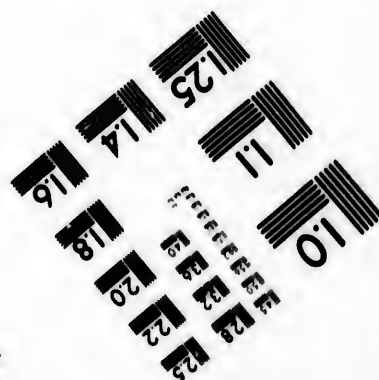
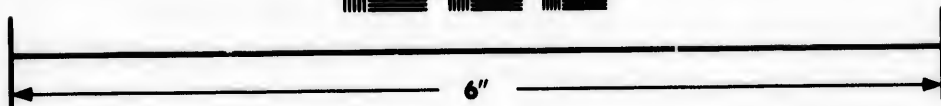
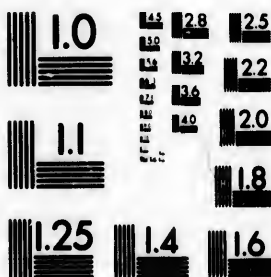


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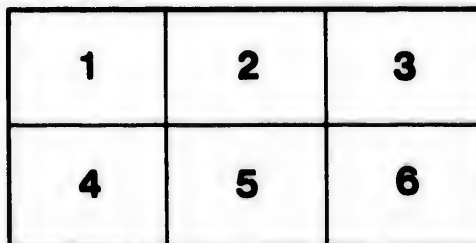
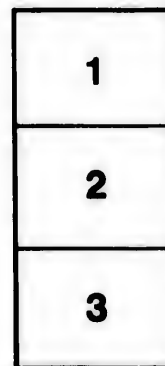
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ESSAY

ON THE

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

OF THE

FRANCE and GREAT BRITAIN

WITH REGARD TO

TRADE

WITH SOME

PROPOSALS

FOR REMOVING THE

DIFFERENT DISADVANTAGES OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY MR. JOSEPH TUCKER, OF BRISTOL

THE FOURTH EDITION

LONDON

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXI

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OF THE

PROGRESS OF THE

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES

IN GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE YEAR 1700 TO 1789

BY J. SMITH

THE SECOND EDITION

WITH ADDITIONS

BY THE AUTHOR

AND

BY J. H. B. CLARKE

OF BRISTOL

PRINTED BY

G. & C. H.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1790

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

EARL OF HALIFAX,

First Lord Commissioner

For Trade and Plantations.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me once more to wait upon your lordship with a new edition of the ensuing treatise, now greatly enlarged, and, I hope, in some respects, made less unworthy of your lordship's protection. A treatise, relating to the interests and commerce of Great Britain, naturally seeks to shelter itself under the patronage of an EARL of HALIFAX.

BUT there is still a more particular motive for this address. His majesty, ever studious of the good of his people, in appointing your lordship first com-

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4 DEDICATION.

missioner of trade and plantations, hath shewn the most vigilant regard to the welfare of both, by committing this important superintendency to hands universally allowed the most able, and the most inclined to execute so great a trust with increasing success. Your lordship, in a very short space of time, has confirmed our warmest hopes. And Great Britain, with its dependent colonies, form to themselves the most pleasing prospects on this occasion.

WERE not your lordship's candour great as your abilities, this inconsiderable performance would never have appeared before so skilful a judge, nor the author have presumed to profess himself in so public a manner, what in great truth he is, with the utmost respect and esteem,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,

And most devoted

humble servant,

JOSIAH TUCKER.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

ALL commerce is founded upon the wants, natural or artificial, real or imaginary, which the people of different countries, or the different classes of inhabitants of the same country, are desirous, in defect of their own single abilities, to supply by mutual intercourse. If this commerce be carried on between the inhabitants of the same country, with the growth or manufacture of that country only, it is called home consumption: which is so far serviceable, as it preserves the several professions and stations of life in their due order, as it promotes arts and sciences, with a rotation of industry, wealth, and mutual good offices between the members of any community. For these reasons, traffic, merely of this kind, is of great importance, though it neither increases nor diminishes the public stock of gold and silver.

But providence having intended that there should be a mutual dependence and

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connection between mankind in general, we find it almost impossible for any particular people to live, with tolerable comfort, and in a civilized state, independent of all their neighbours. Besides, it is natural for men to extend their views, and their wishes, beyond the limits of a single community, and to be desirous of enjoying the produce or manufactures of other countries, which they must purchase by some exchange. Now this intercourse with other nations is called foreign trade. And in the exchange of commodities, if one nation pays the other a quantity of gold or silver over and above its property of other kinds, this is called a balance against that nation in favour of the other. And the science of gainful commerce principally consists in the bringing this single point to bear *. Now there can be but one

* This is spoken with respect to the ultimate balance of trade. For in reference to the intermediate balance, it doth not always hold true. A treaty may be beneficial to the nation, where the imports exceed the exports, and consequently the balance paid in specie, if that trade, directly or indirectly, is necessary for the carrying on of another more profitable and advantageous. But then it is to be observed, This trade is not beneficial, considered in itself, but only as it is relative and subservient to the carrying on of another. This is the case, with respect to the greatest part of our trade to the Baltick, and the East-Indies: They are instrumental in procuring a balance elsewhere, though, properly speaking, disadvan-

INTRODUCTION. 7

general method of putting it in practice; and that is, since gold and silver are become the common measure for computing the value, and regulating the price of the commodities or manufactures of both countries, to export larger quantities of our own, and import less of theirs; so that what is wanting in the value of their merchandise, compared with ours, may be paid in gold and silver. The consequence of which will be, That these metals will be continually increasing with us, as far as relates to that particular trade and nation, and decreasing with them. And in what proportion soever their money comes into our country, in that proportion it may truly be affirmed, that our sailors, freighters, merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, tenants, landlords, duties, taxes, excises, etc. are paid at their expence.

Or to put the matter in another light; when two countries are exchanging their produce or manufactures with each other, that nation, which has the greatest number employed in this reciprocal trade, is said to

be victorious in themselves. Which brings the matter to the point from whence we set out; viz. "That the science of gainful commerce consists, ultimately, in procuring a balance of gold or silver to ourselves from other nations."

B I N T R O D U C T I O N .

receive a balance from the other; because the price of the overplus labour must be paid in gold and silver. For example; if there are only ten thousand persons employed in England in making goods or raising some kind of produce for the market of France; and forty thousand in France for the market of England—then we must pay these additional thirty thousand Frenchmen in gold and silver; that is, be at the charge of maintaining them. This is the clearest and justest method of determining the balance between nation and nation: for though a difference in the value of the respective commodities may make some difference in the sum actually paid to balance accompts, yet the general principle, that labour (not money) is the riches of a people, will always prove, that the advantage is on the side of that nation, which has most hands employed in labour.

The principles of trade therefore being so clear and certain in themselves, and withal so obvious to any man of common capacity and application, it is a very surprizing matter how it comes to pass, that both men of good understanding are many times totally ignorant of them, and merchants them-

INTRODUCTION.

selves so divided in their sentiments about them.

As to the first case, perhaps it may be accounted for, if we consider what disadvantageous notions men of a liberal and learned education have imbibed of this noble and interesting science; on which the riches, the strength, the glory, and I may add, the morals and freedom of our country, so essentially depend. Yet it has been represented as a dry unentertaining subject, dark and crabbed, perplexed with endless difficulties, not reducible to any fixed and certain principles; and therefore fit for none, but the mercantile part of the world, to give themselves any trouble concerning it. But upon a fair examination it will perhaps appear, that this representation is very false and injurious.

As to the second, it must be indeed confessed, that merchants themselves are very often divided in their sentiments concerning trade. Sir * J Josiah Child, Mr. Gee, Mr. Cary of Bristol, and almost all commercial

* The words of Sir Josiah Child strongly corroborate what is here alleged. " Merchants, says he, while they are " in the busy and eager prosecution of their particular " trades, although they be very wise and good men, are not " always the best judges of trade, as it relates to the power " and profit of a kingdom. The reason may be, because their

10 INTRODUCTION.

writers, have long ago taken notice of this difference of opinions. But however strange and unaccountable it may appear to persons not conversant in these matters, there is a very strong and convincing reason, when the affair is searched to the bottom, for the disagreeing opinions of different merchants pursuing their respective interests. The leading idea, or the point aimed at by every merchant, must be, in the nature of things, and in every country, a balance in favour of himself. But it doth not always follow, that this balance is likewise in favour of the nation; much less of other merchants, whose interests may be opposite to his own. While therefore each person sees in a favourable light his own branch of commerce, and de-

“ eyes are so continually fixed upon what makes for their
“ peculiar gain or loss, that they have no leisure to expati-
“ ate or turn their thoughts to what is most advantageous to
“ the kingdom in general.”—

“ The like may be said of all shop-keepers, artificers, clo-
“ thiers, and other manufacturers, until they have left off
“ their trades, and being rich, become by the purchase of
“ lands of the same common interest with most of their
“ countrymen.”

This justly celebrated writer was himself an instance of the truth of this observation. For, if I am not greatly mistaken, he did not write this very treatise, till he had left off trade, and being rich, became by the purchase of lands of the same common interest with the rest of his countrymen.

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sires to procure all possible advantages to that traffic, on which the prosperity of himself and his family, perhaps totally, depends, it is but reasonable to expect their sentiments should clash.

Hence therefore some have thought, that a person of a liberal and learned education, not concerned in trade, is better qualified to engage in the study of it as a science, than a merchant himself: because, say they, his mind is freer from the prejudice of self-interest, and therefore more open to conviction in things relating to the general good. They add, that though he may not understand the buying and selling of particular commodities, or the fittest time to bring them to a profitable market, (which is the proper province of a merchant) yet he may understand, in what respects the nature of that trade contributes to the loss or gain of the public, with a degree of evidence, which perhaps the merchant never thought of: as being indeed not concerned, merely as a merchant, in such kinds of disquisitions.

But without pretending to determine who are the best qualified to engage in the study of this most useful and extensive science, let us rather humbly recommend it to the

12 INTRODUCTION.

attention of them both. For undoubtedly both have their advantages; and perhaps the application of both together might be more successful than either of them separately. If the one should happen to be less self-interested, by means of his situation in life, and more open to conviction in cases relating to the general good; the other, for the very same reason, is more skilful in the practice of trade, and a better judge, whether the project, perhaps so fair in theory, is feasible in fact.

As to the private interest of merchants, which is here supposed to be a bias upon their minds; this, most certainly, coincides, for the most part, with the general interest of their country: and so far it can be no argument in their disfavour. But nevertheless, truth obliges us to acknowledge, that in certain cases, * “A merchant may have a distinct interest from that of his country. He may thrive by a trade which may prove her ruin.” Nay more, he may be impoverished by a trade that is beneficial to her. But undoubtedly, the moment he per-

* British Merchant, Vol. II. page 141. 8vo edition, 1721. See likewise the instances there given to confirm this observation.

I N T R O D U C T I O N. 13

ceives he is carrying on a losing trade, he will quit it, and employ his thoughts and his substance in the prosecution of some other. Moreover, as it is a balance in favour of himself, which is the principal object of his aims and endeavours, it cannot be expected, but of two trades, both advantageous to the community, he will embrace that which is most profitable to himself, though it should happen to be less gainful to the public. It is a maxim with traders, and a justifiable one, to get all that can be got in a legal and honest way. And if the laws of their country do give them the permission of carrying on any particular gainful trade, it is their business, as merchants, to engage in the prosecution of it.—As to the great point of national advantage, or disadvantage, this is properly the concern of others, who sit at the helm of government, and consequently whose province it is, to frame the laws and regulations relating to trade in such a manner, as may cause the private interest of the merchant to fall in with the general good of his country.

For these reasons therefore, the appointment of the board of trade must certainly appear a very wise and necessary institution;

14 INTRODUCTION.

the intent and design being, as I humbly conceive, to answer this very end. And the honourable members of it may be looked upon, in this light, as the guardians of the public welfare. In presiding over the general commercial interests of the kingdom, they are to inspect the several branches of traffic, that are carried on, and to give notice to the legislature, whether the profit of the kingdom, or of the merchant, is most promoted; that the proper remedies or encouragements may be applied, according as the case requires, by stopping up the former channels of a disadvantageous trade, opening new ones, which may enrich the public and the adventurer together; encouraging him to persevere, and to enlarge his dealings in every branch, which is beneficial to the community; and in one word, by enabling the merchant to find his own private advantage in labouring for the good of his country. Self and social happiness, in this case, must be made to unite: otherwise it will happen in this, as in most other affairs, that social happiness will not be promoted at all.

And as the affairs of commerce must for these reasons ultimately come under the cog-

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nizance of the legislature, it were greatly to be wished, that men of eminence and distinction, whose birth and fortunes procure them an admission into the British senate, would employ a little more of their time in the cultivation of a science, so worthy of their greatest regard and attention. The interest of their country, and their own, do both concur in requiring such a conduct from them. I beg leave to mention not only the interest of their country, but their own: for it is a most certain fact, though not sufficiently attended to, that the landed gentleman is more deeply concerned in the national effects of an advantageous or disadvantageous commerce, than the merchant himself. If this assertion should appear a paradox to any one, I hope a few lines will convince him of the truth of it.

Suppose then some general calamity to befall the trade of the kingdom:—Or, to put a more striking case, suppose the mouth of the Thames to be choked up with sands and marshes, (as that fine river in France, the Rhone, really is) so as to afford no port worth mentioning for the purposes of commerce: in such a melancholy case, the merchants, manufacturers, owners of ships, sailors, and

16 I N T R O D U C T I O N.

all the multitudes of tradesmen dependent upon this commerce, would indeed be the first affected; but they would not be the greatest losers. For after the first shock, they would easily remove with the best of their effects, and try their fortunes elsewhere. But the landed gentleman, what must he do? he is bound down to the soil, and cannot remove his estate, though the persons are gone, who used to consume the product of it. Thus the evil becomes incurable, and perpetual with regard to him, and every day increasing: whereas with respect to the merchant, it was only a shock at first, which he has the chance of getting the better of, by removing to a more advantageous situation.

It is fervently to be wished, that providence may never visit us with so terrible a judgment, as the choaking up the mouth of our principal river leading to the metropolis of the kingdom. But the bare supposal of such a case is sufficient to prove, I humbly presume, with irresistible evidence, that the landed gentlemen, in the counties adjacent to London, are more deeply interested in the consequences of the trade of London, than the merchants themselves: and therefore, that those supposed distinctions of landed in-

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INTRODUCTION. 17

terest, and trading interest, in the sense they are commonly used, are the most idle and silly, as well as false and injurious, that ever divided mankind.

But above all, we must beg leave to observe, by way of inducement to the landed gentleman to turn his thoughts to this study, that his very private interest is rather a help, than a detriment to him in the prosecution of it. It puts no wrong bias upon his mind, but directs him to the true point of light, from whence to see, and to judge of these affairs: which is a circumstance in some respect peculiar to his situation.

For, if we suppose the scene still to continue in and about London, (though the same would hold true of any other part of the kingdom) as the private interest of the landed gentleman arises from the general commerce of the place, he can have no partial views in relation to trade, nor can reap any advantage from monopolies, exclusive companies, or such like destructive artifices. The more persons there are employed in every branch of business, the more there will be to consume the produce of his estate: so that he will have no temptations to complain, that the trade is over stocked, or wish the

18 I N T R O D U C T I O N.

promotion of this trade, in order to the de-
clension of that. In short, his own interest
is connected with the good of the whole; so
that he cannot but be extremely well quali-
fied to understand, and to promote it, if he
will please to make use of the advantages he
is happily possessed of.

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A BRIEF

ESSAY ON TRADE.

The principal ADVANTAGES OF
FRANCE with respect to TRADE.

I. **T**HE natural produce and commodities of the country.—These are chiefly wines, brandies, silk, linen, hemp, and oil. I do not mention corn; for though they raise a great deal, yet, as they are great bread-eaters, they consume a great deal, and have little to spare for exportation. Their harvests also are more precarious than ours, and often fail.

II. The subordination of the common people is an unspeakable advantage to them in respect to trade.—By this means, the manufacturers are always kept industrious: they dare not run into shocking lewdness and debauchery; to drunkenness they are not inclined. They * are obliged to enter into the married state; whereby they raise up

* The law of France obliges all unmarried men to serve as common soldiers in the militia and the army, unless they have particular exemptions on account of their stations and professions.

large families to labour, and keep down the price of it: and consequently, by working cheaper, enable the merchant to sell the cheaper.

III. The rules and regulations they are obliged to observe in manufacturing their goods, and exposing them to sale, is a great advantage to the credit of their manufactures, and consequently to trade. All sorts of goods for exportation must undergo an inspection of the proper officer in the public hall: there they are compared with the patterns or samples delivered in before. The bad, and such as do not answer to their samples, are confiscated, with a fine levied upon the offender. By these means, the fraudulent designs of private traders, who would get rich at the public expence, are prevented, and the national manufactory constantly kept up in high credit.

IV. Their excellent roads, their navigable rivers and canals, are of singular advantage to their trade. — Their great roads are always in good order, and always carried on in a straight line, where the nature of the ground will permit; and made at a most prodigious expence; each province being obliged to make and repair their own

roads. And yet there is no expence for turnpikes from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Their rivers are indeed, for the most part, the work of nature: the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, with all the rivers which fall into them, help to carry on a communication with most of the great cities of the kingdom.

But their canals are their own proper praise; and equally deserving admiration on account of their grandeur and contrivance, as for their usefulness to trade, in lowering the price of carriage. Among these, that of Languedoc, and the two canals of Orleans and Briare, are worthy to be particularly mentioned. By means of the former, a communication is opened between Bourdeaux and Marseilles, between the ocean and the Mediterranean, without passing through the Streights of Gibraltar, and surrounding all the coasts of Portugal and Spain: and by virtue of the two latter, an easy intercourse is maintained between all the great towns situated on the Seine and the Loire. Many other canals there are, and more still intended to be made, greatly advantageous to their commerce.

V. The French enjoy a great advantage in the goodness of their sugar colonies.— It is not owing to any superior skill in them, or wrong conduct in us, nor yet any greater oeconomy in their planters, or profuseness in ours, (for upon the strictest enquiry, both will be found to be very culpable) that they exceed us in the cheapness or goodness of their commodities; but because our Leeward islands are worn out, being originally of no depth of soil; and the ground is more upon a level, consequently more subject to be burnt up; whereas their islands are still very good. In Martinico particularly, the ground is rich, the soil deep, diversified with high hills, affording copious streams of water, and refreshing shades. Another great advantage which the French have over the English in their sugar colonies, is their Agrarian law, whereby monopolists are prevented from engrossing too much land. So that the number of whites are greatly encreased, the lands improved, more commodities raised, the planters obliged to a more frugal manner of living, and all things rendered cheaper. By these means Martinico can muster sixteen thousand fighting men; but Jamaica, which is near three times as large, only four

thousand. Add to this, that the inhabitants of old France do not use the tenth part of the sugars for home consumption, which the English do; and therefore have that commodity to export again to foreign markets, and with it to encrease the national wealth.

VI. The French colonies receive all their luxuries and refinements of living from their mother country; which is a very great advantage to it.—They are not suffered, nor indeed doth it appear, that they are much inclined to go to any other shop or market for these things. Neither have they set up any manufactures of their own, to the prejudice of their mother country. Indeed, as to the necessaries of life, they supply themselves with them where they can; and frequently buy of the English. But this is a case of necessity, which cannot be subject to restraints. As to articles of luxury, parade, and pleasure, we very seldom hear that they buy any of them from us.

VII. The manner of collecting their duties on several sorts of goods imported, is of greater advantage to trade, than can easily be imagined.—In the port of Bourdeaux (and I take it for granted so good a regulation obtains in other places) there are public

warehouses, very proper and convenient, adjoining to the custom-house. And all provisions and goods, necessary for the use of their sugar colonies, are there deposited by the merchant, till the ship sails, duty free, paying only a moderate price for cellerage. When she returns, the sugars, etc. are landed in the king's warehouses, where they remain, till the importer has found a purchaser for a proper quantity: then he pays the duty for that, and has it taken away, letting the rest continue. Or if he intends these goods for exportation, there they lie ready and convenient. By this means he is never driven to streights on account of the king's duty; and is enabled to carry on a very extensive trade with a small stock. The consequence of which is, that many persons are hereby capacitated to enter considerably into commerce, who could not otherwise have done it. For one thousand pounds sterling in France, will go near as far as two thousand pounds in England.—Not to mention, that as there is no money immediately advanced on account of the king's duty, the whole gains of the merchant will arise only from the money actually in trade: now as this is less by near one half to what it would

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have been, had the duty been all paid at once; consequently he can afford to sell one half less than he must have demanded in the other case.

VIII. Their neighbourhood to Spain, and present connection with it, is of so great advantage, as to be worth all their trade besides.—For it is certain, they get more from the Spaniards than all the trading nations in Europe. Their poor from Perigord, Limosin, and other places, come yearly into Spain to reap their corn, and gather in their vintage; and carry back what they have earned to spend in France. The fishermen from Bayonne, and the neighbouring places, supply them with great quantities both of fresh and salt fish to eat on Fast-days, and to keep Lent. The pedlars and shop-keepers in Spain are mostly French, who retire into their own country, when they have made their fortunes. The towns in Languedoc supply them with cloth, silks, and stockings; Rouen with hats, and coarse linen stuffs; Abbeville, with superfine cloths; Amiens and Arras, with worsted and camblet stuffs; and Lions, with all sorts of rich silks, gold and silver lace, etc. for their consumption both in Europe and America. In

short, the greatest part of the produce of the mines of Potosi is brought into France. Hence it is, that their payments are all in silver: and gold is more scarce in France, in the currency of coin, than silver is in England. A plain proof, that they have the great trade to Spain, as we have to Portugal.

IX. Their address in drawing raw materials from other countries to work up in their own, serves greatly to enlarge and extend their trade. — France produces some wool and silk; but not a fourth part of what they manufacture. Wool they import from Barbary, the Levant, and Spain. They also bring wool from Switzerland. Some little perhaps is run from England; but, I have good reason to believe, not much. The quantity from Ireland is very considerable; which is owing to our own wrong policy. The best of their raw silk they draw from Piemont, the Levant, Italy, and Spain. Their cotton is brought from the Levant, and from their sugar colonies. And the ashes for making soap at Marseilles are chiefly imported from Egypt.

