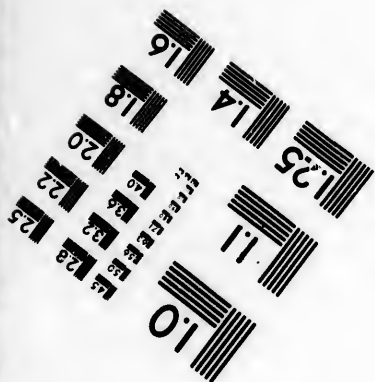
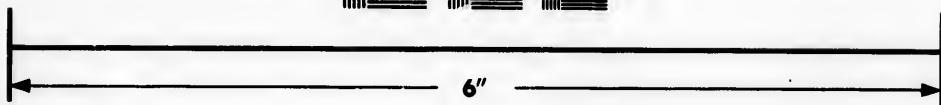
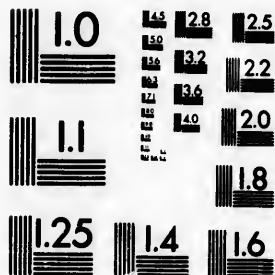


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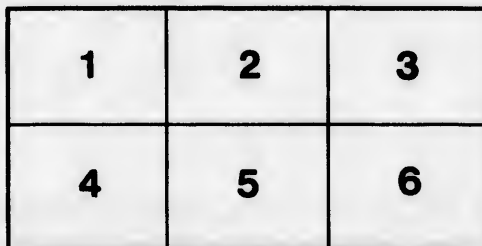
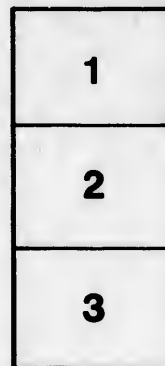
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POLITICAL
E S S A Y S
CONCERNING THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE;

PARTICULARLY RESPECTING

I. NATURAL ADVANTAGES and DISADVANTAGES.	IV. MANUFACTURES.
II. CONSTITUTION.	V. The COLONIES.
III. AGRICULTURE.	AND
	VI. COMMERCE.

LONDON:

Printed for W. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, in the Strand;

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INTRODUCTION.

POLITICS admit of two grand divisions; first, the politics of THINGS; and, secondly, the politics of PERSONS. The first is of universal benefit, and can never be too much discussed; the latter too often degenerates into PARTY; not, however, to the exclusion of useful reasoning. The Author of the *present State of Europe* has given us an admirable example of this better part of personal politics. An hundred thousand writers have exhibited the dark side of the object. In the POLITICS OF THINGS, we have many authors who have done honour to their country; Petty,—Davenant, — &c.

These writers abound principally in facts; the knowledge of them in all the variations of which they are susceptible, cannot but be of great importance to the collective interests of every country. It is necessary to make a distinction between a people *collectively* and *separately* considered; the collective interests are politics; the separate ones, the private affairs of individuals. The politics of a kingdom require a certain revenue for public expences; and as the private affairs of individuals are, in a great measure, dependent on the state of the public, the interest of each is mutual. It is therefore of consequence to every individual, that the collective body of the state be rich and powerful enough to maintain its independency; and to defend, secure, and protect all its members in the variety of intercourse which is necessary among neighbouring nations.

The complicated political interests which the numerous improvements and refinements of modern times have given rise to, are all founded, and depend on, REVENUE. In luxurious ages, money does every thing. Is a kingdom rich? An affirmative to this query includes every thing.

The ease of raising a sufficient public revenue is the great object of useful politics. A gentleman at London, who lives in an excellent house, well furnished; keeps an equipage, and is attended by the servants he

chuses; his table is good, regular; he is well, and, if he pleases, elegantly clothed; and, besides these circumstances, enjoys such luxuries as he pleases, consistently with his fortune. Now, says such a gentleman, What is it to me whether the soil in Cornwall is well or ill cultivated? In what am I the better for the manufactures at Manchester, Birmingham or Sheffield, flourishing? What interest have I in the prosperity of trade with countries I never heard of? If the farmers, manufacturers, or merchants, grow rich, shall I have a share of their profit? Or if they starve, am I to starve with them? "What therefore are the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, to me? Or how does the population of England affect my purse? Is it a doit the heavier for our having ten millions of souls, instead of five?"

Now, without entering into a particular inquiry concerning the connection of the income of an individual with the general interests of either agriculture, manufactures or commerce, though probably it would be found intimately connected in all cases; I shall confine myself to the public revenue alone. A certain revenue is at all times so necessary, that it *must* be raised; and if not with ease, with difficulty and oppression. *Revenue* is raised on *income*; the greater the latter, the easier is the former levied. Income flows from agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The ease of raising the public revenue is therefore in direct proportion to the quantity of income. This state of the case therefore, at once answers the gentleman's queries. Suppose him a landlord; *Of what use to me the prosperity of trade?* Let the question be changed; *Of what use to landlords, the raising two or three millions in customs?* If this revenue fails, it must be made good by land-tax and excises. Suppose him a merchant; *Of what good to me is the flourishing of manufactures?* Excises bring in four millions a year; where would our merchants profit be, if they were added to the customs. Thus the circle goes round; income in general carries the burden: whether that income is fifty millions, or five hundred, the case is the same; if the five hundred drops to fifty, the burden of five hundred will fall on fifty. No man therefore, whatever his business, art or profession, is uninterested in the prosperity of any thing that adds income to the state. A merchant at Berwick is benefited by the improvement of waste acres in Cornwall. A manufacturer at Exeter has

INTRODUCTION.

an advantage from commerce at Glasgow. A physician at York is the better for a tailor's income at Salisbury. —The Exchequer flourishes from the profit of all. — It is therefore of universal consequence, that INCOME increases. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are the three grand pillars; consequently, improvements in them demand the greatest attention.

But before a thing can be *improved*, it must be *known*. Hence the utility of those publications that abound in facts, either in the offer of new, or the elucidation of old ones. This utility has been my aim throughout the following papers. I have endeavoured to lay before the reader the best account of the subject whereof I treat, that I have been able to obtain. A vast number of valuable particulars on these subjects are scattered through numerous volumes. I have drawn them all into single points of view, and given the averages of all the variations. Such a method cannot well fail of disclosing the truth, or at least more satisfactory particulars than most accounts, separately taken.

I am encouraged to venture my labours to the public eye, by the omissions of other writers.—No book at present in the English language gives us the state of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. No writer has drawn into one view the multifarious scraps of intelligence in any of these subjects.

The reader is therefore desired to overlook the rashness of attempting all; especially if he finds in each some useful facts which he did not possess before.

The particulars of which these sheets consist, were thrown together at many various times. They were begun some years ago. In the course of the political part of my reading, as I met with facts that appeared useful, I minuted them under respective heads. This practice I continued until I found my papers of a bulk that surprized me. I then revised and compared my intelligence. I found, in many instances, accounts of the same thing, that varied much; products, manufactures, imports, exports, &c. represented by different writers with much variety. When none of the accounts appeared to be such as required rejecting, I calculated the averages

INTRODUCTION.

ages of all. In other cases, when I was extremely desirous of rendering accounts complete, I have been forced to have recourse to many authors; and supply from one what was deficient in another. But that the reader may every where know my authority, I have referred to every volume and page used.

The state of the British colonies demanded a particular attention; and I flatter myself the reader will in this work find a more particular account of their agriculture, staples, manufactures, commerce, population, imports and exports, than in any book hitherto offered to the public.

CON-

C O N T E N T S.

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ESSAY I.

Of the natural Advantages and Disadvantages of the
BRITISH DOMINIONS.

THESE particularly respect,

1. *Situation.*
2. *Climate.*
3. *Extent.*
4. *Soil, and its Productions.*
5. *Rivers and Ports.*

SECTION I.

Of their Situation.

THE British dominions consist of Great Britain, Ireland, and divers colonies and settlements in all parts of the world: there appears not any just reason for considering these countries in any other light than as parts of one whole. In a too common acceptance of the above title, the European dominions are only meant; but the Irish might as well be thought foreigners as the colonists: indeed the connection between Great Britain and the latter is more intimate than with the former. To obviate therefore any objections which might be formed against a *partial* and incomplete view, the clearest method is to consider them all as forming one nation, united under one Sovereign, speaking the same language, and enjoying the same liberty, but living in different parts of the world. Nothing is more common than to talk of nine or ten millions of British subjects (the supposed number in these two islands) and five millions of Spaniards: but why are not the North Americans to be included in one total, and the Spanish colonists in the other? Such distinctions are by no means just.

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S A Y

The situation of the British dominions is most undoubtedly advantageous in a very high degree. The European territory being insular, is a blessing of the greatest and most striking value; for without recurring to the connection between that and a naval power, the benefits of preserving a national character,—of being more free from the devastation of land wars than any continental territory can be,—of being so distinct from other nations, that the government may, in a multitude of instances, be conducted in a more steady, determinate, and cheaper manner, than in countries otherwise situated: these and many other advantages attend an island, in whatever part of the world it may be situated, provided it be of size sufficient to contain a nation numerous enough for self-defence. These circumstances are almost equally advantageous in obscure ages, or those of commerce and luxury; but there are many others which are particularly relative to the latter.

In times when trade multiplies the conveniencies and superfluities of life to such a degree, that all the productions of one clime become necessities in a thousand others; the situation of a country acquires a new relation to the interests of its inhabitants; these are the interests of commerce: those territories which are so situated as to command the greatest variety of productions which necessity or luxury renders useful, and at the same time enjoy the easiest communication between each other, possess in this respect the best situation; and, unless some peculiar obstruction arises from government, national character, or some other source, will likewise command the greatest commerce. A few instances will best explain this matter.

The Spanish dominions are the best situated of any in every respect, but that of the *principal* being a part of the continent. They are the only people that possess a chain of territories around the globe, which *might have* a continued, free, and speedy communication from one to another; and this superiority results from their American ports in the South Sea, and their islands in the midst of it. It is true, they make scarce any use of these advantages, but the reality of their existence is nevertheless the same. No other people can send a ship around the world that can touch at so many necessary ports of their own; nor ought we to forget that this chain is every where composed of considerable links. It is true, a break appears between Spain and the Philippine islands; but the communication by the west most certainly answers every purpose of commerce.

But

But if we except the insular situation, and a commercial chain of territories, and speak only of the situation of a principal dominion considerable enough to maintain numbers sufficient for defence against all invaders, the tract of country comprehended under the names of *the Arabias* and *Turkey in Asia*, exceeds all others: It is every where surrounded by seas, except the line of division between that and Persia, drawn straight from the Persian gulph to the corner of the Black Sea, and the small neck of land which connects Asia and Africa. This situation is incomparable: As a part of the continent, it is more advantageous and compact than any other; and, were it an island, it would exceed in situation all other islands. By means of the Mediterranean, Red, and Black Seas, it has a prodigious fine communication with Europe and Africa; its southern coast opens directly upon all the countries of the east; and the gulph is equally advantageous for a communication with Persia; and the finest situation for both empire and commerce in the world.

The situation of the British dominions, though not equal to that of the Spanish, is greatly advantageous. All the northern parts of Europe are immediately open to the ports of England and Scotland, and the southern ones to those of Minorca and Gibraltar. Ireland, and the south-west parts of England, bear immediately upon North America; on the coast of Africa her settlements are considerable; St. Helena lies advantageously for an East India voyage; and in the Indies itself the British dominions are second to those of the Dutch, and of vast importance in themselves. These dominions fully enjoy a quick communication from Europe to the east and west; but when arrived, there is none from the one to the other: the only point in which Spain is superior. The French are greatly inferior, in the want of ports and colonies of consequence on the continent of North America; of considerable settlements in the East Indies; and of a sufficient extent of coast cut by ports in Europe. The Dutch in the East Indies * are superior; greatly inferior every where else.

But the great and material point remains: A continental territory of a moderate power in land armies, may be attacked, and if not conquered by a superior one, at least involved in a multitude of miseries; and in a variety of circumstances, no conduct, however prudent, will be sufficient

* One great point of the Dutch superiority in the East Indies, is the near neighbourhood of that vast southern continent which will one day make so great a figure in the world: an advantage, although not used, yet evidently real.

for preventing such evils. In the quarrels of bigotry, ambition, or folly, such a territory may be forced into a part, and find itself desolated by war, without a possibility of escape. But how different is the case with an island! If the situation in other respects, and the government, be favourable to commerce, a great trade may be raised, and a navy formed and supported. When once this is effected, nothing is wanting but prudent management in the administration to keep entirely clear of all the quarrels and wars that spread desolation around her. If a potentate be ever so powerful by land, of what consequence is it to the islanders? He must become so by sea before they can have reason to fear his menaces*. But this advantage can never attend any continental territory. No people so connected with others can have any tolerable security but in extremely formidable armies; and it would be a very easy matter to point out from history, how vain such a dependence has proved, chiefly from the schemes of *ambition*, not *defence*, which such armies occasion †. A nation not numerous enough to keep up powerful armies, possesses scarcely any security; whereas in an island, five millions of people may be perfectly secure, though not twenty leagues distant from a potentate at the head of thirty millions of subjects. The continental nation is insecure with all her soldiers, and she cannot render herself otherwise with the most numerous fleets: whatever efforts she makes, nothing can give her a quarter of the security which an insular situation alone confers.

