were to take no Measures, and form no Ideas of Things from the Lights that are given; tho' it should be true, that those Lights do not amount to Demonstrations; and especially, in Matters of this Kind, where the Foundations are subject to various Changes, and where the whole is rather Matter of Observation, than real In-

telligence of Fact.

We may make an Estimate of many Branches of Trade, without being able to determine the Dimensions of either the Subject on which those Branches are founded, or of the particular Parts themselves: We may make just Estimates of the Returns of Treasure from the Spanish West-Indies, without enquiring into the Fund of that Treasure, (viz.) how many Mines there are discovered, in which the Silver is

tound,

found, or how much every Mine that is discover'd produces; and thus we may entertain a true Notion of the Magnitude of woollen Manufacture, and of the great Advantage of it to this Nation, without being able to know, to what Value the Return of it amounts in a Year: We may give an Account of its being able to confume the whole Quantity of the Growth of our Wool in England, and of much from Ireland; and we may bring this in Evidence of the Magnitude of the whole Trade, without being able to cast up how much that Wool amounts to, and so of the rest.

WE may venture to fay in Publick, that we are a most powerful Nation in Shipping, having the greatest Number of Ships and Seamen, of any Nation in the World, without being able to give a particular Account how many Ships we have, or how many

Seamen we employ.

UPON the same Foundation, 'tis reasonable to fay, we may judge of the Magnitude of our Commerce in general, by the several Circumstances of the particular Branches; for Example, the Encrease of the Confumption of fuch and fuch Goods imported, which are absolutely requisite for such or such a Manufacture, is a just Meafure, by which to conclude the Encrease of that Manufacture: In other Cases we may have plainer Rules to judge from, and to make our Estimates by; and yet, even those Rules

Rules are not such, as that we can ascertain those Estimates upon that Foot, because of feveral Incidents in Trade, which cannot be accounted for, any more than they can be avoided.

We may judge of the Consumption of Wines in England, because they are all imported from Abroad, and we can have an exact Account of the annual Importation from the Custom-house Books; but we cannot positively ascertain the Consumption from that Importation, because, tho' all that are enter'd at the Custom-house, are imported and confum'd, yet all that are consum'd may not be enter'd at the Custom-house; clandestine Trade, and smuggling has a great Stroke in it; and the like of foreign Brandy: Of both which hereafter.

Thus again, we may judge of the Confumption of Spirits, by the Quantity of Malt distill'd, and the Spirits of the first Extraction gaug'd by the Excise-Man; but clandestine Concealments have so great a Share in that Trade, that we can never fay

our Calculations are exact.

UPON the whole, if our Calculations and Guesses are rational and probable, we hope in these Cases it may be allow'd to be sufficient, because it is as far as any Man can go. The Commerce of England, is an immense and almost incredible Thing, and as we must content our selves with being in some Cases in a difficulty as to Numbers and Figures; but in all fuch Cases, we expect the Reader will be content with the utmost possible Inquiry, and the utmost possible Discovery that we are able to make, and with such Reasons as may be drawn from what appears, to judge of what cannot be fully discover'd.



ENCINCE DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PRO

CHAP. III.

Of the first Rise, Growth and Encrease of the Commerce of England.



T is something difficult to adjust the Terms of our first Part of this Work, they are set down in general in our Title, viz. the

Rife, Growth, and Encrease of our Trade; all which Words, as they imply a Progression, they necessarily imply a stated Period, like an Epocha of Time, from whence the Motion might be said to begin like the starting Post, or Place of a Race, where all that run, set out exactly upon an Equality, whatever Advantage is obtain'd afterwards, being the Effect of the Strength and Vigour of the Racers, whether Horses or Men.

I suppose all Nations had some Trade, and all People some Dealing with one another from the Begining; that is, ever since they began to converse; when mutual Convenience guided them to enquire what they might either want from, or spare

to each other for the Supply of common Occasions.

But this would lead us back into dull Speculations of the Nature and Original of Commerce; a dry useless Subject, and therefore carefully avoided in my Title, where it may be observ'd, that I do not call this Work a History of Trade, or a History of the English Trade; but a History of the Rise, Growth, and Increase of it; by which I mean as above, from the Time, let that Time be when you will, when standing upon the Square with the rest of the World, England gave it self a Loose, and got the Start of all the Nations about her in Trade; and having held it ever fince, her Commerce is by that Means arriv'd to that Prodigy for Magnitude, which it appears in at this Time, and in which 'tis acknowledg'd by all her Neighbours, she out-does all the Nations in the World, as we shall see in the next Chapter.

How to fix this Period without running out into foreign Enquiries, and giving a State of Things tedious in themselves, and remote from our Design, is the Thing we are now to attend to; and tho' I shall do it my own Way, and may differ from the Opinion of some wiser than my self; yet, I shall endeavour to support my Opinion with fuch Reasons, as shall bring over such differing Judgments to agree with me; or

I shall, for want of it, submit to theirs; so that either way the End will be an fwer'd, and the Magnitude and Encrease of the Commerce of England be confirm'd and describ'd, and the Time of it ascertain'd.

England being an Island surrounded with the Sea, and with neighbouring powerful Nations; her Converse in Peace, and at other Times her Wars with those Nations, made Shipping in particular exceedingly necessary to her; and we find upon many Occasions, the English Fleets not only very numerous, but very formidable; yet History is very barren on that Occasion, nor is there the least Fragment to be gather'd up, that intimates to us, when, how, or in what manner this Nation began their Acquaintance with the Sea.

WE gather some Negatives indeed from History, as to this Part; we are pretty well affured, that the Britains had no Knowledge of Navigation, nor do we read of any Ships in Use among them, when Julius Casar landed here with a great Navy.

THAT the Romans had Ships, and that the Britans had none, or none considerable, will, I believe, be granted; and as the Romans afterwards conquer'd and posses'd the Island, as is evident from History, nothing then can be more natural, than to suppose, that the Romans

first introduc'd the Knowledge of Navigation, and the Use of Ships in this Island.

It is true, and we are told it from History, that the *Phænicians* traded hither several Ages before the *Romans*, and with their best Ships, no doubt; but be that so or no, we do not find that the *Britains*

learn'd any thing from them.

THE Danes, after this, came in great Fleets, and ravag'd the Coasts, both of England and Normandy; what their Ships were, we know not; but 'tis evident, they were such, as neither the Britains or Saxons could cope with; fo that even after the Romans were gone, the Knowledge of Shipping and Navigation seems to be much funk and decay'd in England, and even in this whole Part of the World; for according to Mr. Cambden, the Saxons themselves came over in strange Boats; that is to fay, in Boats or Vessels, as we may suppose, built of Wood; that is, of Timber and Boards, or Planks, and cover'd with a kind of Tarpawlin, or Canvas dipt in Tar and Oil, which being nail'd upon the Plank, ferv'd instead of Caulking, to keep out the Water.

Is this is true, the northern World, who at this Time so much out-do the rest of the Nations in the navigating Skill, came very late into the Knowledge, either of building

building of Ships, or of managing them when built.

THE Danes, we may suppose, had better Vessels, tho' not such as would now deserve the Name of Ships, and were neither fit for Fight or Freight, for War or Trade; only prepar'd to waft over a Parcel of Thieves and Rovers, who came in a desperate manner, to fight, plunder and destroy, without any View or Design of returning; and therefore, when they burnt their Ships, as sometimes they did, and sometimes the Britains or British Saxons rather did for them, they had no great Loss, for lending but one Vessel Express to Norway, or to the Coast of Juitland, they presently had as many more as they pleased; but all this while, here was no Shipping for Trade, no nor much Business for Shipping, if they had been furnish'd with Vesfels to be employ'd.

On the contrary, what Commerce there was carry'd on at that Time between Britain and any other Countries, the Particulars of which, it is very hard to know, was certainly carry'd on in foreign Bottoms, till the Encrease of Commerce brought the English to build Ships, or the Encrease of Shipping brought the Commerce; take it which Way we will, one is

as probable as the other.

I T is true, that Julius Casar transported his Army over hither in Ships and Gal-

lies, from the Coast of France, from Gaul as he calls it in his Commentaries; but 'tis as true by the same Commentary, that he caused those Ships to be built by his own People, I mean, Romans; for we do not find that the Gauls, any more than the

Britains, had any Ships before.