X. They reap unspeakable advantage, by the permission and encouragement given to foreign merchants and manufacturers to

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settle among them.—By this good policy the price of labour is always kept sufficiently low. A competition and emulation are raised, who shall work, and sell the cheapest; which must turn out greatly to the national advantage, though it may not be so favourable to the private interest of individuals. For these reasons, the government is particularly gentle and indulgent to foreigners. And the situation of the country is greatly assistant to this disposition of the government.—France is surrounded with populous, that is, prolific nations, who have no trade and manufactures of their own to employ their poor, Flanders, all Germany on the side of the Rhine, Switzerland, Savoy, and some parts of Italy, pour their supernumerary handsevery year into France; where they are caressed, and received into the army, or the manufacture, according to their inclinations. The Rhone is so easy and cheap a conveyance, for the swarms of inhabitants bordering on the lake of Geneva, that so small a sum as one shilling, or eighteen pence each person, will bring them to the chief manufacturing town in the kingdom, viz. Lions. And there are said to be no less than ten thousand Swiss and Ger-

mans employed in that city. The numbers also in all the other commercial towns are very great, and daily increasing.

XI. The English monopolies, which are so destructive to the interests of Great Britain, become, for the very same reason, of the greatest benefit and advantage to France. —Marseilles is a flagrant, and a melancholy proof of this assertion. For the trade of this place hath flourished and increased just in the same proportion, as that of our Turkey company sunk and declined. All the fine streets and new buildings of the city date their original from this period. So that we may truly say, they were built, and are now supported, by the exclusive Turkey company of England. Moreover, the English Hudson's-Bay company is the only cause, which can make the French settlements in so wretched a country as the northern parts of Canada, to flourish; with so difficult and dangerous a navigation, as that up the bay of St. Lawrence. It is this, and no other, is the cause that enables them to extend their colonies, and to undersell the English in all the articles of furr; which they apparently do in times of peace.

XII. The public stock of wealth is greatly

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increased, by foreigners of all countries travelling among them.—The advantages from hence accruing have not been so much attended to, as, I humbly think, they justly deserve. For while these foreigners reside in the country, they not only pay for their food and board at an high rate, but they also clothe themselves with the manufactures of it, and buy many curiosities. But this is not all: for having contracted a liking to the produce and manufactures of the country they travelled in, they continue to use them when they are returned to their own; and so introduce them to the knowlege, esteem, and approbation of others: this begets a demand; and a demand for them draws on a correspondence, and a settled commerce. These are the advantages which the French enjoy by such numbers of foreigners travelling among them; whereas they scarce ever travel themselves; and by that means circulate the money in their own country.

XIII. France enjoys no small advantage, as it doth not lose much by the article of smuggling, in comparison to what England doth—This is owing to the strictness of their government, the many spies they have up-

on every man's actions, and being able to punish the slightest offence more severely, and in a more summary way than we can, or is consistent with a free constitution to do.

The principal DISADVANTAGES of FRANCE with regard to TRADE.

I. THE first disadvantage to a free trade is the government, which is arbitrary and despotic; and therefore such as a merchant would not chuse to live under, if he knows the sweets of liberty in another country, and has no attachment of family, or interest to keep him still in France.— It must be acknowledged, his property, generally speaking, is secure enough, but his person is not so. To explain this, we must beg leave to observe, that though there are fixed and stated laws in France to decide all cases of property, and criminal causes, as here in England; so that a man may know the rules he is to be governed by in those respects, and can have an open trial for his life and fortune: yet there are no laws to ascertain the nature of political offences, or

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to circumscribe the power of the judge: so that he must be entirely at the mercy of the *lieutenant de police*, and his deputies; who can imprison him at will, without assigning any reason, or bringing any evidence to confront him. And therefore his only security consists, in being continually lavish in the praise of the king and the ministry, and in saying nothing which may afford the least pretence to the spies, who swarm all over the kingdom, to inform against him.

II. The second disadvantage to the freedom of trade, is the Romish religion; which has added to its many other absurdities, a spirit of cruelty and persecution, so repugnant to the scope and tendency of the gospel.

—Therefore a protestant merchant, if at the same time a conscientious man, will find himself very often reduced to great difficulties, in order to avoid on the one hand the sin of hypocrisy, by compliances against his conscience, or on the other, the danger attending the exercise of his religion, and the educating of his children in the protestant way. This, I say, will often happen, even at present; though the bigotry of the court of France is not near so great, as it was in former times.

III. Another great burden, and consequently a disadvantage to the trade of France, is, the great number of religious of both sexes.—The lowest computation of these amounts to near three hundred thousand persons: a great part of which number might, and would be employed in trade and manufactures; and the rest might be useful to society in other spheres. But that is not all; they are a very heavy weight upon the public. Vast estates are appropriated for the support of some of these religious orders, whose fund is continually accumulating, not only by legacies and donations, but also by whatever fortune each person is possessed of, at the time of taking the vow. And others, who are of the mendicant orders, and are allowed to have no property, become a continual tax upon the industry and charity of the people; and these mostly of the middling and lower sort. Not to mention the increasing riches and dead wealth in all their churches.

IV. A fourth great disadvantage to the trade of France, is their numerous and poor nobility. — The nature and constitution of that government require the notion of birth and family to be kept up very high,

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as it will always create an indigent nobility, and consequently dependent upon the court for such preferments as may not deroge, or bring a stain upon their family. Moreover, the same refined policy induces the court to make the military service be esteemed the most honourable; as it must render the whole body of the nobility soldiers to fight their battles; the richer serving for glory, and the poorer for an honourable support. The consequence of all this is, that they heartily despise the Bourgeois *,

* In France, the inhabitants are usually distinguished by three ranks, or orders; the noblesse, the bourgeois, and the paisans. Each of these are totally distinct from the other. The posterity of the noblesse are all noblesse, though ever so poor, and though not honoured with the titles of count, marquis, etc. as noblemen are here in England. The posterity of a bourgeois, though ever so rich, and though the family have left off trade a hundred years ago, are still but bourgeois, until they are ennobled by patent, or have wiped off the disgrace of having been merchants, by some signal military service, or have purchased some honourable employ. Therefore when the noblesse call the merchants bourgeois, burgessees, they mean it as a term of infamy and reproach, answering to that of pitiful low mechanic in English. Indeed, by some ordinances, the noblesse are permitted to engage in certain branches of foreign and wholesale trade, without bringing any stain upon their family. But these permissions will have very little efficacy to induce the nobility to turn merchants, as long as the military service is so highly exalted in credit and reputation above merchandize. The very genius of the government makes it a scandal not to be a soldier: laws will have little force against this.

that is, the merchant and tradesman: and he, when he gets rich, is as desirous of quitting so dishonourable an employ, wherein his riches cannot secure him from insult and contempt. Being therefore ambitious of raising his own family to be of the noblesse, he leaves off trade as soon as he can, and breeds up his sons to the military profession, or purchases some office in the law or civil government, which may ennoble them.

V. The trade of France suffers another inconveniency by the nature of its taxes. —Some of these, in certain provinces, are very arbitrary; as the taille, which is levied mostly upon the poor peasants and manufacturers in the country villages. Others are very heavy; as the duty upon salt, which is shockingly oppressive. Others again, though not quite so oppressive, are yet equally improperly laid; because they are upon the necessaries of life, which are to feed the tradesman, and to victual the shipping. Thus, for example, all sorts of provisions, corn, wine, butchers meat, poultry, eggs, fish, garden-stuff, and fruit, pay a duty at the entrance of some of their great cities. There are duties also lately laid upon soap and candles. And in the Pais des

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Etats, where the most grievous of these imposts are not levied, they lay a provincial duty upon all things going in or out of that province; which makes the merchandize so passing through, become the dearer at a foreign market.

VI. The maitrises, which so generally prevail in France, are a clog to the trade of the country.—These maitrises are much the same as our companies in towns corporate; only we have this advantage, that in England their pernicious effects can be more easily eluded by having shops, etc. within glass windows. Besides, our best manufacturing towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and even four fifths of London itself, viz. Westminster, Southwark, and all the suburbs, have no companies at all. Whereas in France all tradesmen are obliged to be free of their proper maitrise, before they can set up. The fine for this, in some trades, is very considerable. And there is also, in time of war, an annual demand of a certain proportion of men out of each maitrise; which is understood to imply a sum of money by way of equivalent. Thus, the more these maitrises become useful to supply the exigencies of the govern-

ment at a pinch, the more privileges they will acquire; and the greater the privilege is of any particular company, the less will be the general trade of the country.

VII. The French sustain some disadvantage by their monopolies and exclusive charters.—They have an East-India company at Port l'Orient: Marseilles is a free port for the Levant and Barbary trade; whereas there is a duty of 20 *per cent.* upon all merchandize of those countries, if imported into any other port of France in the Mediterranean. And even at Marseilles, there is a particular exclusive company for importing corn and wool from Africa. Lions is free for all silk entering, or going out; whereas there is an heavy duty in the neighbouring towns; by which means, Lions may be said to have an exclusive charter. And there is good reason to conclude, there is something of the same nature for the Turkey cloth at Carcassonne, the silk and worsted stockings at Nismes, the clothing for the soldiery at Lodeve, the superfine cloth at Abbeville, the stuffs at Amiens, the camblets at Arras, the painted linens and cottons at Rouen, etc.

VIII. The French labour under no small disadvantage on account of the expence they

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are at in the article of shipping.—They have more men to navigate their ships than the English, because they are not so expert sailors. They must carry some supernumerary landmen; by the king's orders: they must have many officers to govern these men, because the merchant is to be responsible for them when the ship returns. These officers will have a grand table, a cook, and new bread every day. The ship lies long in port, if sent to the West-Indies to dispose of the cargo: because their creolians are said to be so dishonest, that they do not care to trust them with commissions. And so the expences of the officers and of the crew run very high. Add to this, that the officer, belonging to the marine in France, will find ways and means to give great trouble to the merchant, both as to the choice of sailors, and of officers, unless he is properly considered: which is generally done by buying some ship stores of himself, or friends, at an exorbitant price.

IX. The two national vices of the French, gaming and fine clothes, are a great hurt to their trade.—These expences cannot be supported but by a large profit; and that will always lessen the demand at a foreign

market, if their neighbours can afford to sell cheaper. Not to mention the swift ruin which gaming sometimes brings on, and the loss of time occasioned by it.

X. The situation of the French ports is a great disadvantage to them, with respect to the Hamburg and northern trade: and in regard to the southern and West-Indies, they are not better situated; and are not near so many, nor so good as ours, especially if we take Ireland into the account. They have only an advantage with respect to the Mediterranean.

XI. The farming of the revenue is another great disadvantage to the commerce of France. For these farmers have most immoderate profits, and live in all the splendor and expence of the first princes of the blood. And as they act by the king's authority, they tyrannise over the subjects with impunity.—Yet I cannot see how the French government can be without such a set of people.—For when money is wanted, they are ready to lend, while the subject is afraid: therefore they borrow of the subject, giving their own securities, and then lend to the government at an advanced

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price, paying themselves, as the duties are collected.

To these disadvantages, it has been intimated, I ought to have mentioned their many holidays, on which they must not work, and their pompous processions, which draw the people a-gazing after them. — The thought did occur to me before, at the time of writing the first edition: but I suppressed it then, and now beg leave to assign the reasons; viz. In the first place, these things are greatly wearing off in France every day; so that the loss of time is not so considerable, as one may imagine. Secondly, Allowing that some time is idled away during these holidays, and in seeing processions, etc. still, if we cast up the account of the time and money which are spent here in England by all sorts of manufacturers in horse-races, cock-fightings, cricket-matches, bull-baitings, but more especially in mobbing and electioneering, (all which are not in France) I am persuaded, we shall find the advantage gained over them, on the score of their holidays and processions, to be none at all; and that upon comparing both articles together, the amount of the disadvantages will be found to be greater on our side, than on theirs.

The principal **A D V A N T A G E S** of
G R E A T B R I T A I N with respect to
T R A D E.

I. **THE** natural produce and commodities of the country; corn, wool, lead, tin, copper, coal, butter, cheese, tallow, leather.—All which are not to be found in France, in that plenty and abundance they are in England.

II. The number, goodness, and situation of our ports.—Those on the Western side of Great Britain (especially if we reckon Ireland a part of ourselves, and include both islands under one general interest, as in reason and policy we ought to do) are almost as well situated for the Southern trade, as the French: they are four times as many in number, and much better for safety, and depth of water. And as to the North and Baltic trade, the French can come into no comparison with ours.

III. Nature has been very bountiful, in bestowing on us such excellent fisheries; particularly the herring-fishery, on the Northern coasts of Scotland, and the cod on

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the South West of Ireland.—These great advantages are always in our power to cultivate and improve; and it is our fault, and our reproach, that we do not.

IV. England enjoys another advantage by means of its free government.—A merchant can go to law with the crown, as easily as with a private subject. The judges are for the life of the prince on the throne, and consequently not under the immediate influence of the court. No man's person can be detained, but a reason must be given, and the matter brought to an open trial, where his equals are to be his judges, and to decide between him and the crown, whether he hath committed an offence against the state, or not.

V. Another inestimable blessing, and a great advantage, considered merely in a commercial view, is the liberty of conscience we enjoy in these kingdoms.—Every man is permitted to worship God in the way he thinks the right and true, without fear or reserve; and may educate his children in his own religion. The Roman Catholics indeed are under some legal discouragements: but it is plain, the legislature considered them rather as a political, than a religious sect,

when those laws were enacted. And the present government, by its conduct towards them, has given them sufficiently to understand, that they shall not be disturbed in the free exercise of their religion, provided they will give no disturbance to the state in civil affairs, by siding with its enemies. This, surely, is but a reasonable demand: and here the matter seems to rest.

VI. England has always enjoyed an advantage in trade, as its manufacturers have ever been in high repute for their skill and ingenuity.—Our locks, chains, clock-work, mathematical instruments, and all sorts of cutlery ware, far exceed all others at this day, and are deservedly preferred by foreign nations. And our sailors are considerably superior to the French, in their art and dexterity.

VII. England enjoys a very visible advantage over France, as the whole bulk of our people may be concerned in trade, if they please, without any disreputation to their families.—The profession of a merchant is esteemed full as honourable as that of an officer. And no man need leave off trade, when he finds himself rich, in order to be respected as a gentleman. It is

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likewise no scandal for younger brothers of the most antient families to be bred up to trade and business.

VIII. We enjoy a singular advantage by our vast colonies on the continent of America.—From Newfoundland to Georgia, is an immense country; where all the inhabitants do use more or less of the growth of their mother country; and England again receives the produce and growth of theirs. This is a mutual benefit, and still improveable.

IX. The island of Jamaica has some advantages over any of the French islands, on account of its situation, to carry on a beneficial trade with the Spanish main; the sweets of which have been so sufficiently felt during the late war, as to need no further illustration. And this island is capable of great improvements in many other respects.

X. The very wants of Great Britain, in one respect, might be turned into a singular advantage over the French in another.—It is certain, France cannot carry on a trade to most countries with that advantage to the country it trades with, as the English can.—For example; the English can trade

with the Spaniards to mutual advantage: if the English export cloth and stuffs to Spain, they can take off fruits, oil and wine, by way of barter. Whereas the French can make no use of these commodities, having so much of their own growth both to use, and to spare.—A consideration of this nature, well timed, and strongly urged, might have a good effect upon the Spanish court, to induce them to favour the English commerce, and discountenance the French. It is owing to the successful application of Sir Paul Methuen on this very head, when envoy to the court of Portugal, that the English at this day enjoy the whole trade of Portugal, and that the French, in a manner, are excluded.

XI. The low interest of money, and the easy and expeditious transfers in the funds, give to Great Britain a manifest advantage in the affairs of commerce. For were the interest as high as in France, the exportation of our manufactures would be much dearer, as every exporter would expect to get a profit superior to the interest of money; the sure consequence of which would be a lessening of the quantity exported.—Besides, the merchants of London, by means of East-India bonds, and the quick transfers

of stocks, are enabled to make a profit of their money, when not employed in trade; by which means they can afford to buy and sell for less gains.

The principal **DISADVANTAGES** of
GREAT BRITAIN with regard to
TRADE.

I. **THE** first and capital disadvantage, is the want of subordination in the lower class of people.——This is attended with dreadful consequences, both in a commercial and a moral view. If they are subject to little or no control, they will run into vice: vice is attended with expence, which must be supported either by an high price for their labour, or by methods still more destructive. The end of all is poverty and disease; and so they become a lothsome burden to the public. Nothing is more visible, than the great difference between the morals and industry of the manufacturing poor in France, and in England. In the former, they are sober, frugal, and laborious: they marry, and have flocks of children, whom they bring

up to labour. In the latter, they are given up to drunkenness and debauchery: the streets swarm with prostitutes, who spread the infection, till they are carried to an hospital, or their grave. The men are as bad as can be described; who become more vicious, more indigent and idle, in proportion to the advance of wages, and the cheapness of provisions: great numbers of both sexes never working at all, while they have any thing to spend upon their vices.

II. The prodigious expence of éléctio-neering is another fatal stab to trade and industry.—It is not only so much money spent, but it is spent mostly upon manufacturers; and so it gives them a taste for idleness, and brings on an habit of drunkenness, and extravagance. The want also of subordination, just now complained of, is mostly to be imputed to the same cause, as it sets them above control, frees them from all restraint, and brings down the rich to pay their court to them, contrary to the just and proper order of society.

III. Another very great burden on the English commerce is the vast numbers of poor; and those every day increasing.—If we trace the matter to its fountain-head,

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we shall find it to be owing principally to the same causes, viz. electioneering, and the want of subordination. And if a calculation was made of the expences of electioneering, and the ruinous consequences of it, together with the annual poor tax, I am very sure, it would exceed, in the proportion, what France expends in maintaining three hundred thousand religious of both sexes: so that we gain no advantage over France in this respect, through our own dissoluteness and ill management.

IV. Our trade is greatly burdened by the nature of most of our taxes, and the manner of collecting them.—The customs on the goods imported make those goods come much dearer to the consumer, than they would do, if the consumer himself was to pay the duty: and this becomes a strong temptation to our people to smuggle. The taxes upon the necessaries of life are in fact so many taxes upon trade and industry: and such must be accounted the duties upon soap, coal, candles, salt and leather. Likewise the duties upon the importation of foreign raw materials, to be employed in our own manufactures, are so many fetters and chains to prevent the progress of labour, and cir-

cultation of wealth. These imposts were first laid on, under a notion of promoting the landed interest; but happy would it have been for these kingdoms, if the landed gentlemen had understood their interest, before they attempted to shew their zeal in promoting it.

Moreover, the expensive manner of collecting all our customs is still an additional disadvantage; such as the multiplication and splitting of offices, patent-places, fees, sinecures, pensions, etc. These things indeed create a dependence upon the court, and are said to strengthen the hands of the government; but if they do so in one respect, they weaken it much more in another. They give too just cause for complaint; the best friends of the present establishment are grieved to see any measures which they cannot vindicate. Repeated murmurs, where there is a real foundation for them, naturally tend to alienate the affections of the bulk of the people, which above all things should be guarded against; because in times of actual danger, it is the people, and not placemen and pensioners, who can save the government, and oppose themselves against the invasions of foreign, or the insurrections of

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domestic enemies: as was plainly seen in the case of the late rebellion.

V. The great number of smugglers in England are of infinite detriment to trade.

—— They carry nothing but bullion, or wool out of the kingdom, and return mostly with the commodities of France. They are the necessary cause of creating many offices, maintaining sloops, smacks, etc. to guard against them; and they furnish a pretence for adding many more. Thus they become doubly mischievous. They tempt others to do the like, for fear of being ruined in their lawful trades by being underfold. The practice of smuggling debauches the morals of the common people, it leads them into perjury, and tutors them up in all vice and extravagance. So many expences incurred, so many deficiencies in the revenue, must be made up some other way; that is, by duties not so liable to be embezzled. And therefore fact it is, that every man in paying taxes for land, etc. pays for the damage done, or caused by smuggling. And yet till there is a proper subordination introduced, and the qualification for voting something altered from what it is at present, it is easy to see, there never can be any effectual cure for this

growing evil. Smugglers are, for the most part, inhabitants of boroughs and towns corporate: they, or their relations, friends, dealers, acquaintance, etc. are voters, and——
verbum sat sapienti.

VI. Our monopolies, public companies, and corporate charters, are the bane and destruction of a free trade.—By the charter of the East-India company, at least nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine British subjects, out of ten thousand, without having committed any fault to deserve such a punishment, are excluded from trading any where beyond the cape of Good Hope. By the charter of the Turkey company, a like, or a greater number, are excluded from having any commerce with the whole Turkish empire. The Hudson's Bay company engrosses all the fur trade with the Indians, in an extent of country almost as large as half Europe. Thus the interest of nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine fellow-subjects is sacrificed, in so many respects, for the sake of a single one. The whole nation suffers in its commerce, and is debarred trading to more than three fourths of the globe, to enrich a few rapacious directors. They get wealthy the very same way by which

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the public becomes poor, viz. First, by exporting small quantities of our own manufactures, in order to have an exorbitant profit; and 2dly, by importing but a few of the raw materials of foreign countries, that they may have the higher price for what they bring home.——A double mischief! equally fatal to the community, both by the smallness of their exports and imports.

And as to corporate charters, and companies of trades, they are likewise so many monopolies in the places to which they belong, to the great detriment of national commerce. — To convince any one of this, let him but suppose a set of town and country butchers frequenting the same market; and that the country butchers were excluded for a market or two; would not the town butchers raise their price? i. e. put all their fellow-citizens under contribution, by means of this privilege? And doth not every other company the same in all things they sell? And what is the consequence?——A general dearness among one another, which must light at last upon the foreign trade, and therefore diminish the quantity to be exported.

VII. Our imprudence and narrow-spirit-

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edness, in not inviting foreigners to settle among us, is another material disadvantage to the English trade.—Foreigners can never get rich in a strange country, but by working cheaper or better than the natives. And if they do so, though individuals may suffer, the public is certainly a gainer; as there is so much merchandize to be exported upon cheaper terms, or so much saved to the merchant, whereby he may afford to export the cheaper. Not to mention, that by this means the price of labour is continually beat down, combinations of journeymen against their masters are prevented, industry is encouraged, and an emulation excited. All which are greatly for the public good.