It may be asked, where is the insular security, if a continental neighbour becomes superior by sea? In answer to this, it is only necessary to observe, that no earthly advantages yield *absolute* safety; inasmuch that we cannot estimate any thing but by comparison. In the case here stated, the superiority of an island yet remains evident:—such more powerful potentate cannot possibly carry on an offensive war against his island neighbour with the same ease as against a continental one: only small

* La France peut transporter son artillerie victorieuse devant toutes les places d'Allemagne et de Hollande; l'Angleterre ne craindra la France tant que la marine Française ne sera point à craindre. *Avantages et Desav. de la France et Grande Bretagne, &c. p. 89.*

† “ Comme Isle,” says M. d'Angueil, speaking of Great Britain, “ possédant une étendue suffisante de terres fertiles, elle a pu renoncer à l'esprit de conquête, et n'a point été tentée d'ajouter à son continent des terres qui auroient été à sa bienfaisance: disposition favorable à l'esprit de commerce, mais encore à sa liberté et à sa tranquillité: la constitution se conserve difficilement sans altération dans un état dont les bornes s'étendent considérablement. (Ceci soit dit sans application à nos possessions en Amérique, qui sont des acquisitions de commerce plutôt que des conquêtes.” *Avantages et Desavantages de la France et Grande Bretagne, &c. p. 79.*

armies can be transported by sea;—supporting them is infinitely more difficult; nor can the *fury* of war spread as it does on the continent. Add to this, every offensive stroke depends on the winds, tides, and security from the adverse fleets. But if we consider that there are only two species of security, the one against invasions by land, and the other against those by sea; and that a continental territory must be deficient in one, without reaping any benefit or safety from the other; and, on the contrary, that an island is necessarily and absolutely secure against armies, with a probable ability of being the same against navies; the clear superiority of the latter must be apparent at once.—Powerful armies spring up like mushrooms in every soil, but formidable fleets can only be built on the foundation of a vast trade; a fabric not commonly found. What a striking advantage therefore is the insular situation! Without even the defence of a navy, a neighbour's power by land cannot offend the happy inhabitants of an island; he must raise a commerce, command numerous sailors, and build fleets of ships, before his army can be wafted to its shores. How different with a continental neighbour! A general receives his instructions, and in six hours the grim fiend of war spreads desolation and terror in the country of the unfortunately situated enemy.

In respect, however, to the British dominions, it must be allowed, that it is only the European islands which are blessed with the security of the insular situation. The American colonies and the East-Indian territories are parts of a continent, and so far liable to attacks from enemies more powerful by land. I speak not of the improbability of such attacks in America; but the situation remains nevertheless open to them.

If we combine in one view the several circumstances of situation, such as security, national character, convenience of government, commerce, &c. we shall find that no people upon earth enjoy such advantages as the British nation. Some may be superior in one quarter of the globe, some in others: in respect of the chain of colonies, Spain may be superior; in the East Indies, the Dutch; but every circumstance included, none will be found on the whole so truly complete*.

* Were Spain and Portugal one kingdom, and separated by the sea from France, this circumstance, added to the advantages already mentioned, would render it the greatest monarchy upon earth in respect of situation; but all the blessings of situation would not be powerful enough to balance the ill effects of such a mine as Potosi. In point of situation, with respect to the surrounding parts of the globe, Madagascar is the first island upon earth: 2d. Borneo: 3d. Java and Sumatra: 4th. Japan: 5th. The British isles: 6th. Cuba. These are the only ones large enough to support an entire nation; but if climate, productions, or the superiority of Europe to the other quarters, be considered, the scale would be very different.

S E C T. II.

Of their Climate.

THE climate of the British dominions is circumstanced in the happiest manner possible. That of the *principal* in the northern part of the temperate zone, gives that vigour and robustness of body which is necessary to render its inhabitants, physically speaking, more powerful than any dependent colonies which she might plant in hotter countries. A colony from a people living in a very hot climate, transplanted into a cold one, would in a few ages infallibly shake off the yoke of the mother country. The inhabitants of the torrid zone are nearly dependent on those of the temperate: a few colonists and settlers from colder regions spread over that fiery country, command it around the whole world. The Chinese understand trade better than any other Indian nation, and therefore have escaped better. Besides enjoying vast territories in the temperate zone, they make use of the forces raised in the latter to defend the provinces situated in the former. The Great Mogul, wanting these advantages, is a despicable potentate, even to an European company of merchants. Were the productions of Persia, and the Turk's dominions, as valuable as those of Indostan, those countries would be overrun in the same manner. Again, in America the heat of climate had the same effect; the variations of heat and cold were felt as exactly as a thermometer could tell them in the courage of the Indians: the North American ones, in spite of the superiority of fire-arms, made a furious defence, cut off all the settlers several times, and preserved their liberty to this day. Not one nation was destroyed; a circumstance not only owing to the humanity of the English being so superior to that of the Spaniards, (for had the Indians been weak as women, we may readily suppose they would have been safe) but likewise to the difference between the courage of those nations; the Mexicans and Peruvians were sheep in the paws of wolves; their climate formed them so. Nay, this strong effect of cold on the courage of mankind is so invariable, that a small tribe of people inhabiting a range of mountains situated even in the torrid zone, are able, from the vigour of their bodies, and the courage of their minds, to distinguish themselves infinitely above all the slothful inhabitants of the hot surrounding plains. From whom did Alexander and Kouli Kan,
in

in their expeditions against India, meet with a repulse? From the Affgans, a tribe of mountaineers. A remarkable fact, and worthy of reflection, that the contrast between heat and cold should twice be so strikingly apparent in the same spot, and with so many intervening ages*.—But to return:

The climate of the British isles is peculiarly happy: it confers all the vigour and courage above mentioned—(glorious foundations for British liberty to build upon!)—without being so intemperately cold as to lessen the comparative value of the earth's productions. And the insular situation has a fine effect in improving the climate natural to the latitude, the winters being much less severe on that account, than in the same latitude on the continent, thus enjoying the benefits of a warmer sun, without any of its ill effects †.

When commerce becomes necessary, the inhabitants of well-peopled countries send forth colonies to settle in others. As to those which proceed merely from too great numbers of people at home, not much authority is to be placed in their history; it is at best very suspicious ‡. Here we need only speak of those which arise from views of commerce, and the acquisition of riches. When colonies are planted with that design, the inhabitants of such a climate as the British isles, if they act prudently, settle countries which produce the commodities most wanted at home; and such must necessarily be the product of different climates. If we

* Ces pais fertiles sont des plaines, où l'on ne peut rien disputer au plus fort: où se soumet donc à lui; et quand on lui est soumis, l'esprit de liberté n'y sauroit revenir; les biens de la campagne sont un gage de la fidélité. Mais dans les pais de montagnes on peut conserver ce que l'on a, et l'on peu à conserver. La liberté, c'est-à-dire, le gouvernement dont on jouit, est le seul bien, qui mérite qu'on le défende. Elle regne donc plus dans les pais montagneux et difficiles, que dans ceux que la nature sembloit avoir plus favorisés. *L'Esprit des Loix*, V. 1. B. 18. C. 2.

† The passions of mankind overturn all the order of nature: it could never be intended that the inhabitants of one zone should ravage and enslave the other at their will; nor that a certain sacrilegious attendant of cold, called the courage of mankind, should ever come in play; for the moment it does, blood and discord are the effects at once. This single circumstance is sufficient to prove, that nature knows no such quality as courage; it arises merely from vanity and opinion.

‡ We are told the Chinese are the most populous of all nations, insomuch that they are obliged to expose their children; but we do not find they send colonies on that account to the great southern continent, which they might easily do, and are better acquainted with it than we are. But this story of their being too populous deserves but little credit.

take

take a view of the scattered British dominions, we shall find in them all the climates of the *known* world. They extend from the line to the north pole, and of course might produce all the commodities common to the globe, unless a peculiarity of soil was discovered to be necessary to some. To estimate, therefore, the comparative merit of the climate of colonies, it is only necessary to compare it with that of the mother country. If they are the same, or nearly the same, the colony is useless; if entirely different, highly valuable. It is apparent from this remark, that there must be a great difference in value between the English colonies, from variation of climate.

S E C T. III.

Of their Extent.

THE extent of a country is a point of very great importance. Independence is a most valuable blessing to any people; and if a nation was to inhabit a very small tract of land, she would for ever be in danger of conquest. This matter is worthy of a little consideration, as the British isles are so small in comparison with most of the neighbouring countries.

The smallest territories which either have been, or are at present distinct from the neighbouring ones, are

Scotland	-	-	-	27,794 square miles
Ireland	-	-	-	27,457
Portugal	-	-	-	27,851
Denmark	-	-	-	14,418
Switzerland	-	-	-	12,884
Holland	-	-	-	7,546

There are some important observations to be made on this little table. All * but Scotland and Ireland have continued (but with some interruptions) distinct countries; and yet some of them are much less than either of the British ones. The reason is evident; it was for want, in part, of

* The union of Denmark and Norway was not till 1376.

a national character and language; which was particularly the case with Scotland, and likewise, in some degree, the same with Ireland, with the additional circumstance of being divided into several kingdoms. Portugal, which is nearly of the same size, has been but just able to preserve her independency; and in this case the points of language and character come again in play. The difference between Spain and Portugal in these respects is not strong. Denmark, more than any of the rest, has been connected with different neighbours. Swisserland has, and in all probability will, preserve her independency, on account of her situation, which is so rugged and remarkably strong. Holland, which is yet less, is kept alive, as an ingenious author says, "by the medicines of state policy." It may be called an independent country; but truth is stretched to admit the expression; for her being as a distinct people depends absolutely on the permission of her neighbours: any one of them could at once convert their High Mightiness into lowliness*, were it not for the assistance of other powers; and this weakness exists, notwithstanding prodigious populousness, and a vast commerce.

From these circumstances it appears, that an independent territory must consist of a greater extent of country than these, or possess some other peculiar advantages; such, for instance, as the rugged rocks of Swisserland. Sicily, an island, and very near as large as Swisserland, has, ever since the time of the Romans, followed the fortune of Italy. As to the divisions of Germany and Italy, notwithstanding their size are exceptions for being parts of a whole, the inhabitants having the same character, speaking the same language, &c. &c. changes in the sovereignty often happen, without being considered as revolutions of national importance.

England itself, though containing 49,450 square miles, figures very poorly in point of size with the other countries of Europe. But the united dominion of the two islands, with the prodigious advantage of their languages and characters being more alike than those of any two nations totally distinct, forms a national independency, so firmly fixed on the surest foundations, that none in Europe exceeds it.

* Je dis que cette republique n'a aquis ce titre (*puissance*) qu'à la faveur des intérêts politiques de l'Europe. La Hollande, malgré ses richesses, est un état précaire. *Les Intérêts de la France mal entendus*, Vol. 2. p. 273.

The detached parts of the British dominions in respect of extent, are prodigious: The North American colonies are alone supposed to contain, by different accounts, from 1,600,000 square miles to upwards of 2,000,000, and by others nearer 3,000,000; besides the West India islands, and the settlements in the East Indies; tracts of lands so prodigious, that there are few countries in the world equal to them. Indeed this vast extent of the North American colonies is by no means an advantage in itself; for all the benefits resulting from colonies would proceed in a much securer manner from others of much less size; and especially as such a vast part of them is in a climate which can produce but little that is wanted in Britain.

S E C T. IV.

Of their Soil and Productions.

THESSE are points of very great importance; for in many cases the very being of a people depends on the productions of their soil. Those of the British isles are chiefly corn, cattle, lead, tin, &c. such as tend to the maintenance of a numerous people, and yield them plenty of employment. Universal experience proves that such products are to be esteemed infinitely beyond diamonds, gold and silver: Mines of such rich commodities are only found in the torrid zone; that is, in the territories of people unable to defend them. But were they to be found amidst the most courageous people, there is great reason to believe they would change the characteristic of the nation; this has been nearly the case with Spain since she possessed herself of the Indies. But less valuable, although more necessary productions, conduce to industry and labour, employ greater numbers of people, and keep such people more virtuous.

A most sensible modern author expresses himself on this subject with great justice:—"The soil of Switzerland, in general, is, perhaps, that very sort of soil, which a sober, sensible, industrious nation ought to wish for. It pours not forth its vegetable productions spontaneously; but there is a force of nature in it sufficient to produce great return, if virtue and diligence are the cultivators. The sagacious Machiavel seems to think that a rich soil tends to lessen the industry of people that inhabit it; and if a nation like that of the Switzers is contented with the por-

tion of land it enjoys, and meditates no future acquisitions of territory, then a tract of a earth which yields its productions with *some difficulty*, will, in the long run, make its inhabitants a wealthy, happy, and powerful community.—A rich soil easy to be cultivated, naturally inclines the inhabitants to indolence and remissness: And hence it is that travellers of the best sense have remarked that the cause of there being so many savage nations in America, is the fertility of the earth, and the vast supplies of animal food without care or trouble.* He then quotes from Burnet, that the country of the Grisons, who have *almost no soil at all*, is well peopled and they live at their ease, whereas Lombardy, the finest in the world, has nothing but poverty and beggary over the whole, and then goes on—“Thus in Portugal, where the soil is richest (as on the northern banks of the Duero) there the inhabitants are poorest.—Nature, with a small variation of more or less, has been almost equally bountiful to all her *industrious* children in all places. I lay some stress on the word industrious, because it is evident that the richest soils in themselves, if the cultivator is indolent and unattentive, do not always produce the largest and best crops. In this sense let us compare England and Sweden with Italy and Louisiana, and we shall soon find that the scale preponderates in favour of art and labour*.”