He built the Ships it is said in about two Months, fo that they could not be very great; and he tells something of it himself, that for the Gallies, when they were landed in Britain, they haul'd them up upon the Beach: What Ships were employ'd for Commerce, we cannot tell; yet there was some Trade at that Time too; for Casar fays, the Britains had Intelligence of his Design to invade them, by Merchants who frequented their Coasts: See Cas. Com. Lib. IV. Cap. 9. But all this leaves us in the Dark, either as to their Commerce, or their Navigation; what they traded in, or what Vessels they traded with; 'tis certain, the Britains had very little Trade, and less Shipping, for we read of none of their Ships for many Ages afterward.

WHETHER therefore in succeeding Ages, Navigation introduc'd Trade, or Trade Navigation, is a Dispute not much material here; 'tis probable it may stand thus, (viz.) Necessity produc'd the Converse of Nations one with another, for the Supply of their mutual Wants, exchanging the Produce

English COMMERCE: 115

Produce of their respective Countries, as their Wants severally directed.

This exchanging of the Produce of Countries, produced Commerce or Trade.

TRADE thus explain'd, necessarily required a Voiture or Carriage of Goods, by Land or by Water; the latter requir'd Veffels to carry them in, either to sail or to row,

and this is Navigation.

IF I was to write a History of Navigation, I should go back here to the first Invention of Boats to row, of which they tell us the Phanicians were the Inventers; and of Sails to make use of the Wind, of which they tell us the Fable of Dedalus and Icarus is a Representation, viz. that Dedalus being a Prisoner at Cyprus, contriv'd a Sail to his Boat, and taking his Opportunity when the Wind blew fresh from the Shore, put boldly out to Sea in the Sight of all the People; his Son Icarus doing the like in another Boat fitted out by his Father's Direction. That the People enraged to fee them attempt their Escape even before their Faces, pursued them with Boats row'd with many Oars, laughing at the Madness of the Attempt. But that when they came out to Sea, Dedalus run two Foot for their one, as the Seamen express it; the Sea also being rough, and the Wind blowing a fresh Gale; so he made his Escape from them all, which they called flying in the Air with waxen Wings. As for his Son Icarus, he

outwent his Pursuers too, but impatient,

and not content with his Escape, but wil-

ling to go faster, he crowding too much

Sail, as the Seamen call it, or not having

HERE they fell to Trade and Manufacturing, and having planted the Flax, which they found the Country very proper to produce, they of Courfe fet the People to Work, instructing them how to dress the Flax, spin the Yarn or Thread, weave the Cloth, bleach it afterwards, and then to sell it; and this I take to be a true Account of setting up the Linen Manusacture in the seventeen Provinces.

N. B. The Dutch had their Linen Manufacture from the Carthaginians, they from the Tyrians or Phanicians, of whom they were a Colony, and they from the Egyptians; the fine Linen of Egypt is often mentioned in the Scripture History, and in others also, as the most antient.

INDUSTRY seldom wants Business: The Flemings falling into the Manufacture of Linen, it led them as it were by the Hand into that of the Wool; and the same Carthaginian Resuges put them upon that also, for the old Numidians had Wool in great Plenty, and the Wool of Barbary is good to this Day.

But here they were put to a Stop, for neither Belgia (Holland and Flanders) or Gaul (France) yielded any Wool: This balk'd their Undertaking for a while; but the diligent Tradesman never tires; it

Judgment to fill, trim, and manage his Sails skilfully as his Father did, he over-set his Boat, and was drown'd; which the Fable represents, by soaring too high, and melting his Wings.

But these Things would lead me out of

my Way, I am not writing of Navigation, but of Trade and Commerce: So I return

to my Subject.

It feems the Dutch, s(for the Flemings were all called Dutch) a diligent and laborious People were in Trade before us, and being in Search of proper Methods to improve and enrich themselves, fell to Manufacturing. In this the first of their Improvement, as I am assured by good Authority, was making Linen, which they sell into by the Instruction of some Carthaginian Merchants, who sted into France by Sea from the Fury of the Wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, which War afterwards ended in the Destruction of their City.

It is well known, that the Carthaginians were great Friends to Trade, and Encouragers both of Merchants and of Manufacture (that is a History by it self). These I say sled to France, and thence some of them to Flanders, where the Romans was not long before, searching among the neighbouring Nations, they found that they had Wool in *Britain*, and that so fine and good, that no other Wool the World produced was equal to it, for their Business.

This encouraged them so, that they bought the Wool in Britain, manufactured it in Belgia, and supplied first themselves, and afterwards the neighbouring Countries with woollen Manusactures, to the great Encrease of the Wealth and Power of the Netherlands; especially by drawing infinite Multitudes of People to them, so that they soon became, from a sew sishing Towns, and a poor labouring People, to be a most populous, rich, and powerful Nation.

The Britains too, in their Degree, found the Sweetness of this Encrease of Commerce, and next to the Flemings had their Share of the Gain from the Wool of their Sheep: This Wool was but of small Value to them before; for instead of manufacturing it as the Flemings did, they wore the Skins of their Sheep with the Wool on: But now the Flemings eagerly calling for the Wool, and giving a good Price for it, the Britains were not only encouraged to preserve it, but to nourish and take more Care of their Sheep, in order to encrease the Number of them, that they might, in the Consequence, encrease the Wool.

Thus began the English Commerce, and thus it may be said began the Opulence and Greatness of the English Nation; for the Flemings took off their Wool in a prodigious Quantity, and gave also a prodigious Price for it.

N. B. WE find in King Edward the

III's. Time they gave 40 l. a Pack for the English Wool, which by the Way was more than 200 l. a Pack, as Money goes now; but of that in its Place.

This filled the Nation with Money, the Merchants grew rich, the Staple of the English Wool was erected at Antwerp, 50000 Packs of Wool was the least that was carried thither yearly, and the Fleets of Ships which carried over the Wool, and which went generally from Southampton and London, were such, that sometimes Fifty, Sixty, to 100 Sail, went off at a Time.

It is to be doubted indeed, the Ships were most of them Hollanders, that is to say Flemings, or in general Dutch, for I do not find, but that as they were before us in Trade and Manusacture, so they were also before us in Shipping and Navigation; tho growing rich by the Wool, we soon fell in to building Ships too, especially as Trade encreased; of which hereafter.

As the Quantity of the Wool was thus great, and the Price also, the Ballance of Trade

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Trade was necessarily very great on our Side, I mean great to the Advantage of Britain; for the Britains bought but little of any Goods from Abroad, for many Ages after this, and their Wool was generally paid for in Money; nay, they had two several Products beside the Wool, which were peculiar to Great Britain, and which no other Nation in the World had, (viz.) their Block Tin, and their Lead.

We have very good Evidence, that both these Metals were found and dug by the antient Britains, long before this, and e-specially that the Tin was setch'd from Britain by the Phanicians, many Ages before the Time I am now speaking of.

I take it, that at the first of the Trade with the Flemings, the Importations of Britain were so small, that the Export of Tin and Lead was sufficient to purchase all that they wanted from Abroad: So that the Wool was necessarily all paid for in

Specie.

This I say enrich'd the British Nations to a very great Degree, fill'd them with ready Money, and especially the landed Men grew very rich and powerful by it, I mean the Barons, Knights, Gentlemen and other Degrees, for they were the Men that got the Money, the Wool and the Sheep being their own.

Men, I mean plainly the Clergy, for the religious Houses had many, if not most of their Rents paid in Wool; and some had large Flocks of Sheep of their own, kept by their own Shepherds, for the Supply of the House, (that is the Fryars) and their large Attendants with Mutton, and for Supply of Money to their Cossers by the Wool; and we see the Clergy tax'd in King Edward the III's Time, in so much Wool to the King and his Wars.

It is almost incredible what immense Sums of Money came over yearly to this Kingdom for the Wool, and how rich and powerful England grew by this Means, even in the Time of the Normans Government; and had they not been so often exhausted by foreign Wars, peel'd and pol'd by their tyrant Princes, ravag'd and wasted at home by one another, I mean in civil Dissentions, and plunder'd and emptied by the soolish and ridiculous Zeal, or rather Fury, call'd the Holy War, they might have been infinitely richer than they were.