Besides, a foreigner just escaped from slavery and oppression, when he gets rich in a land of liberty and plenty, is not likely to return home, but will settle among us, and become one of ourselves, with his whole family. And what are all Englishmen but the descendants of foreigners? In short, it is the same weak policy to prevent foreigners settling among us, as it is in the poor about London, to oppose the Welsh and Irish coming up to work in the gardens, and carry in the harvest; not considering, that

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if the gardener or farmer cannot have his work done cheap, he cannot afford to sell the garden-stuff, bread, etc. cheap to them. So that they themselves find their account in the cheapness of the labour of these persons. Indeed the English should give more encouragement, if possible, to strangers than France doth; as for many other reasons, so particularly for this, that the Flemish, Germans, Swiss, Piedmontese, Italians, etc. can arrive at most of the manufacturing towns in France at a trifling expence; whereas the long journey from their own country, and the passage over into England, are a very great discouragement to foreign manufacturers to come to settle here.

VIII. Our ill-judged policy, and unnatural jealousy, in cramping the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, is another very great bar against extending our trade.— This is a most unaccountable infatuation, which has not the shadow of a public and national reason to defend it. For if Ireland gets rich, what is the consequence? England will be rich too, and France will be the poorer. The wool which is now smug-

gled from † Ireland into France, and manufactured there, and from thence sent to oppose our own commodities at foreign markets, would be manufactured in Ireland; the French would lose the benefit of it, the Irish would get it:—The rents of the estates in Ireland would rise; and then the money would soon find its way into England. Besides, the Irish might be incorporated into the English parliament, and make one nation with ourselves, bearing an equal share of taxes, and so easing England, at the same time that Ireland is enriched.—But more of this hereafter.

IX. Want of a less expensive way of repairing our roads, want of more navigable rivers and canals, are a very great disadvantage to England, in comparison of France.—Every one must be sensible of the heavy tax, which so many turnpikes lay upon trade; and how bad even the turnpike roads are in

† A clergyman, whose living is in the west of Ireland, assured me, that just after the peace, the wool smugglers of his parish, got upwards of 50 per cent. by the wool they sold to the French. — As long as this is the case, laws and restrictions will signify nothing. If we have a mind to prevent the Irish sending their wool to France, we must make it their interest to keep it at home; which can never be done, but by permitting them to manufacture it themselves, and export it to any market they can.

many parts of the country, distant from London. We have no canals to open a communication between city and city, river and river, though our country is much better adapted for them than France.

X. We labour under a very great disadvantage, as most of our Leeward Islands are now worn out, and indeed were never so fertile, or of so lasting a soil as the French; therefore they require a greater expence to cultivate them; so that our sugars must come the dearer to Europe. Besides, as we use so much for home consumption, we have the less to spare for foreign markets. But the greatest misfortune is, that the planters in these small islands are suffered to monopolize as much land as they please; by which means the plantations are engrossed in a few hands, and the number of whites is daily decreasing; so that the sugar colonies now consume much less of the produce of the mother country; and yet in time of danger, England is obliged to be at the expence of a greater force to protect them, as they are less able to defend themselves.

XI. England labours under a peculiar disadvantage in comparison to France, as its colonies are not so much under the command

of their mother country, nor so studious of her welfare.—In many of these colonies several manufactures are set up, and more intended to be erected, which will greatly interfere with the trade of England. And we must expect that this evil will not decrease, but increase by time, unless an effectual method can speedily be put in practice, to divert the thoughts of our American colonies from these pursuits, to some others, equally serviceable to them, and less detrimental to us. Besides, they not only set up manufactures of their own in opposition to ours, but they purchase those luxuries and refinements of living from foreigners, which we could furnish them with. It is computed, that they are supplied with at least one third of these articles from foreign nations; amongst whom the French come in for the greatest share.

XII. We also suffer a further inconvenience in not inviting foreigners to travel into England, and spend their money among us; and in being too fond of travelling ourselves.—It is certain, England has as many curiosities for a foreigner to observe, as any country in the world: the whole island, and every thing belonging to it, being in

many respects different from the continent, and worthy the attention of a stranger. And even as to fine paintings, original statues, and antiques, we have prodigious collections of them in private hands, though little known even to our own countrymen, for want of a public and general catalogue. Moreover, our English travellers in France and Italy are continually making new collections in order to carry home, and embellish their own country. And yet our gentry are so shy to strangers, the servants expect so much vails, and the common people are so rude and affronting, that very few care to travel in such a country.

XIII. The high price of labour is another insuperable bar to a large trade.— The causes of which are such as have been assigned already, viz. Electioneering — the corrupt morals of the people — taxes on the necessaries of life — monopolies, public companies, and corporate charters of trades.

XIV. We suffer a very great detriment through the want of public inspectors, to see that our manufacturers produce every thing good in its kind; that they give good weight and measure, and fold the worse side outermost. And what is still worse, where such

have been appointed, they have degenerated, through some unhappy abuse, so far as to increase the evil they were intended to correct.

XV. Add to all these, the discouragements and oppositions which the most generous scheme will too often meet with from self-interested and designing men, who pervert the invaluable blessing of liberty and a free constitution to some of the worst of purposes. In a despotic kingdom, the ministry have none to oppose them in their good designs: but among us, let their plan be ever so well calculated for the public good, yet if it clashes with the private interest of any particular persons, trading companies, or boroughs, (as it necessarily must do) then it is opposed, under various pretences, by the united force of false patriots, who inflame the populace with words and names, and blacken and misrepresent the best designs in the most malevolent manner.

Besides, in an absolute government, there is no possibility of gaining preferment by making one's self formidable to the ministry. Whereas in England, it is the sure road to it. A bold plausible speaker in the house embarrasses the schemes of the ministry, not

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because he thinks them wrong, but because he expects to be bought off by a place, or a pension. A news-writer, or a pamphleteer, puts every measure of the court in the most odious light, in order to make his paper sell the better, or to be thought considerable enough to be retained on their side.

On the other hand, the ministry are too apt to endeavour to quash a motion, not because it was a bad one, but because it came from the party in the opposition. A good motion, a public-spirited and generous proposal, would raise the credit of the authors of them too high with the people, were they carried into execution, to the detriment of the ministry. Therefore *salus fui*, not *salus populi, suprema lex esto.*

Thus it is on both sides: and an honest well-meaning person, whose views are single, and who is conscious to himself of no other attachment but the good of his country, cannot but lament these pernicious evils.—And the more so, as he must despair of seeing them effectually removed or cured, without introducing worse evils in their stead,——unless men were much honest, and more upright, than they are; which, it is to be feared, is not likely to be soon the case.

CERTAIN
PROPOSALS

For remedying many of the above-mentioned **INCONVENIENCIES**; and encreasing the **TRADE** and **CREDIT** of **GREAT BRITAIN**.

I. PROPOSAL.

TO alter the qualification of voting, and to introduce a just subordination among the people.—When † forty shillings a year was fixed upon as a standard for a

† The very recital of the statute, which ascertained the qualification of voting freeholders, is the best proof of the reasonableness and necessity of what is here proposed.

" *Anno octavo* HENRICI VI. cap. 7.

What sorts of men shall be choosers, and who shall be chosen knights of the Parliament.

• Whereas the elections of knights of shires, to come to the Parliament of our Lord the King, in many countries of the realm of England, have now of late been made by very great outrageous and excessive number of people, dwelling within the same counties of the realm of England, of the which most part was of people of small substance,

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voting freeholder, it was certainly more than an equivalent to twenty pounds *per ann.* of modern rent. Suppose, now, that

and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent as to such elections to be made, with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the said counties; whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties shall very likely rise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided in this behalf: our Lord the King considering the premises, hath provided, ordained and established, by authority of this present Parliament, that the knights of the shires to be chosen within the same realm of England, to come to the Parliaments of our Lord the King, hereafter to be holden, shall be chosen in every county of the realm of England, by people dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have land or tenement, to the value of forty shillings by the year at least, above all charges; and that they which shall be so chosen, shall be dwelling and resident within the same counties. — Provided always, that he which cannot expend forty shillings by the year as afore is said, shall in no wise be chooser of the knights for the Parliament.

Here we find the same cause tending to produce the same effect in former times, as in the present. Only there is this difference, that the evil could not be near so great then, as now; because the common people were used to much greater subordination, and the trade of the kingdom was very inconsiderable, consequently could not have suffered by it in any degree to what it doth at present. And yet, if such were the reasons which induced the legislature to pass the above-recited act at that time, how much more reason have we to follow their example now! — The present value of forty shillings is not a tenth part of what they intended: therefore, if we would keep up to the spirit and meaning of this law, we should at least fix the qualification at twenty pounds *per annum*.

twenty pounds *per ann.* was the requisite sum for a freeholder and two hundred pounds stock in trade for a tradesman, to qualify them to vote; the immediate consequence would necessarily be, that the manufacturing part of our nation would not be called from their work, to run roving after every electioneering: a proper subordination would be effectually introduced; the laws against idleness, and debauchery might be executed; and smuggling in a great measure suppressed: and all this without running the risk of disobliging such voters, and losing their votes. Moreover, when things were put upon such a footing, it would be a matter of honour and reputation to have a vote; and consequently, the voter would pique himself more upon his integrity and uncorruptness, than he now doth. He would be above that bribery and corruption, which appear so openly and avowedly on all sides, at present, throughout the kingdom. Likewise a spirit of emulation and industry would be excited; and the privilege of voting would become a laudable inducement to every artificer, (not to get drunk, or to take a paltry bribe, as at present is the case) but to be frugal and fav-

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ing, in order to raise himself to the degree of a voter. And many artificers might accomplish this by a few years industry after they are set up. The number also of the poor would consequently be lessened; the price of labour reduced; and the persons themselves, who would be debarred of voting by such a supposed bill, much happier, much richer, and quieter than they now are. Add to this, that a militia for land service, and a register for the sea service, might then be introduced, if it was judged expedient; whereas at present it is impracticable; because such a power, where-ever lodged, would infallibly be applied to the bad purposes of influencing votes at the time of elections.

II. PROPOSAL.

“ To erect certain courts in all manufacturing places of the kingdom, where the chief dealers themselves shall petition for them, with the title of † Guardians of the morals

† The complaints against the morals of the manufacturing poor become louder every day, and certainly demand, if any thing doth, the serious attention of the legislature. Combinations of journeymen to extort exorbitant wages— This money spent in drunkenness and debauchery, so that they are the poorer rather than the richer at the week's

of the manufacturing poor." Perhaps something to the following effect, might suggest hints to be improved upon.

end, by the advanced price,—their unfaithfulness to their trust—the badness of their work, whenever their masters have a great demand, and dare not turn them off,—the increasing number of the poor; these, and many other articles of the like nature, are the complaints justly made on this head.

A certain very ingenious gentleman, and himself a great manufacturer in the clothing way, has attended to them with great assiduity; and is engaged in a scheme which he intends to exhibit to the public, of a very singular nature, for the reformation of these abuses. He has carefully observed, that in exceeding dear years, when corn and provisions are at an extravagant price, then the work is best and cheapest done:—but that in cheap years, the manufacturers are idle, wages high, and work ill done. He has carried these observations through many years back; and confirmed them by the testimony of several great writers upon trade.

Therefore he infers, that the high duties, taxes, and excises upon the necessaries of life, are so far from being a disadvantage to trade, as things are circumstanced among us, that they are eventually the chief support of it:—and ought to be higher still, in order to oblige the poor either to work or starve.

Some things may certainly be said in favour of this scheme. But an humane and compassionate man cannot but be sorry, to see the morals of the poor so very corrupt, as to oblige any one to think of such an expedient. In the mean time, as much may be said against it; and as it would involve the innocent as well as the guilty in the same punishment; perhaps some other expedients would better answer the good end proposed, and not be liable to the same objections. If the qualification for voting was settled as in the first proposal, and court guardians erected, as proposed in this; and foreign manufacturers naturalized, in order to keep down the price of labour, and prevent any combinati-

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The qualifications of each member of this court to be as follows. 1st, That he employ not less than twenty manufacturers on his own account, the greater part of the year; by this regulation, the most eminent, as well as the most concerned, will be the only persons admitted. 2dly, That each member subscribe a certain sum, suppose two guineas at least, every year, towards the good purposes hereafter to be mentioned; but that they be admitted to receive the legacies and donations of others. 3dly, That each member be a married man, in order to set the good example here recommended.

The aim of this court to be to discourage vice, idleness and debauchery,—and to encourage industry, probity and fidelity, in the lower class of people.

The means to effectuate these good designs, with great submission, perhaps may be as follow.

Among our own people, (as shall be mentioned in a succeeding proposal) perhaps the morals of our poor would be as unexceptionable, and the price of labour as cheap as in any other trading country.

But which-ever scheme is right, or if neither are, the affair itself deserves the most serious regard of every one, who wishes well both to the souls and bodies of his fellow creatures, and the good of his country.

1st, By removing all temptation, as much as possible, out of the way; to which end this court guardian shall have the sole power of judging, how many ale-houses, *etc.* are necessary to be licensed in their respective districts: that is, they shall not have a power to exceed the number allowed by the justices, but to lessen them as much as they please. Neither shall they have the power to nominate the persons to be licensed; but after they have delivered in their lists, the justices shall nominate,—unless the justices delay to do it for a month after delivery: in such case, they shall be empowered to nominate themselves. They shall likewise have the power of levying a certain fine by distress of goods, or in default of that shall inflict corporal punishment, on all persons who keep cock-pits, skittle-allies, and all such places for the resort of the common people, within their district, also those who set up stages for cudgel-playing, *etc.* or booths for horse-races, or bring liquors, cakes, fruit, or any like temptations, to draw people together. They shall also be empowered to expel out of their district, all such common people as cannot give a good account of

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themselves by what means they subsist; and shall particularly be enabled to remove such women, as are suspected to have a bad character, unless they can clear themselves from the imputation, by the oaths of three, at least, of their neighbours of good substance and repute, that they believe them to be innocent of the charge, and esteem them to be honest, chaste, and sober persons.

2dly, These court guardians shall endeavour to encourage industry, probity, and practical religion, by the following methods; *viz.* by allowing forty shillings a-piece to any young couple going to be married, that can make it appear by the testimony of their masters, that they have saved three pounds and upwards, by working in their service; and have behaved well. If each of these can produce such a character, then this forty shillings to be made four pounds. But not to be paid till a year and a day after marriage, during which time they are still to behave well.—By allowing also something discretionally to those, who are over-burdened with large families, or are sick, whose characters are known to be good:—By presenting also a few good

books to the remarkably diligent and industrious. Suppose these were the Bible, and Gastrel's Christian Institutes; which are books that no persons of ever so different religious persuasions can object to. If these were neatly bound, gilt on the back and leaves, with a cloth case, and had set opt on one side in gold letters,

THE HAND OF THE DILIGENT MAKETH RICH;
And on the other,

TO THE PRAISE OF THEM THAT DO WELL;

they would be kept as family pieces, and trophies; and might excite the same laudable emulation in their posterity, which it had done in themselves.

The district here so often mentioned, is supposed to be ten miles round from the town or place appointed for keeping this court. The court to sit every month at least, for the dispatch of business, wherein the attendance of three members will be sufficient: and every quarter a general meeting, which must be composed of seven.

These are only offered with great submission, to the public, as hints to be improved upon. The importance of the af-

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fair requires that some expedients should be tried without delay. If these are judged improper, the author would exceedingly rejoice to see better in their room; and those effectually carried into execution.

III. PROPOSAL.

“To incorporate both the British isles together, and to make one kingdom in all respects, as to parliament, trade and taxes.”

This proposal of incorporation has long been the wish of every generous disinterested patriot of both kingdoms. And indeed inexpressibly great would be the benefit on both sides. The Irish would share in the advantage of our trade, and we in theirs. By permitting them to get rich at the expence of the French, they would be enabled to ease us of the burden of the worst and heaviest of our taxes:—whereas at present, the French, through our own unaccountable infatuation, get rich at their expence. By this mutual benefit, neither kingdom would be looked upon as foreign to the other; but the goods of both would be imported duty-free, or perhaps be considered only as coming coast-wise. The ho-

file prohibition against wearing, or using the produce of either kingdom, would be repealed; and all that unnatural war between the commerce of the two nations, would be at an end:—which would be attended with these further happy consequences, that many of the necessaries of life would be imported cheaper into England, than they now can be purchased; a great advantage this to the merchant and manufacturer:—and many more of the luxuries, ornaments, and delicacies of living, would be exported from hence into Ireland. For most certain it is, that in proportion as Ireland grew rich, they would take the lead for the richest of their clothes, furniture, plate, jewels, equipages, *etc.* from England. Likewise the inducements of being near the parliament, the court, the public funds. *etc.* would bring many more Irish families to reside, and spend their fortunes here, than now do. In short, whatever wealth Ireland would draw from other countries by its produce, manufactures, and happy situation; all that would continually center in England.

But here, methinks, I hear self-interest making an outcry, “ They would run a-

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way with our trade." But pray let me calmly ask, who would run away with it? or where would they run to? Why truly our own people, our own countrymen, (who may as justly be called so, as the inhabitants of any neighbouring county,—and are some of the best, and most faithful subjects the government has) would perhaps carry some part of a manufacture from us to themselves.—But what detriment would this be to the public? The people of Yorkshire have done the very same thing by Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Let us therefore have a meeting of the clothiers of these two counties to petition the parliament, that the Yorkshire looms and mills may be all broke and destroyed: for they have run away with our trade.—This is so ridiculous and absurd a proposal, that I believe there is no person living, but must see and feel it to be so. And yet let me ask, Is not this the very case with respect to the objection against incorporating with Ireland? Or if there be a difference between the two cases, I should be glad to know wherein it consists? Is Ireland to be looked upon as a distinct kingdom?—more is the pity: for as the two kingdoms have but

one common head,—one common interest both in church and state,—the same friends,—and the same enemies; they ought to have been long since consolidated together.—But allowing it to be called a distinct kingdom at present, till it is united:—so is Yorkshire a distinct county, and was formerly, in the times of the heptarchy, a kingdom likewise distinct from the two counties above-mentioned. Is Ireland a great way distant from England?—Yorkshire is at a greater distance still from the counties above-mentioned. And the communication between them is not so easy by land, for the purposes of commerce, as the other is by sea.

“ But Ireland is more advantageously situated for the trade to the West-Indies; therefore—” therefore we must deny our own people the benefit of trading, because they are advantageously situated for carrying it on. This is a weighty argument; Bristol, for instance, is better situated for the Irish trade than London; therefore let us Londoners petition, that the port of Bristol may be locked up.

It would be an endless, and a tedious piece of work, to wade through such gross

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and palpable absurdities. One thing is plain and obvious, that self-interest, the bane of all public good, is driven to hard shifts, in order to cover such views as she dare not openly avow. If England itself was divided into two kingdoms, one comprehending all the south, the other all the north side of the Thames, and there were hostile prohibitions against importing certain sorts of goods from London to Southwark, and *vice versa*, and high duties upon all the rest: many individuals, on both sides, would find their own private interest in upholding the division, and would cry out, upon any proposal being made for an union—"These foreigners will run away with our trade"—"They are better situated than us"—"Our trade is in danger." But would this cry weigh with upright men on both sides, who had the welfare of the community truly at heart?—If it would not, what shall we think of the same argument, when urged against Great Britain's incorporating with Ireland.

IV. PROPOSAL.

"After such an union of the two king-

doms, as above proposed, to lay by degrees the English taxes upon Ireland; and to ease the English of the most burdensome of theirs in the same gradual manner."—Suppose, therefore, the first year, that the English laws of excise, and the duties upon French wines and brandies, are extended to Ireland; then England might be eased of the salt tax, the same year, or the following one. If in the second year Ireland were charged with the stamp and paper duties, England might be discharged of the tax upon soap and candles. If in the third, a tax was laid upon the window-lights in Ireland, the coal duties might be taken off from England. If in the fourth, the tax was laid upon coaches, this would enable the parliament to discontinue the duty upon leather. Lastly, If in the fifth year, Ireland was subjected to a land-tax, this would ease the lands and houses of England of at least one third of their burden.

V. P R O P O S A L.

“To set up woollen and silk manufactures in the west of England, and south-west of Ireland, (supposing the former proposals to take place) in order to rival the French.”

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The price * of labour is as cheap in those parts, as any where in France. And when a proper subordination is introduced, the temptation of electioneering removed, the most grievous of our taxes abolished, and a

* The price of labour at the places under-mentioned was given me, as follows:

At Lille, the wages of journeymen stocking and camblet weavers, about 24 sous per day, i. e. about 13 pence English; a sous being a little more than an halfpenny.

Abbeville and Amiens: journeymen weavers, and cloth-workers, according to the nature of the work, and their dexterity, from 20 to 50 sous per day.

Ditto: to women employed in the manufacture, not more than 12 sous per day.

Hedgers and ditchers in the country, about 10 sous per day.

Nantes: journeymen ship-carpenters, about 30 sous per day.

Castelnaudary: labourers mending the canal of Languedoc, by the jobb, earn about 12 sous per day.

Nismes: journeymen weavers in the silk and stocking trade, from 30 to 35 sous per day.

Marseilles: journeymen taylors, 30 sous per day.—Ditto carpenters, 30.—Ditto silk-weavers, from 30 to 35 sous per day.

Toulon: journeymen carpenters in the king's yards, 30 sous per day.

Lions: journeymen workmen have several prices, according to the silks, velvets, gold stuffs, laces, *etc.* from 50 to 100 sous per day.

Land-carriage of goods from Marseilles to Lions, and *vice versa*, (120 English miles) which is often done either for speed, or safety, the Rhone being difficult to mount, and fine goods may take damage in going down, per hundred, (108 lb. English) from 6 to 7 livres. N. B. A livre is 10 pence halfpenny English.

trade set open; it is probable, that labour might be still much cheaper: by which means, the French might be cut out of a great deal of their Levant and Spanish trade.