The soil of the British isles is such as this most ingenious author gives a due encomium on: It will, in point of fertility, bear no comparison with the greatest part of Europe: But this deficiency is (as here proved) no inconsiderable excellency: The soil of Spain is so rich, that its husbandmen raise the brightest and firmest wheat in Christendom, and yet have no idea of destroying weeds, and scratch the ground instead of plowing it †: But compare the English and Spanish husbandry—What a contrast! The Spaniards have scarce ever a sufficiency of bread.

The soil of these kingdoms is, upon the whole, what would be considered in all the southern parts of Europe as very indifferent. England

* *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 74, 75, 76, 88. That great genius M. de Montesquieu saw likewise the effects of soils with peculiar penetration: Les pais ne sont pas cultivés en raison de leur fertilité, mais en raison de leur liberté; & si l'on divise la terre par la pensée, on sera étonné de voir la plupart du tems des déserts dans ses parties les plus fertiles & de grands peuples dans celles où la terre semble refuser tout. *De L'Esprit des Loix*, V. 1, p. 392. *Edin. Edit.* And in another place, La stérilité des terres rend les hommes industrieux, sobres, endurcis au travail, courageux, propres à la guerre; il faut bien qu'ils se procurent ce que le terrain leur refuse, p. 393.

† *Essays*, p. 83.

and Ireland contain vast tracts of what her own inhabitants reckon bad; and Scotland vastly more. The medium of the three is such a soil as requires most unremitting diligence to render fertile in any considerable degree: We ought not therefore to conclude that it is more peculiar to the production of corn than that of our neighbours; but this seems to be the mistake of an author, who on many subjects abounds with sensible remarks. He says, "Trees are known by their fruit, and land by the corn and grass it produces, which are the fruits of the earth; and in which no part of the world that we have seen exceeds England and Ireland. Both the strong and loamy soil, and moist climate, equally contribute to produce the greatest plenty of these necessaries of life, which are the support both of man and beast, and on which all others depend. This is like the soil that is more peculiarly adapted to wheat, the trade in which the French, for that reason, will find themselves very much mistaken in their expectations of getting from England. There is but one *pays de beauce* in all France, but there are many such in England. Even the poorer and sandy lands in England frequently have a loamy sand at bottom, and as what we have seen called a clayey foundation in other countries*.

According to this opinion, the greatest quantities of wheat should be produced on the best soil, which is an absolute contradiction to the *facts* I just quoted from the *Essays on Husbandry*. This moist soil, let it be as rich as it will, is nothing to industry; it would therefore be a most ridiculous presumption to depend upon the goodness of our soil for keeping the corn trade from the French; for most assuredly we shall find our mistake if we let that nation exceed us in industry: It is not the want of a good soil that has hitherto kept their husbandry back, but the oppression their laws and constitution are upon the industry of the husbandman. If this same moist soil is so peculiar to wheat, how comes the Spanish wheat to weigh bushel for bushel ten pounds more than the English †. Indeed the idea of our soil being peculiarly good for the production of corn and grass, is absurd in another light, as those vegetables are universal growers, provided they are cultivated with diligence and skill ‡. And wheat succeeds no where better than in Chili in South America.

I have insisted thus much on corn, as it is by far the most important product of all others.—It is that which maintains the most people, and

* *Present state of Great Britain and North America*, p. 81.

† The difference is as 73 to 63. *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 99.

‡ *Ib.* 89.

renders such people the most independent*. But besides corn, the British isles are extremely happy in the mines with which they abound. Those of iron might be considerable, if necessity obliged the working them; the importance of this commodity needs no enlarging on. Those of copper, lead and tin, are of great consequence, and the latter a monopoly; but none of them are perhaps of equal value with those of coal; for by means of such vast plenty of this kind of fuel, the less quantity of fire-wood is necessary, and of course the more land is applied to the production of corn: This is an advantage not equally boasted by any country in Europe; and in France the want of it is so heavily felt, that severe laws are made against decreasing the quantity of land covered with wood, which is necessarily a bar to the raising plenty of corn. Wood is the worst crop a soil can support, for it is not only useless in the point of feeding people—but at the same time employs scarce any; grass employs but few, but then it feeds many. What a prodigious beneficial production therefore is coal! which yields an opportunity of converting such vast tracts of woods into arable lands †.

It may not be amiss to observe likewise in this place, that mines of such bulky and little comparatively valuable commodities, as I have just mentioned, are by no means open to the objections so rationally formed against those of precious stones, gold and silver. The former yield no such compendious method of becoming rich, but employ a numerous body of hardy, daring and valuable men, to dig up their products; many more in the carriage and manufacturing, and when the whole process is completed, the return of profit is far from being so great, as to spread such a spirit of indolence as universally attends the superior produce of more valuable mines †.

The soils and productions of the detached parts of the British dominions, are as various as the climates in which they are situated; but the

* In respect of cattle there are none peculiar but sheep, the wool of which is found so much superior to that of many other countries: This product employs vast numbers of people, but perhaps not many more than an inferior sort would. But this is doubtful.

† It surely is needless to except timber, the immense value of which in relation to a navy must be obvious, and will be treated of in another place.

‡ Salt is likewise a most valuable production, it being (in these ages at least) a necessary of life, which if not produced must be bought. And lastly, the seas which enclose these islands are richly stored with shoals of infinitely precious fish. What vast multitudes of people nearly subsist on herrings! it is our fault they are not of our own catching.

value.

value of them can only be estimated with a view to their usefulness in a commercial light; for the European islands producing every thing necessary for the life of man, the colonies were planted for superfluous commodities, which must be procured by trade of other nations, if not produced at home: The American dominions will in this light be found of infinite consequence. The West India islands produce sugar, rum, coffee, and a long train of most valuable *et ceteras*. The southern continental settlements, rice, indico, cotton, silk, vines, hemp and flax, &c. The middle ones, tobacco and iron mines; and both the last a vast variety of prodigiously valuable timbers of all kinds. Further north, I say nothing of the soil*, but the sea is filled with an inexhaustible treasure in the cod fish †. If we take a view of the whole earth's productions, we shall find none of consequence beyond these mentioned but spices and tea, both of which there is the greatest reason to believe might be produced in some of the above named American dominions ‡.

It is not necessary to examine here into the diversity of opinions relative to particular parts of these American dominions, which are most proper for the best productions; all accounts agree that they are to be produced in vast quantities in them, however they may vary in other respects.

It may be asserted, without the imputation of a paradox, that the detached parts of the British dominions are of infinitely greater advantage to the principal than those of Spain; but at the same time it must be confessed, that the inferiority of the latter is owing to the possession of their mines; were it not for these, their American dominions most undoubtedly might, under *proper regulations*, be of equal, at least, if not superior benefit. I lay some stress on the *regulations*, as the contrast between the climate of Old and New Spain is not so strong as between the British isles and some of the British colonies, from whence it results, that greater precautions and more political management are necessary with the former than with the latter. Nor are the settlements of the French, Portuguese or Dutch, to be compared with the British ones, in point of soil and products.—I but touch on this subject at present, as it will be treated more particularly hereafter.

* The fur trade is too inconsiderable to come into this list.

† The East Indian and African settlements are not those of agriculture, but *merely* commerce.

‡ It will be necessary to speak more of these, when the *improvements* of which the colonies are susceptible are treated of.

S E C T. V.

Of their Rivers and Ports.

DURING the first ages of the world, while mankind were contented with the mere necessaries of life, an easy carriage was of no great importance: The implements of husbandry and a few handicraft trades were all the materials they wanted to move. Food their granary and flocks supplied. Their garments were of their own spinning and weaving, and their houses built with the timber which grew nearest. Nothing but instruments required any carriage. But when commerce arose, and the wants of mankind multiplied, exchanges between countries became common, till at last the vast fabric encreased to its present immense magnitude.

In this age none but inconsiderable branches of trade can be carried on by land carriage; the expences of which are so great, that no manufactures or products will support them. From this circumstance arises the necessity of navigation: Every other advantage that can be named will not make amends for the want of this. The British dominions, beyond a doubt, exceed in this respect, the whole world. Great Britain, from the shape, must necessarily have a vast extent of sea-coast; and fortunately that coast is almost every where intersected by admirable ports; insomuch that there is not a village in the island above seventy miles from some one of consequence enough for the exportation of every kind of commodities; an advantage unknown to most countries. Ireland is on every side surrounded by the best havens in Europe. Nor is it alone in ports that the British isles are so remarkably happy; in respect of rivers they are no less distinguished. An inland navigation extends throughout both the islands, so that there is scarce a town but what stands on a navigable river; the advantages of which are infinite to exportation.

The other countries of Europe are very much inferior to these islands in respect of navigation; none of them have such an extent of sea-coast—none such a plenty of good ports in the coasts they have.* Spain

* Sir William Temple, speaking of the superior force of the west winds causing the heaps of sand which block up the Dutch ports, says—“This I presume is likewise the natural reason of so many deep and commodious havens found upon all the English side of the Channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the French and Dutch: An advantage seeming to be given us by nature, and never to be equalled by any art or expence of our neighbours.” Works, Folio, Vol. ii. p. 44.

possesses

possesses a very extended coast with many good havens, but not to be compared in any circumstance with the British Isles. Italy has yet more coast, but her ports are inferior, and her general situation a more local one. France, in these points, ranks below Spain, and there are no other territories, in these respects, worth naming.

Nor are the rivers of these, or any other country in Europe, equal to those of the British islands, if we consider them merely as the means of an easy transportation of commodities. In respect of length and breadth many exceed them, but the shape of these isles render a small river as advantageous here, as a large one when the course must be much longer. It may be said the Danube by far exceeds the Thames; granted, in length of course; but it is not of an hundredth part of the consequence to Germany that the Thames is of to England: Without instancing the Thames, there are many small rivers in England, Scotland and Ireland, that answer all the purposes of navigation into the very heart of the country, as well as much larger ones could do: this great advantage results from the narrow shape of the island. The figure of France, Spain, Germany and Poland, prove at once, that were their rivers ever so easy of navigation, the freight of commodities from their interior parts must be three, four, and five times as heavy, as from the most central parts of the British Isles.

Such unequalled advantages derived from nature, are of prodigious consequence to every thing that depends on art: Every commodity that requires any carriage either for home consumption or exportation, are moved at a slight expence; and the benefit of this will be apparent if we consider what bulky commodities are exported to vast profit, particularly corn, which is collected from all parts of a country. Likewise all manufactures are by this means transported at a very small expence.

But it is not only the principals of the British dominions that enjoy these advantages in a superior degree; the detached territories are equally happy in this gift of nature. North America (if we consider the vast size of the continent) is watered by far better than any part of the globe. The number of great rivers and secure havens with which it is intersected, is indeed amazing. From Newfoundland to the Capes of Florida, good ports are no where wanting, and in many parts extreme fine ones. The tract of sea-coast, one continued haven, in Virginia and Maryland, is to be matched in no part of the world. The prodigious territory

territory which stretches along this coast for above two thousand miles, were it inhabited by fifty millions of people, they need in no spot of it be in want of a quick navigation. The rivers which water the inland country are in some respects second to none in the universe; for though the river Amazon exceeds the Mississippi and St. Lawrence in some particulars, yet in many others it is exceeded by them. The Mississippi is of longer course, and its branches water a greater extent of country. The navigation of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes is immense; the Ohio which flows almost across the British territory is one of the finest in the world; add to these the infinity of inferior ones, which, small for America, would be capital in Europe, and this country will be found to be superior to the whole world in ports and rivers.

The nature of such a territory requires an advantageous navigation; for without it it would have been useless to any European nation: Colonies ought to subsist entirely on their agriculture, the productions, being in general bulky commodities, would not repay the expence of cultivating, if water was not every where to be had. A truth no where more apparent than in the sugar islands, where it will by no means answer to plant even so valuable a crop without this advantage; and which is the chief reason why more land is not cultivated in Jamaica.

The colonies of no other power are so happily watered as the British: neither those of the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, nor Dutch. It is true that South America contains the greatest rivers in the world*, but with this advantage, that country is not a tenth part so well watered as North America, in respect of inland navigation, and the benefit of good ports; it is extremely deficient in the latter, and vast tracts are without any river at all.