LET but any Man of Figures calculate the Commerce at that Time; the Wool only that was exported, at the Rate above mentioned, amounted to two Millions Sterling in Specie; an immense Sum, and more

than Ten Millions per Annum would be

IT is indeed very strange, that when every Thing else was so cheap, the Wool should be so dear, and that now, when every Thing else is so dear, the Wool should be so cheap; we only are left in some Uncertainty as to what was then called a Pack of Wool, and how they could give such a Price for it; if the Pack was the same then as it is now, the Price was intolerable, perhaps it might be made up in fuch large Packs, as we still see sometimes brought into Norfolk, one of which loads a Waggon, and is called a Poke of Wool, or a Pocket; but that we cannot now determine: But be the Bulk what it will, the Number of Packs was the fame.

AGAIN, the Pack of Wool must be much larger than it is now, otherwise the Quantity of Wool produced in England was but trifling; for as to 50000 Packs of Wool to be the whole Crop, or the whole Product, 'tis ridiculous to suggest it, 'tis evident we import more than twice that Quantity now yearly from Ireland, in Wool or in Yarn; the Wool of England is more likely to amount to five Hundred Thoufand Packs, than to fifty Thousand; and we are affured, as you will fee, by a just Calculation in its Place, that the Sheep fed in Rumney Mash only in Kent, make 2523 Packs of Wool every Year; which, were the whole calculated, is not a two Hundredth Part of the Wool of the whole Country.

But to leave our Guesses at the Magnitude of the Pack of Wool, I am ready to grant it must be larger than ours are now, which are but two hundred and forty Pound Weight to a Pack, and could never be worth forty Pound Sterling; but if a Pack was a Poke, and weighed twenty Hundred Weight, as the Poke of Wool still does, and is called in some Places a Load of Wool, because 'tis a Waggon Load, then indeed it might yield fuch a Rate (tho' dear too) and it also agrees best with the Growth or Crop of Wool in England, which would then be about 400000 Packs a Year, and it was an immense Business of its Kind too,

for the Time of Day in Trade. THAT this Trade was really a Prodigy for Magnitude, at that Time, appears by many Particular Circumstances; and especially by this, that great Increase of Wealth and People, which the Manufacturing of it brought to the Netherlands, that is, to the seventeen Provinces, whose Greatness,

as well as ours, began here. Nor is it so long ago that this Trade receiv'd a Turn, that we should want Evidence of the Fact, for it continued in the fame Situation to the Time of Henry the VII. and tho' we began then (by the Wifdom and Sagacity of the Prince) to break

in upon the Flemings, and to manufacture much of our Wool at home, yet we find no Prohibition of the Exportation of Wool, till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; for the Fifth of Edward VI. we find a large Fleet of Flemings laden with Wool, sail'd from Southampton for the Scheld, being above fixty Sail, that Wool being sent to pay the King's Debts.

A PLAN of the

I have met with some who are of the Opinion, that the Trade of the Netherlands in the Woollen Manufacture, was much greater then, than it is now here, or than it has ever been fince; and they give

these Reasons for it,

1. THAT if they had not had a most extensive consumption, they could never have been able to have confumed fuch a Quantity of Wool; for England being not enclosed and cultivated then, as it is now, they suppose the Quantity of Wool was much greater, than it has been at any time fince.

2. THAT they had no Rivals in the Trade; no other Nation, for many Ages, having any such thing as a woollen Manufacture among them; and this gave them fuch a Command of the Trade, as to be able to give a Price for the Materials, and to sell the Manufacture when wrought at a Rate in Proportion.

3. THAT by the same Rule they had all the Trade; and tho' it is true, they had not extended the woollen Manufacture into Turky,

Turky, Russia, and to both the Indies, as it is now, and to several other remote Countries; yet, on the other hand, they had the whole Extent of France, Spain, and the German Empire, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, to supply with Goods; none of those Countries making any thing of a Woollen Manufacture; and as at length, the Dominions of the Netherlands fell to the House of Austria, and that Spain, Germany, Italy, and the whole seventeen Provinces, were united under one Head, in the Government of that great Monarch Charles V. they were allowed an unlimited Commerce through all his Dominions, and had all possible Encouragement for their Goods, of which I might give many Particulars.

These things considered, it must be granted, that their Trade was exceeding great; whether it was equal or superior to our Trade of the same kind now, is what no body can make any Calculation of: And therefore I shall not attempt to form any Plan or View of Trade upon those remote Gueffes.

THE Turn given to this Trade afterward, and the Wealth raised upon it in England in so short a Space, as was seen in Queen Elizabeth's Time, may give us some Idea of what it was before; and this part indeed cannot without a Breach in our Work, as it is proposed in my Title, be quite pass'd over; but I shall be as brief in it as I can.

THAT

THAT King Henry VII. was the first Prince that put the English upon the Thought of manufacturing their own Wool, must be acknowledged to his Memory; we should not do him Justice, if we did not mention it, as often as the Original of our

Woollen Manufacture is spoken of.

HE had been a kind of a Refugee in the Court of his Aunt the Dutchess of Burgundy, being forc'd to make his Escape from Bretagne, where he first harbour'd; while he was here, he had opportunity to fee as well as hear of the mighty Increase and Improvement of the Commerce of those Countries; how populous their Cities, how rich their Burghers, how great their Merchants, how all the People were busy, and employ'd; hardly a Child above five Years old, but could do something to gain its Bread; and particularly, it could not escape his Observation, that all this Commerce, all this Wealth, all this Imployment of the People depended entirely upon the Supply of the Materials, viz. The Wool and Fullers Earth from England; that they had not a Pack of Wool of their own in the whole Country, and if that Source should by any Accident be stopped, they should be all ruin'd, their Trade would be at a full Stop, and in a Word, that the Manufacture could not be carried on without it.

To a Prince of fuch Penetration as he was, it could not but occur after he came to

the Crown, that certainly England was much in the wrong, to let their Wool go out of the Country thus unmanufactur'd, and to let Strangers be made rich by the working of it, while his own People fat idle and unemployed, and consequently starving the Poor.

THAT without doubt, where the Principals and Materials of the Manufacture were only to be found, there Nature seem'd to direct the making of the Manufacture it felf, and there it might be wrought with the greatest Advantage; that, at least, it would be an Advantage to his own Kingdom, and that he could see no Reason why that Advantage should be given away. In short, he resolved, that if he could prevent it, Strangers should no longer eat the Bread out of the Mouths of his own Subjects.

I need not enter here into the particular Measures the King took to put this happy Resolve of his in Execution; 'tis enough to mention it here, that in Persuit of these Observations, he immediately set about the Work, applied himself to the finding out proper Instruments for the carrying it on, and set the Manufacture of Wool on Foot in several Parts of his Country, as particularly at Wakefield, Leeds and Hallifax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a Country pitch'd upon for its particular Situation, adapted to the Work, being fill'd with innumerable Springs of Water, Pits of Coal, and other

Things

not to be attempted rashly; so it was not

Things proper for carrying on fuch a Business, and where it remains and thrives to this (Day. 1970), the state of

Bur not, I say, to enter into the Particulars of this historically, which would be too tedious, 'tis sufficient to say, the anxious Care of this Prince for the Prosperity of his People has been followed with fuch a glorious Success, that the Example is perfectly fitted to fire the Breast of any succeeding Monarch, who desires the Good of his Subjects with the same paternal Warmth for the general Improvement; and for this End I mention it, and for this End these Sheets are thus addressed to the supreme Powers of the British Government, and at this Time too; because, being assur'd that his present Majesty has the same Ardour and Affection, the same improving Genius, and the Advantage of a much greater Fund of Wealth and Power for the advancing the Interest of his People, nothing may be wanting to lay open the several Prospects for the farther improving the Commerce and extending the Manufactures of England which yet remain, and which perhaps have not been so thorowly consider'd of by any other Hand.

THO' King Henry acted with a Vigor becoming a Prince, and one that knew how to execute, as well as how to resolve, for the Advantage of his own Dominions; yet he knew withal, that it was an Attempt of fuch a Magnitude, as well deserv'd the ut-

to be push'd with too much Warmth: And therefore, tho' he did not fail to encourage his People in working and manufacturing, and at a considerable Expence, secretly procured a great many Foreigners, who were perfectly skill'd in the Manufacture, to come over and instruct his own People here in their Beginnings; yet he did not immediately prohibit the exporting the Wool to the Flemings, neither did he, till some Years after, load the Exportation of it with any more Duties than he had before. NAY, so far was the King from being able

to compleat his Design, that he could never come to a total Prohibition of exporting the Wool in his Reign; he did indeed offer at it, but found, that if he had proceeded, his People were not Masters enough of the Trade to work up the whole Quantity of the Wool, and confume the Growth; that the Flemings were old in the Bufiness, long experienc'd, and turn'd their Hands this Way and that Way, to new Sorts and Kinds of Goods, which the English could not prefently know, and when known, had not Skill presently to imitate: And that therefore they must proceed gradually.