Moreover, when the woollen manufactures come to be effectually established in those parts, it will be next to impossible to run the wool to France: for both the wool itself will bear a better price, so as not to make it worth their while; and each manufacturer will be a kind of centinel, to prevent its being exported unmanufactured. This therefore I humbly conceive, is a much better scheme of prevention, than that of the reverend Mr. Smith, in his *Memoirs of Wool**; for it answers all the ends

* The scheme of prevention proposed by the reverend and ingenious author of the *Memoirs of Wool*, is to this effect; "That the ports be opened for exportation, but that such a duty be laid upon the wool, as shall greatly discourage, or rather absolutely prevent the exportation of it; unless the markets in England happen to be so low, and those abroad so high, that the difference in the price would countervail the expence of carriage, freight, and the duty paid at exportation." This is his scheme fairly stated: upon which I shall only make this brief remark, That the quantity of wool run from England is extremely inconsiderable; the difficulty, danger and expence of smuggling, together with the hush-money, necessary on such occasions, being already almost a sufficient bar: but if his scheme took place, the quantity exported of long combing wool to make stuffs,

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proposed by him in that scheme, and is subject to none of those inconveniencies which his is generally supposed to be attended with. This gentleman,—for his indefatigable labours in collecting all that has been ever said upon the subject, and presenting it to the reader in one view,—for his judicious remarks, and the pains he has taken in correcting many popular errors, which had too generally prevailed,—most justly deserves the universal thanks and applause of his country.

But among the several requisites necessary to enable us to rival the French in the Levant and Spanish trade, one, and which ought principally to be regarded, is, to lay the trade open. Wherefore I now proceed to the

VI. PROPOSAL.

Viz. “ To lay open and extend our narrow and restrained companies; beginning with the Turkey and Hudson’s bay companies, which hurt the trade of Great Britain

which the French chiefly want, would sometimes be much greater, and the price at home always dearer than it is at present.

more essentially with respect to France, than any other company can do."

Here, again, that watchful dragon, self-interest, will be apt to take the alarm; and I do not expect any thing I can say will have charm enough to lay him asleep.—Many specious reasons have been offered in favour of exclusive companies; which, though they convinced none but those that were interested in them, yet they served to perplex a debate, by drawing off mens attention from the true merits of the cause.

I shall endeavour therefore for the sake of such as have honest intentions and a public spirit, to give an impartial state of the case, with as much clearness and conciseness as I can.

First then, I will allow, that in certain cases, and at certain junctures, exclusive companies might have been a prudent institution, calculated for the public good; as,

1st, In order to introduce arts, sciences, and manufactures among a barbarous and savage people: which was the case with the late Czar of Muscovy. It was necessary for him, in his circumstances, to give such extensive privileges to merchants and tradesmen to come and settle in his country,

as would over-balance the temptation of self-interest for residing any where else.

2dly, In order to induce skilful artificers to come and instruct an ignorant people; which undoubtedly they will not do, unless upon a valuable consideration.—This was the case with our English princes about two hundred years ago, in granting so many privileges and exemptions to the Flemish, and other foreign manufacturers.

3dly, In order to conquer the deep-rooted habitual laziness of a people, by bringing examples of industry and the good effects of it, before their eyes. This, among other reasons, is much the case with the Spanish court at present, in being so desirous of introducing foreign manufacturers into Spain.

4thly, In order to have a large capital, sufficient to embark in any hazardous undertaking, which may call for great sums to be expended, before the project can be brought to bear, and the trade to answer. And whereas no private persons by themselves, or voluntary associations, can be supposed equal to such an undertaking; therefore when individuals refuse or decline, it is but reasonable that those who adventure

in a joint stock should be incorporated, and have a privilege excluding all others from interfering in this new branch of commerce, * till the adventurers are sufficiently paid for the risks they ran, and the expenses they were at.

Now all these are very good and sufficient reasons, where they hold, for the establishing of exclusive companies. For it is better to have the trade of an exclusive company, than no trade at all. And in process of time, according as the reasons for continuing them do cease, the trade should be laid open.

5thly, There is also another reason in certain governments, whose credit is not esteemed good with the people, for the erecting of such public bodies. And that is, for the sake of borrowing money at an exigence, when individuals will not trust them. This, I believe, was the case with our own government in former times.

* If private persons will not associate voluntarily to embark in some hazardous undertaking, the better way would be, to allow a sufficient premium or bounty to encourage all adventurers, rather than to grant exclusive privileges to a few. For both the one and the other are a charge on the public; but the monopoly is by much the worse, the dearest, and the most difficult to be broken through.

But 6thly, There is still a further motive remaining, which, though a very bad and scandalous one, yet it is to be feared, hath had the greatest share in erecting monopolies of all the rest. And that is, in plain, but very expressive English, jobbing. And most of the charters for monopolies, which were so plentifully granted in the time of king Charles the Second, whose pleasures made himself and his courtiers very needy of money, betray the original from which they were derived.—Particularly that famous one for the Hudson's bay company, which is a grant without any bounds or limits of seas, mountains, rivers, degrees of latitude or longitude; and therefore, if valid, might impower the company to challenge all the lands of America, which were not disposed of by prior grants, as well as the coasts on Hudson's bay.

But enough, I hope, hath been said, as to the reasons for the institution of exclusive companies.

My second attempt therefore, will be to shew, that none of these reasons do hold in our present circumstances.—For if any of them do, let me ask which? Is it the first, second, or third? I believe the most fan-

guine advocate for exclusive companies, will not insist upon either of these. Is it then the fourth?—This, I am aware, will be chiefly insisted on.—Not that it can be pretended at this day, that private adventurers are either unable, or unwilling to engage in any trade carried on by a company, were it laid open; but the pretence is, that a recompence should be made them, before they are dissolved, for the expences they have been at. And doubtless, if the original adventurers, or their representatives, can make it appear, that they have not yet received a reasonable profit for the money advanced by them to make a capital stock, the public will consider them so far, as to make good the deficiency. They have a plea of right and equity for this.—But they have no colour of right for any imaginary value, which they may put upon their stocks. Nor is the public concerned to regard it: nay, the very plea defeats itself: for if their stocks have been really sold in the market greatly above par, this is a plain proof, that they have received a reasonable profit already, for the money advanced to make a capital.—And therefore ought not to have any farther compensation.

To proceed: as to the fifth reason for exclusive companies, there can be no pretence for it any longer in our times. For it is well known, the credit of our government is so good, that individuals rather chuse to lend their money upon public, than private securities.—And that they do it even on cheaper terms.

Wherefore, lastly, If these nuisances to a free trade, and the public good, shall still continue, it is too plain, that they will owe their preservation to the same cause that gave them birth, *viz.* a jobb.—But that I may express my utter dislike against them, in common with every other disinterested man, who wishes well to the good of the whole community, I shall go on,

Thirdly, to point out a few of the principal evils, and destructive consequences attending them.

In the 1st place, These exclusive companies cannot trade, if they were inclined, upon so easy terms, as private adventurers would do, were the trade laid open. So many directors, supercargoes, storehouse-keepers, factors, agents, clerks;—and all the pickings of their several dependants:—so many fees, sweetnings, *etc.* from the ma-

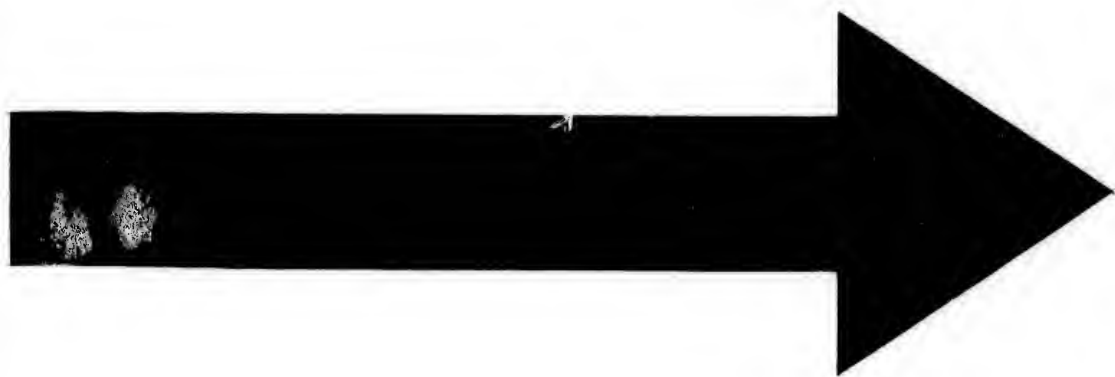
nufacturer, or under merchant, that his goods may have the preference to others,—and the expences of carrying many sorts of goods from distant parts of the country, where they are manufactured, up to the metropolis, there to be shipped off, instead of being exported from the next convenient port:—Expences of warehouses, *etc.* make it impossible for any corporate company to trade upon an equal footing with private adventurers: and consequently of extending their dealings so far as if the trade was open. For this reason it has been always found, that if private adventurers shall be permitted to engage in the same trade, they will infallibly carry it away from the company. * And upon the same principle, if

* We have a convincing proof of the truth of both these observations, 1st, In the case of the African company, and the Bristol and Liverpool traders: 2dly, We have another, and a woful one, in that of our English company trading to Turkey, and the French trading thither also from Marseilles. Our English company had formerly all the trade for cloth to the Levant: which being observed by the French, ever jealous of the English commerce, they set up manufactures of their own in imitation of them. These manufactures still bear the name from whence they were derived, *viz.* Londrins premiers,—Londrins seconds,—Londrins larges.—But they have so supplanted the trade of London, because it is in the hands of an exclusive company, that the English have little or nothing of a trade, comparatively speaking, in those parts. Whereas the French shipped off to the Levant, the very day

there are two nations, rivals in the same trade, that nation which permits a free and open trade, will always be superior to the

the seas were free, after the peace, July 13-24, 1748, four thousand bales of the above-said cloth: each bale, one with another, worth about 1200 livres. That is about 210,000 l. sterling in all.

If it should be said, that the French have gotten this trade from us, not so much on the account of the disadvantages we labour under from an exclusive company, as the advantage-ousness of their situation. I have this further remark to offer; viz. That if the trade was open, we have many advantages which they have not, to counterbalance the inconvenience of our situation.—They are obliged to import most of their wool from Turkey, Spain, or Africa, into Marseilles; and to carry it chiefly by land-carriage from thence to Carcassone, about 130 miles.—Then to carry the cloth back to Marseilles; which cannot be done at a small expence. They are also obliged to fetch tin, lead, and shot from England, and spices from Holland, for the Turkey markets; in all which we have most certainly the advantage over them. And therefore, if we had woollen manufactures erected in the west of England, and the south-west of Ireland, (according to proposal V. where labour is as cheap as in any part of France, where we have wool on the spot,—and when manufactured, might be immediately exported, without being carried up to London;—where tin, lead, and spices, may be had upon much easier terms than they can at Marseilles: I say, with all these advantages, and an open trade, we could more than counterbalance any advantage that the French can draw from the situation of Marseilles: and then we might import the raw materials of silk, camels hair, skins, *etc.* much cheaper than at present, to the emolument of thousands of families. But for a more particular detail of the nature of the Turkey company, see a little tract just published, entitled, *Reflections on the Expediency of opening the Trade to Turkey*, printed for T. Trye, Holborne.



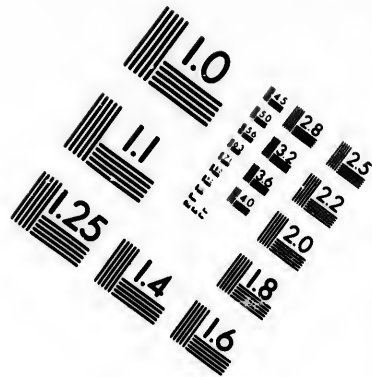
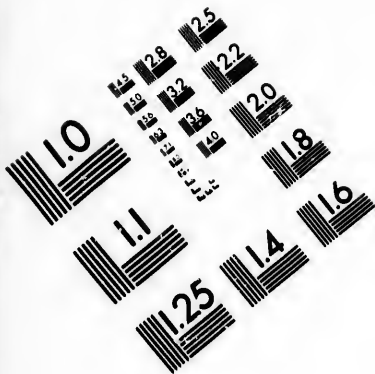
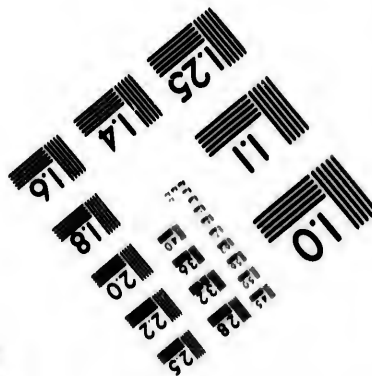
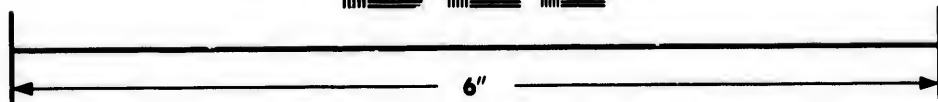
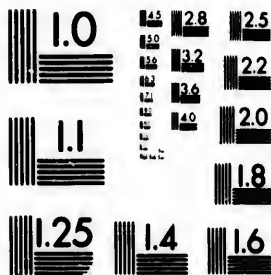


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other, which confines it to a company:— other circumstances supposed to be equal, or nearly so.

2dly, As they cannot trade so cheap as private adventurers, even were they inclined, they must therefore necessarily omit many lesser branches, as not answering their expence, which in the hands of individuals would turn to good account, and perhaps give bread to thousands of families. These articles are called lesser, not because they are less extensive, for perhaps in that respect they may be the greatest; but because they are less gainful; which therefore a company must leave untouched, unless they will trade to their own loss.

But, 3dly, It must be observed, that the views of every exclusive company are quite of a different nature from what was supposed above. For they do not, and never did, desire to trade as cheap as others, but as much dearer as they can. The charter itself secures them from any competitors; and therefore they have no need to seek to get the trade to themselves by selling cheap. But on the contrary, where-ever they have the market to themselves, they will both sell and buy at their own price.

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This is the greatest and most intolerable of all the evils of monopolies. It is a prostitution of the trade and welfare of the public, to the merciless ravages of greedy individuals. We may the better judge of the mischievous effects of all monopolies, by attentively observing the indefatigable pains, and great expence, which every self-interested person cheerfully submits to, in order to acquire it, even in a free trade. For if he has a large capital, he will sink some part to undersell another adventurer, who has less, in order to break him: and then, when he has done that, he will raise the price of his commodities again, so as to make himself soon whole for the losses he had incurred. Now if a private merchant can find his account in losing so much money, in order to get at a monopoly in a free trade, what exorbitant gains must an exclusive company make, who are fenced in by law, and have none to rival them?

Nay the evil becomes without remedy in this latter case.—For whereas in the former, either the engrosser himself, or his family, will retire from business, after they have amassed great riches; by which means the trade will again be opened.—In the

latter case, *viz.* that of a company, “ One succeeds another upon the same plan of “ preying upon the public, without inter- “ mission.” So that neither the death, nor exorbitant wealth of one set of proprietors, give us any prospect of being delivered from the power and oppression of the next.

But the affair of a public company (*viz.* the Hudson’s bay) was, * last sessions, brought upon the carpet before the British parliament,—Let us see therefore, what they had to say for themselves, when called upon by their superiors,—and when, doubtless, they said all they could,—and gave every thing the best colouring.

It appears, therefore, from the papers, which the honourable committee, appointed to examine into the state of their affairs, were pleased to make public, for the general information of the kingdom, that the following particulars were proved to the satisfaction of the committee,—and even were not contradicted by the agents for the company.

1st, That the company always have discouraged the settling a colony in any part of their vast and boundless empire.

* *Viz.* In the year 1740.

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2dly, That they discouraged the company's servants from conversing with the Indians,—whereas the French promoted an intercourse with each other as much as possible.

3dly, That the climate is much warmer, and the soil better, higher up the country, than towards the sea-side.—Yet no settlements attempted.

4thly, That the French have extended their settlements more and more: and wherever they have come near the English, they have carried most of the trade from the English,—not *vice versa*.

5thly, That the forts * pretended to be

* A great stress is laid by the advocates for exclusive companies, on the necessity of erecting forts in certain distant countries, for securing the trade to ourselves;—therefore they infer companies ought to be established in order to support this expence. A strange argument this! and a stranger inference! for if forts are necessary to be erected; against whom are they necessary? not against the people of the country who are to trade with us. That is too absurd. —We are to cultivate their friendship, and ought to ingratiate ourselves by all due acts of kindness, into their favour. But if these forts are necessary to be erected, in order to keep the whole trade to ourselves, and prevent other European nations from interfering with us; how came it then to pass, that we were some years ago so alarmed at the Ostend company, who had no forts, and no design of attacking ours? Yet it is very plain, they could carry on a trade, and even undersell the English East-India company, not

erected and garrisoned, are of no strength, were they attacked by an European enemy; and only serve to subject the Indians to the command of the company.

withstanding their forts. And the same sort are again revived with regard to the Embden company established by the king of Prussia.—If the trade was now to be laid open, subject only to the single restriction, that the private traders should not come into the same ports or harbours, where the companies have forts:—what would be the consequence? plainly this; That the companies would be ruined: and the private adventurers, though destitute of forts, would get all the trade from them.—If it is said, that these forts are necessary to guard and defend their magazines against thieves and robbers; how then comes it to pass, that the East-India company themselves have none on the coast of China, where the people are said to be as thievish and dishonest as in any place in the world?—And how did the Bristol and Liverpool traders maintain their ground along the coast of Guinea, without forts, where the natives are much more warlike than in any part of India. Besides, the affair of Madras has sufficiently opened our eyes, as to the use and importance of these pretended forts,—and the national advantage arising from them. And as to the forts in Hudson's Bay, Father Charlevoix observes in his history of Canada, that when a French vessel with about fifty hands, appeared before the best of these forts, the brave English governor surrendered without firing a gun! Thus it is, that forts, in the hands of exclusive companies, have defended the honour, and preserved the commerce of Great Britain!

But even allowing, that they are necessary and advantageous to the general trade of the nation; what need then of a company? is it not a national concern? If so, why should they not be erected and supported at a national expence? Take the argument therefore either way, what reason is there for an exclusive company?

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6thly, That many other branches, besides the staple trade of the company, might be attempted, were the trade open, with the greatest probability of success.—particularly the several branches of the fisheries: whereas the company, who know when they are well, as one of their witnesses expressed himself, or in words to that effect, give themselves no concern about the matter.

7thly, That the Indians do actually take a great many more beaver, than they carry to the factories—Not finding it worth their while to bring more to trade with.

8thly, That the Indians cannot carry large quantities, not any thing so large as they take in hunting, were they desirous,—because their canoes, deeply loaden, are not able to withstand the waves and storms they may meet with upon the lakes;—because they are forced to unload very often, and carry the skins upon their backs, on account of the falls and currents; which create much fatigue and labour, and loss of time:—because also they are obliged to hunt as they travel, for their daily sustenance; which article alone causes a delay of a fort-

night, and longer, in going the space which might be gone in three days.

But, 9thly, all these inconveniences might be easily remedied,—by erecting a Fort about sixty leagues above York fort upon Nelson river, upon a fork, where the river divides,—by making a settlement about eighty or ninety leagues above that, upon the lake of Pachegoia,—and by introducing our European conveniences of magazines and carriages. By these means all the beaver would be bought, which the Indians now make use of otherways, as not answering to bring it to the forts,—the time might be saved,—and the French driven to relinquish all that trade. In short, both our exports, and our imports would be prodigiously increased; and many tribes of Indians would, in that large tract of country, be brought to trade with the English, who have yet scarcely heard of the English name.

So many important particulars alledged,—proved,—and even not contradicted, one would think, would have been sufficient to have carried any national cause, against the private interest of a few individuals.

But—let us in the next place see, what

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they and their friends had to offer in justification of their conduct,—pretending, that they carried on a trade equally beneficial to the nation, as if the trade was open.

The 1st thing alledged, was, that they buy all the beaver which is brought them;—and if more was offered, more they would buy.

This may be very true; and yet no ways inconsistent with the charge summed up in the above-recited particulars, against them.

The Indians as savage as they are, have the natural logick of feeling when they are well or ill used, as well as other people: and if they find better treatment in one place than another, will go to the best, and have as little dealings with the worst, as they can. Nothing but absolute necessity will oblige them (or any people) to bring their goods to a market, where they expect beforehand to be ill used.—And for that reason, they will bring as little as they can. But when they have brought them, necessity obliges them to sell for what the purchasers will give. It may therefore be very true, that the company buy all the furs that are offered them.—If they did not give half as much in barter as they do, they would buy all; because

it would not be worth the Indians while to carry them back; and because they greatly wanted European goods. But these Indians would seek another market against the next time, if they could; and would bring no more goods to the company, than absolute necessity obliged them.

But, 2dly, it was alledged, that if more goods were given to the Indians in exchange, they would not bring more beavers; because they are an idle, lazy race of people; and, having no artificial wants to gratify, have no ambition to spur them on to take more pains,—it is true, they have not such artificial wants as we have; they do not want sumptuous houses and gardens, rich furniture, or coaches and chairs—but they want beads, bells, little looking-glasses, rings, and such trinkets; (besides many artifices of their cloathing, bedding, hunting, fishing, and fowling) and are as impatient to be gratified in these respects, as we can be in ours. In these things, therefore, they are as covetous and ambitious as the rest of mankind, —take as much pains to acquire them,—and repine and murmur at the factories, when they have not as much for their commodities as they think they deserve. Bo

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sides, it should be remembered, that hunting is rather a diversion with them, than a toil; and that, in fact, they do take a great deal more than they bring down to the forts, --- What they consider as a toil, is not the hunting part, but the being obliged to be the porters of what they have taken in hunting, down to the factories; and yet be paid so little for their trouble.

But, 3dly, As to the charge against them, of exporting so little of our own manufactures; it was said by their advocates, that if five thousand pounds worth of goods bought all the furs the Indians had to sell, that * sum was as good as ten thousand

* There was an egregious fallacy used in this argument. ---if the barter or exchange with the Indians had been in bullion, the argument would have held good; and so much money would have been saved to the nation. But as it was all in our own manufactures, *i. e.* the labour of our own people, the diminishing of such exports, is in fact the diminishing of our own manufactures, and defrauding the nation of so much labour, whereby the hands employed in those manufactures must become a rent charge upon the publick, --- or steal;---or starve, or fly their country. The only limitation which ought to be put upon the quantity of our own manufactures, to be exported, is what the nature of the thing will of itself put upon them; *viz.* To export no more than is consistent with the reasonable gains and profit of the exporter. If he can afford to export ten thousand pounds worth of English manufactures, where an exclusive company would export but five thousand; it is for the general good of the country, that he should do it. And all trade ought to be laid free

pounds: nay, it was better; because thereby five thousand pounds were saved to the nation.