The navigation of the British territories in the East Indies is equal to all the purposes of that trade; and commands more important rivers than any other European power in those parts. I cannot however dismiss the subject without remarking, that by means of our settlement at Sen-

* It matters not whether the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Rio de la Plata, or the Amazon is the greatest river,—it is not important to the purpose of navigation. That of the Amazons is however supposed to be the first of rivers. But quere, whether it does not chiefly owe its superiority to being navigated by M. de la Condamine?

gal, we likewise nearly command the navigation of the greatest river in Africa; and which runs through, in all probability, the richest countries in the world.

Having sketched thus far the advantages these dominions have received from nature, I shall in the next place examine those which depend on art, and the very first of these is the constitution of the government, from which results almost every thing that follows.

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ESSAY II.

Of the Constitution of the BRITISH DOMINIONS.

THIS subject, of such great importance to all our brethren, has been treated of by some of the most capital pens the nation has produced; it would therefore ill become the author of these sheets to attempt a minute examination of every particular relative to it: A work of this nature would be incomplete, if the subject in general was omitted; it is therefore necessary to sketch a concise view of it, with an eye as much as possible to avoid unnecessary repetitions of what has been advanced by others. The subject will not be divided improperly in the following manner:

1. *General View of the present Liberties of Mankind, and those of Britain in particular.*
2. *Of the Representation of the People.*
3. *Of the Representatives.*
4. *Of the Royal Authority.*
5. *Liberty resulting from the Harmony of the whole.*
6. *Of the Duration of the Constitution.*

S E C T. I.

General View of the present Liberties of Mankind, and those of Britain in particular.

LIBERTY is the natural birthright of mankind; and yet to take a comprehensive view of the world, how few enjoy it! What a melancholy reflection is it to think that more than nine-tenths of the species should be miserable slaves of despotic tyrants! Let us view the globe and examine the fact.

The largest * part of the world, viz. Asia is by the best accounts despotic throughout: Anarchy may rule the wandering Tartars and Arabs, but their numbers are very small. Here we fall at once on the most numerous body of people in the world in a state of slavery. Africa comes next, and what misery involves that vast country! Liberty only exists at the point of escape, an exotic plant of European growth, unless we exhibit the Hottentots as the only specimen of African freedom! In Europe itself, what a disproportion between liberty and slavery! Russia, Poland, the chief of Germany, Hungary, Turkey, the greatest part of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark and Norway. The following bear no proportion to them, viz. The British isles, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, and the Germanic and Italian states. And in America, Spain, Portugal and France, have planted despotism; only Britain liberty †.

On the whole, what a trifling part of the globe's inhabitants enjoy what all, by nature, have a right to! How insignificant is the number of those who possess this greatest of all blessings, compared to the unhappy tribes that are cruelly deprived of it! The inhabitants of the world are supposed to amount to about 775,300,000 of souls, of these the arbitrary governments command 741,800,000, and the free ones only 33,500,000; and of these few so large a portion as 12,500,000 are subjects of the British empire †.

The

* The proportion between the quarters of the world is given in a clear manner by Dr. Campbell: "If we suppose the whole habitable world (*known*, he doubtless means) to be divided into three hundred parts, Europe will contain of these twenty-seven; Asia, one hundred and one; Africa, eighty-two; and America, ninety." *Present State of Europe*, p. 13.

† The Dutch in America are too inconsiderable to mention.

‡ Many objections may be made to some of the following particulars, but I copy it here for the sake of proportion.

Great Britain and Ireland	- - - - -	10,100,000
France	- - - - -	18,400,000
Spain and Portugal	- - - - -	11,000,000
Italy and Mediterranean Isles	- - - - -	6,800,000
Germany	- - - - -	20,600,000
United Provinces	- - - - -	3,200,000
Austrian Netherlands	- - - - -	1,500,000
Switzerland and Geneva	- - - - -	3,100,000
Sweden	- - - - -	3,300,000
Denmark and Norway	- - - - -	3,700,000
Russia	- - - - -	17,000,000
Carried forward	- - - - -	98,700,000

Hungary

The contrast between the liberty enjoyed by the British nation, and the arbitrary power under which so great a part of the world at present groans, is not only very striking, but of all the species of political liberty known, none is so truly desirable as that. The subjects of republics are generally governed with no small severity*, and universally labour under the misery of the executive authority being lodged by turns in the hands of certain individuals who are naturally prone to tread too much on their fellows: In aristocratical republics the people are slaves, and, perhaps, of the worst species. But the executive part of government lying in a mixed monarchy in the hands of the king, and he possessing no other power but

Brought forward	98,700,000
Hungary	5,000,000
Poland	3,200,000
Turkey in Europe	18,400,000
<hr/>	<hr/>
Europe	125,300,000
Asia	450,000,000
Africa	150,000,000
To America this writer gives 160,000,000, which must be over the truth, I shall call it but	50,000,000
	<hr/>
	775,300,000
F R E E.	
Britain	10,100,000
Say a <i>fifteenth</i> of Germany	1,300,000
Holland, Swisserland and Geneva	6,300,000
Sweden	3,300,000
British America	2,500,000
Free Indians, suppose	10,000,000
Total	<hr/>
	33,500,000
S L A V E S	
	<hr/>
	741,800,000

The latter three and twenty times as numerous as the former.

* A slight stroke in a celebrated modern author, will give us a tolerable idea of liberty at Geneva, which is commonly reckoned so very free a republic. *Transportons maintenant M. Wilkes à Genève, disant, écrivant, imprimant, publiant contre le petit conseil le quart de ce qu'il a dit, écrit, imprimé, publié hautement à Londres contre le gouvernement, la cour, le prince. Je n'affirmerai pas absolument qu'on l'eut fait mourir, quoique je le pense; mais sûrement il eut été saisi dans l'instant même, & dans peu très grièvement puni.*— And adds by way of note, La loi mettant M. Wilkes à couvert de ce côté, il à fallu pour l'inquiéter prendre un autre tour; & c'est encore la religion qu'on a fait intervenir dans cette affaire. And observe, Chez vous (*the people of Geneva*) la puissance du petit conseil est absolue à tous égards; il est le ministre & le prince, la partie & le juge tout-à-la-fois: il ordonne & il exécute; il cite, il fait, il emprisonne, il juge, il punit lui-même; il a la force en main pour toute faire; tous ceux qu'il employe sont irrérchables; il ne rend compte de sa conduite ni de la leur à personne; il n'a rien à craindre du législateur, auquel il a seul droit d'ouvrir la bouche, & devant lequel il n'ira pas s'accuser." *Lettres écrites de la Montagne, Oeuvres de Rousseau, Vol. ix. p. 330—332.* Such is republican liberty!

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what is given by the people, this evil is at once prevented. And in whatever other points the comparison is made, the superiority will be found to reside infinitely on the side of the mixed monarchy, or the British constitution.

What ought to be the sentiments of this nation, during the present and future ages, on this remarkable and most generous distinction! None surely but those of the warmest gratitude to Heaven for blessing in so peculiar a manner these happy kingdoms! none but the most ardent tribute of everlasting praise to the steady valour of our patriotic ancestors, whose magnanimity won, guarded and transmitted such glorious rights to their much envied posterity! What resolutions ought such reflections to create but those of the most determined spirit to preserve what has hitherto escaped such a variety of attacks!—And in case of any future sacrilegious hand being lifted against this sacred temple of THE NATION'S HONOUR, to dare the blackest storm with that heroic courage which Britons ever felt in defence of British Liberty.

S E C T. II.

Of the Representation of the People.

THE essence of freedom is, every individual being governed by laws which he consented to frame: But as an unanimous consent is, in all cases of this nature, impossible, the majority of voices is justly considered as the general sense of the people: And as it would be utterly impracticable (except in states which did not consist of above a single city, and small territory) for all the people to give their vote in any affair; a representation of them becomes necessary: That is, the people at large substitute a number much smaller than their own, to receive their privileges, and use them in that compendious manner, which is not possible for so numerous a body in person. And whatever public act or law such representatives give their assent to, such assent is necessarily supposed to be that of the subjects at large. This is the great principle of the British constitution. It is needless to begin with stating the existence of the executive power in the person of the king, or to enquire into its origin; all this is prevented by the reader's imagination, who will, most certainly remark sufficiently often, that this is but a sketch, not an elaborate exposition of so vast a fabric.

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It must be extremely evident that the great excellency of such a government as I have here stated, consists in *all* the people being *really* represented, and not *nominally* so. Nothing is more obviously simple than this principle of liberty; that, as *every* man cannot possibly attend the public business in a legislative capacity, all should at least be represented by others of their own chusing. It is necessary to apply these maxims to the British constitution, and examine how far it is consonant with them. Beginning with the representation of the people of Great Britain.

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The House of Lords is partly representative and partly not; for the sixteen Scotch peers represent the peerage of Scotland at large, and the bishops are *supposed* to represent the whole body of the clergy; but the English peers sit there by their own hereditary right, in the same manner as the King fills his throne, representing none.

The necessity of the nobility's forming in the constitution a balance between the regal authority and the commons, is so very plain in itself, and so well proved by history, that it is needless to be particular in proving it; but as the clergy of England have no other representatives than the bishops, it is necessary to enquire a little into the voice they have in framing the laws under which they live. This enquiry is made almost in two words. The clergy are not represented at all. This body, so very numerous, have no more to do with their advancing their nominal representatives, the bishops, into the House of Lords, than with the election of the pope. The cardinals represent them as much in the conclave as the bishops in the legislature. It is surprizing the ecclesiastic bench could ever be called a representation of the clergy; when they owe their promotion to mere royal favour. The fact, stript of all unmeaning names, is a prerogative in the King to introduce twenty-six men into the House of Lords, to sit during life, but without a devolving right to their posterity. But as to calling such twenty-six the representation of above twenty thousand clergy, who know them but by name, it is a contradiction in terms. The sixteen Scotch peers, being really a representation of the Scotch nobility, are quite another affair.

The commons of England are represented by five hundred and thirteen members of the Lower House; those of Scotland by forty-five, making in all five hundred and fifty-eight. Whether the number of the people amounts to eight, nine, or ten millions, is no matter, but it is of impor-

tance whether any of those numbers can be *sufficiently* represented by so small a body as five hundred and fifty-eight men. The greatest number of people may certainly be represented by a very small one, and equally too.—The ten millions might elect from ten men to ten thousand in the most equal manner; the enquiry therefore, is not whether the nation can be equally represented by so few as five hundred men—but whether there is a proportion between the people represented and their representatives? Whether such a number is sufficient for all the purposes of legislation, and at the same time great enough for the preservation of liberty?

There are a million of advantages attending the executive power being lodged in one person; but none in the legislative authority: On the contrary, many are the benefits which flow from the legislature being very numerous*; the people are more completely represented. It opens an extended field for the abilities of mankind to be exerted for the public good. It throws a greater weight and power into that scale by which liberty can alone be secured. It renders all attempts of obtaining an undue influence, either regal or aristocratical, over the representatives, extremely difficult.

These advantages are prodigious; but do they attend the number of the British representatives? I shall confine myself to the last circumstance as the most important of all. If it appears from a review of the English history, since the constitution has been fixed on its modern principles, that any remarkable *influence* has been obtained by one part of the legislature on another, it will from thence result that the number of representatives is too small, as they might be so numerous (without any inconvenience †) that no such influence would be possible.

The constitution could not be really called permanently fixed on settled principles until the revolution. King William was by no means a

* “I believe it may pass for a maxim in state, that the administration cannot be placed in too few hands, nor the legislature *in too many*.” *Swift's Works*, Vol. iii. p. 88.

† “What! says a politician, is the number of those men that are lifted above their fellow subjects to be increased? Are we to look up to two thousand governors instead of five hundred? Should *privileged* persons become more numerous than they are?” This is playing on the mere surface of things: The British subjects have but one governor, as the executive power is lodged in only one person. The representatives have no kind of *individual* superiority over the people in general. Privilege is a *collective* superiority: What would be the value of a *right to elect*, if the person of the *elected* were not guarded by certain privileges! Those of the members of parliament are precise with regard to their fellows; they are politically undefined only in respect to the defence of general liberty.

popular

popular monarch; some traits of his character were even diametrically opposite to popularity; and he laboured under the disadvantages of being ignorant of the people's temper and language; nor had he by any means a just idea of that constitution he had saved from the baleful attacks of the bigoted James. He was constantly involved in a bloody, but on the whole an unsuccessful war with France, from which circumstance there arose a necessity of burthening the people in a manner at least unusual: But notwithstanding these disadvantages, the great business of his life, the humbling France, was carried on with scarce any interruption; his government was not quite so *smooth* as some have been since, but of what consequence were all the oppositions that were formed to his measures? Not one of them were changed for a moment: And yet it is commonly asserted that in his reign began the *too great* influence of the people, and as an instance, the parliament's addressing him to know who were his advisers to refuse his assent to the place-bill in 1693, and voting such advisers enemies to their country. This has been often quoted as a proof that the crown has lost the prerogative of refusing assent.