Besides, if in some Years the English were able to supply themselves, and make Goods enough for the Home Consumption, so that they had no need to buy from the Flemings

the Manufactures of their own Wool, This was a great Point gain'd, and was a Step sufficient for the first Ages of the Manufacture; whereas, to have prohibited the Wool being carry'd out while they were not able to supply the Markets abroad, was to ruin the Trade in general, and stop the Confumption of the Wool too.

On the contrary, the King acted like a wise and warlike Prince, besieging a City, who tho' he attacks the Garrison, and batters the Out-works with the utmost Fury, yet spares the Inhabitants, and forbears as much as he can ruining the City, which he expects to make his own: So the King seem'd willing to let the Flemings keep up the Trade, till his Subjects were thoro'ly enabled to take it into their own Hands, and not destroy a Commerce, which he knew would one Time or other be his own.

UPON this Foot, I say, the prudent Prince went on by Measures perfectly well adjusted, and particularly adapted to the End which he aim'd at; and tho' he did once pretend to stop the Exportation of the Wool, he conniv'd at the Breach of his Order, and afterwards took off the Prohibition entirely, leaving the Success of his. Undertaking, to the Industry of his People, who, he perceiv'd, to his great Satisfaction, went on with Courage and Chearfulness, improv'd daily, and would

at last entirely carry the Business from the Flemings, by the meer Course of Things.

In this Manner the Manufacture began, and thus gradually it encreas'd; nor was it much less than one hundred Years, before England came to such a Perfection, as to be able to claim the Property of it to themselves, and to prohibit the Exportation of the Wool, which was never effectually done, till the Spanish Tyranny under the Duke d'Alva finish'd the ruin of the Commerce of the Netherlands, by driving the Dutch into a Common-Wealth, to cast off entirely the Spanish Government; and by forcing the Protestant Flemings, who, indeed, were the chief Manufacturers, to take Shelter in England, where they presently erected all the several Species of the Manufacture, which were not set up before.

Thus it was, from the Year 1489, when King Henry VII. began to encourage the Manufacture in England, to the Year 1587, when Queen Elizabeth may be said to see it arriv'd to its Perfection, that this great Work was gradually encreasing and bring-

ing forward.

It is worth observing here, in how short a Time the Queen having fully stop'd the Stream of Wool which supported the Manufacture in Flanders, spread the Commerce of England, into the remotest Parts of the then known World, and carry'd

the Trade of the woollen Manufacture of England, into every Part which the Flemings had supply'd before, and to many Places where they had no Business.

a separate State under the Queen's Protection, and who breaking off from the Flemings, that is, from the Spaniards, had no Commerce with them, meddled not with Manusacturing, but apply'd themselves to their sishing Trade, and to foreign Merchandize; and having before a very great Correspondence by their Rivers, viz. the Maes, the Rhyne, and other Rivers into Germany, they naturally apply'd to England for the woollen Manusacture, which they had formerly been supply'd with from Flanders, and were, as we may call them, our first Customers for them Abroad.

2. THE Queen heartily engag'd in the Interest of her People, and particularly espousing her Merchants, sent formal Embassies, with splendid Retinues, and in the most honourable Manner, for the opening the Sluices of Trade to her Subjects; 1. To the Grand Seignior; 2. To the Great Duke, or Emperor of Russia or Muscowy; 3. To the Great Mogul; 4. To the King of Persia, and in a Word, to every other Place, whither her enterprising Subjects desir'd her; for it was at that Time an enterprising Age, and the English Merchants spread the Seas

with their Ships, as the Poet expresses it, every where as far

As Winds could carry, or as Waters roll.

3. Under her Majesty's Conduct, and by her particular Encouragement, her fortunate Navigators, her Merchants, and other Adventurers began to shew themselves, not experienc'd only in, but Patrons and Improvers of Navigation, beyond all the Trades of the World; they rang'd about the Seas having then no Rivals; searching the Globe for Discoveries, planting Colonies, and settling Factories in all Parts of the World: But I must come to speak of

this Part again more at large.

By this last Part of the Queen's Management, (viz.) prohibiting the Exportation of the Wool, the woollen Manufacture in the Netherlands receiv'd its satal Wound; the Spanish cruelty scatter'd the chief Manufacturers, and the Prohibition starv'd those that were lest; for now having no more Wool to work up, the Work it self stop'd at once, the Trade expir'd and dy'd: Nor has it been able since that to revive, no not in the least Degree; for as it depended before entirely, upon the Supply of Wool from England for its Support, when that Stream sail'd, when that Chanel stop'd, it could no more subsist, than a Body with-

К 3

dispersed and fled; their great Cities, such as Antwerp, Ghent, Liste, and other Places wasted and decay'd; the People went away into other Parts to feek Peace and Employment; the populous Towns became thin of Inhabitants, compar'd to what they were; and the new establish'd Common-

Wealth of Holland became populous and rich, out of their Ruins.

THE People who remain'd, and who are yet numerous, tho not like what they were before, apply'd to other Works, fuch as Lace, Linen, and particularly fine Thread, fine Cambricks, and whatever else offer'd, for it must be own'd they are a

most industrious People.

They are now further reduc'd in their Bounds by the French, who have taken from them the whole Province of Artois, and great Part of Flanders, and Hainault; and especially, the Port of Dunkirk, and the great Cities of Arras, Cambray, Doway, Liste, St. Omers, and many others, so that the remaining Part, which is now call'd the Netherlands, is but small, compar'd to what it was; and their Trade is chiefly confin'd to the merchandizing Part, which they carry on by the River Navigation with Holland on one Side, and with France on the other, and by the Manufacture as above, of Lace and Linen: As to the wool-

len Manufactures, they are oblig'd to give them over, and to buy them of their Supplanters the English, to whom they for-

merly fold them.

This being the antient State of our Commerce, and from which it deriv'd its Being; I thought it absolutely necessary to give this Summary of it, that we may have no Occasion to look back any more, but begin the Plan of its subsequent Improvements at this general Epocha, as from its real Fountain Head, and as it is properly an English Commerce.

THE Improvements of our Trade from this Time are no less wonderful; its prefent Magnitude I call a Prodigy, and I think it well deserves that Name. How it come to arrive to fuch a Height, and how it may be farther improved and increased in Spite of all the Prohibitions and Encroachments of its Neighbours, remains to be dif-

cours'd of.

CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

Of the Encrease of the English Commerce, from the Time of Queen ELIZAB TH's breaking with the Spaniard.



N the last Chapter, I mention'd the Inclination Queen Elizabeth had to propagate the Interest of

her People; and especially, that of their Commerce. I must observe here, as an additional Remark, that this Warmth of the Queen their Sovereign, fir'd her Subjects with an inexpressible Ardor for new Discoveries, planting Colonies, finding out unknown Passages, settling Factories, engaging in new Correspondences for Trade, and the like; and in this Reign, and in pursuit of this new Principle, (for it was new at that Time,) they began several of the present most slourishing Branches of our present Commerce, and where our woollen Manufactures are now best establish'd: For Example,

1. THE Queen fending an Embassy, as I have faid, to Muscovy, the English Mer-

chants obtain'd Licenses of the Great Duke for a certain Number of them to pass with their Merchandize thro' his vast Dominions into Persia, where they carried their English Cloth, Kerseys, Bays, Says, &c. and sold them to great Advantage, and brought back their Returns by the same Way 2500 Miles upon the River Wolga, 800 Miles upon the Dwina to Arch-Angel; besides crossing the Caspian Sea, and besides their Journey by Land to Ispahan. These were afterwards call'd the Russia Company, and indeed, they carry'd on a very noble and gainful Commerce, as well to themselves, as to their Country, till it was afterwards interrupted by the meer absolute Tyranny of the Muscovite Emperor or Great Duke, without any Offence given, and without fo much as a Pretence of any.