This is a reason, which is specious enough at first view, but will not bear the examining. First therefore, we deny the fact; and insist upon it; that the Indians had more furs to sell, if the company would have given a sufficient price to the Indians, to have made it worth their while to have brought them down; or rather, if the company had built settlements and magazines higher up, so as to have superseded the necessity of the Indians coming down.

But 2d, We will allow the fact, and argue with them upon their own state of the case. Now if five thousand pounds worth of manufactures, in this respect, is as good, nay better than ten thousand pounds worth; for the same reason, one thousand pounds

and open, in order to induce the exporters to rival each other; that the publick may obtain this general good by their competitorship. But if they cannot afford to export so much, there is no need to restrain them by laws and penalties, from doing that which their own private interest will suggest to them soon enough. And it is really astonishing, that such a fallacy, so gross in itself, so destructive in its consequences, could have escaped the notice of a British senate, and could have passed not only without censure, but with some degree of applause.

worth is better still, because more would be saved to the nation. Suppose therefore, that the company, and every other exporter in the kingdom, (for every other has the same right of arguing in this manner) suppose, I say, that all exporters could lessen the exportations of our own manufactures by nine tenths, and yet could get as much money, or effects in return, as they had before; what would be the consequence? why, only this, that these exporters would become princes; and the rest of the kingdom beggars. They would be like a Spanish Don in Mexico, or Peru, who has a prodigious rich mine, which required but few hands to work it. And therefore he indeed would be a great lord; but all his wealth would not enrich the neighbourhood, so much as a single manufacture here in England, which being branched out into various hands, gives a comfortable subsistence to many families, causing a general circulation of labour.

It is not therefore gold and silver, considered merely in themselves, that can make a kingdom flourish, but the parceling them out into proper shares, by means of the divisions and subdivisions of different trades. Without this the more riches in a few hands,

—the greater would be the poverty of the rest, and the more abject and dependent their state would be. And if all merchants were no better common-wealths men than these, the interior of a kingdom would be very little profited by foreign merchandize, —nay, in some respects would be much the worse.

In short, such an argument as this, *viz.* to decrease our exports, and increase their price abroad, beyond what is necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the merchant and manufacturer, is only worthy of such a cause. Were it put in practice, it would get all the wealth of the nation into a few hands,—it would turn nine tenths of our manufacturers a begging,—and reduce them to the necessity of becoming lacqueys and footmen to such exporters, —or starving, —or flying the country. —It would sink the value of our lands, and bring swift destruction on the manufacturer, farmer, gentleman, and all stations,—except the exporter. He indeed would be great,—and he alone. One may therefore the better judge of the goodness of such a cause, which required such kind of arguments to support it. And so much for exclusive companies.

VII. P R O P O S A L.

To encourage foreign merchants and tradesmen to settle among us, by a general naturalization act for all protestants. And if it be judged improper to admit them into offices of trust or power, it is easy to add a clause, that these privileges shall still be confined to the natural-born subjects.

Here again the baleful spirit of self-interest exerts all its powers to oppose so public and general a benefit, —“ What! must “ foreigners, and we know not who, come “ and take the bread out of our mouths? —an honest Cambro-Briton would have called all English-men foreigners, and he knows not who. But waving that,—let me calmly ask, what bread do they eat?—and out of whose mouths? It must be English bread: the corn grew here,—was manufactured, was sold here. And the foreigners, who eat it, earn it by their labour, and pay for it. So far then, we hope, there is no offence. The more inhabitants there are to consume the produce of our lands, the better can the farmer and the gentleman pay their shopkeepers and tradesmen, and the

more manufactures will they consume in every respect. Let us see therefore, in the next place, out of whose mouths do they take this bread? If they introduce new manufactures, or carry those already established to greater perfection, in that case the public is greatly benefited, and no individual can be injured. If they employ themselves only in such as are already settled and perfected, they will not defraud the mouths of sober, frugal, and industrious persons, who may work as cheap, and can work as well as foreigners. And therefore should be obliged to do both. It can be, therefore, none but the abandoned, debauched, and dissolute, who would chuse to be idle three or four days in a week, and want to have their wages so high as to support this extravagance, that can make such a complaint? and shall they be heard? shall we continue the exclusion of all sober and industrious foreigners, so much to the national disadvantage, merely to gratify the extravagant and unreasonable humours of such wretches as these? surely, it is to be hoped, we shall pursue more prudent measures, both for our sakes, and their own.

But we are told farther, " that English

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tradesmen, of every denomination, are used to live better than foreigners; and therefore cannot afford to work or to sell so cheap as they."——be it so: carry then this argument to a foreign market, and see whether it will persuade the inhabitants of that country to trade with you. A French, and an English merchant, are competitors with, and rivals to each other in the markets of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and in short all over the world. The French-man offers his goods at 20, 15, 10, or 5 per cent, cheaper than the English.——Our countryman is demanded, why he will not sell his goods as cheap as others? His answer is, "that the manufacturers and merchants live better in England than foreigners do, and therefore he cannot afford it." This is a most persuasive argument.—Undoubtedly he will sell much cloth by alledging it.——He is asked again, why they will not in his country admit foreigners, who work cheaper, to settle among them, that so they may be able to trade upon an equal footing with their neighbours? to this he replies, "that foreigners, and he knows not who, ought not to come and take the bread out of the mouths of the natives."——Such

kind of reasoning must give them an high idea of the sense and discernment of our countryman. Let us therefore apply the case to ourselves, and not argue in that absurd and ridiculous manner at home, which he is represented as doing abroad.

The admission then of foreigners to settle in our country, is so far from taking the bread out of the mouths of the natives, that it is putting bread into the mouths of those, who, otherwise, in a short time must have none. For the English must trade, at least, upon an equal footing with other nations, or not trade at all.—And then, when the not trading at all is the consequence, we shall indeed have no foreigners to complain of, but we shall have a much sorer evil:—and then, perhaps when it is too late, the most self-interested among us will be sorry, that we had not admitted the frugal and industrious from all parts of the world, to share the gains of trade with them, rather than to have none at all.

But let us try all this reasoning by plain matters of fact. The town of Birmingham, for example, admits all persons to come and settle among them; whom, though they are Englishmen, the original natives of the place

may as justly term foreigners with regard to them, as we stile other nations by that name. —“ Foreigners, therefore, and I know not who, came from all parts, and settled at Birmingham; and—took the bread out of the mouths of the original natives.” What then was the consequence of this great wickedness?—why, within these few years, the trade and buildings of the town have been prodigiously encreased, and all the estates for a great many miles round, have felt the benefit of this great accession of trade and inhabitants. Birmingham, from being a place of little consequence, is now become one of the most flourishing and considerable in the kingdom. And there is no town, with its exclusive charters, that can boast of so many skilful artists, as this which admits of all comers.

Moreover, there are fewer beggars in this town, Manchester and Leeds, where all are free, than in any which has companies of trades, and exclusive charters. So true and certain it is, that these rights and privileges, as they are called, do multiply the numbers of the poor, instead of diminishing them; because they damp the spirit of industry, frugality, and emulation. A man

facturer, who knows, that no foreigner dares come in to be a competitor against him, thinks himself privileged to be idle. And all such privileges are just so many combinations to sink the value of lands, and prevent the extension of commerce.

The other instance I shall mention, is the case of the French Hugonots, who fled from the persecution of Lewis XIV, and took refuge in England. But great was the outcry against them, at their first coming. "Poor England would be ruined! foreigners encouraged! and our own people starving!" this was the popular cry of those times.—But the looms in Spittlefields, and the shops on Ludgate hill, have at last sufficiently taught us another lesson. And now, it is hoped, we may say without offence, these Hugonots have been so far from being of disservice to the nation, that they have partly got, and partly saved, in the space of fifty years a balance in our favour of, at least, fifty millions sterling.

In short, self-interest apart, what good reason can be assigned, why we should not admit foreigners among us?—our country is but thinly inhabited, in comparison to what it might be: and many hundred thou-

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sands of acres of good land, in England and Wales, not to mention Scotland and Ireland, lie either entirely waste, or are not sufficiently cultivated, for want of hands, and persons to consume the product. Our vast commons, all over the kingdom, and many of the forests and chaces, might be parcelled out in lots, to such of the foreigners as chuse a country life; and the rest might find employment, in some shape or other, in the different manufactures. The natives of England likewise do not increase so fast, as those of other countries; our common people being much more abandoned and debauched. The marriage state also is not sufficiently encouraged among us: and ten thousand common whores are not so fruitful (setting aside the sin of the parents, the diseases of the few children that are born, and their want of a proper and virtuous education) I say, 10,000 common whores are not so fruitful as fifty healthful young married women, that are honest and virtuous: by which means, the state is defrauded of the increase of upwards of 199 subjects out of 200, every year.---Add to all this, that it has been long observed by men of thought and speculation, that more young

children die in England from the birth to two years old, than in any other country. The sea likewise, and our extensive plantations, are a continual drain upon us. And the manufacturing poor at home are killing themselves, and, if I may be allowed the expression, their posterity likewise, as fast as they can, by those sure instruments of death, gin and spirituous liquors. For all these reasons therefore, as well as on account of lowering the price of labour, and preventing the combinations of journeymen, so loudly complained of, and severely felt throughout the kingdom, it is humbly hoped, that those persons, who have hitherto opposed the naturalization bill, will see cause to change their sentiments; and will look upon it as highly useful and expedient, and productive of the greatest national advantages. There are many thousands of manufacturers, both in silk and woollen, in the south of France, all zealous protestants, who would gladly come over, if they could learn that they should meet with a kind reception. As to the difficulty of making their escape out of the French king's dominions, they would find ways and means to deceive even the vigilance of their governors, by re-

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tiring, as it were one by one, and removing under various pretences, towards the manufacturing towns in Picardy and French-Flanders, (from whence they could so easily pass over to us) were they sure of finding protection and reasonable encouragement. And as England and France are rivals to each other, and competitors in almost all branches of commerce, every single manufacturer so coming over, would be our gain, and a double loss to France.

Upon a review of this proposal, as it stood in the second edition, the author cannot see any cause for that fury and resentment, so liberally bestowed upon him, for offering his thoughts, he hopes in no improper manner, to public consideration.— If his arguments were inconclusive, why were they not answered?—if absurd, they ought to have been despised: but since they were thought worthy of so much notice, why doth not some person undertake to confute a late treatise, viz. Reflections on the expediency of naturalizing foreign protestants, wrote expressly to vindicate this proposal? such a method would have been fair and ingenuous, deserving the regard of the public, and the thanks of the writer of this

treatise, who would have thought it no disgrace to have acknowledged his error in the most open manner.—But it ever was the hard fate of those who have laboured to promote the true interest of their country, and to establish a general system for the propagation of national virtue and good morals, to be vilified and insulted, while living, and never to have real justice done to their characters, till they are dead. A man may write pieces of entertainment, and be applauded:—or he may dip his pen in gall for the use of a party, and be adored: but he must not bend his studies for the general good, with a dependence on any other reward, than that which arises in his own breast for having done his duty.

VIII. P R O P O S A L.

To encourage a trade with our own plantations in all such articles as shall make for the mutual benefit of the mother country, and her colonies.

The reasons for this proposal are very obvious and convincing:—and yet, as self-interested persons will be apt to start objections, and raise difficulties, it may be pro-

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per to expatiate upon these reasons a little. 1st, Therefore, it is necessary that we should encourage a trade to our own plantations for all sorts of naval stores, in order that we may not be too dependent upon the will and pleasure of foreign courts, with regard to these necessary things. Many, if not most of the implements for navigation, and consequently for a sea war, are purchased from the several nations bordering upon the Baltic. Suppose then that Sweden, Russia, or Denmark, should, for certain reasons of state, or by the intrigues of the French, lay an embargo on these commodities, at a crisis when we greatly wanted them;—or should refuse them to us, and sell them to our enemies; to what a distressed situation would this reduce us? and who can tell what might be the consequences of it? and as the politics of princes are ever fluctuating and changing, why should we put it in the power of any potentate to have such a command over us?

2dly, As the balance in regard to all these countries is considerably against us, common prudence will suggest, that we ought to turn it in our favour, if we can. Now this we shall be able to do (or at the

worst, bring it to an equilibrium, which in itself is no disadvantageous kind of commerce) if we can purchase the same commodities in our own plantations, which we used to import from these countries. Besides, the balance is not only against us with regard to Sweden, but also the very money which is drawn from us by means of this losing trade, is converted to support a French interest in opposition to ours. But

3dly, Were the case indifferent, where we traded, (which it is not) the natural affection, which the mother country should have for her colonies, where we have so many friends, relations, and acquaintance, should determine us to give them the preference.—But indeed our own interest is nearly and essentially concerned in this affair: for,

4thly, Unless we promote a trade with them, and take off the growth and commodities of their plantations, they will be reduced to the necessity of offering them to sale at other markets, or permitting other nations to come and trade with them: the consequence of which will be, that they will take the product and manufactures of these nations in return. And indeed this is too

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much the case at present: for one third, at least, of the luxuries and elegancies of life, brought into our colonies (as was observed* before) is the growth and manufacture of other countries, and principally of France. And as our trade, particularly to some of the northern colonies, is growing less and less, this evil must daily increase in the same proportion. Moreover,

5thly, Unless we can supply our colonies with such commodities and manufactures as they want, by way of barter for some of theirs which they can spare,—they will be obliged to raise those things themselves. And seeing that many of the new settlements on the continent of America, are several hundred miles up the country, between, and beyond the mountains; this distance of situation will increase the necessity they are already under of manufacturing for themselves,—unless we can divert their thoughts to some other projects. Nay more, when once a manufacturè is set up in those distant regions, it will extend itself downwards; and the inhabitants on the sea-coast will be supplied by their neighbours in the

* See the XIth disadvantage of Great Britain. Page 57.

up-lands, upon cheaper and easier terms than we can supply them.—It is a just complaint, that many of the provinces have set up several species of manufactures, which greatly interfere with the trade and prosperity of their mother country. Yet how shall we prevent them?—There is but one way to do it, that is either just, or practicable: and that is, by an exchange of commodities to mutual benefit.—A mutual benefit is a mutual dependence. And this principle alone will contribute more to the preserving of the dependency of our colonies upon their mother country, than any other refinement or invention. For if we are afraid, that one day or other they will revolt, and set up for themselves, as some seem to apprehend; let us not drive them to a necessity to feel themselves independent of us:—as they will do, the moment they perceive, that they can be supplied with all things from within themselves, and do not need our assistance. If we would keep them still dependent upon their mother country, and in some respects subservient to her views, and welfare;—let us make it their interest always so to be.

For these reasons therefore, it is humbly

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apprehended, that the trade to our colonies and plantations, must appear to be of the utmost consequence to the power, strength, and prosperity of Great Britain. But to effectuate this good end, an important question comes next to be decided; *viz.* 'What produce should our colonies be most encouraged to raise and cultivate?—And what sort of manufactures shall they be allowed to barter in return for ours?'—It is easy to see, that they cannot make large payments in gold and silver; and it is also equally plain and certain, that we will not, cannot, indeed allow them to introduce such things among us, as will prevent the consumption of our own commodities, to such a degree, as to be upon the whole, of national disadvantage.

Wherefore, with great submission, I will beg leave to offer some few plain observations, which perhaps might not be altogether unserviceable as to the regulation of such a trade.

First then, It seems chiefly requisite, that due encouragement should be given to our colonies, to apply their thoughts towards the raising of such commodities, as do

not interfere with those of the mother country.

Secondly, They should also not only be allowed, but be particularly encouraged to import all such raw materials as are to be manufactured here in England;—even though we raise the same sort ourselves: because the more we have of these, the better; since the cheaper they are purchased, the more of them can be worked up, and the more there are worked up, the greater number of hands are employed; and consequently, the more labour, or employment is procured to the nation. Moreover, this argument becomes so much the stronger, if the raw materials we have of our own, are by no means sufficient for the demand of the manufacture, either as to quantity, or goodness; which is the case with the bar-iron here made in England; so that we are obliged to have recourse to foreign countries for a supply;—as in the case of bar-iron we do to Sweden, to the amount of near 200,000 l. sterling a year.

Thirdly, We ought to permit our colonies to supply us upon easy terms with all such articles of luxury as we are wedded to, and will have either from them, or others.

—Consequently, in reason and good policy, they ought to have the preference, by being indulged to import these articles under the advantage of an easy and reasonable duty; whilst the commodities of foreign nations are charged with higher imposts and customs. In such a case, the mutual exchange of commodities between us and the colonies would become a mutual advantage: but that is not all; for as the duties would be moderate, the temptations to smuggling would be small; the consumption of the commodities of our own colonies greater, and that of other nations less: by which means, the revenue itself would rise much higher than it doth, when there are large and heavy duties: for these will ever be attended with one or other of the following effects, either the preventing the importation of the commodity, or its entrance at the custom-house.

Fourthly, In the regulation of a trade with our colonies, some regard should be had to those distant parts of the country, which lie remotest from the sea; that even the farthest inhabitants may likewise find employment in the raising of such commodities as are fittest for their situation, and

are light of carriage. And if their thoughts are properly taken up in the cultivation of these things, they will have neither time, nor inclination to pursue other projects, which might prove detrimental to the mother country.

From these principles therefore it seems clearly to follow, That the culture of coffee, cocoa nut, cochineal, indico, and pimento, ought especially to be encouraged in the mountainous, inland part of Jamaica.—And that of bar-iron, hemp, flax, indico, and raw silk, in the countries between, and beyond the mountains, on the back of Carolina, Virginia, Pensylvania, *etc.*

Some of these indeed are heavy goods; and therefore seem not so proper to be raised in a country so far distant from any sea-port: but on the other hand, when it is considered how particularly rich the soil in those parts is, and how well adapted the country for the raising such articles, and how conveniently the inhabitants could load the cattle they bring down every market-day, with these commodities; the difficulty, I hope, in great part vanishes, and the propriety of assigning these tracts of

land for the culture of them; evidently appears.

Enough therefore has been said, to evince beyond all contradiction, that it is the interest of the kingdom, that such a trade as here described, should be carried on: but whether it is the interest of the merchant to embark in it, is another question: and yet, till he can find his own private account in the affair, it is too clear a point, that whatever has been said as to the public and national advantage, will pass for nothing.—A merchant will not engage in a losing trade, and ruin himself to benefit his country. Indeed it is unreasonable to expect he should. And the great complaint against the trade to some of our northern colonies long has been, that there is nothing to be got by it; that is, that the merchant can get nothing, or next to nothing, if compared to his gains to and from other places. The trade to Denmark, Sweden, or Russia, is more advantageous to him, though very detrimental to his country; and therefore, if we would expect the merchant to turn his thoughts wholly to the plantation-trade, we must cause him to find his chief interest in the pursuit of it.

Now there are four ways or methods for turning a trade into a new channel, and stopping up the old one.

The first is, by laying additional duties upon the commodities of one country, but not on those of another. By this means, if the commodities are in any degree equal to each other in goodness and value, the former will be prevented from being imported, on account of their dearness to the consumer; and the latter will have the preference, by reason of their cheapness. But this method, however expedient at particular junctures, is to be used with great wariness and caution. For every such additional duty put upon the commodities of a foreign country, will be looked upon by that country, as an act of hostility committed upon its trade and commerce; which they will be sure to revenge upon the commodities and manufactures of the country that was the aggressor. Besides, high additional duties are too violent and precipitate a method of turning a trade into a new channel,—especially where the manufacture is yet in its infancy, and cannot answer the demand for it. It is therefore much more safe and prudent, to incline the
scale

scale gently and gradually on the side you would favour; that so the inhabitants of that country may have time to raise the proper quantity of the commodities that are wanted, and may increase and perfect their manufactures, by due application and experience.—And also, that we ourselves may not be distressed on account of the scarceness, or the badness of the commodity; or be forced to pay an exorbitant price, by means of the monopoly which the inhabitants of the favoured country will have against us.

Wherefore, secondly, another more commodious, and less exceptionable way, is, to grant certain privileges and exemptions;—which shall continue till the trade is sufficiently established, and needs no support; that is, till the merchant can find it worth his while to engage in it, without being paid at the public expence. Suppose therefore, that at the beginning of such a trade, certain commodities were permitted to be imported upon easy terms;—or rather duty free, which is better still: then our colonies would turn their thoughts to the raising them; and the merchant would find his own private account in importing them.

But if any thing obstructed, so that this did not prove sufficient to engage them in the prosecution of such designs; or that the demand still ran in favour of the goods of another nation; then,

Thirdly, The scale must be turned by the addition of a bounty upon importation: and to quicken their diligence, and excite a spirit of emulation, to these encouragements may still be added,

Fourthly, A personal premium to such merchants, as shall import the most of these commodities, and the best in their kind. Prizes of this nature, are observed to do wonderful things in the raising and perfecting of a manufacture. We have seen their good effects in Ireland; and it were greatly to be wished we had the same laudable institution here in England. If certain sums were vested in the board of trade for this purpose, we might not despair of seeing the mother country in a few years supplied with pot-ashes, bar-iron*, flax, hemp, indi-

* The great clamour lately raised against the introduction of bar-iron is an astonishing instance of the ignorance and insatiation of the English in regard to their own interest. For let us ask even an iron-master, if the Americans shall not be permitted to import iron duty free, what course will they, nay must they take, but to manufacture it themselves?

co, cochineal, coffee, cocoa nut, pitch and tar, all sorts of naval stores, and raw silk chiefly from her own colonies. The fact is undeniable, that all these things can be raised in our plantations either on the continent, or in the islands. And though some difficulties would attend the enterprize at first setting out, yet industry and application, together with the inducements of bounties and personal premiums, would surmount them all. If prizes were fixed, viz. So much to the first, the second, and the third importer of the most in quantity, and best in kind; and notice given thereof in the gazette by public authority; what an emulation would it excite amongst all the merchants of the kingdom? how gladly would our colonies embrace such proposals, and quit the pursuit of the manufactures they are now engaged in? It is certain, these manufactures, though highly detrimental to us, are not so advantageous to

for how shall they be able to pay for English goods, unless they can make proper returns? And if you will not admit their bar-iron, you drive them to the necessity of manufacturing it: nay more, you give them a bounty: for as the bar-iron will be cheaper in America, if there is no English market; this difference in the price is in fact a bounty given by yourselves for the encouragement of iron-manufactures in America.

them, as the raising the above mentioned commodities would be; because they could employ their negroes in such work; whereas the negroes are found to be not so proper to engage in a manufacture, which has a long course and different parts before it is completed; and the labour of the white people is dear and expensive.