A slight examination will prove the absurdity of this opinion. The address of the House of Commons was a very home one—but of what avail was it? Let us transcribe the King's answer. It was as follows:

“Gentlemen! I am very sensible of the good offices you have expressed to me upon many occasions; and the zeal you have shewn for our common interest: I shall make use of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher esteem for the constitution of the English government than myself; and that I shall ever have a great regard to the advice of parliament. I am persuaded that nothing can so much conduce to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom as an entire confidence between the King and people, which I shall by all means endeavour to preserve; and I assure you, I look upon such persons as my enemies who shall advise any thing that may lessen it.”

If the King had acted in a manner to deserve a warm remonstrance; what satisfaction for such a conduct is to be found in this answer? But in the debate which arose on receiving it, and in which every bitter thing was said that either wit or malice could inspire, what was gained by the opposition? On the proposal, That an humble application be made to his Majesty for a farther answer, it passed in the negative by so vast a majority as 229 against 88*. Of so little consequence to the crown was this

* See *Ralph's History of England*, Vol. ii. p. 477.

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magnified insult on royalty! A political writer of that time speaks a very different language from those who think the prerogative of the crown lessened in this affair. He says,—“It might have been expected that a direct and categorical answer should have been given to so home an address; yet it seems the House, for all the millions given, must be treated only with whipt cream or perfum'd air; which would not have satisfied, if the *adepti* had not found their account in a previous treat of a 23,000 l. distribution.” And adds—“That if any of our preceding Kings had given such an answer upon a *petition of right*, or the like occasion, it would have enraged an hornet's nest; and no less than the voting a fresh address, or adjourning till they received a more satisfactory answer, would have contented the House.”—And again, “How can any say, *He hath a great regard to the advice of parliaments?* when, at that very same instant, neither the advisers of the rejecting the bill are delated, nor the prayer of the representation touched upon*.” But those who thin^t that liberty gained such a triumph on prerogative, should not forget that King William exercised this very prerogative afterwards, *viz.* in the year 1696, by refusing his assent to a bill for regulating elections.

Regal authority passing thus uninterrupted through this reign, let us next examine that of Queen Anne: The critical situation of the affairs of Europe rendered the greatest abilities necessary in those who guided the helm of government. The Marlborough ministry were equal to the task; they conducted the affairs of the nation with great honour and prosperity for several years, but their power was almost unlimited. They carried on a very extensive war on their own plan; and great as the expence was, compared with all that had preceded it, the parliament complied immediately with every demand.—Their liberality almost anticipated the wishes of the ministers, for the war then carrying on was a truly national, though a continental one, and the success attending it laid the foundation for the future grandeur of Britain, by breaking the enormous power of France. The nation was extremely fortunate in this ministry continuing in power long enough for such prodigious actions to be performed; and it was to all appearance so well founded in the extensive influence of so powerful a family, the credit of the truly national measures they were so successfully engaged in, and the unbounded countenance they met with from the people's representatives, that no one conceived an idea of their power ceasing, at least during their mistress's life. But she had only to

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SECT. II. CONSTITUTION.

Speak and this mighty fabric vanished from the sight, nay, the fate of Europe changed at once: The Queen's chambermaid did not chuse that the nation should any longer be victorious under the duke of Marlborough; that hero was therefore disgraced and degraded: THAT MAN, the greatest in his walk this country ever produced. This lady was of a pacific disposition, peace must therefore be concluded in a hurry at all events. The change from warlike to pacific measures was sudden and abrupt; it was contrary to the interest of the nation; it was of all other things the most beneficial to her enemies; it was the mere engine of party.—What therefore did the people's representatives say to all this? Such a conduct might figure mighty well in the eyes of a woman of the back stairs, but not so with the people. True, but their representatives were of another opinion: A change in the Queen's ideas directly effected one in theirs, insomuch that the new ministers, guided their resolves with an ease equal to that of the glorious ones they succeeded. And all this in an affair diametrically opposite to the interests and inclinations of the people, during and after the conclusion of a peace totally inadequate to the successes of the war, and while those very men were deeply engaged in measures too black to see the light, but which were attended with so much guilt, that two of the chiefs thought proper, on the death of the mistress they had deluded, to seek their safety in the service of their friend the Pretender.

From the accession of George the First to Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, the court met with little difficulty in any parliamentary business. His power forms a very remarkable period in our history; for he was scarcely become the minister before an opposition was formed against his measures in parliament; but as there was no material objections to be made to them at first, the opposition was not very strenuous. But the continuance of his power, and the constant increase of it, added to several unpopular circumstances, produced by degrees a spirit in the nation which co-operated with the views of his personal enemies, and formed together a very strong opposition. But all the authority of the crown being in a manner delegated into his hands, he found himself superior to every attack; and this palpable proof of the greatness of his power, with the *well known means of supporting it*, raised a perfect flame in the nation against him, which being aggravated by the partial, witty, and malicious writings of his foes, scattered industriously throughout the kingdom, threatened not only to deprive him of his power, but to bring him as a delinquent to justice. Nothing however was further from the case; this continued many years, and would have continued to the day

of his, or his master's death, had not the court of Spain, relying too much on the certainty of peace with England, committed some outrages on her subjects, which were painted by the opposition in such aggravated colours, that the whole people breathed nothing but war, and by this means gained a superiority in parliament, more through an oversight of the minister, than any permanent advantage gained by his enemies; for those who were deepest in the politics of that period, have since agreed that he *might* have vanquished even that opposition. But without admitting of such a supposition, what a number of years did Sir Robert enjoy his power in express contradiction to the wishes of the people; the majority of whom would have deprived him of power years before he lost it!—Not so with the majority of their representatives. And when he was no longer in office, how clearly did the vastness of his influence appear in the pretence of bringing him to justice! Of what avail were the cries of the people! In that, as at every other time, the crown arose superior to all.

But the minister was driven to the wall—every thing must for the future be conducted according therefore to the ideas of the people; for the leaders of the late opposition of course succeeded to power, and their souls were compositions of patriotism itself: But, unfortunately, this virtue has of latter ages been of a very equivocal and sickly growth; its presence and absence are so equally attended with great effects in the British constitution, that it may not be amiss to bestow a little attention to that species of it which ought to be peculiar to this country. The reader will pardon the digression.—

Patriotism has generally been taken in the lump, and supposed to consist merely in the loving one's country better than any thing else, even to the sacrificing fortune and life itself to serve it; and the latter is esteemed the very highest species of it: But a very little consideration will convince us that this is a mistake. If patriotism consists merely in a romantic exertion of the mind, that man who knocked his brains out against a wall in a fit of fury at the misfortune of his country, would be a patriot; but the virtue is a mere name if its impulse does not conduce in the highest degree to the public good. From which distinction there necessarily results another; that it must act according to the constitution and wants of a country: Thus patriotism must vary in different nations, and cannot possibly be the same in all, unless we are satisfied with so indefinite an expression as love of one's country, which comprehends many cases which can scarcely be admitted as justly arranged.

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Among the Greeks and Romans, this virtue consisted in military heroism, in defending their country to the very last extremity, and being at all times ready to lay down their lives in battle for its preservation: It was even confined to this species of undaunted courage; for those nations being ever at war, all their virtues and vices were tinged with the effects of it. There are some instances of a political or rather constitutional patriotism among them, but they are extremely equivocal; they rather display an unconquerable love of freedom, and a resolution of dying sooner than become subject to a fellow-citizen, and suicide was generally the end of this, which is sufficient to prove that the emotion was of pride rather than a sincere *amor patriæ*; for an action, however courageous it might be esteemed, which was an ease to themselves only, not their country, was a strange kind of patriotism.

In arbitrary governments, especially if they are of long standing, patriotism degenerates into loyalty to the prince and courage exerted in his service. The principles of such governments naturally confound the ideas of right and wrong: But in any nation so governed, it is impossible there should exist a *true* patriot; for if there was one he would sacrifice his own life to gain that of the tyrants, and were this spirit more general, tyranny would not be so common.

It may be said these are murderous doctrines, but I think they are the meekest in the world; for of all murderers, arbitrary power is the most bloody, and to endeavour to stop the effusion which flows from so accursed a wound, is the most humane purpose upon earth. What a melancholy reflection is it to think of twenty millions of people being pillaged of their liberties for bedecking a tyrant with a property of their lives and fortunes! What a want of patriotism in such a number of people, to be destitute of a few determined spirits to lay down their own lives to extirpate the tyrant's race, and restore the liberties of their country!

In such a mixed government as ours, before the bounds of prerogative were distinctly known, patriotism consisted in firmly withstanding the arbitrary proceedings of the court, and bearing the brunt of royal power rather than submit to the least infringement of liberty; and when that power became insupportable to souls that knew the value of freedom, in taking up arms and fighting the battles of THE PEOPLE, freely laying down their lives for their country with the same magnanimity that distinguished the happiest ages of Greece and Rome. Such were our Hampdens, such

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Among

the patriots that stood forth in the cause of liberty in the reign of Charles the First.

But when the spirit of the constitution was changed, and the bravery of the subject had reduced *prerogative* within the letter of *law*, open violence gave way to disguised influence.—The terrors of the Star Chamber and High Commission were succeeded by a system of bribery and corruption; which was made use of to effect *legally* all the designs of the court, however extravagant or contrary to the interest of the nation at large. The spirit of patriotism then changed; for who can assert it then operated like that of the Greeks and Romans, which consisted merely in military heroism! Sacrificing his life for the service of his country, has as little to do with a modern British patriot, as the slavery of Turkey is to be compared to the liberty of England. In the latter state of our constitution, the true patriot is he who acts in contradiction to the vice of the times, which is venality. Who, instead of dying for his fellow-citizens, serves them with integrity—that is, without reward. He who acts for pay receives his return in revenue, titles or distinction, he can therefore have no right to praise, he is totally venal. The true patriot will make it the great business of his life to oppose all measures which he thinks obnoxious to his country's good, and he will not fall into the detestable meanness of being bought off from such an opposition by any bribe in the power of royalty to bestow. If his opposition to such measures is successful, and he overthrows the supporters of them, he will on no account decline the offer of succeeding them, as he can never serve his country so effectually as in office——But in this new situation he will be as inflexibly attentive to the nation's good as ever, and as he receives no sort of gratification for the trouble of his post, he will ever be ready to quit it sooner than be warped from his virtue.

If heaven renders his services prosperous, and blesses his old age with the delicious view of the benefits he has procured his country, he will retire amply, nobly, gloriously rewarded! not in the miserable distinction of titles, ribbons, pensions, or such honours! but walk from the stage of life clothed with that renown which outlives all earthly grandeur——the plaudit of his country.

But it may be said—What! cannot a man who has served that country, receive the rewards which a gracious sovereign may bestow, without the imputation of having sold his honour!"——Doubtless: I attempted but

to draw the picture of a complete modern patriot, and to shew that no honours or distinctions must ever come in competition with a nation's applause; but it would be strange prejudice in the people to suppose a man can no longer be a patriot because he has accepted the marks of his monarch's favour. The *effect* of such favour should be alone examined; if no changes of conduct and opinion ensue; if the same firmness of mind, the same inflexible integrity are the guide of his actions and his sentiments, he may yet be a true patriot, though enriched by a pension and bedecked with a ribbon. But why do the ideas of the people so confound these distinctions with the loss of virtue? Because the last has so generally followed the first, that a long course of experience, with so few exceptions, has rendered them almost synonymous terms.

True patriotism was the virtue which the people expected to have come in full play among the opposers of Sir Robert Walpole, when that minister was driven from power. It is very well known how much those expectations were answered. As the war was become necessary, and the crown had a very particular point in view which had nothing to do with the interests of Britain, her views were evidently directed to the encompassing that point; it mattered very little who were her ministers provided they would obey, without asking questions. Pensions, places, peerages and ribbons, were distributed; the pretended patriots became fascinated at once, and dropt into mere tools of power. The people had raged for a war to get rid of an old minister, and their new ones made them pay severely for the reproaches they cast on them for no longer being patriots. They overwhelmed the nation with a consuming unsuccessful war, carried on on foreign principles, without letting the nation have the satisfaction of seeing one jot of integrity, disinterestedness, or common moderation in those who guided at home: administration continued to be carried on upon the basis of corruption alone; which method of government was found so very compendious, that no wonder others should be laid aside for it.

From that period to the present time, has proved a very remarkable one in the history of the British constitution; and shews in the clearest manner that it is founded on the principles I have been sketching: The crown has (but few instances excepted) been laudably indifferent as to men, preferring those who could best carry on the affairs of the nation—according to the royal ideas; nor can one instance be produced in which such *royal business* has been retarded, through the scrupulousness of the people's representatives. All sorts, kinds, species, and combinations of
ministers

ministries have been in power: Compositions of the most heterogeneous qualities have been jumbled into administrations.—Those who agreed in nothing else, have all agreed in one point, to carry on the business of the government according to the usual orders and with little further consideration. The fashionable term has not been *It is requisite for the NATION's good that so and so should be performed; but it is requisite for the GOVERNMENT so and so.* The idea of administration swallows up all others.