This Journey, besides the Voyage by Sea, between London and Arch-Angel, then also newly discover'd, was five Times perform'd by one Merchant of London, whose Name was Lancaster, as may at large be seen in Huckluyt's Voyages.

2. The Queen having by an Ambassador, as I have said, establish'd a Treaty of Peace and Commerce with Solyman the magnificent, the Great Emperor of the Turks; Her Merchants immediately follow'd with their Ships; and the Turky Company being by that means erected and establish'd, they settled their Factories at Constantinople, Smir-

molt

na, and at Aleppo, where the Trade flourish'd and encreased to a very great Magnitude, and continues to this Day.

3. THE War with Spain encouraging her Majesty's Subjects to farther Adventures, partly for Reprisals upon the Spaniard, and partly for Discoveries, Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake, Smith, and others, upon the meer Account of Commerce, difcover'd and planted the great, and now flourishing Colonies of Hudson's-Bay, New-England, Virginia, and Burmoodas, with the Fishery of Newfoundland; the Magnitude and Commerce of which Countries, is not easily to be described; and to which are fince then added, the Island Colonies of America, called in common the West-Indies, such as Barbadoes, Nevis, Antegoa, St. Christophers, &c. and at last Jamaica; and upon the Continent, New-York, with East and West Jersey, obtain'd by Conquest from the Dutch, and Pensilvania and Carolina, obtain'd by more modern and extended Discoveries.

To and from these, the Advantage of the English Commerce is such at this Time in the Consumption of European Goods fent thither, and particularly the British Product, and their Manufactures of Linen, Woollen and Silk; in the Numbers of Seamen and Ships employ'd, and in the Returns made from thence, as also the vast Wealth acquir'd there in Plantations, Build-

ings, Value of Lands, Slaves, &c. Ithat it is a Doubt not easily resolv'd, whether is greater in real Value, the Silver return'd to Spain yearly by the Galleons, or the Sugars, Ginger, Tobacco, Rice, Furrs, Fish, and other Product of America returned to England, and to other Parts on English Account.

To fuch an immense Greatness is the Trade grown, such a Consumption is made of the English Merchandizes, such Cities and Towns are built, Countries, nay Kingdoms peopled and inhabited, and fuch a Fund of Wealth and Commerce is raised, that it is not to be estimated.

4. In the same enterprising Times, was the Trade to the Gold Coast of Africa begun; a Trade founded upon the most clear Principles of Commerce; namely, the meanest Export exchang'd for the richest Return; a Trade carry'd on with furprifing Success, while justly countenanc'd by the Authority which own'd its beginning; and a Trade still holding up its Head, tho' so strangely, unaccountably, and contrary to the true Interest of Trade in general, as well as of England in particular, abandon'd and forsaken at last! And I ask leave to fay, I think 'tis the only national Advantage in Commerce, which feems to be neglected in England; it waits, however, for better Times; and I cannot doubt, but as it is capable (were it freed from the Invafions of Interlopers) of being made the

most slourishing Trade of its kind in the World; so it will still recover it self, and slourish in a manner sew People expect, because they do not see it possible; which however, I shall demonstrate, upon proper Occasion, to be both possible and easy.

5. Besides all these particular Steps. taken for the Encrease of Trade, the Export of the English Manufactures to Holland, mention'd above, took its beginning in this Queen's Reign, by the natural Consequence of the commanding Influence the Queen had over all the Affairs, as well as in the Affections of the Dutch: The Hollanders ador'd the Queen, and esteem'd her, as she really was, their great Patroness and Protector, and in Return, they omitted nothing that would oblige her, or her People; and particularly the encouraging and propagating the Consumption of the English Manufacture was their particular Care, knowing they could do nothing that could oblige her Majesty more.

Articles, in which the Growth of the Manufacture at that Time confifted; for as to the rest, tho' they were Foundations on which the suture Greatness of the Manusacture of Wool was very much rais'd; yet, as I said of King Henry VII's Part, so it was here, it was many Years, and not till long after the Queen's Death, that the Harvest of that Spring Time of Trade was reap'd.

Attempts for the Encrease of Commerce, and the generous Care for the Prosperity of the Nation, tho' the Issue could not be seen, or the Advantage be reap'd till some Ages after, is a noble Patern for the Princes, and for the Legislature of the present Age; moving them to lay such Foundations, as present themselves for the suture Advantage of their Subjects, tho' the Benefit should not immediately be felt, and tho' the Prospect be something remote, of which something farther remains in the Design of this Work.

These, I say, were the Beginnings of foreign Trade in England, and from hence the home Manufacturers rais'd themselves: These were the Beginnings, upon which the immense Business carry'd on in England at this time has been rais'd: This was the Time, when (as I said above) England gave herself a loose in Trade, and got the Starr of all her Neighbours, and like a strong Horse in a Race, who having shot a Head of the rest at their first setting out, by the Skill of the Rider, holds it all the way, by meer Strength, as well as Speed.

THE Advantages gain'd by the War with Spain, gave England such a Start of her Neighbours in this single Reign, in matters of Commerce, as the whole World could never overtake her in to this Day;

the

the Discoveries made in America are an Example of this; England began, and being early, carv'd for her felf, nor did she lose her Time; the French put in as soon as they perceiv'd it, but found all the North Coast of America gone, and possest by the English, and were glad to take up with what was left, (viz.) to run into the great and dangerous Gulph of St. Lawrence, take up with the frozen and wild Countries of Canada, and plant behind the English, remote from the Sea, and out of the Way of Commerce, except by that one Port; by all which Inconveniences they have been always fo crampt in Trade, they have made but mean Advances in a Hundred and fifty Years Possession: As to their Louisiana and Mississipi, it has indeed been made a Bubble at Home, and but little better Abroad, having only starv'd, or otherwise devour'd most of the People that have been fent over to it.

Among the Islands the French came a little more timely, and so got a better Share than any other of their Neighbours, except the English; for they got Martinico Guadaloup, Tortuga, and a part of St. Christopher's, and several other Places, which they profitably hold to this Day.

THE Dutch came last, got little upon the Continent, and lost that little they had

got to the English, viz. New York, and East and West Fersy; so that they have nothing

to call their own on that Side; no, nor have they one Island of any Consequence; they got a footing in the Brasils indeed, and held it above twenty Years, but were driven out of it again by plain Force, even by the Portuguese: Those very People, who on other Occasions they so much contemned, and who, in other Places, they drove before them, as Wolves disperse a Flock of Sheep.

All they have now left in America, is the two small Colonies of Surinam and Curacao, of no Import, or worth naming, and hardly worth their keeping, except for a clandestine Trade carried on there with the Spaniard on the Coast of Caraccas; which is now also likely to be entirely lost, and then the Intrinsick of the Product will be their only Benefit, which will appear very small.

On the contrary, How are these Colonies of the English increas'd and improv'd, even to such a Degree, that some have suggested, tho not for Want of Ignorance, a Danger of their revolting from the English Government, and setting up an Independency of Power for themselves.

It is true, the Notion is absurd, and without Foundation, but serves to confirm what I have said above of the real Encrease of those Colonies, and of the flourishing Condition of the Commerce carried on there.

How great a Consumption of the British Manusacture has the Encrease of these

Colonies been to this Nation? Let the yearly Export of all Kinds of Goods from hence to New-England, Virginia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, besides all the lesser Colonies, be a Proof of it: Above a Thousand Sail of stout Ships are constantly running between England and those Countries, above another Thousand are employed in coasting and traverling the Seas between the Islands and the Continent, including the Fishing Trade; besides the Numbers of Sloops continually waiting upon the Trade in Virginia, which they tell us are double the Number of all the rest.

I have omitted the Trade to India, as an Article made fo much less advantageous to England, by our own Mismanagement, than it might have been, that I see but little to boast of in it: But the general Commerce is my Business, especially in those Parts where our Manufactures are particu-

larly concerned.

THE next to the Dutch, (with whom we carry on such an immense Trade, that it was affirm'd to the Parliament in a particular Debate upon that Subject, that they took off two Millions yearly of our Woollen Manufacture only) I say, next to these our Trade with Hamburgh and the Baltick has been carried on to fuch an exceeding Degree, and so encreased of late, that notwithstanding several Prohibitions and Invafions upon the Manufacture lately appearing in Germany, in Bar of our Manufacture, our Trade thither is yet superior to all the other Nations; and in a Word is so great, as perhaps is beyond all Conjecture.