As to the article of raw silk, the importance of it, I hope, will justify the recommending of the culture of it in a very particular manner. The excessive price it now bears, and the great difficulties to which the manufacturers are driven, in order to get it at any rate, require that something should be attempted without delay. Every nation now begins to perceive, that it is imprudent and impolitic to suffer such precious materials to be exported unmanufactured out of their country. They have therefore prohibited the doing it under the severest penalties:—and we cannot blame them. But for that very reason we ought to endeavour to raise the commodity ourselves. And, with humble submission, no time ever seemed so favourable for the doing it, as the present. For as the price is high, this is not only an inducement to set

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about it: but also as we have now a different sort of inhabitants in our colonies to engage in it, than we had before, we have therefore the greater prospect of success. The complaint formerly was, that the cultivation of it would not answer on account of the dearness of labour. The inhabitants towards the sea-coasts could employ their time to greater advantage in the culture of tobacco, rice, etc. therefore the scheme for raw silk must fail. But at present we have several thousands of Palatines and Moravians, settled in the vallies between the mountains, in a country much like Piemont, where the best silk grows: now as they cannot cultivate rice or tobacco for exportation; and as they are far removed from the center of trade, and are also a parsimonious, abstemious people, they will certainly work much cheaper than the English heretofore towards the sea-side, who were ever noted for the contrary qualities. So that upon the whole, the time and the occasion invite; the necessities of the manufacture, and the interest of our country, require that some attempt should be speedily made for the raising of raw silk in our colonies.

IX. PROPOSAL.

To establish a police for the prevention of smuggling.

* It may indeed be too difficult for a private person to find out a remedy equal to a disease so universal, and of so long a continuance: but yet as every well-meant endeavour for the public service is candidly accepted, when offered with modesty and submission, it is to be hoped the following thoughts, which proceed no farther than by way of query, will be favourably received.

Query I. If the privileges and exemptions of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, etc. were abolished, and those remains of the dukedom of Normandy perfectly united to the British crown, could the same frauds be then practised, as to the running of goods which have a drawback granted them, smuggling of French wines, brandies, teas, coffee, chocolate, silk, lace, and all other commodities, as are at present?—Could the French wines

* This quotation is taken out of my Inquiry concerning the Use of low priced Spirituous Liquors; printed for T. Trye, Holborn.

' be mixt with Port, and then entered as if
 ' they were all the growth of Portugal, to
 ' the great detriment of the revenue, the
 ' manifest injury of the Portugal trade, the
 ' certain irreparable loss to the nation, and
 ' the open avowed encouragement to per-
 ' jury?—Could the smacks and cruisers,
 ' which were designed to guard the coast,
 ' have the same pretence to enter the ports
 ' of France, which they have now to step
 ' into Guernsey and Jersey, viz. to see
 ' what vessels were lading; and sometimes
 ' take in a lading for themselves?—*Et quis*
 ' *custodes custodiat ipsos?*

' Query II. If the jurisdiction of the isle
 ' of Man was annexed to the crown, in the
 ' same manner as the hereditable jurisdic-
 ' tions in Scotland lately were, could France,
 ' Holland, Denmark, etc. find any place
 ' in our own seas, as a storehouse or maga-
 ' zine for depositing their several contraband
 ' goods, in order to run them on the coasts
 ' of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ire-
 ' land? If the collectors of the customs of
 ' the present noble proprietor of this island,
 ' were obliged to lay before the parliament
 ' their books of entries for the last seven
 ' years, and such entries compared with the

' accounts that might be transmitted from
 ' France, Holland, Denmark, etc. would
 ' it not appear, that the respective India
 ' companies of those countries had import-
 ' ed vast quantities of teas, and other India
 ' goods, principally with a view to smuggle
 ' them into Great Britain and Ireland? And
 ' ought not that circumstance alone be an
 ' alarming consideration to the English East-
 ' India company, to the government, and
 ' the whole British nation?—Do the
 ' French, Dutch, Danes, etc. permit the
 ' English to use any port of their dominions
 ' for the like purposes? And would it not
 ' be more advantageous to the British nati-
 ' on, as to the mere article of profit and
 ' loss, to pay subsidies to these countries of
 ' 200,000 l. per annum, than to let matters
 ' continue on the present footing? Lastly,
 ' with regard to our own subjects, if this
 ' island were annexed to the crown, could
 ' the corrupt part of the commanders of the
 ' frigates and cruisers receive any emolu-
 ' ment for conniving at the evils here com-
 ' plained of? Or the honest part be insult-
 ' ed, and even imprisoned by the deputy
 ' governors or their agents, for discharging
 ' faithfully their duty? And would the ne-

‘ necessary expences for the prevention of
 ‘ smuggling be a fourth part the sum, to
 ‘ which they now amount?

‘ Query III. Whether the present me-
 ‘ thods of collecting the duties on French
 ‘ brandies, and other foreign goods, are not
 ‘ found to be eventually productive of great
 ‘ temptations to smuggle them? Whether
 ‘ such temptations could possibly be so
 ‘ strong, if there was a permission some-
 ‘ what of a like nature granted to the im-
 ‘ porters of these commodities, as there is
 ‘ now granted to the importers of rum, viz.
 ‘ *To put them in the king’s warehouse, pay-*
 ‘ *ing the duties only for the quantities they*
 ‘ *take out, when they meet with a purchaser,*
 ‘ *and leaving the rest to continue?* Whether
 ‘ a smuggler with one hundred pounds
 ‘ stock, would run the risque of his life and
 ‘ fortune, which the present laws subject
 ‘ him to, if he could commence a fair trad-
 ‘ er, to sufficient advantage, with so small a
 ‘ capital? And whether, in case of such a
 ‘ permission, a man would not carry on a
 ‘ more extensive trade with one hundred
 ‘ pounds, in certain sorts of goods, than he
 ‘ can do now with six times the sum?

‘ Whether the great frauds, lately com-

' plained of in the tobacco trade, to the pro-
 ' digious detriment of the revenue, and the
 ' national interest, cannot likewise be ac-
 ' counted for, upon the principle here sug-
 ' gested? And if the importers of tobacco
 ' were allowed to lodge their cargoes in the
 ' king's warehouse (or in their own, under
 ' the lock and key of the custom-house offi-
 ' cer) and from thence to take it away in
 ' small quantities, *viz.* a hoghead or two
 ' at a time, suitable to their convenience,
 ' would not this circumstance alone cause
 ' the Virginia trade to flourish, prevent
 ' smuggling, and supersede the necessity of
 ' all other devices?

' Query IV. If all seizures were abso-
 ' lutely prohibited to be sold for home con-
 ' sumption, could they then cover the vend-
 ' ing any considerable parcels of un-custom-
 ' ed goods, which are now vended in large
 ' quantities by this means?—and if the
 ' seizures were not to be used at home,
 ' would the purchasers give an higher price
 ' for such goods, than they do for others of
 ' like intrinsic value? and is not the advan-
 ' ced price now given, a plain indication of
 ' the uses to which they are applied?

' Query V. If the commanders and offi-

'cers of the smacks and cruisers were to be
 'paid only one half of their salaries of
 'course, and the other half by way of gra-
 'tuity, when it appeared that they had
 'been vigilant and active to an high degree,
 'would not this quicken their motions, and
 'add new life and vigour to their endea-
 'vours?—If those who could give no proof
 'of an extraordinary vigilance were to lose
 'such gratuities, and others to receive
 'them, as an additional reward, who had
 'distinguished themselves the most emin-
 'ently, would not this be a means of raising
 'a spirit of emulation among them, and
 'making the active principles of interest,
 'shame, fear, honour, disgrace, all unite
 'and operate for the public good.

'Query VI. If a few independent com-
 'panies of light horse were raised, in the na-
 'ture of hussars, would not such kind of
 'cavalry, *viz.* English hunters) be much
 'more proper to scour the coast, and pur-
 'sue smugglers, than heavy horse and dra-
 'goons, and regular forces?—And if their
 'officers were paid in the same manner, as
 'is proposed for the officers of smacks and
 'cruisers, would it not be an additional se-

‘curity for their integrity, and an incentive
‘to their vigilance?’

‘Query VII. If the whole seizures were
‘given to the captors, would it not be a
‘greater encouragement than giving them
‘a part? and if the fees and expences of
‘the court of exchequer for condemnation
‘did not rise so high, would not this en-
‘hance the value of the prize, and conse-
‘quently make the captors more active and
‘vigilant? Whether there have not been
‘instances of custom-house officers com-
‘pounding with the delinquents for petty
‘seizures, rather than be at the expence of
‘condemning them in the exchequer, as
‘that would swallow up the profit?’

‘These queries the author would hum-
‘bly offer to public consideration; not
‘doubting but many other methods might
‘be found out, greatly conducive to the
‘same good end. As to the difficulties a-
‘gainst putting this scheme in immediate
‘execution, he is not aware of any, but is
‘far from presuming to determine that there
‘are none.’

X. P R O P O S A L.

To “invite foreigners of distinction to

“travel among us,” that so we may have something in return for the vast sums which we yearly send abroad. To this end there is wanting a concise treatise in French and English, setting forth the advantages which persons of different tastes and inclinations may enjoy by such a tour: the man of pleasure and diversion—the virtuoso—the scholar and man of letters—the lawyer—physician—divine—merchant, &c. with directions how to perform a regular tour—a shorter or a longer—what things are most remarkable to be seen:—churches—seats—gardens—pictures—manufactures—ports, *etc.*—what books or treatises necessary to be consulted—how to learn their language—with the proper stages marked out—and a calculation of the expence in the moderate way of travelling.

It has been observed before, under the XIIth advantage of France*, that travelling into a country is of greater consequence to the trade and manufactures of that country, than is usually apprehended. And as England is as deserving the notice of curious and inquisitive foreigners, as any country on the globe, it is a great pity, that

* Page 30.

some ingenious hand hath not yet lent them his friendly assistance, by an express treatise on the subject. It would be a great pleasure to the author to contribute what he can, only as an inferior workman, in the accomplishing such a design. And therefore if he could *fungi vice cotis*, as Horace expresses it, and be considered only as a whetstone to give an edge to the inclinations of others, who have abilities to execute such a scheme, he would gladly offer his assistance.

With these sentiments therefore he begs leave to propose the following rough sketch, only as general hints to be improved upon, *viz.*

Suppose a modest treatise was wrote, without puffing, or too much extolling ourselves or our country, containing a plan for a foreigner to travel in England a year, or longer, with pleasure and advantage:

Chap. I. Setting forth the situation of the country, the air and climate, nature of the soil, and its general productions.

Chap. II. The present inhabitants, principles of their government, their virtues and vices, humours, diversions, the manner of conversing agreeably with them, and accommodating one's self to the general taste

and genius of the country, method of learning the language — and pronunciation — method and expence of travelling — manner of obtaining recommendations from abroad to London, and from London to the other parts of the kingdom.

Chap. III. Containing the plan for a foreigner to make the tour of England in eight stages, within the compass of a year, each stage illustrated by a map, containing *les environs*, or the district of ten miles round the place of residence; in which district the principal seats — towns — manufactures — curiosities, *etc.* should be briefly described: *viz.* supposing the stranger landed the beginning of April; then the

1st stage, London and *les environs*, in the month of April.

It might be improper a foreigner should stay longer in the capital, upon first coming over, than to settle his correspondences, and get recommendations to other places; lest, whilst he is a stranger to the language, he should associate too much with his own countrymen, and be little benefited by his travelling.

2^d stage, Cambridge and *les environs*, in May. Here he should begin in earnest to

learn the language by the help of some good grammar, and to learn the pronunciation by coming to church with his French and English common prayer, and listening to the clergyman's slow and deliberate reading. If this method was duly practised, foreigners would not find that difficulty in learning the pronunciation of our language, as they are apt to imagine. And this is an advantage of teaching it, in some respect peculiar to us.

3^d stage, Oxford and *les environs*, in June. Note, In laying out the route between place and place, it would be proper to contrive it so, as the traveller might see as many things worthy of notice in his passage, as he could.

4th stage, Birmingham and *les environs*, in July.

5th stage, Bristol and *les environs*, in August.

6th stage, A tour from Bristol to Portsmouth, through Wilton, Salisbury, *etc.* and then return to Bath, at the end of September.

7th stage, Bath and *les environs*, during October and November.

8th stage, London, during the months of

December, January, February and March, which complete the year.

If after this the foreigner chooses to reside longer in England, and to see other parts of the kingdom, then he might take a tour of six months in the following manner; viz.

1. York, and *les environs*, in the month of April.
2. Leeds and Manchester, in May.
3. Liverpool and Chester, in June.
4. Chatsworth and Derby, in July.
5. Nottingham and Northampton, in August.

6. From thence through London to the place of embarkation, in September; visiting the principal seats, towns, *etc.* of Kent or Essex, in the way to Dover or Harwich.

Chap. IV. Containing observations on the literature and learning of the English; and the advantages which persons of different tastes may reap from being acquainted with them.—Concluding with a small catalogue of the choicest authors in polite literature, and the several sciences;—with a list of our best plays, as to morals, language, and design; that so a foreigner may know, when

it shall be worth his while to go to our theatres.

XI. PROPOSAL.

To 'cut some canals between our great towns of trade, for the conveniency and cheapness of carriage.'—Canals are much preferable to the making rivers navigable, even where both might be done. For in the first place, the expence is not greater, except perhaps the purchase of the ground. In the next place, they are kept and repaired at a much easier rate. They are not subject to inundations, or the shifting of the sand and gravel, and are generally much shorter and streighter.—But what is above every other consideration, a boat laden with merchandize in a canal, may be drawn by a single horse, on a full trot, as in Holland, up or down the stream, whether there be a flood, or not; and requires but two men to guide it.

If a canal was dug between Reading and Bath, then there would be an easy and cheap communication between the two principal cities of the kingdom, London and Bristol: goods and passengers might be carried at one

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quarter of the present expence: and surely 75 l. per cent. saved in freight, deserves consideration. The river Kennet, from Reading to Silbury-hill, is a plain illustration how practicable so far such a scheme might be. And from thence to the descent towards Caln, on the Bath side, is the only difficulty. But such who have seen the great canal of Languedoc, are very well assured it might easily be performed, and at a fortieth part of the expence which the other was. Nay, on the flat grounds near Yatesbury church, water is so plenty in the winter time, that it lies upon the surface for weeks together. And as there are rising grounds on both sides, reservoirs might be made to receive the land-floods, and supply the canal with water, during the dry season. But if the canal itself was only sunk ten or twelve feet deeper than ordinary, for two or three furlongs, it is very probable, that natural springs would be met with between those hills. For the wells at Yatesbury, as I remember, are not twenty feet deep. What a pity is it therefore, that so many advantages are neglected? if the like situation had been in France, a canal had been made long ago.—Indeed something might have been

alleged in our excuse, had we the same difficulties to encounter with, which the French surmounted in making the canal of Languedoc, and are again to surmount in making the new canal, from the Durance to Marseilles. But there are no obstructions of rivers and rivulets in our way; no need of making arches, and troughs of stone to carry the canal over them;—no steep hills to ascend, or mountains to pierce through: and yet the thing is not so much as attempted, though the common interest, and the situation of the country, so strongly invite us to perform it.

A canal also ought to be dug between Glasgow and the shore opposite to Alloa; which would open a communication between Glasgow, and Leith the port of Edinburgh.—The situation in these parts is extremely inviting, even more so than the former; as the passage is much shorter. And our soldiers in times of peace might be employed in the public works, alternately with performing their exercise, receiving a suitable addition to their pay, when they are at work.

XII. PROPOSAL.

To 'raise a fishery on the northern coast of Scotland,' by giving a double premium for some years, till the trade is sufficiently established, for all herrings caught and cured by persons residing within certain districts, and exported to foreign markets.

Several other schemes have been lately offered to the public in relation to this matter; and all of them, undoubtedly, good in some respects. Every thing of this nature hath its respective convenience and inconvenience. And if the scheme for carrying on the fisheries by means of a joint stock, and a company, impowered to make by-laws, and prescribe rules and regulations, can stand clear of the imminent hazard of degenerating into a jobb, through the corrupt influence and sinister views of the managers and directors of such a company;—I say, if the scheme is freed from all reasonable suspicion of tending to such a point, I should much rather prefer it to that which is here, with great submission, offered in its stead. It is certain, that a joint stock is a quicker and more expeditious way;—but the encouragement of a double bounty ap-

appears to me more sure, and less liable to be corrupted. For in this latter case, there are no sums advanced till the work is done, and the herrings publicly examined, whether they are marketable or not: there is no fining of the money in the mean time by managers and directors; nor can there be any items of expences and disbursements, fees and salaries, brought to account: things which are the bane of all public societies, and the great cause of their corruption, and degenerating from their original institution.

Besides, if a double bounty, or perhaps five shillings per barrel, were given for all herrings so cured and exported, it seems to me, that the Dutch themselves would be tempted by the lucre of such a bounty, to settle on the northern coasts of Scotland, and make one people with the inhabitants of the country;—which would be the greatest advantage that part of the kingdom could possibly receive.

XIII. P R O P O S A L.

To 'establish civil governments at Gibraltar and Portmahon, and make them free ports.'—The situation of Gibraltar is ex-

tremely commodious for vending several
 sorts of commodities in Spain and Barbary:
 and the island of Minorca is not less happily
 situated for carrying on an advantageous
 commerce with some parts of France and
 Italy, and, by means of the neighbouring
 island of Majorca, with Spain also. Several
 sorts of coarse woollen stuffs, and Man-
 chester goods, would be acceptable in Bar-
 bary, provided they could be had reason-
 ably cheap: which can never be, till there is
 a free port. Several sorts of the manufa-
 ctures of Manchester and Spittle-Fields;
 would be very agreeable to the taste of the
 Spaniards, French, and Italians. But above
 all, our Birmingham ware, our cutlery, ra-
 zors and scissars, watches and chains, locks,
 metal buttons, snuff boxes, toys, and all the
 sorts of *Bijoux d'Angleterre*, as the French
 call them, which they are inexpressibly
 fond of, would find a prodigious vent in all
 these countries. The least amount of the
 whole trade, that might be carried on by
 means of these two ports, were they made
 free, would be 100,000 l. a year. And
 surely such a sum is worth the getting;—
 especially by a nation 80,000,000 l. in
 debt.

If a scheme of this kind was to take place in the island of Minorca, it would then also stand a fair chance of being peopled by English families, or by such as are well-affected to the English government. Whereas at present there are scarce any, except the garrison, but bigoted Spaniards, who at the first taking of the place, would have been glad to have parted with their possessions for a trifle, and to have retired into Spain. But now they are got immensely rich; their lands are said to be more than five times their former value; and yet their bigotry and aversion continue as strong as ever.

XIV. P R O P O S A L.

To have 'public inspectors into all our manufactures;' and to oblige all exporters to deliver in samples of the commodities they intend to export, in order that they may be compared together, before the goods are suffered to be put on ship board. This, if faithfully and honestly executed, would always keep up the credit of our manufactures at home and abroad, on which the spirit and life of trade principally depends. All possible means should be tak-

en to prevent private frauds in packing—deficiencies in weight and measure—undue stretching of cloths upon the rack, which alone hath occasioned irreparable loss to this nation. The fraudulent and deceitful should be prevented, as much as it is possible, from getting rich at the expence of their honest neighbours, and the welfare of their country, which is too often sacrificed to their knavery.

In short, in all kinds of manufactures, the worst part of it should be put outermost for a sample, not the best; that so the buyer, in seeing the mark and seal of the office, may confide in that, and be assured, that he is not deceived by what is out of sight.

XV. PROPOSAL.

To 'alter the method of collecting our duties upon particular sorts of goods imported, viz*.' By lodging them in warehouses erected at the public expence, till the importer fetches them away, according

* Something hath been already said on this subject, page 125. query III. Where a police was proposed to prevent smuggling: but as truth is uniform throughout, and is attended with all possible advantages, the proposal is now considered under another view.

as he wants them, and pays the duty, or causes it to be paid by the person who purchases of him. This scheme, I am sensible, would raise a great clamour, if enforced by any compulsive law; but if left to each person's free choice, there is the highest probability, that it would universally obtain. Suppose therefore, that the laws relating to the customs in general should continue as they are; but that permission should be granted to such persons as are desirous of using it, to land their goods in the public magazines, there to remain at the usual moderate rent for cellarage, till such time as they find it their interest to remove them, and then to pay the duty. If such a permission was granted to the importers of sugars, rum, wines, brandies, tobacco, raisins, prunes, and currants, it is easy to foresee, that almost every one concerned would embrace it. For, in the first place, the * expence of ware-house-room would be just the same; but the difference between paying the duty all at once upon importation, and paying it by degrees, would be very great, and much to

* If no public magazines were erected, the merchant might put the goods in his own ware-house, having one key himself, and the king's officer another.

the advantage both of the importer, and the public. The importer would be a gainer, as he would not be straitened for money to pay the duties every time his ship arrives; and might keep his goods till he saw a promising market, or might export them to some foreign country, if they bore there a better price. And this itself would be a great advantage to the public, as it would render our country a kind of common magazine for others, and as we should get by it all the profits of freight and commission: and persons of intelligence and speculation would then engage in the speculative part of trade; that is, they would buy up all commodities that were cheap in foreign countries, lodge them in their own, or the king's warehouses, and then re-export them to those countries where the demand ran highest. But this cannot be done upon the present system of paying duties. Moreover, the public would be more especially benefited, as the trade would be increased, and the goods afforded much the cheaper.—

When a trade can be carried on with a small stock, the more persons are capable of embarking in it: and when the duties are not paid all at once, but by degrees, as the goods

can be sold, the home-consumer will buy so much the cheaper. For he will only pay the king's simple duty,—the expences of the adventure,—and the merchant's single gains upon that adventure: whereas, according to the present way of collecting the revenue, every consumer pays another considerable article, *viz.* 'the gains of the merchant on 'the sums advanced to pay the king's duty.' And if the goods have passed from the merchant importer to the last retailer, through two or three hands, before they come to the consumer, then he pays two or three advances the more*. So that in fact, he not only pays the first duty to the king, but perhaps twice as much again to others, by means of these advances upon advances. The consequence of all which is, that trade becomes monopolized by a few rich persons, because there is a greater stock required to carry it on: and smugglers will be the more numerous, and the more audacious, because the temptations to, and the gains of smuggling, become so much the greater.