I hinted at a few instances, however, wherein not only *measures* were to be pursued, but certain *men* to pursue them: And in one it happened, that the minister did not possess that share of popularity which many thought requisite to the existence of his power, and coming into office at a juncture extremely critical, such concurrence of circumstances it was expected would a little disturb the even flow of administration, which so universally arose superior to all opposition:—But nothing was further from fact: It was found that not only *measures* might be dictated but *men* likewise.—I am very sensible that both are the undoubted privilege and prerogative of the crown—and extremely right that they should; but I mention the facts, in answer only to those who urge the non-existence of those prerogatives, except in the letter of the constitution.

What therefore has of late years been the spirit of the British constitution? Does it appear from this review that the people's representatives have given attention only to the good of the constituents? Have they acted on the truly national plan, by giving their assent to no measures but such as they knew to be beneficial to their country? Have they ever been remarkable for sudden changes in points of the highest importance, on as sudden changes of ministers? Have they, in fine, by their conduct in general, given the people reason to suspect them biased in their opinions by any influence but that of the people's good? Those who are best acquainted with our modern history, may possibly answer those queries in the negative.—Let me however *suppose* an affirmative; in which case let me ask, Whether such influence does not arise from the smallness of their numbers? Whether such influence could obtain if the number of representatives was much greater?

In this case, is it not likewise evident that the modern principle of our constitution is *influence*? The crown has a right to the services of all its subjects,

subjects, and service extends to all kinds of offices and places.— It is therefore entirely legal for the King to bestow his favours on the representatives of the people as well as on any other of his subjects. The *influence* therefore of which I am speaking, is lawful; and it will easily be conceived that under such circumstances it might soon become the real spirit of the constitution.

Mr. Hume has remarked in his History of Great Britain, that the first instances of this influence in Charles the First, were the first proofs of a regular constitution; and the observation is undoubtedly just: But it is equally true, that this *proof* of a good constitution may degenerate into the *ruin* of the best. For if the number of those to be corrupted is so small that the business can easily be effected, the liberty of the people must in many cases be in imminent danger, by a possibility existing of their guardian's being bribed to make a market of their trust. If therefore, from the preceding review of our history, it appears that the number of representatives be not so large as to secure them from influence, it necessarily results that the constitution would be better founded more on the interests of the people, and be in every respect superior, were the number so increased as to put an end to the idea of all such influence as I have mentioned.

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Having thus discussed the point of the number of the representatives, let us in the next place enquire into the equality of the representation, and examine what proportion of the people are *free*, or in other words what number of them are governed by laws, to which they consent by means of their representatives.

The House of Commons is chosen by the freeholders of the county, by certain corporations in some towns, and by the freemen in others. The election by freeholders is equal and rational, but the number of their representatives amounts only to one hundred and twenty-two; indeed the difference of propriety between this election and that of the boroughs is very evident; for the wretched system of the vilest bribery and most detestable corruption, which is carried on in the latter, cannot possibly obtain in any such degree in the former. But to pass on to by far the greatest number of the representatives, those of the towns. Many that contain ten, twenty, and thirty thousand inhabitants, have their members

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electd by their corporations, which seldom contain above thirty or forty men; and in others certain of the inhabitants that are free of the town, more numerous indeed than in the former case, but very far from comprehending the total.

Such are the electors of the representatives of Great Britain! I have formed many calculations of their numbers on a variety of plans, and could never raise them, with the utmost attention to the subject, to much above two hundred and fifty thousand: I am very clear they do not amount to three hundred thousand: If the people at large, therefore, amount to eight millions, about a thirty-second part or something more of them have votes. Preciseness is not to be attained in such a calculation, but I believe this is not far from the truth.

It must be confessed by all, that this is a very imperfect representation: Vastly the greatest part of the people have no more to do with the choice of the members, than the Turks have with that of the Grand Visier; how therefore can any one assert that the people of England are represented in parliament? And as for the few that vote for the representatives, what are the requisites for the duly performing so important a duty, that are peculiar to those that enjoy the right? I have already allowed the propriety and equality of the freeholders votes; but why are the members of corporations to possess the right of election, in exclusion of thousands of townsmen equally, and in all probability better qualified for the purpose. In what manner are nineteen out of twenty of the inhabitants of the boroughs represented? How are many of the most populous places in England, especially manufacturing ones, that have no charters? Where are we to find the representatives of the most important body of men the nation boasts, the farmers? In what manner are the labourers represented? It may be said, in answer to these queries, that there could be no benefit result from members being elected by people so low and dependent, but that I deny; the very increasing the number alone, by whomsoever elected, would have vastly beneficial consequences: But let me ask if the labourers themselves are not as able to elect with propriety as that lowest scum of the earth, the freemen of most boroughs? Surely, if we have the least regard to the use of any body of men, they rank infinitely before them! How much more worthy therefore of being represented is the respectable body of the farmers! As to these classes of men being dependent, can they possibly be more so than nine-tenths of the present constituents? Far from it; on a general view of the latter, it will be

found (county freeholders excepted) that scarce any people are so meanly and viciously dependent*.

Upon the whole we may fairly determine, that infinitely the greatest part of the nation (about thirty-one parts out of thirty-two) are totally governed by laws to which they never, in the most distant manner, gave their assent; and of course cannot be said to enjoy real liberty. For a Frenchman has as much to do with the edicts of a king of France, as this vast part of the British people with the acts of the British parliament †. If any thing but a great addition to the numbers of the representatives could have in some small measure obviated these objections, it was the triennial bill.—We know the fate of it.

Representation of Ireland.

This point will be dispatched in a few words: All the objections which have hitherto arose in examining the representation of Britain, are applicable to that of Ireland; with some additional ones resulting from her being a conquered country; for her legislature does not consist only of her king and natives, but a numerous body of foreigners, for so the English are to be called, while such pernicious distinctions of interest are continued between the two islands: But I must necessarily speak more of the ill consequences resulting from this division in another place.

Representation of the Colonies.

To what degree does the legislative power of Great Britain extend over her colonies? A question one would apprehend not difficult to answer; but some late proceedings have thrown it into an unexpected light. A

* Why are not copyholders to vote? Are they not as independent as freeholders? For what purpose preserve this ridiculous rag of an exploded system!

† What mere stuff therefore is the observation of Rousseau: he endeavours to prove we have no liberty, but the reason he gives is absurdity, *Le peuple Anglois pense être libre; il se trompe fort, il ne l'est que durant l'élection des membres du parlement, sitôt qu'ils sont élus il est esclave, il n'est rien. Du Contrat Social, p. 214.* Dr. Blackstone's slight remark is more worthy of attention, as it proceeds from one who has displayed so just a knowledge of our constitution; speaking of the election of the representatives, he says, "This is the spirit of our constitution; not that I assert it is in fact quite so perfect as I have here endeavoured to describe it; for if any alteration might be wished or suggested in the present frame of parliament, it should be in favour of a more complete representation of the people." *Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. i. p. 172. 2d Edit.*

part of their inhabitants came from foreign European countries, and another part transported themselves from the British Islands; both are blended together, and live under governments, delineated in charters granted by the crown. If the inhabitants of such settlements therefore are exempted from the unlimited controul of the British parliament, the exemption must indubitably result either from the terms of their charters, or the want of being represented in the legislature.

All pretensions founded on charter or grant of the crown, supposing an exemption expressed or implied, are totally without foundation, as one part of the legislature cannot possibly grant an exemption from the power of the whole. Such charters would be illegal, and of course void.

The other plea of a want of representation must be examined more particularly. And here it is necessary to establish a few uncontrovertible maxims by which we may the better judge of the point before us.

I. None of the subjects of the British dominions can alienate themselves from their allegiance.

II. By retiring to uninhabited lands, they do not alienate themselves from such allegiance.

III. All foreigners settling in the British dominions, enjoying the protection of the British laws and government, and accepting grants of lands from such government, are to be considered in the same light of obedience as natural born subjects.

IV. No laws made by such settlers can have any force, merely on the authority of those who frame them. They must be ratified by their principal.

V. Much the greatest part of the people of Great Britain are not represented in parliament.

VI. There is no such thing as a *virtual* representation.

Let us now examine the pretensions of the colonies by these maxims. I shall select them from the principal writings in their favour*, which sums up all the arguments scattered in numerous others.

* *Annual Register*, 1765, p. 34.

It is urged in the first place, "That those who first planted them, were not only driven out of their mother country by persecution, but had left it at their own risk and expence; that being thus forsaken, or rather worse treated by her, all ties, except those common to mankind, were dissolved between them, they absolved from all duty of obedience to her, as she dispensed herself from all duty of protection to them.

As I mean to confine myself to mere law and constitution, it is almost needless to refute the palpable falsities contained in this passage, such as comprehending the *whole* number of the inhabitants in the *part* that left their native country voluntarily, not *driven from it, or rather worse treated*—all ties being dissolved between them—the duty of protection being dispensed with. These falsities, especially the last, are too absurd to demand an answer from any one. But to assert that they are absolved from all duty of obedience is in direct contradiction to maxims 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th—to the common administration of their governments—and to the authority of the very laws under which they live.

It is next asserted—"That it was extremely absurd that they should be still thought to owe any submission to the legislative power of Great Britain, which had not authority enough to shield them against the violences of the executive; and more absurd still that the people of Great Britain should pretend to exercise over them rights, which that very people affirm they might justly oppose, if claimed over themselves by others."—It is necessary here to explain the imaginary distinction between the people of Great Britain *here* and the people of Great Britain *there*. Suppose a large part of the kingdom of Scotland to have been, from distant ages to the present time, a waste uninhabited wild—or suppose the sea to withdraw itself from any part of this island, and leave a large tract of dry land, either contiguous to it, or separated from it by a shallow channel; suppose, in either of these cases, certain turbulent spirits who did not chuse to live at home, or who could not—others, industrious ones who chose to leave their home in expectation of living better elsewhere—others, foreigners, transplanted at the government's charge; suppose, I say, a collection of such miscellaneous people settle in the above mentioned tracts; the crown, at their request forms them into a corporation, and as an encouragement to their agriculture and population, allows them to frame regulations among themselves, to have the force of laws when ratified from home. Lastly, suppose the colony multiplies, becomes greatly useful to the principal, and without having the burthen of any public expences laid upon them, are nevertheless protected and defended

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by the nation at large; I desire to know wherein the inhabitants of such a colony would vary from the people at large, more than other separate jurisdictions, of which there are many? I desire to be informed, how it can be asserted that they are less represented in parliament than thirty-one parts out of thirty-two of the original people of Great Britain? And where is the difference of the above cases and our American settlements, except the distance? which most certainly makes no other than a difference of expence to the mother country in defending them. How then can it be said that the people of Great Britain expect of them what they would not submit to themselves! They do submit to it, unless, by the people of Great Britain, are understood only two hundred and fifty thousand individuals! The pretensions of the American colonies are no better founded than those in the above supposition: They do not form an idea of rejecting the legislative authority of Britain, until it imposes something disagreeable to themselves.—They live under the protection of the British laws and constitution. British money is spent in millions to defend them.—But British authority is quite another affair, they chuse to have nothing to say to it. As to the indeterminate assertion of a want of power to shield them against the executive part of government—common sense and law flatly contradict it. Within the extents of British liberty there can exist no such want.

The next plea is—"That it was their birthright even as the descendants of Englishmen, not to be taxed by any but their own representatives; that, so far from being actually represented in the parliament of Great Britain, they were not even virtually represented there, as the meanest inhabitants of Great Britain are, in consequence of their intimate connection with those who are actually represented; that, if laws made by the British parliament to bind all, except its own members, or even all except such members, and those actually represented by them, would be deemed, as most certainly they would, to the highest degree oppressive and unconstitutional, and resisted accordingly by the rest of the inhabitants, though virtually represented; how much more oppressive and unconstitutional must not such laws appear to those who could not be said to be either actually or virtually represented? That the people of Ireland were much more virtually represented in the parliament of Great Britain, than it was even pretended the people of the colonies could be, in consequence of the great number of Englishmen, possessed of estates and places of trust and profit in Ireland, and their immediate descendants settled in that country, and of the great number of Irish noblemen and gentlemen in both houses of the British parliament, and the greater number still constantly

stantly residing in Great Britain; and that notwithstanding the British parliament never claimed any right to tax the people of Ireland, in virtue of their being thus virtually represented amongst them."