THE Turkey Trade has been carried on in the most regular Manner imaginable, from its first Establishment spoken of above: Its Encrease is visible, and as the Returns are to be duly estimated, and we can make it appear to be encreased from thirty or forty Thousand Pound Sterling a Year, to up-

wards of 300000 1. Value in a Year.

THE Export of our Manufacture to Italy, France and Spain, and particularly to Portugal, how are they advanced upon the first Establishment made in Queen Elizabeth's Time: It is true, France, by our egregious Folly, is lost to us in some Sense; but how it is in Portugal, by the Encrease of their Colonies in the Brasils, and on both the Coasts of Africa South of the Line; I say, how has the Consumption of the British Woollen Manusacture encreased among them; so that I am assur'd the Portuguese alone take off more English Woollen Manufacture at this Time, than ever Spain and France, put together, took off from us before.

THE Trade to Italy, especially to Legborn and Genoa, Messina and Venice, is the same, and under the same Proportion of Improvement. To this Prodigy of Magnitude is the British Manufacture arriv'd,

and all built upon the folid Foundations layd by that glorious Princess: She opened all these Doors, she sent out all those Adventurers, she planted all those Colonies, or made Way for the planting them; she circled the Globe by her Mariners, she founded the Commerce of both the Indies, of Africa, of Holland, and Hamburgh, the Levant, and the Baltick Seas.

SHE did not live indeed to see the Animosity of the Spanish War abated, much less brought to an End, or the Haughtiness of that proud Nation humbled into a fettled Friendship and Commerce, as was afterwards done; but it was all founded on her Conduct; for Example, and the second

On the Foot of her Establishments, the American Colonies are since brought to that flourishing State in which we now see they stand; on her laying the Foundation of the Turkey, the East India, the Holland, and the East Country Trades, they are grown up to what we now fee them.

Bur above all, and what I have not mentioned before, the Naval Glory of England, is all raised upon her prudent exerting her Strength at Sea; she shew'd the Spaniard, that however superior his Forces were on Shore (and it must be allowed his Armies were at that Time formidable, and his Troops, as well as his Generals, the best in the World) yet, I say, her Majefty shew'd him, that her Wooden Walls were

her sufficient Defence; that she built her Strength for War as well as for Commerce, upon the invincible Power of her Fleets, and the Courage and Bravery of her Seamen. By this she carried her Arms to the Doors of her Enemies, and visited them with her Terrors in their remotest Situation.

By these she took Cadiz, burnt the Galleons, with twenty Millions of Treafure in them, insulted Lisbon, (then in the Hands of Spain) ravaged the Coast of Galitia, and in a Word made all Spain tremble: By these she seiz'd the Islands and planted the Continent, landed upon the Coasts, plundered the Cities, destroyed the Shipping, and took immense Wealth from the Spaniards in America

In a Word, she cover'd the Seas with her Men of War, and like King George, let the Enemies of England see, that they that command the Sea, awe the World, and that to be Masters of the marine Power, is to be Masters of all the Power, and all the Commerce in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America:

Nor was this all, but the Queen by thus exerting her Naval Power, encreas'd it; nay, she took the best and the only Way to enlarge and encrease it; the Success at Sea made Seamen, as her Success in Trade made Merchants: To speak the Truth, all her Subjects were fir'd with new Thoughts; the very No-L 2 bility.

bility, and first Rate Gentlemen, fell into it, the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Cavendish, Sir Richard Greenville of the Devonshire Family, since Earls of Bath, the Earl of Esex, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Multitudes more: Some commanded Ships, some Troops; some planted Colonies, some supply'd Stocks; some ventur'd their Lives, some their Estates; all something: The Trade, the War, the Sea, emulated one another; all the Nation was in a kind of Flame.

THE Seamen returned enriched with the Plunder, not of Ships, but of Fleets, Loaden with Silver; they went out Beggars, and came home Gentlemen; nay, the Wealth they brought Home, not only enrich'd themselves, but the whole Nation.

This made the People run to Sea, as Country Folks to a Fair; and all the young Fellows turn'd Seamen as naturally as if they had been born so: The Multitude of Ships and Sailors in England grew so great, that, in a Word, they, as it were, covered the Seas; every Part of the World was vifited, and the Queen reign'd as it were Mistress of the Ocean; nor do we learn by History or Tradition, that the Queen ever prest any Seamen; Her glorious Successes at Sea both in publick and private Adventures, animated her People so, that they crouded into the Service on all Hands; and whatever

Adventure was on Foot, they never wanted Hands.

Thus the Queen, I say, by exerting her Naval Strength, encreased it; and that to fuch a Degree, that no Power on Earth, during her whole Reign, was able to match her at Sea; nay, I believe I do not carry it too far, if I say, she was at that Time able to have fought all the Maritime Powers of Christendom at Sea, had they been all in Confederacy together; and this I speak of the Number of her Seamen and Ships, not at all infifting on the Goodness of her Seamen; tho' it must be allow'd, that her Seamen, flush'd with Spanish Prizes, were the best and the boldest at that Time, of any Sailors in the World: But that is a Subject by it felf.

I return to the Subject; as it is now, so it was then; Spain could not bring home her American Treasures, without her Majesty's Leave; and with this addition too, that almost as often as they ventur'd to do it, they miscarried; which has not

yet been our Case,

HERE began the formidable Strength, as well as Trade of England, to shew it self, the World scarce ever heard of an English Navy till then; the Emperor Charles the fifth had powerful Fleets, when he carried on his Wars with so much Glory against France, against the Turks (then very formidable at Sea) and against the Rovers of

Tunis

Tunis and Algier; and his Son King Philip had indeed great Navies, when he carried on his Wars against the Dutch, not then form'd into a State; and when he fitted that terrible Fleet against England, called Invincible, and which had been truly invincible, had not Heaven and Earth, as it were, fought against it in Conjunction.

But the World scarce ever heard of an English Man of War (so by the Iniquity of Custom we call our Ships of War) much less of an English Navy till Queen

Elizabeth.

WITH our naval Power grew up our Commerce, as if like Twins they were born together, and not to live afunder: What had been all her new settled Plantations, all her Infant Colonies? they had Difficulties almost unsurmountable in their very Beginning, Difficulties found in the very Nature of their Undertakings, and which follow'd in the Consequence of the Thing; (viz.) planting among the barbarous Nations, and lying at the Mercy of the Savages: How often famish'd, and frozen to Death by the Severity of the Climates, and Want of Supplies? How often massacred by the treacherous Natives? How often driven, to abandon the Settlements they had made? And had the Spaniard too been able to have attack'd them by Sea, had not the Queen always kept herself in a Condition to defend them,

them, and to protect their Commerce, all the Discoveries they had made, and the Colonies they had planted, like ill Births had been strangled in the bringing forth; and all had fallen back to the Spaniard, by the meer Consequence of their Naval Power.

But the Queen was the Life of all that Glory; her adventurous Subjects found out the Places, planted and fettled them, and as well as they could, fortified themselves against the Bow and Arrow Enemies, which

they found in the Place.

But 'twas the Queen's Naval Strength that was their Security; by this she kept the Spaniards Hands full, that they had no Time to bestow in attacking the newly planted Merchants; nor had they Ships to spare, they were met with in every Corner, fought with on every Coast, and which was more, beaten almost as often as fought with, on whatever Occasion.

UNDER this Protection the Commerce encreased, Trade got Ground, the English Nation swelled into an Empire of Nations, and the English Merchants carried a general Negoce to all the Quarters of the

World.

HAVING thus look'd back a little upon Things past, I shall say a Word or two to Things present, and conclude with Things yet to come.

CHAP. V.

Of the present State of the English Commerce, especially that Part of it which relates to the woollen Manufacture; the Prodigy of its Magnitude, and some Enquiry into how it may be call'd great, and what that Magnitude really is.



Y what has been faid, we are a little let into the Beginning of Things, and English Men of Trade may see their glorious Ori-

ginal; how they receiv'd Life, as we may call it, from the Powerful Influences, and Paternal Concern of their fagacious Princes; and how they became a trading Nation. Take a Summary of it again in the following Abstract.

HEAVEN bestow'd the Wool upon them, the Life and Soul, the Original of all their Commerce; he gave it them, and gave it exclusive of all the Nations in the World; for none comes up to it.