* See this affair set in a true and strong light in a treatise entitled, "An Essay on the Causes of the decline of the Foreign Trade, London, 1744." Printed for J. Brotherton. Pages 16. and 17.

Whereas by the method now proposed, both these mischiefs would be prevented to a great degree. Observe, 1st, The proposal here made, compels no persons to submit to these regulations, but only permits them to make use of them, if they are disposed to do it. Observe, 2dly, That this scheme requires no new officers, even at the commencement of it: and when it has been thoroughly tried and known, it would certainly greatly lessen the number of them. A set of public magazines (which, by the way, might be so contrived, as to be ornamental, as well as useful) built uniformly, and in a quadrangular figure, might easily be taken care of and inspected by a very few officers, who might well be spared from the numbers now employed as land-waiters, tide-waiters, searchers, deputies, extraordinary men, *etc.*—Observe, 3dly, That with respect to any embezzlement, which these magazine-keepers might be suspected of, this might be prevented, as much as any thing of such a nature can possibly be (not only by weighing the goods, gauging them, and taking samples before they are delivered into the officers care) but also by making it necessary, that these officers should be

engaged with two sufficient bondsmen in two sorts of securities, one to the king, to enforce their fidelity to him, and another to the mayor or chief magistrate of the town, and his successors, where the magazine is kept, in trust for the merchants, to ensure their honesty to them: and that when any of these officers are suspected of embezzling the merchants property, the party aggrieved may be at liberty to bring an action in the name of the mayor, or chief magistrate for the time being, and recover treble damages, with costs of suit, on proof of such embezzlement. Now in all these respects the present proposal differs entirely from the late famous excise scheme; and every objection made against that, is obviated here.

As this last proposal, and one or two more, would be attended with some expence, were they carried into execution;—and as the nation, in its present circumstances, might be supposed incapable of bearing a farther load; I shall therefore endeavour to point out a method how certain taxes might be raised, without burdening any of the necessaries of life,—and yet sufficient to answer all these expences,—and

be moreover highly conducive to the reformation of the morals of the people, and the general welfare of the kingdom, *viz.*

XVI. PROPOSAL.

To lay certain taxes on the following articles of "luxury, vice, or extravagance;" which taxes shall be applied to the general improvement of commerce; by maintaining consuls, and erecting forts, according to proposal vi. Building of magazines and warehouses, as specified in proposal xv. Giving bounties and personal premiums to the greatest exporters of our own manufactures,—the like to the greatest importers of raw materials from foreign countries,—especially from our own plantations, according to proposal viii.—And in short, by pursuing all such ways and means, as serve to excite the merchant and manufacturer to promote the interest of their country, and their own together. Wherefore, the

1st tax proposed is, That upon bachelors, and widowers, of a certain age, without children.

The manifold ill consequences that flow from the modish practice of mens living ba-

chelors, are too glaring and evident. For we may venture to pronounce, without any degree of uncharitableness, that it is one great cause of all the lewdness and debauchery of this age. Some few indeed undoubtedly there are, who no ways contribute to these immoralities by their single life. But they are too inconsiderable in number to deserve to have particular exemptions, even were it possible to distinguish them from others, which it is not possible to do in a legal way. In all things calculated for the general good, some individuals must suffer; and it cannot be avoided. Now (to consider this matter merely in a commercial light) as there are at least ninety-nine in an hundred, who gratify their desires, but so as to add no proper increase to the public stock of inhabitants, in which the riches and strength of a nation do consist, one may easily judge of the evil of such a practice, by its bad consequences. And in London particularly, where this vice of living bachelors mostly prevails, there it is observable, by the bills of mortality*, that more persons

* To this paragraph it has been objected, that the yearly bills of mortality, which make the burials more than the births, are not to be relied upon, as to this point: "Because there are no births registered, but the births of those who

die than are born, every year. So that were it not for the continual supplies from

“are baptized according to the form of the established church; whereas dissenters of most denominations are buried in the church, and consequently registered there.”

Now as it is a very material article to know, with some degree of certainty, whether more persons die in London, than are born;—and consequently; whether the whole city would not be depopulated in a century or two, if the inhabitants followed the same courses they now do, were it not for the influx of strangers, to supply these deficiencies; I shall therefore beg leave to offer the following considerations, in reply to the above objection.

I. Some children are begot in the country, yet born in London; such, for instance, whose mothers come up to town for the convenience of skilful attendance: and as this is the case with many families of distinction, consequently, the number of births is so much increased.

II. Many persons contract their death-sickness in London, yet are carried out of it for the benefit of the air, and die in the country; there they are buried, and no notice taken of them in the registers within the bills of mortality.

III. Just the same is the case of those, who die in London, yet are carried to their burial-places in the country: the number of these is considerable in the year; whereas there are few instances of persons being carried out of the country, to be interred in London.

IV. Many dissenters of different denominations have burial-places of their own; and consequently, the numbers of their dead do not swell the registers of the established church so much as might be imagined.

But allowing, that the numbers of dissenters buried in the established church, may make some difference in the account, still this difference cannot amount to any thing near the sum which is found to be the difference between births and burials in the compass of a year; viz. about seven thousand souls. The numbers of births, generally speaking, amount to 14, or 16,000 in a year; and the burials from 21, to

the country, where the marriage state is not yet quite so unfashionable, that great metropolis would be depopulated in a course of years. And yet there is no place, in which there are so great numbers of the female sex, in the proportion, as in London. Can it be credited, though perhaps it is too true, that in this city alone there are upwards of ten thousand loose women, from sixteen years old to forty, who have not fifty children in a year? and the few they have, are born with all sorts of disorders, and educated, if they chance to live, in all kinds of vice and wickedness? In short, it has been often remarked, that the greatest rakes, that all Europe can produce, when they arrive in England, and come to London, are quite shocked and scandalized at the unparalleled lewdness and debauchery reigning among us, so far beyond any thing

14,000 in the same time: a difference of three to two. How soon would this depopulate any country, were it not for foreign supplies? And how terrible do the effects of vice, lewdness and debauchery, appear to the general interests of a kingdom, when seen from this point of view? What an absurdity, therefore, was it in the author of the Fable of the Bees, to say, "That private vices are public benefits!" It is virtue alone, which can make a nation flourish. And vice of every kind is, either immediately, or in its consequences, injurious to commerce.

they could have imagined. Now if these 10,000 loose women had not been debauched and corrupted, and were married to persons of their own rank and condition, they might have had at least one thousand healthy children every year; and these in a fair way to be bred to honest trades and callings. Besides, upon the present footing, the injustice done to the married tradesman, and landed gentleman, is most grievous and intolerable. * For they pay the excise, and several other duties, in proportion to the consumption of their families; but the bachelor pays only for his single self; *i. e.* those who are most beneficial to the public, are doubly, trebly or quadruply taxed, in proportion as they are beneficial; and others who are a nuisance to it, are therefore exempted. Is there any justice or equity in this? I add, men may understand these things as patriots and politicians, who would turn a deaf ear to lectures in morality and divinity. Nay more, such abounding of lewdness, and surfeiting of prostitution, doth in fact tend to increase the more unnatural vices, instead of preventing them, as

* Causes of the decline, etc. p. 14, 15,—and 61.

it is vulgarly, though erroneously, supposed. And the history of all nations, from the former times down to the present, confirms this assertion. Antient Greece and Rome, and modern England, to mention no more, have furnished too many examples in proof of this point. And reason itself should tell us, that it is with this, as with all other depraved appetites, where surfeiting and satiety are inducements to seek out less natural ways of gratification.

Wherefore the proposal here is, that all bachelors, after they have attained to the age of twenty-five years, shall pay treble king's tax,—poor tax,—window tax,—and the taxes upon coaches, till they marry: and that all widowers, between thirty and fifty, if they have no children, shall pay double. Thus the greatest, *i. e.* the wealthiest offenders, are properly mulcted. For undoubtedly they have it in their power to settle in the world, if they will. They are the people who set bad examples; and by their station, riches, intrigues, and address, debauch those young women at first, who afterwards become the common prostitutes of the town. But as this only reaches the wealthiest of them; and as there are vast

numbers of single men, whom this scheme would not affect, therefore there should be added to it a general capitation tax for all bachelors, of whatsoever degree, above twenty-five years of age. And if this was fixed at twenty shillings a head *per ann.* for all above the condition of day-labourers, and at ten shillings for them (with an exemption only for common soldiers and sailors) it would be a very just and equitable law, and would certainly be attended with many good consequences, both as to the morals and the commerce of the nation.

The

2d tax proposed, is, that upon menial men-servants, *i. e.* such who are not employed either for the purposes of husbandry or commerce, but for state and grandeur.

It was the great principle, which run through the whole plan of the *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade*, before quoted, that each person should tax himself according to the figure and station of life he chose to appear in;—but that all the necessaries of life should be duty free. Now in the case before us, livery servants, footmen, valets, men cooks, *etc.* certainly cannot be ranked among the necessaries of

life, and therefore are the proper subjects for such a tax. If any one chooses to have them, he himself chooses to appear in an elevated condition, and therefore is the fittest to pay towards improving the commerce, and extending the general interest of the kingdom.

But that is not all; for these men-servants, generally speaking, are by nature fitter for other employments, had they not taken up with this idle one; and might have been useful to their country, by sea or land, either in the several parts of husbandry, or in laborious trades; whereas by their present way of living they render themselves useless in all respects; and not only so, but keep thousands of the other sex out of an honest employment, which by nature they are fittest for; and very often are tempted for the want of it to take to vicious courses. I believe it will hardly be denied, but that women servants might perform all the functions, which men servants do, in respect to waiting at table, tending the tea-kettle, *etc.* and equally as well. They might walk behind their ladies, and carry their books to church, as well as any footman, and why they are not permitted to do it, is matter of

Some astonishment to a thinking mind. In short, the poorer and the middling part of the female sex are deprived of those employments which properly belong to them, very often to their own utter ruin, and the detriment of society. If a young woman has a genteelish education, and a small fortune, she stands upon the brink of destruction; and even if she is desirous, she scarcely knows, what trade to put herself to, in order to be out of the way of temptation. For, excepting two or three trades, which women still retain, all the rest are engrossed by men. We have men-mantua-makers, men-milliners, men-stay-makers, men-shoemakers for womens shoes, men-hair-cutters for womens hair, *etc.* and very likely in time we shall have sempstresses, laundresses, and clear-starchers, of the same sex.

Such perversions as these, of the order of society, are not of small ill consequence, either to the welfare of individuals, or the good of the state. And therefore to discourage such practices as much as may be, in the affair of men-servants, the proposal is, that each of them shall be taxed two shillings and sixpence in the pound, according to their wages, to be paid by their masters

and mistresses; and to be collected by the officers of the window-tax. If a scheme of this nature were effectually put in practice, the consequence would be, either, that women-servants would be employed, rather than men, which would answer a good end in that respect;—or else, that these men-servants, though idle and useless in themselves, would contribute to the promoting of commerce and extending our trade, by means of the tax they pay for this end;—though forely against their will.

The 3d tax proposed, is, that upon saddle-horses.

The tax upon coaches, as far as it went, was an excellent and public-spirited act of the legislature. It was laying the burden, where it ought always to be laid, *viz.* upon the luxuries, the ornaments and refinements of living. But undoubtedly it was defective as to its extent: many gentlemen of fortune, especially if they are single, do not choose to keep coaches; and others may live in such parts of the country, where the situation is not convenient for their so doing. Yet they all keep saddle-horses in abundance,—hunters,—and perhaps racers,—without paying any tax; though these

things are articles of mere luxury, parade and pleasure, as much as coaches. Is there now any equity or justice in this? and are not such persons the properest subjects to pay towards the support of our manufactures, and extending our commerce? Undoubtedly they are: and therefore the proposal is this, that all owners of saddle horses, young horses under five years old excepted, be taxed at the rate of five shillings per horse every year;—saving only one horse, which shall be admitted to be kept free of all tax by each owner, on the supposition, that riding may be necessary for his health, or on the account of business. If greater allowances than this were made, it would be opening a door for fraud and collusion: and if less, it might bear hard upon the real wants and necessities of many people. Perhaps even this indulgence of one horse, tax-free, to each proprietor, might seem too rigorous a restraint; and might actually be so in certain circumstances; but in all cases of public concern, it is impossible to adjust things in such a manner, as that every person can be pleased,—or even that the interest of every individual may be so particularly taken care of, according to the nature

of his peculiar circumstances, as that he can have no just reason to complain. To proceed therefore, the 4th tax proposed to be levied is on dogs of every sort and kind, except shepherds dogs, and house dogs. For every thing beyond this, is most undoubtedly an article of luxury, and diversion; and as such, justly liable to be taxed.

Wherefore the proposal is, that the owners of all dogs shall pay one shilling for each dog every year. And as there are such prodigious numbers of hounds, greyhounds, pointers, setters, spaniels, beagles, lap-dogs, and turn-spits all over the kingdom, this would bring in a very considerable revenue, which might be employed to the greatest national advantage, in supporting and extending our trade and commerce.—If this tax should cause a diminution of the species, there would be no harm in that; nay, it would be attended with a great deal of good; as for many other reasons, so particularly for this, that the dreadful and shocking calamities, attending the bite of mad dogs, would be less frequent than they now are.—If any one should object, that turn-spits ought to be considered as necessary im-

plements for dressing of victuals, and therefore ought to be excepted out of this regulation. The answer is obvious and easy; *viz.* that jacks and smoke-jacks are preferable to turn-spits in every respect:—they are cheaper, all things considered; and a species of manufacture, which ought to be encouraged. But above all, there is no danger from them of those shocking consequences aforementioned, which every year have occasioned the deaths of many people, in the most dreadful manner.

Add to this, that no other method, than what is here proposed, can be effectual for the preservation of the game. For as long as poachers of all kinds are allowed to keep dogs, free of any tax, it will be impossible for penal laws, in such a constitution as England is under, to prevent their using them to the destruction of the game. But the laying a tax upon dogs strikes at the principal root of the evil complained of.

The 5th tax proposed, is a double turnpike tax on all persons who travel on Sundays. A modish and a reigning vice this! which ought to receive some check and discountenance from the legislature. Not once in a thousand times can there be a just

and reasonable excuse for this practice; and therefore it becomes a proper and fit subject for a tax, according to the principles before laid down.

In short, we submit it with great deference to the judgment of the intelligent reader, whether there is not ample provision made in this proposal, for all the expences which might be incurred by the execution of any of the rest;—and that without burdening any one article of the real necessities of life. Were the taxes to be laid, as here recommended, they would indeed very probably cause a considerable diminution of the articles which were to pay these taxes: but even that circumstance would prove, in many respects, a very great national advantage.—And were the monies raised by these taxes, properly, judiciously, and faithfully applied to the good uses and purposes before mentioned, perhaps there would not be a nation in the world, which could vie with us in number of inhabitants, extent of commerce, and the flourishing state of our colonies and factories in both the Indies.

Taxes, in their own nature, if they are properly and judiciously laid on, are so far

from causing commerce to stagnate, that they quicken and enliven it; and therefore may be compared to the pruning of a tree by a skilful hand, by which means the tree is preserved in health, and lasts the longer. The fruit, upon the whole, is more in quantity and better in quality, and a vigorous circulation, and equal nourishment are maintained throughout. Whereas, on the other hand, one single tax, though small in its amount, if injudiciously laid on, so as to stop the progress or circulation of labour, is in fact the heaviest and most insupportable of all others. This is a doctrine little understood, especially by the landed interest, who of all persons ought to study it the most, as it never can be their interest to act upon a contrary principle.

C O N C L U S I O N.

AND thus have I ventured to give my sentiments, with that freedom and unreservedness, which is natural to men who mean well, and whose sole aim is the good and prosperity of their country.—As I have no private ends of my own to serve, either the

one way or the other, I have had no bias of self-interest upon my mind.

It is true, I confess, that many of the proposals here made, are subjects very unpopular in the present times: neither would I willingly have advanced any thing harsh or disagreeable, even to prejudiced minds; were it possible to have made truth and popularity, in this case, consist together. But since that cannot be, what must be done? must we still go on, increasing in our disorders, and beholding our rivals taking their advantage of these misfortunes, merely because some people do not choose to be told where the core of the evil lies, and how it may be taken out? If the alterations, here proposed, are necessary or advantageous to the public, that alone should be sufficient to recommend them to the esteem of all persons of worth and character; but if they are not, I put in no plea or apology for them:—only I will add, on behalf of the author, that his intentions were good; though he was mistaken.

I am also well aware, that there is a customary prepossession entertained against projects of all kinds; and that projectors are looked upon as a race of beings who have

something very singular and whimsical in their composition. And yet I think it must be allowed, that, notwithstanding all the prejudice which some chimerical gentlemen of this stamp have drawn upon themselves, there must be both projectis and projectors, when things are bad, and want mending; otherwise they never could be better, nor the faults corrected.

With respect to the case before us, there are two general objections, as far as I am able to perceive, which may be made against what has been advanced.

The first is, that many of the proposals, though they may be right in theory, are impracticable in fact.

The second is, that the schemes, here laid down, are attended with their inconveniences as well as others.

To the first of these I reply; that no one can be certain of this, till an attempt has been made to put them in practice: and we may be very sure, every one of them might be easily put in execution, were persons as really animated with the love of their country, and as truly concerned for its welfare and prosperity, as they pretend to be; and had some among us, in their opposition to

every measure of the government, no dark, latent scheme at heart, which they cover over with specious names.

Besides, none of these schemes, no, not all of them together, are so difficult in themselves to be carried into execution, as that single one which has been so happily perfected in our own days, the union with Scotland.—In that case, inveterate national prejudices,—national pride,—family-interest,—self-interest,—Jacobitical interest,—pretences of conscience,—fears of religion, and the respective churches of both kingdoms:—all these conspired to heap up difficulties in the way. And yet all were surmounted by the firmness and address of those true patriots of both kingdoms, to their immortal honour, who had the management of that affair. Whereas in the present case, there can be no pretences of conscience, no fears of the church's being in danger, to encounter with: there are no national animosities, or national pride, or the interest of great families, to obstruct us; and very little of party spirit can mingle in any of these affairs: self-interest is the chief obstacle to be surmounted. This is indeed a great one, which will draw every thing that it can to its assist.

ance. But it is not insuperable, if withstood by men who have a true love for their country, and prudence and discretion to time their endeavours, and guide them aright.

Moreover: supposing none of these proposals are such as will go down at present, while men are full of their prejudices, and fond of their own opinions: yet, even in that case, it may not be amiss to lay before them the things that are right; which they may consider of at their leisure. When men come to reason and reflect, their prejudices will begin to soften; and time will reconcile them to those expedients, which they had inveighed bitterly against before; perhaps for want of understanding and knowing them better.—Thus it often happens, that proposals deemed impracticable at one season, on account of the popular outcry against them, may be called for at another, with equal vehemence and impatience. And therefore, with humble submission, it may not be amiss to leave these proposals upon record for future examination, though none of them should be judged feasible at the present.

But besides the former objection, a second

is, that this scheme itself is attended with inconveniencies, as well as others.

I grant it is: and surely no man in his senses could ever suppose, that there could be any scheme calculated for the general good, which would not bear hard upon the interests of some particular people,—the true way of estimating any proposal is, to consider, whether it doth remedy more old inconveniencies than it introduces new ones;—and whether, upon the whole, it is beneficial or not,—and its benefits of such importance as deserve to be regarded?—Lastly, Whether likewise some of these very inconveniencies which are supposed to attend it, may not be prevented or amended by further experience and observation. This is the true way for estimating any proposal; and by this rule I would choose that my own should be tried; and then let them stand or fall.

We are always complaining of the bad morals of our people; of a general corruption; and the being out-rivalled in trade. Nevertheless, it is very certain, that the present system of things greatly contributes to the increase of each of these evils. My meaning is, that it lays powerful temptati-

ons in peoples way.—And then, what can be expected? some few perhaps will prove their virtue to be superior; but the great majority will certainly be corrupted. For evident it is, that the innocence of the bulk of mankind is best preserved by their being kept ignorant of the temptation, or at a great distance from it. Now what is the natural tendency of customhouse oaths, election oaths, freedom oaths, *etc.* but to entice and encourage mankind to be guilty of the foul sin of wilful and deliberate perjury? What are the heavy taxes upon the married state, and exemptions for bachelors, but the like inducements to men to remain single, and to gratify their desires in an unlawful way? What are all the exclusive companies, all the heavy duties upon importation, and the many statutes for cramping the trade of Ireland, but so many continued attempts to drive away the trade from ourselves to the French, who are not only our rivals, but the most dangerous ones we can have? And truly we have greatly succeeded in all these: yet who can we blame but ourselves? It may be pleaded indeed in excuse for these laws and establishments, that they were not originally intended to

produce those bad effects. I allow they were not; nor are they charged with any such design. But the question here is, not what was the view of the makers of these laws, or what was the end proposed by such establishments, but what is the tendency of them, as verified by experience, and how they do operate in fact? and if it is made to appear, that they are so destructive in their consequences, and subversive of our morals, liberties, and commerce, it is but of little consolation to know, that they were established with a better view; as we are now considering the things themselves, with their natural consequences, not the characters or design of their authors and projectors.

I will only add one reflection more to what has been said; *viz.* that if we would still keep on our trade at a foreign market, we must, at least, be upon an equal footing with other nations, as to the goodness and cheapness of what we have to sell; otherwise we cannot expect, that foreigners should give us the preference to their own loss. This then being the state of the case, it necessarily follows, that we must always have an eye upon the practices and proceed-

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ings of our rivals, and take our measures accordingly, as far as regards this mutual emulation. If they contrive ways and means to render their manufactures cheaper or better than they did before, so as to outvie us; we must strive to outvie them in cheapness and goodness, or be deprived of that part of commerce by them: if they invite foreigners to settle among them, in order to have the more hands, and to keep down the price of labour; we must do the same, or take the consequence to ourselves: if they allow of no exclusive companies in a branch of trade which interferes with our trade; we must put down our companies, or lose that trade: if their manufacturers are sober and industrious, and work for low wages, and seldom become a burden upon their parishes; we must endeavour to put ours upon the same footing, or be content with the poverty which will be brought upon us: if their government requires little or no duties upon importation, in order to encourage the greater numbers to engage in trade, and that all merchandize may come the cheaper to the consumer; we must imitate them in that respect, and change our customs into in-land duties; or administer con-

tinual temptation to the needy and fraudulent to turn smugglers and suffer ourselves to sink under these evils, together with the burden and weight of our customs. These are the alternatives which are set before us; and one would think, that if mankind were not greatly blinded with their prejudices, and biassed by private interests and sinister views, they need not be long in deliberating which to choose.— Not to mention, that as every country in Europe now begins to understand the maxims of trade, and apply themselves to commerce, and are actually raising all sorts of manufactures of their own, and have laid new duties upon ours;—for these reasons, we ought to be more intent than ever to contrive all ways and means possible to lower the price of every thing we export, in order to overbalance these additional duties by dint of cheapness of labour, and to outvie these new rivals by the goodness of our manufactures.