The hinge of this argument turns entirely upon the people of Great Britain, not actually represented being virtually so—and a virtual representation of the Irish, not giving the parliament of Great Britain a right to tax them. I have already established it as a maxim, that there is no such thing as virtual representation, and sure I am that all the imagination of such is at best founded in absurdity. But the foundations of this reasoning and all the conclusions are absolutely false, for nothing is easier than to demonstrate the people of the colonies as much virtually represented, supposing there is such a thing, as the greatest part of the British nation. The case is plainly this: infinitely the greatest part of the inhabitants of Britain are not represented at all, for so the common sense must determine: What connection is there that amounts to what is called a virtual representation, between the whole body of the British farmers and the raggamuffin voters in some boroughs, or the incorporated members of others! This virtual representation is a mere smoke-ball: And yet we find all submit to be taxed by the representatives of those of whom they know no more than of the North American savages! Why do they yield this obedience? Not, in good truth, because they are virtually represented, but because they live under the protection of those representatives, who vote the public money which is raised to defend them, because they and their posterity are and must be Britons, let them spread over whatever continents they may—because no subject of Britain can alienate his allegiance to the British law;—and because the legislative authority of King, Lords and Commons, is as despotic over all Britons, let them live wherever they please, as that of the Grand Turk is over his own subjects.—What a poor evasion therefore is it to state a case of resistance of this authority in those only virtually represented! Such resistance might happen, but it would be absolute rebellion, and punished accordingly;—it matters not to quote the villany of such an act of parliament: If it is an act, obedience must be inviolable, for the moment the subject takes upon him to judge whether it deserves obedience, he rebels, and if supported, the constitution is at an end. Absolute despotism must lodge somewhere, and nothing can be more unlimited in power than an act of parliament. The fault of any part of the nation being taxed by the representatives of others, is the deficiency in our constitution explained above; but as this deficiency is at present constitutional, obedience is requisite from all,—electors or not electors, from the farmers in Britain and the planters in America.

To quote the virtual representation of Ireland, is to produce an instance without the least similarity: For Ireland having a legislature of its own, throws it entirely out of the question, unless the colonists will assert that their Council and Lower House are to be compared, in point of legal independency, with the Lords and Commons of Ireland.—And yet what numerous acts of the British parliament are to be quoted, that assume a *sovereign* superiority over the whole people of Ireland. But can it be supposed that this arises from a virtual representation?—Ridiculous!—This argument, of the Irish being more virtually represented in the British parliament than the colonists, is a weapon that cuts two ways; for, as they say, it results from the residence of the Irish in England; such residence is merely a matter of inclination; the gentlemen of the colonies *may*, if they please, be represented in the same manner: View the sugar colonies, and see what a number of planters reside constantly in England, and how many of them are even in the legislature itself; can the North Americans assert, that these are not *virtually* represented? And yet such representation is in their own power whenever they chuse to become, in proportion, as valuable to Britain as the West Indians.

The colonists think themselves very hardly used by the British parliament's assuming a right to tax them. Their numbers are supposed to be above two millions; but why are these two millions to be so outrageous on a want of representatives, when there are above seven millions in Britain that are no more represented than themselves! It has been proposed that members should be elected by the colonies.—By all means, the representation of the people cannot be too general, but, in the name of common reason, let the latter *seven* have the indulgence as well as the former *two*. Let the farmers of Britain be represented equally with the planters of America.—The inhabitants of Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and twenty other most populous towns, remain upon a par with their brethren of Boston, Philadelphia, Charles-Town, &c. Let the additional representation be extended—but let it be equal—the measure will then be one of the best that ever was adopted.

S E C T. III.

Of the Representatives.

IT is absolutely necessary, when the Representatives are elected, in whatever manner the election has been performed, that they should be, first, independent; and secondly, equally balanced with the House of Lords. It would be needless to explain the necessity in general of their being independent, since it is so striking; but the particular point of their privilege, as known at present, merits a little attention.

It has been frequently asserted, that the greater the privileges of any particular body of the people, the less are those of the subjects at large; and this maxim has been often applied to the privilege of parliament. But surely the rights of the people's Representatives are in reality the rights of the people, who elect them to those privileges as well as their seat. The necessity for their enjoying them is much greater, for evil designs must be of a vast extent to operate immediately upon a people at large, but the business is much more easily begun on five hundred Representatives, who cannot therefore be guarded too securely. The reign of Charles I. displayed to all the world the importance of privilege to *the people*; and reason ought to satisfy every one, that the liberties of the country are but another name for the privilege of parliament.

This right must sometimes fall on men who make an ill use of it among their fellow-subjects, and it is their conduct which irritates so many people against the inequality it occasions; but such evils are of trifling consequence in comparison with the great benefits resulting from it; for we should consider that it might become possible enough to a wicked minister to make use of *private* means to get rid of refractory members, when he would not dare to use open ones. Nor ought accident or the interest of individuals to be suffered to enjoy a power of detaining the people's Representatives from the great business of the nation; we should remember that the vote of a worthless man, given through pique and obstinacy, may in some cases be as valuable as that of the best.

Privilege, in respect of independency on the crown, is of the utmost importance: And here I cannot do better than quote the words of a very great

great author, highly deserving every one's attention: "Privilege of parliament, says he, was principally established in order to protect its members, not only from being molested by their fellow-subjects, but also, more especially, from being oppressed by the power of the crown. If, therefore, all the privileges of parliament were once to be set down and ascertained, and no privilege to be allowed but what was so defined and determined, it were easy for the executive power to devise some new case not within the line of privilege, and under pretence thereof to harass any refractory member, and violate the freedom of parliament. The dignity and independence of the two Houses are therefore in great measure preserved by keeping their privileges indefinite *."

The balance between the two Houses is likewise a point of very great importance; for if the Lords become so numerous and powerful, as by their riches and influence to create a large number of the Commons, and otherwise rule their resolutions, the constitution is in danger—not of becoming aristocratical, but of the authority of the crown encreasing too much; because the royal authority can never have any thing to fear from the power of the House of Lords, *support of the throne* being almost inherent in the nobility of all nations: Whatever superiority of power they gained over the Commons, would be but an additional weight in the scale of royalty.

If these principles are applied to the present state of the British constitution, they will open a field of very important reflection. The encrease of the peerage has, of late years, been extremely rapid. The law is constantly carrying numbers to that honour, and large fortunes never fail to have the same effect. In a nation which carries on so prodigious a commerce, and which runs so immensely in debt, and has so vast a circulation, a great inequality of wealth must abound, and of course overgrown fortunes: These seldom fail to advance their possessors to the peerage; which, with the law, and great abilities in others of the House of Commons, altogether encrease the number of the House of Lords prodigiously.—Their property becomes immense, and their command over a great number of boroughs, very evident. These circumstances in time may have great effects; but as the balance between the two Houses has been kept pretty much in equilibrio since the regular settlement of the constitution, it is very much to be wished the happy medium may continue; since an interruption of it must be attended with consequences of

* *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol. i. p. 164.

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infinite importance. I have ventured these distant hints the rather as many are even at present apt to imagine our constitution tending too much to democracy:—A mistake arising possibly from the business of the last century, which is not yet forgot; but this opinion I cannot think founded on a judicious and impartial examination. The spirit of it is totally changed since the days of Charles I. no comparison, therefore, of that period with the present can justly be made. Administration, it is said, meets with few difficulties in the House of Peers; business is there regular and seldom interrupted; but among the Commons the case is different. Inferences are therefore drawn to the effect I have mentioned; but in answer to this it should be remembered, that opposition to the crown is more contrary to the spirit of the Nobility than to the Commons. This circumstance is of importance.—But a readier answer is at hand.—to deny the fact: Let the times be quoted when the Commons have been deaf to the ministry's demands—and in business so peculiar as raising money.—What a figure will the defeats of the ministers make in comparison with the failings of the opposition! Indeed it is a thing almost unknown in our constitution. Debates and opposition make a greater noise in one House than in the other, and are more talked of by the race of politicians, but such circumstances deserve no attention.—Only remark the success of administration.—Review a few years.—Do you not from thence conclude, that no measures have been adopted but the most patriotic ones? Why do you so conclude?—Because so many have met with the sanction of the Commons as well as that of the Lords. I cannot therefore discover in what manner this democratical leaven is to be found.

A very ingenious writer, indeed, has laboured hard to prove, that the House of Commons may not only strip the King of his prerogatives when they please, but also vote the House of Lords useless. His words are, "As to the House of Lords they are a very powerful support to the crown, so long as they are in their turn supported by it; but both experience and reason shew us, that they have no force nor authority sufficient to maintain themselves alone without such support*." I cannot discover in what manner reason is to shew this; but must own that my reason shews me the very contrary, and that on this obvious account; power follows property, and the peerage has been so increased, that it is not in the power of the people to chuse a House of Commons that shall balance the property of the House of Lords; and what follows, as a

* *Hume's Essays*. Vol. i. p. 39. 8vo edit.

necessary consequence of such great property, is the peerage having a double power, their own third—and a very considerable share of that possessed by the Commons. Read a list of the latter, and mark the number of relations of peers, and doubtless many intimate friends; every man's private knowledge will give him specimens of this sufficient to form a general conjecture upon. How many boroughs are at the absolute disposal of peers!—But in what manner does experience prove the opinion sketched by the author? that of the last century can only be meant; and I hope the peerage in Charles I.'s time will not be compared with that of the present. Their property nor their numbers were by no means a balance; but the case is very different now. Upon a moderate computation there has been added to the House of peers, within the last twenty years, three hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. I question whether Charles the First's peerage much exceeded this sum.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Royal Authority.

TO analyze this subject in the manner requisite for a regular composition, and to explain all the branches of the prerogative, would fill a volume, with what has already filled an hundred; instead of which, I shall only venture a few remarks on the vast fabric of the British government, as founded on the principles of the times, as well as the letter of the law. For it is but wasting time to state the mere rights of the crown, independent of the modern principles of administration: The one and the other must be blended, whenever we would acquire a just idea of the regal authority as it really is, not as we find it laid down in books: An instance will explain my meaning. The law says, that the crown may refuse assent to all bills that have passed both Lords and Commons, so that no act can become law without being agreeable to the Monarch, but near seventy years have passed since this prerogative has been made use of. “Is it to be supposed, say some, that during such a period, there should not be bills presented which the crown would not rather reject than agree to? Here therefore is a prerogative good for nothing as it cannot be used.”—Nothing, however, is more contrary to truth; but the error arises from regarding books alone, which display the prerogative but take no notice of the attention which ministers are sure to give to all bills that are moving in the Houses, which the crown would wish to reject. This attention of the minister is no branch of prerogative, and

and therefore the elaborate treatises on our constitution omit to mention it.

By combining circumstances in this manner, it will presently appear that the letter of the law is not alone to be regarded; but rather the real principles of the constitution, which in many cases differ from it.

The prerogative of the crown is most certainly curtailed in several instances, to a seeming excess in the eyes of those who think our constitution too democratical: But of what value were those prerogatives in commanding a revenue, or what is the same thing, in procuring lucrative employments? These circumstances are all on the side of modern times.

To form a just idea of the present real power of the crown, it is not sufficient to look into our law books for the picture of prerogative, but to throw our eyes on an independent revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds a year—on the infinite multitude of subjects absolutely depending on the crown in all our public offices, in the receipt of the revenue, in the army, in the navy, in the church, in the law, in short in every corner of the kingdom. Look into our historians and see the despotism of a Henry or an Elizabeth, examine their prerogatives—Will you compare them with the riches and influence of a King of Great Britain? It is scarce possible to take a step without meeting with some one dependent upon the crown.

Mr. Hume (who is by no means the most sanguine writer in favour of liberty) says with much justice, after speaking of the effect of property and riches upon liberty: "These considerations are apt to make one entertain a very magnificent idea of the British spirit and love of liberty; since we could maintain our free government, during so many centuries, against our sovereign, who, besides the power and dignity and majesty of the crown, have always been possessed of much more property than any subject has ever enjoyed in any commonwealth. But it may be said that this spirit, however great, will never be able to support itself against that immense property, which is now lodged in the King, and which is still encreasing. Upon a moderate computation there are near three millions at the disposal of the crown. The civil list amounts to near a million; the collection of all taxes to another million, and the employments in the army and navy, together with ecclesiastical preferments, to above a third million: An enormous sum, and what may fairly be computed to

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be more than a thirtieth part of the whole income and labour of the kingdom. When we add to this immense property, the increasing luxury of the nation, our proneness to corruption, together with the great power and prerogatives of the crown, and the command of such numerous military forces; there is no one but must despair of being able, without extraordinary efforts, to support our free government much longer under all these disadvantages *."

In the slight review I gave of the modern part of the English history, I took notice of the ease with which the regal power was carried on, even in the most important articles. The modern system has thrown a power into the hands of ministers unknown, even in idea, to those who fixed our constitution, on what they thought just and safe foundations, at the revolution. I know but one point of view in which the crown has of late years felt a want of a plenitude of authority; and this is, when it continues to intrust a minister grown odious to the people. This was the case with Sir Robert Walpole; but let us consider how long it proved before the hatred of the nation and the opposition in parliament could drive him from power. Other instances might be given, in which, had the courage and abilities of the men been equal to the firm foundation of their authority, it would have been the case to this and even distant days: But we may nevertheless assert, that when a minister (deservedly or not, no matter which) becomes disagreeable to the people, a strong opposition to him will form in parliament, he will stand the attack in proportion to his abilities—let *them* be what they may, he will continue long in power in spite of opposition, but at last will be forced to yield: In this case, the crown cannot make use of the service unlimitedly of those it affects, unless they are agreeable to the people. This want of such great authority regards men only, never measures.

In respect of the latter no monarch can desire greater power than a King of England enjoys: And to the least rational mind, of what account are men compared to measures!—and especially if we consider the infinite variety of means of gratifying courtiers, besides administration. From the revolution to this day, the measures of the crown have universally been the measures of the parliament. Our monarchs have in no case of importance wished for any system of affairs, but their wishes have been almost anticipated: Have they desired to pull down the overgrown power of France?—Millions are raised, hundreds of thousands march to exe-

* *Essays*, Vol. i. p. 44.—8vo. edit.