Their King (Henry VII.) open'd their Eyes to the Bleffing, and put them upon manufacturing it, after they had, for almost a Thousand Years of Ignorance, sold it to the diligent Flemings; and even bought their own Cloaths of them again, after they were made with it Abroad.

Their glorious Queen, (Elizabeth) shewed them the Way to find a Market for it, when manufactur'd; she open'd the Sluices of Trade to them, and Trade open'd the Sluices of Money. In a Word, the made them a Trading Nation, and that has made them a rich Nation, as we see them at this Time.

Bur I am called upon to describe the Magnitude of this Commerce, and shew the World, that we do not boast of its Greatness without Cause; that Strangers may know, what we say of it, is not made up of Bluster and Wind, and that even those that read it among our own People, may be able to support and explain what they shall, upon any Occasion, advance of the real Greatness of our Trade.

THE Funds of Trade in any Nation, and upon which the Commerce that is rais'd, is with Propriety said to be the Trade of that Nation, must be contain'd in these Two.

THE Produce of the Soil, and, THE Labour of the People.

Now, if I make it appear, that in both these the Trade of England is greater than that of any other Nation, I hope I may be supposed sufficiently to have prov'd the Magnitude of it.

I. THE Produce of the Soil.

AND here, that I may make all Things plain and easy as I go, and leave as little Room for Cavil as possible, I demand to explain briefly the Term Product or Produce: By Produce, as to Trade, I am to be understood to mean, not that Part of our Produce, be it of what Kind it will, that is confumed at Home, and is employ'd by our People; for this does not relate to the Trade of the Kingdom, as I understand Trade in this Discourse; that is to say, Our foreign Trade: By this Exception I take out all the vast Consumption of Corn, Cattle, Coal, Fish, Fowl, or whatever of our own Growth is consum'd unmanufactur'd; and tho' this makes an inexpressible Sum, and employs a Multitude of those of our People we call Shop-keepers, Carriers, Coasting Sailors, with Servants, Labourers and Horles; Ships, Barges Boats, Carts and Carriages innumerable, and that a vast Wealth is raised by this part of Trade; yet, I say, this is not the Article, or Branch of our Trade that I am in particular now describing: But by the Produce of the Soil here, I mean such part of its Growth as is exported beyond the

Seas. What is consum'd at Home, will come under another Head. This includes,

English COMMERCE.

I. Wool, the greatest and best of our trading Produce, the Soul and Life of our whole Commerce, and the Fund of all our Prosperity and Success in that Commerce.

2. CORN, so much as is exported only. 3. Coals and Leather, also exported.

4 TIN and Lead, Iron and Copper.

5. Fish and Salt.

I suppose no thinking Man will object that Fish being the Produce of the Sea, and not of the Soil, is not to be call'd a Produce.

6. Tobacco, Sugars and Ginger.

7. Rum, Melasses. Indigo.

8. Cocoa, Pimento, and Drugs.

9. Furrs and Skins of Beasts.

10 Turpentine, Rice, Cotton,

11. Timber, Masts, and Planks.

THE Produce of our Colonies, which is the same Thing as our own Produce.

THE Magnitude of our Trade, founded upon these Productions, will appear, when they are considered apart, and when the Labour of the People, being added to the Value, shall so far double and redouble the Sum,

Ctively shall admit. THE Labour of the People is the next

Article. This is supposed to be rated according to the Thing they labour about, and is to be added to the intrinsick Value of the Materials; which being so join'd, the Work

finish'd is call'd Manufacture.

1. The Wool, as it is the first and greatest Produce, so it is the first and principal Manusacture; an Estimate of its Value, as Wool, is as difficult to be made, as of its Quantity; the Numbers of People it employs are not to be reckon'd by Thousands, but by Millions; the Places in Britain where the Work is managed and carried on, are not to be measured by Towns, and Districts of Towns, Villages, or Lordships, but by Counties, Provinces, Parts and Quarters of the Island: As it is a Product every where; so every where we see more or less of the People employ'd in it: The best Measure we can take to give you an Idea of its Magnitude, is to tell you, that it works up, and confumes not only all the Wool produced by the Sheep of this whole Island, the Cattle upon a thousand Hills, but it calls for a prodigious quantity from Abroad.

N. B. I suppose I am much within Compass, when I say, that in the Fleece and in Yarn, we import 100000 Packs of Wool every year from Ireland, beEnglish COMMERCE. 157

fides all the Wool of Scotland, which, fince the Union, is generally brought to England, to be manufactured; and whose Quantity, as represented at the Time of that Treaty, was rated in the Parliament there, to be worth 60000

Pound Sterling per Annum.

They that would examine into the Quantity of Wool used in England, must make an Estimate of the Numbers of the Sheep fed here, which it would be very hard to do; but let them view the Country where those Sheep are generally rais'd and fed, or enquire of those who have view'd it critically, and let them see the innumerable Flocks of Sheep fed constantly in the several Parts of England, following.

I Romney Marsh, an Extent of Land for about 20 Miles long, and 10 Miles broad, of the best and richest kind of Sheep Ground. I name this Place first, because I can give an authentick Account of its Extent, and from thence may give you likewise something more than a rough Guess at the Pro-

duce of it in Wool.

THE Flat Country, commonly call'd Romney Marsh, includes some other Lands of the same Nature, and lying all in the same Level, but of which Romney is the Chief, and therefore gives its Name to all the rest, the Quantities of Land they contain, and upon which they are rated in their Level Books, stand thus.

Romney

Romney and Walland Marsh	40000
Gulford Marlb	3000
Bromebill	- 906
Denge Marsh	2912
New Romney Level	292
	47110

THE ordinary Bounds of this great Level, are by Estimation, from Rye Harbour, or Guldford Marsh, East to the Town or Port of Hithe West, 20 Miles, and from South to North; that is to fay, from Lyd on the Sea Shore South, to Warchorn North, which is suppos'd to be a Medium of the Breadth, at least ten Miles.

As all (or all to a Trifle of) this Land, is employ'd in breeding and feeding of Sheep, they reckon the stated Number of Sheep to Stock, the whole, that is to fay, of Weathers and Ewes, which produce Fleece Wool, is three Sheep to an Acre.

N. B. THE Lambs, of which a very great Number, are every Year fold off, are not included.

So that the Number of Sheep, and consequently the Number of Fleeces of Wool raised in this Level, is 141330 Fleeces.

OF these 'tis usually reckon'd, that 14 Fleeces, one with another, make a Draft, and four Drafts make a Pack of Wool; fo

that 56 Fleeces make a Pack, each Pack weighing 240 Pound; and, thus

THE Total of the yearly Growth of Fleece Wool in this Level, is 2523 Packs

23 Fleeces.

I could give many more Estimates of particular Places after the like manner; but, as all together will not amount to an exact Calculate, I shall not trouble the Reader with Figures. This is sufficient to give you some just Ideas of the rest, after I have a little describ'd the Countries where the Principal Numbers of Sheep are kept.

2. THE South Downs; an Extent of Carpet Ground, reaching from Bourn in Suffex, to near Chichester, and with small Intervals to Post Down in Hampshire, being at least 65. Miles in length, and generally, 5 or 6 Miles broad at a Medium; all covered with Sheep of a smaller Size, but of the finest Wool; in which Compass I find there is

estimated above 70000 Acres.

3. THE Downs and Plains, vulgarly call'd Salisbury Plains, but extending from about 10 Miles on this side Winchester, to the Divizes East and West, and from Andover on the Edge of Berkshire, through the whole Counties of Wilts and Dorset to the Sea at Weymouth, North and South; containing all, or the most Part of the large Counties of Southampton; besides, as above, that of Wilts and Dorset, the Number of Acres not to

be estimated, and the Sheep not to be guessed at.

4. The Cotswould Hills and the Plains adjoining, in the Counties of Worcester, Gloucester and Oxford; all these last Counties breed an infinite Number of Sheep.

great Number on Bansted Downs; and also on the vast extended Commons and Heaths on the West Part of the same Country, towards Farnham, Guildford, and the Hind Head Hills, all to be seen on the Road to Portsmouth.

6. The two rich feeding Counties of Lincoln and Leicester, where the largest Sheep in England are bred, and from whence comes that innumerable Store which supplies the Markets of London with their Flesh, whose Number admits of no Calculation.

7. Newmarket Heath, and all those Downs and Heaths adjoining in the Counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, which reach from Bourn Bridge on the side of Essex to Thetford North East, and on by Brandon and to Lyn North West, and to the Sea due North, where an innumerable Number of Sheep are fed, noted for having all white Wool, but black Faces.