AND

APPENDIX,

Containing a PLAN for raising ONE ONLY TAX on the consumers of luxuries.

THE foregoing proposals were endeavoured to be drawn up in such a manner as pointed out, how the desired alterations in our systems of commerce, and of collecting the public revenue, might be brought about as gradually as possible. And no greater deviations were attempted to be made from the present state of these affairs, than seemed absolutely necessary; lest too precipitate a shock might prejudice mankind against conviction. I did not therefore propose some of the above mentioned alterations, as what appeared to me the very best which could be devised; but the best in our present circumstances, and the likeliest to succeed. For I am convinced, that what I am now going to offer, is in itself a much

more effectual remedy, if our constitution is strong enough to admit the application of it.

The scheme is taken out of a quarto pamphlet, which would do honour to any man, several times already quoted; *viz.* An Essay on the Causes and Decline of the Foreign Trade.

But as I shall take the liberty to make some few alterations from, and additions to, what this most ingenious author hath advanced, I shall put those articles in a different character, that they may be distinguished from his; and that his original plan may not be involved in any censure, which perhaps is only due to my additions and alterations.—The reasons which induced me to believe that some few things might be altered, or added for the better, shall be laid before the reader in the sequel.

An Extract from page 44, etc. of the
 Essay on the Causes and Decline of
 the Foreign Trade.

First and second PROPOSALS.

TO lay one tax on the consumers of Lu-
 xuries, and take off all our other
 taxes, excises, and customs:—and when
 that is done, to make all our ports free.

As the money-affair is always the grand
 object, something, by way of equivalent,
 must be given for the taxes taken off: as
 such the following scheme is offered.

*A Proposal for raising one only tax on the
 consumers of luxuries.*

It is hereby proposed, that all persons
 using, wearing, or drinking the following
 articles of luxury, as particularly specified,
 be obliged to take out a licence yearly, pay-
 ing each one subsidy for each article of
 three half-pence in the pound only, on the
 computed income they should have to sup-
 port the station of life they voluntarily

place themselves in, by the article of luxury they use, wear, or drink, as by the example following.

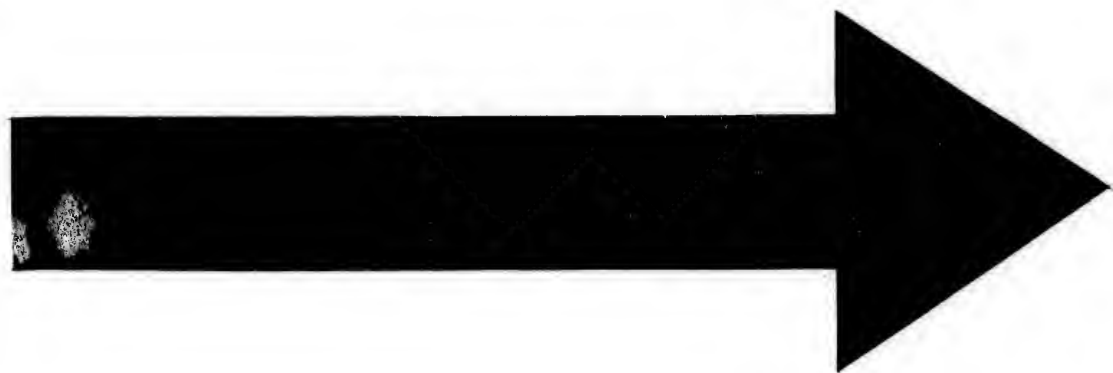
ARTICLES of LUXURY.	Computed Income.	Tax at 3 halfpence per pound.		
		£.	s.	d.
All persons		£.		
1. Keeping two coaches and six for their use	8000	50		
2. Using dishes or plates of silver at their tables, commonly called services of plate	4000	25		
3. Keeping a coach and six for their use	2000	12	10	
4. Keeping a coach and four for their use	1000	6	5	
5. Drinking French wines in their houses or lodgings	1000	6	5	
6. Keeping a coach and two for their use	800	5		
Chariots, four-wheel chaises, etc. are included in the term coach.				
7. Wearing jewels for their dress (besides necklaces, solitaires, rings, or ear-rings)	800	5		
8. Keeping a sedan chair for their use	800	5		
9. Wearing gold and silver, men on their coats and hats; and women on their gowns and shoes	500	3	2	6
10. Using silver plate for their side-boards or tables (not having services)	250	1	11	3
11. Using China services, viz. dishes and plates at their tables	250	1	11	3
12. Wearing necklaces or solitaires of jewels for their dress (besides rings or ear-rings)	250	1	11	3
13. Keeping a chair or chaise with one horse for their use	250	1	11	3
14. Keeping a pack of hounds	250	1	11	3
15. Keeping a man, or men servants in livery, or to wait at table	250	1	11	3
16. Keeping more saddle-horses than one	250	1	11	3

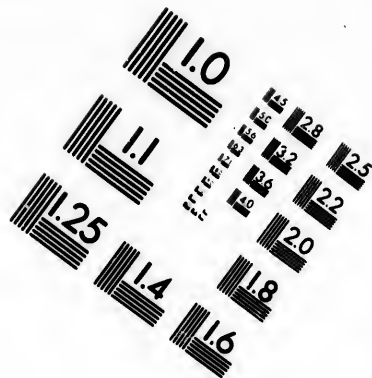
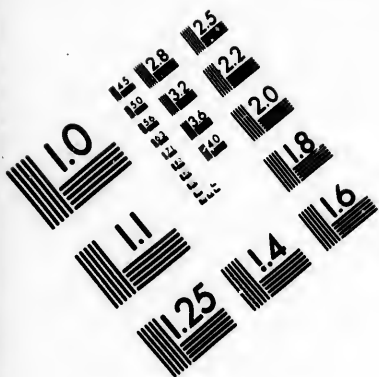
ons to it, as, I hope, are consistent with his good design. I shall therefore make no apology for each particular alteration; and only observe with respect to the 5th and the 17th articles, *i. e.* the distinction between drinking French wines, and other wines, which are the principal alterations, that they both seem to me to be highly necessary. The author indeed makes no difference throughout the treatise between promoting the consumption of French wine or Port wine, as if it was the same to the commerce of this kingdom: but, though I acknowledge with pleasure the instruction I have received in other parts of the science of commerce, I cannot follow him in this; and must still stick to the maxims of all the former writers on trade, till I can see more reason to alter my opinion. If French clarets, Burgundy, and Champagne, were as cheap as Port, few men would hesitate long which to choose. The British merchant, I think, has satisfactorily proved, that were we to abolish all duties on French goods, and they to do the same on English (as was partly the scheme of the ministry during the four last years of queen Anne) the consequence would be, at least, for a great ma-

ny years, that England would be over-run with French silks, laces, wines, brandies, cloths, stuffs, ribbands, fans, toys, *etc.* And the French would take very little or nothing in return, more than at present. The experiment therefore which he proposes, seems to me too hazardous; the bad effects of it would be violent and instantaneous, and the good ones very slow and gradual; so that the patient would be in danger of expiring, as is often the case, before the medicine can operate.

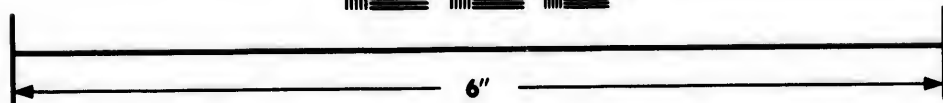
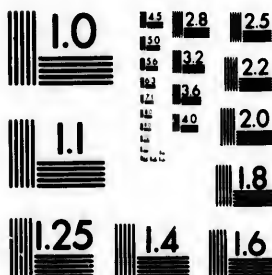
Besides, were we to give such encouragement to the French wines, as is here supposed, what would become of our Portugal trade? which, as to the balance of it, is worth two thirds of all the rest. The court of Portugal would lay an high duty, and perhaps a prohibition, upon all British commodities, the moment they found we did not give due encouragement to theirs: which indeed by public treaty we are bound to do. And the French have always viewed this gainful trade with a longing eye; and would be glad to put in for it, if they found any opening.

But to return; as to the scheme in general, it is certainly very good. Perhaps the





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valuation of the income supposed necessary for some few of the principal articles is set too high; being, I presume, calculated for the meridian of London, and the adjacent counties: whereas the calculation should have been made more upon a medium with the more distant parts of the kingdom, where things are much cheaper. But this is a trifle; and might easily be rectified. It is sufficient, that the scheme is good in itself, and is still capable of great improvements.

The author in the next place gives a general rule, "That all articles of the same degree, or under the article paid for, are included in it." i. e. if I understand him rightly, the greater includes the less. For instance, if a person pays for a coach and six, he is thereby entitled to use a coach and four, a chariot, a one horse chaise, or any other vehicle he pleases. If he enters a whole service of plate, he may use side boards, and all other plate besides. If he takes out a licence for drinking French wines, the same will serve for Port, Spanish, or any other, for rum and brandy; and so on.

Indeed, as to playing at cards, *&c.* I cannot allow this to be comprehended under the article of going to see public diversions,

not only because in the one case, persons are rather spectators than actors, but also because gaming of every kind ought to be discountenanced as much as possible.

I add also, what I conceive the author has omitted, that the highest article which any man enters, gives the lead to all the rest; so that he is to pay for each of the succeeding the same which he pays for the first. If a person enters a coach and six, and pays twelve pounds ten shillings, according to the rates in the table, he is to pay the same sum for every other article he enters. And there are the following weighty reasons for it: first, that by so doing, this scheme becomes the most excellent sumptuary law, that ever was devised: and secondly, that it is just and reasonable each person should pay in proportion to what he uses of any commodity: now the most probable grounds we can go upon (for the affair will not admit of certainty and demonstration) is, that persons in general live in proportion to the figure they make. A person, who keeps a coach and six, is supposed to have more wine drank in his family than one who keeps only a single chariot, and to use a greater quantity in proportion of eve-

ry other article, which he enters; and therefore in all reason and justice, he should pay the more.

The next article that he proposes is, 'That husbands should pay for their wives the one fourth of the article they pay for themselves, to entitle them to use the same; and that the parents should pay for each child under age the one eight of the article they pay for themselves, to entitle them to use the same.' Here again I am sorry I find myself obliged to differ from the worthy author. If the husband is taxed for his wife, and parents for their children in proportion to their numbers; this would be making too near approaches to the fault the author had himself so justly condemned in our present system. Besides, when a man has a family, he is necessarily obliged to enter more articles than he would do, were he single. And it would be a great and discouraging hardship for the heads of families to pay these articles, or any part of them, over again, on the account of their wives and children. Moreover, I do not see how we could rightly distinguish which articles belonged to the husband, which to the wife, and which to the children. It

therefore seems to me a more equitable way, that the husband or parent be responsible for the whole family, and be considered, as if he entered all the articles of his single self. If the family are extravagant, and will use more articles of luxury than his circumstances will afford, it is his business to restrain them: and the present plan makes it his immediate interest, as well as duty so to do.

The author then proposes, 'That bachelors should be doubly taxed, if of twenty one years of age.'—This, with submission, is too soon: suppose rather, that they paid a single tax for each article, till they arrived at twenty five years; and then were trebly taxed, till they married; and that widowers likewise without children, if upwards of thirty, and under forty five, were doubly taxed.

The author then recommends, that all persons, such as he there reckons up, who get their living by the luxuries and extravagance of others, should be obliged to pay for every article they enter, as if they had an income of five hundred pounds a year.—But here I think there is not a sufficient distinction made between the different

classes of these people; seeing that, according to him, all must pay alike, from the meanest ale-house to the greatest tavern; which surely is a very unequal way of taxing, and not at all agreeable to his own just maxims. Suppose therefore, instead of fixing upon any particular sum, that each of these persons should tax himself, by his way of living, according as others do, but only much higher, *viz.* that all keepers of taverns, coffee-houses, dancing-rooms, public gardens, ale-houses, &c. and that all players, show-men, &c. should be trebly taxed, as long as they continue in such professions; and that even this should be doubled on all those, who retail French wines or brandies.

But undoubtedly the way and manner of levying such a tax, is the point which merits most the attention of the public. And on this head, the worthy author has given great specimens of an uncommon sagacity and penetration. I shall not stay to repeat all his rules and directions, but refer those who are disposed, to the treatise itself. But there is one point, which particularly deserves to be mentioned for its singularity and contrivance, and as it is the master-key to all the rest: and that is, the method

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which he has taken to make each person immediately interested in detecting the frauds and impositions of his neighbours. He observes, in the first place, that as the whole scheme is a tax upon vanity, the very nature of this passion betrays itself, and will not be concealed: consequently, there can be little room for defrauding the revenue in such a case. — But suppose a few frauds should be attempted in some particular circumstances; then the following method, which he proposes, is the most effectual way of detecting them, viz. let each person for the first year voluntarily tax himself according to the station of life he chooses to appear in; and let him take out a licence of the proper officer in each district, specifying the several articles he enters: let a parish register be kept of all the money so raised in the year within that parish; and let the tax so collected, be a standard for laying on the parish rates of church, poor, lamps, scavengers, and all other parochial or county payments for the ensuing year. The consequence will be, that those who pay most, will naturally detect such of their neighbours as use any of the articles above-mentioned without entering them; because

in so doing, they cause this latter burden of taxes to light the easier upon themselves, and oblige their neighbours to contribute their quota with them. And as the author proposes, that the suspected person should be charged with the *onus probandi*, or justification of himself, this would still facilitate the scheme. And the idea of an informer would be very far from being considered in that contemptible and detestable light it is at present, when the best, the greatest, and those who make the most splendid figure in each parish, would be of the number.

This tax is proposed by the author to be laid on the first year without taking off any other, in order to have a fund aforesaid, and to pay our national debt the faster, and also to see what it would amount to. Then he proposes, that all other taxes should be abolished year by year, as this increases, and is found adequate to supply their places.

I will therefore single out a gentleman of two hundred and fifty pounds income by the year, with a wife and four children: and I will suppose that he enters every article he well can, and compare that tax with the present, in order to see what advantages may be reaped by it.

A gentleman of 250 l. per annum, living something profusely, enters,

1. A service of China, which includes all other articles of China	6	11	4
2. A side-board of plate; all other plate (except services) included	1	11	3
3. Jewels, viz. necklaces and solitaires, rings and ear-rings included	1	11	3
4. A two-wheeled chaise	1	11	3
5. A pack of hounds; grey-hounds, guns, nets, etc. included	1	11	3
6. Men-servants in livery, or to wait at table	1	11	3
7. Saddle horses	1	11	3
8. Port, and all wines (except French) rum, brandy, and spirits included	1	11	3
9. Gold and silver in dress (except on coats, hats, shoes, and gowns) silk, and silk-stuffs included	1	11	3
10. Going to plays; all other diversions included	1	11	3
11. Pictures, prints, etc.	1	11	3
12. Tea, coffee, and chocolate	1	11	3
13. Looking glasses	1	11	3
14. Playing at cards	1	11	3
Total, which this gentleman would pay for his annual licence	21	17	6
Deduct three pence in the pound expences in collecting, which is about			6

(Remainder clear to the government)

Whereas a gentleman of the same income, let him be as frugal as he will can, pays at present for himself, his wife, children, and family, in duties, customs, and excises to the king, and perquisites to offi-

cers of the customs, with all their train of enhancing consequences, almost double the former; though the neat produce, which comes clear to the government, is full one third less, by the following estimation.

1. The gentleman is charged with the king's duty, customs and excise, for all the salt, soap, leather, candle, (and perhaps coal) all the malt and hops (and perhaps ale, beer, cyder and perry) all the wine, brandy, rum, and spirits, the sugar, raisins, currants, lemons, oranges, tobacco; the tea, coffee, and chocolate, and other articles used and consumed by himself and family: which, if he is very saving, perhaps may amount to no more than about $200 \text{ } \text{£}$.
2. He is charged with the primary kind of advances on each of these articles, i. e. the advances which the person, who first pays the duty, makes on the next buyer, and he on the next, till it comes to the consumer, who must pay for all; which at least must amount to $200 \text{ } \text{£}$.
3. He is charged with all secondary kind of advances, i. e. the reciprocal advances of the price of labour, provisions, and all commodities, which tradesmen, landlords, and all people concerned, make upon one another.—This must at least amount to as much more $200 \text{ } \text{£}$.

Total paid at present, even with good economy $600 \text{ } \text{£}$.

The nature of primary and secondary advances may be best explained by an illustration of both in the same trade. Suppose A. by trade a shoemaker: he buys his leather of the tanner and currier, and pays to them the king's duty, with their advances upon it: he charges this duty, with the addition of their advances, and a new one of his own, upon the shoes he sells. This is the nature of all primary advances,

But though the gentlemen concerned pay 20 s. 6 d. per annum for the duties and their consequences, yet the original duty to the king was

no more than 10 s. 0 d. Deduct therefore one third at least for collecting 6 12 0

Remains clear to the government 13 6 0

I have here allowed one third for collecting: and whoever considers the vast expence which the government is at, especially in the salt and customs, will be apt to conclude, that I have not allowed enough. As there is a draw-back upon all salt exported, and salt for the use of the fisheries;

be they multiplied ever so often. The interest of the money so paid and used in trade, as matters now stand, make it necessary that they should be.

But this is not all: for A. finds that B. C. D. E. F. G. etc. that is, the butchers, brewers, bakers, farmers, cheesemongers, chandlers, grocers, clothiers, tailors, and in short, all the tradesmen whom he deals with, do likewise charge him with their respective advances. Therefore as he has no resource but what his occupation brings in, he charges his shoes, as it were again, with a secondary advance, in order to answer their demands. Thus the matter goes round, they charging him, and he them; till the original price of each one's commodities is increased to a prodigious imaginary value. It is therefore no longer to be wondered at, that a pair of shoes, which doth not pay four pence duty to the king, is yet enhanced a shilling, or more in the price, since the duty laid upon leather, and other the like necessaries of life. Whereas no such thing can happen according to the nature of the scheme here recommended: all necessaries of life, being duty-free, and without advances of any kind.

therefore it is necessary to have salt officers in all the ports and creeks of the kingdom, to prevent frauds and impositions upon this account. An amazing expence which this amounts to! And as to the customs; there is not one port in ten (except the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Southampton, Hull, Newcastle, Lynn, Leith, and Glasgow) which enter merchandize enough to defray the expences of their own officers. — What a difference is this, in comparison to the scheme proposed! in that, as it is proposed, that each person shall be obliged to come and enter, and pay the money without any farther expence, three pence in the pound would be full sufficient for the salary of the receiver and his clerk: in this, six shillings and eight pence will scarcely satisfy for the collecting of twenty shillings, even by computing all upon an average. So that though the subject, with all his oeconomy, pays annually forty pounds, the king receives but one third of it, viz. thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence: whereas in the other case, the subject would pay but twenty one pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence, though he appeared in a much gayer scene of life. And yet the govern-

ment would receive, clear of all charges, twenty one pounds twelve shillings, which is upwards of one third more. What then would it have been, had they both lived in the same degree of gaiety and profuseness? Such a scheme therefore, as here proposed, one would think, should recommend itself. For all persons in the nation would find their account in it at the long run, if they could have the patience to look forward, and were not so contracted in their views, as to be chained down to the present advantage of private interest. — But what has been already mentioned, is only one good consequence, out of a multitude of others which would attend it. For as it would render all things cheaper, it would necessarily increase our foreign trade, enrich our country, employ our poor, increase the stock of inhabitants, raise the real value of all our lands and commodities, and depress the present imaginary and fictitious one; as there would be no duty upon importation, it would invite more persons to engage in trade; and prevent the very possibility of smuggling: as all ports would be open, every part of the kingdom would have a fair and equal chance; and

the sunshine of commerce and plenty would be diffused equally throughout: above all, it would be attended with two excellent consequences, which deserve to be more particularly noted, as we have little of the kind now existing. For first, it would be a most excellent sumptuary law, to give a check to the luxury and extravagance of the age. The highest article which a man enters giving the lead to all the rest, would make it his immediate interest, to go as low as possible; so that he would find himself under a continual monitor to forego his pleasures, till he could better afford to pay for them. His aspiring vanity would be checked by the consideration, that he is to pay the more for every other succeeding article in consequence of the first. Secondly, it would be a tax, which no man could complain of, as it would be his own voluntary act and deed, to rate himself in this or that class, and to appear either in an higher or a lower station of life.

But alas! after all, what can we expect from such a world as this?—The scheme before us is of too enlarged and noble a nature, to be rightly comprehended and tra-

ly relished by narrow and contracted minds. It clashes with the present interest of too many persons, to be likely to succeed. And I am afraid, it may apply to this author, the words I heard in a case not very different from it: *Sir, 'tis all right; but it will never do. — it is too honest.*

However, there is a satisfaction in offering things right and honest to public consideration, whether they are accepted, or not. It is a laudable passion to be willing to do the most extensive good. And there are not many men, though many may be honest and upright in their private capacity, who think themselves concerned to be active and indefatigable in promoting the welfare of the community. The case with the selfish and designing is quite the reverse: they are ever vigilant and industrious in defeating every measure, which is not calculated for their own private advantage, to the detriment of others. Their craft is endangered by such a system: and therefore they always cry it down, and are zealous in opposing it.

Thus it is, that in most contests, where the public good is concerned, a few knavish and dishonest persons are an over-match by

their zeal and activity for greater numbers, who are more negligent and indifferent. Every generous and disinterested proposal naturally alarms all those, who prey upon the public. — But let the event be what it will, an honest man, who doth his duty, enjoys that satisfaction which they are strangers to.

T H E E N D .