I forbear to examine the Mountains of Wales, the fine Wool of Leominster, the Woulds in the East Riding of Torkshire, the Bank of Tees in the Bishoprick of Durham, where are the largest Breed of Sheep

Sheep in the whole Island; even larger than in Leicesterskire, or Romney Marsh; and last of all the Northumberland Sheep, where, and in Cumberland their Number is so great, that they are brought Southward to be sold, even to London it self.

ADD to all these, that at least there is brought from Scotland 120000 Sheep every Year, with the Wool upon their Backs, besides Wool, as I said before, of all the numberless Flocks that are lest behind, in the Shires of Galloway, Air, Nithsdale, Tiviotdale, and other Parts of Scotland.

It would be foreign to our purpose, to mention these particular Sheep Countries, if there were not something material in it, to those English Men who are acquainted a little with their own Country; and who by reslecting on the Quantities of Sheep, may make some Guess at the prodigious Quantity of Wool produced by them; as an Illustration of which, be pleas'd to observe.

Town of Dorsetshire abovemention'd, I was told by very grave and creditable Perfons, Inhabitants of that Town, that upon a Wager decided, it was made appear, that within a Circle drawn round the Town, fix Miles every Way; that is, twelve Miles Diameter, placing the Town exclusive in the Center, there were 600000 Sheep M feeding

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feeding at that one Time, viz. in June, Anno 1673.

2. THAT at Salisbury, I received an Account from Persons alike grave and judicious, that there were fold, or brought to be fold, at one Time at Wey-hill Fair, 400000 Sheep; and at Burford Fair in Dorsetshire, the same Year, upwards of 600000.

THE Sum of this Account is, that as the Number of Sheep, which are constantly kept in this Island, is so exceeding great, and as we may fay, numberless; so must the Growth of the Wool be yearly in Proportion; and how great then must be the Manufacture, which not only works the Wool always up, but receives such immense Quantities from Ireland and from Scotland?

THE next Consideration upon which, to form an Idea of the Greatness of our woollen Manufacture, is the Exportation of it, and the several Markets where it is

fold: For Example, THE Markets for English broad Cloths in Turky, viz. at Constantinople, Smyrna, Scanderoon, Aleppo, and at Alexandria in

Egypt. THE Staple at Hamburgh, the Fairs at Leipsic and Frankfort au Main, and the Markets of Ausburgh, Nuremburgh, Ulm, and many of the most considerable Cities of the upper, as well as the lower Germany. THE

burgh, Dantzick, Riga and Petersburgh; and this, notwithstanding all the Prohibitions, and pretended Imitations of our Manufacture in Sweden, Prussia, Saxony and Switzerland. THE incredible Vent for the woollen Manufacture of England, which is now

English COMMERCE.

THE great Quantity of English Manufacture sold yearly at Lubec, Gottenburgh,

Stockholm, Straelsand, Stetin, Konings-

actually in Holland, as well at Rotterdam as at Amsterdam; and from thence it is fent to all the Provinces and Counties of Germany; which, as I have faid above, is faid to amount to above two Millions Sterling per Annum.

THE lately encreas'd Market at Lisbon, where, notwithstanding all that has been faid of the French supplying them, we have so great a Vent for the woollen Manufacture, that 'tis said, the Portugal Trade is at this Time the best, and most entire Trade we have.

THE Trade to Spain, as well old as new, and to Italy; however, the first has been interrupted, either by clandestine or Permission'd Traders: I say, it is very considerable; and it is observable, that our Importation of woollen Manufactures into old Spain, much over-ballances all the Goods we bring back from the Spaniard, their Bullion only excepted.

THE Trade to India, with all its Faults, in which the Company oblige themselves to export yearly, the Value of 100000 Pound in woollen Manufacture.

ADD to all this, the Consumption in our own Colonies and Plantations, which, as has been already observ'd, is beyond the reach of all Calculation.

THUS far relates to the first Article of the Employment or Labour of the Poor, viz. the woollen Manufacture only.

2. THE Silk Manufacture; this is encreas'd in England within a few Years to fuch a Degree, that whereas it was afferted by the late Dr. d'Avenant, and others, that in the Years 1680, 1681, 1682, there was imported yearly, by a Medium of three Years, above 1200000 Pound per Annum, Sterling in Value, in wrought Silks from France and Italy; I am assured, that at this Time, there are not twelve thousand Pounds first Cost, imported in a Year from France, and from Italy less than ever, except what may be run in by Smuggling, which, we have Reason to believe, is not considerable: It is true, this is a Manufacture wrought from foreign Materials; but it has two Particulars attending, extremely advantageous in Trade, and which ballances all that can be said against it.

1. THAT the foreign Materials are such as are imported manifestly in Return for our Manufacture exported; as particularly

the Raw-Silk from Turky and the Levant, and the Thrown-Silk from Italy and Si-

2. THAT the Labour of our own People is employ'd on the making those Goods, which, however they may be confum'd at Home, yet, would otherwise be bought from Foreigners with our Money; so that by this Labour of our People, the Sum of more than a Million Sterling per Annum is fav'd; if it is not gain'd, 'tis kept at home, instead of being sent abroad, and the Ballance of our foreign Trade turn'd so much the more in our Favour.

Thus far the Consumption at home is made a Branch of our Gain; and the Labour of the People, tho' expended by the same People, is made a means to keep a Million of Money at home, which would otherwise go aboad in Levity and Trifles.

But I return to foreign Trade.

3. THE Labour of our People is concern'd in foreign Trade, in all our Hard-Ware Manufactures, so far as those Hard-Ware Manufactures are exported; and this, if cast up in Form, and containing all our wrought Iron, Copper and Brass, and wrought Pewter, is a very great Article in the general Commerce; besides the many thoufand Families employ'd in the Mines, in digging Lead, Tin, Iron, Copper and Coal, for Exportation; that is to say, the Lead in Sows or Pigs, call it as you please, tle M_{3}

Tin in Blocks, and the Copper in Bars and Plates.

4. THE Labour of the People in the Fishery of all Sorts, in which, tho' we do not come up to the Dutch, who they tell us employ 10000 Seamen every Year in the Whale Fishing, and 10000 more in the Herring Fishing, and 10000 more in all their other Fishing, including the fetching Salt from St. Vvies; yet, it is certain, that next to the Dutch, we have more Men employ'd in the taking and curing of Fish, including the Newfoundland, and New-England Fishing, than all the World besides.

5. ADD to this, that England employs, without Question, more Shipping than any other Nation, even than the Dutch themfelves; and consequently more Seamen, and Builders of Ships; for the Dutch have an infinite Number of small Craft, such as Galliots, Hoys, Busses, and Bylanders or Hoys, for their River Navigation, in which they and the Flemings out-do all the European World; yet for great Ships, and Ships of Force for the Merchants Trade, they cannot come near us; our coasting Trade for Coals, our West-India, Spanish, and Straits Trade, which is all carry'd on in large Ships, carrying from ten to thirty Guns, or able to carry fo many, and some 36 to 40 Guns, especially the Trade to Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Spain, Italy

and Turkey, in which many Ships are employ'd, which, in times of a sudden Rupture, have been hir'd and taken up for Ships of

War, and are very fit to be fo.

HERE the Strength, as well as the Wealth of this Island, is discovered; and I need not add, that out of this extraordinary Number of Ships employ'd in our Commerce, the Government, with very little Compulsion, and less now than ever, is able to man any Squadron of Ships of War; nay, if need be, the whole royal Navy with unex-

ampled Expedition.

And this is another unanswerable convincing Argument to prove the Magnitude of the English Commerce, (viz.) that if the King wants 20000 to 30000 Seamen for the Fleet, they are always to be had; the Trade supplies them, and the continued Train of homeward bound Ships produces them, and yet the Merchants always find Men for their Business; on the other hand, if Peace returns, and the Royal Navy lies up, if 20000 Seamen are dismiss'd and paid off, they are gone in a few Minutes, they find a Birth, (as they call it) in Trade, the Merchants fit out the more Ships, and good Seamen never want Business.

This could never be, if the British Trade was not a Prodigy for its Magnitude; what Difficulties was the late King of France, a Prince born to surmount all Difficulties, I fay, what Shifts was he put to to find, or

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