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cute their will. Does a sudden freak seize them, and make peace * their darling? Measures change at once, the peace-makers are the only blessed. Does a local partiality for a German province render them desirous of using the whole power of Britain to defend it? The whole power of Britain is at once at their command.—National interests are forgot, German ones alone are remembered. Do they contract a friendship for a foreign Queen and a hatred for a rival King? The nation immediately fights the battles of that Queen. But do they change their opinion and contract a friendship with the formerly hated King in opposition to the formerly beloved Queen?—The nation immediately fights the battles of that King.—In short, we may run round an eternal circle of questions, the answers will ever be precisely the same.

Nor is it alone in matters of such great importance as peace and war that the crown possesses this competent power; all others, wherein a competition can arise, are sure to terminate in the same manner: A review of the late periods of our history, minute enough to exhibit the instances of this truth, would be too tedious; few, however, I apprehend will dis-

From this fair and impartial view of the present state of our constitution, we may clearly determine that the prerogatives, of which the crown hath been stripped, are not in value to be compared to its present power. Regal authority has, since the revolution, taken the legal method of carrying all points; which, in the hands of a sensible prince, is a power equal to that of any potentate of Europe. A King of England has unbounded means of rewarding any man in the most ample manner, and by methods which cannot possibly give umbrage to his subjects. And whatever political measures he may be desirous of effecting, he can always command the execution, if he will intrust it in the hands approved by parliament. There never arises in this nation any difficulty in executing the royal measures, nor in procuring the grants necessary for such execution, be they ever so large. The question that ensues is not, *Shall the thing be done?* but, *Who shall do it?* A King of England need in no cases to have any trouble in being obeyed to the utmost: He has only to say, *Such, Gentlemen, is my pleasure; let those execute it of whom my subjects have the best opinion.* Obedience follows swift as thought; in some few cases it is the most political conduct in this manner to consider only the measure; but in very numerous ones—both measures and men are equally under command.

* See the last years of Queen Anne.

The authority here stated is very ample: But will it be found precisely thus in our law-books? By no means; I must again repeat it, I endeavour to sketch the reality of our present constitution and not confine myself to copying books: Law tells us, that the King has the power of peace and war: But what information do we find from this? It is a founding prerogative, but not worth a groat without something further, of which the law tells us he has no power over, *viz.* money: From whence it is by some concluded, that the crown is stripped of some of its best prerogatives, and that those left are nothing but words: But look into *things*: Do we find that regal authority is insufficient for the making war and peace at pleasure, and the procuring whatever sums are necessary for them? May we not, therefore, from all these circumstances justly conclude, that the *real* power of the crown has been much greater since, than ever it was before the revolution. Prerogative was then a dangerous two-edged weapon, which cut its possessor often more terribly than the subject: But not the least hazard attends the possession of the legal rights which we have found so infinitely superior.

S E C T. V.

Liberty of the subject resulting from the Harmony of the whole.

TO assert that our blessed constitution is not faultless, is nothing more than to say, that it is the work of man: Perfection is no more to be found in government than in morals.

I have, in a former section, displayed the great inequality of the representation of the people; and proved that if the people are supposed to consist of thirty-two parts, thirty-one of them, or at least a very great part are not represented at all. This it must be confessed removes perfect liberty to some distance; and if we were to judge only by appearances would make one conclude, that much the greatest part of the nation were nearer slavery than liberty. Nothing however of this is the case, for we find by having recourse to our history, and by observing attentively the general influence of liberty upon the race of people before our eyes, that this inestimable blessing is far more equally divided than a view alone of the small number of electors would suffer us to imagine. This perhaps results, in some measure, from the low and inconsiderable rank of multitudes of the present voters;—their members cannot by any means think them deserving of particular privileges; and were they ready to agree to them, the other branches of the legislature, not having the same motives,

motives, could never allow of laws of such a tendency: Thus, on a nearer examination, we find the three branches of legislature are so mutually a check on each other, that there is little fear of such partial laws as I just now hinted at.

In the last section I proved, I apprehend sufficiently, that the crown had gained greatly in power by the alterations that has taken place in the principles of the constitution since the revolution. The liberty of the subject is likewise beyond all doubt greater than before that happy epocha: In what manner is this seeming contradiction to be reconciled? In the last age, the regal authority was exerted in violent acts of arbitrary power against the persons of the subjects—and in squeezing trifling sums of money from them in an unlawful and unpopular manner: This was called prerogative; the use of it to the sovereign was absolutely contemptible, but the burthen to the people prodigious: Not that the number oppressed was certainly very great, but the terror hung upon all, and no liberty could be said to exist while none were secure that the prerogative might not be exerted against them. The number, however, probably was more considerable than has come to our knowledge, for in periods of such uncertain laws, the lowest officers assume the regal authority, and oppress those who never beheld the source of their evils. Thus all liberty was of precarious possession: The sovereign was odious to the people without reaping any advantages adequate to the loss of their affection. May we not from hence assert, that the crown has gained in power and riches, at the same time that the people's liberty is rendered more secure?

Trade and commerce have so totally changed the principles of the times, that money is in this age the only thing a King can want. The King of England, whose power is controlled by the laws, wants not an addition to his prerogative; money supplies every thing: As long as his government is so administered as to command the necessary sums, it matters not what his prerogative is; modern refinements, as I have already displayed, have brought this command of the purse to be regular and secure: And as every shilling is raised in a legal manner, by authority of parliament, millions are gained of the people with the utmost ease and without a murmur; to the hundreds which our prerogative Kings squeezed with so much violence from them.

It is not from hence, however, to be concluded, that no remnants of arbitrary power have been met with in our constitution since the revolution: Some there undoubtedly has, and perhaps none more striking than

general warrants and the seizure of papers; but the idea of liberty is so strongly impressed on the minds of the people, that any moment in which a rag of despotism appears to influence the conduct of an unpopular minister, speedily kindles a flame which ends in favour of reason and justice. There are some powers, even at present, lodged in the hands of certain crown officers, not altogether consistent with a perfect liberty of the subject; but some are left them to us at their discretion and peril, and others will probably bring their remedy when some blundering hand applies them unskillfully.

Upon the whole, the laws which have been framed, with a peculiar eye to the protection of liberty, have been so happily successful in effecting their aim, that every man's person and property are safe from the arbitrary attacks of regal authority—his house is his castle—his papers are sacred, he is free to publish his sentiments to the world under the sanction of that greatest pillar of all freedom, The liberty of the press; and even in case of being an offender, power, by *habeas corpus*, cannot imprison without shewing legal cause; nor can any injustice be done him even by the highest power, without laying itself open to a prosecution at law. All these birthrights and privileges of Britons form a system of liberty, so happily tempered between slavery and licentiousness, that the like is not to be met with in any other country on the globe: And although an *absolute* perfection does not in every article exist, yet we may venture to assert, that the defects are extremely trifling in comparison with the excellencies.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Duration of the Constitution.

IF the administration of government conducts itself so exceeding smoothly, and so much to the ample satisfaction of the crown, at the same time that the liberty of the subject is so finely secure; it must be confessed that this period is blessed with a most happy mean of power and freedom: But from this pleasing consideration of it there results a very natural enquiry concerning its duration. A people must be strangely bigotted to themselves if they could think only of their own liberty and not of that of their posterity; or if they could enjoy the greatest freedom in any branch of the constitution with ease, if there was the least reason to think they possessed it in return for that which might one day enslave their country. It has been shewn in the preceding section

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with how much ease the administration of government is conducted: This is a very great advantage doubtless, but we must here examine the principles of it, and endeavour to discover if it proceeds from causes which may be attended in the long run with fatal consequences to liberty in general.

The sagacious Montesquieu prophesies the destruction of our constitution; his words will form no bad text to comment on in the present enquiry. "Comme toutes les choses humaines ont une fin, l'état dont nous parlons perdra sa liberté, il périra. Rome, Lacédémone & Carthage ont bien péri. Il périra lorsque la puissance législative fera plus corrompue que l'exécutrice *."

The executive power becoming corrupt is an equivocal expression; for the term must in this place mean an inordinate desire of greater power than the laws allow: Such corruption cannot so much arise from the principles of any age as from the accidental disposition of the sovereign. The legislative power, therefore, becoming more corrupt than the executive, is nothing more than becoming corrupt itself; for no one can doubt but liberty is gone when the legislative part of the government is corrupted enough to neglect it, without measuring the degree of such corruption by that of the executive part.

There can be no doubt but Mr. de Montesquieu means to found the destruction of the British constitution in luxury: This is plain enough from the instances he quotes, Rome, Carthage and Lacedemon; and likewise from a passage in liv. 7. ch. 4. "Les républiques finissent par le luxe." And it is very plain he extends it to free monarchies, by his remark; "La monarchie se perd, lorsque le prince rapportant tout uniquement à lui, appelle l'état à sa capitale, la capitale à la cour, & la cour à sa seule personne," which is a mere definition of luxury in the effects.

But in what manner is luxury to be the ruin of a constitution which is so little open to the changes and alterations which were for ever in that of Rome—which in its nature cannot be liable to such an overturn as the loss of the senate's authority at Carthage; and as to Lacedemon no parallel can be drawn between the government and principles of Sparta and Britain—and yet luxury undoubtedly ruined all three: It is evident from the slightest attention, that if she likewise destroys the liberty of

* *De L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. 21. ch. 6.

Britain, it must be by extending dependence on the crown: If ever the prodigal wants of the legislative power render them depending on the executive, the constitution will be undone—and palpably by luxury.

In a preceding section I mentioned the prodigious influence of the crown, by means of the infinity of its dependants.—The earl of Bath, in his much admired tract, speaks of this subject with a particular view to the safety of the constitution: No apology is necessary for the quotation. “Considerably above an hundred millions of debt, the sum we must be obliged to sit down with at the end of the present war, is a burthen, which, however immense, experience has taught us, contrary to all theory, we shall be able to bear without *bankruptcy*. As our expences have encreased, we have found, contrary to the predictions of gloomy politicians, that our abilities to bear them have encreased also.—But though our debts be not too great for the riches of our country, they are much too great for the independency of its constitution. For when I consider the infinite dependence upon the crown created by means of them, throughout the kingdom, amongst all degrees of men; when I reflect on the many thousands of placemen of every denomination, who are employed in the collection of the vast variety of taxes now levied on the public; and take a view of a far greater number of servants of the crown, both civil and military, for whose support so considerable a share of the public revenue is set apart, too many of whom I fear might be tempted to assist in extending the influence of the prerogative to the prejudice of public liberty; when I consider our vast load of taxes, in this point of view, I cannot help observing the amazing revolution in our government which this single article has brought about; nor enough lament the unhappy circumstances of affairs, and the necessities of the war, which have forced us to an annual expence, unknown to former times, and which will be almost incredible to posterity. I believe I can venture to say upon memory, that the expences of the war for all King William’s reign, about thirteen years, were not, at a medium, above three millions and a half a year; and Queen Anne’s, though the last years were exorbitant, were little more than five millions. What they are *now* I fight to think on, twelve or fourteen millions (*had his lordship wrote later he might have said eighteen or twenty*) are demanded without reserve; and what is still more, voted without opposition. Nay, of so little consequence is it now thought, by our representatives to deliberate on the weighty business of raising money on the subject, that scarcely can *forty* of them be got together, to hear the estimates for at least *one hundred and fourscore thousand men*, for so many we have now in our pay; and to borrow *eight* millions.

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(*he might afterwards have said twelve*) the sum by which our expences exceed our income*.

The noble author, in this passage, sketches the danger of the constitution from the vast riches which commerce has poured into the country, in creating such a dependence upon the crown; which is but in other words the work of the corruption foretold by Montesquieu. Such great wealth, and yet greater credit, increases the inequality of mankind, and multiplies at a prodigious rate the wants and expences of all ranks of people.—Venality is the universal consequence, and when every man knows there is a fund capable of gratifying, to so high a degree, the craving desires of all who can return the least equivalent, dependence must ensue; the extent of which can alone overturn the constitution of Britain.

For if, in this vast chain, the legislature should compose a link, the ruin would immediately follow. The enquiry, therefore, turns upon the possibility and probability of such a fatal pitch of corruption: That it is possible no one can contradict—but as for the probability—let us all pray to heaven to avert so dire a misfortune. The expediency of a place-bill has often struck the House of Commons itself, but never came to any thing: The present law of re-election, on accepting any, would be of infinite consequence if the number of representatives was greatly increased, but while they are so few in comparison with the total of the people, and while such numbers of boroughs are either entirely venal, or totally dependent on the great and rich, it must be allowed that this act is very far from ensuring security to the constitution.

The wonderful ease with which administration has been carried on in the hands of such a variety of ministers of all abilities, proves plainly enough that the influence of the crown is prodigious; and it is this general influence, not the great abilities of a minister, that is most to be feared by a free people: It is the venality of the times which saps the foundations of well-wrought systems of liberty, and which provides the tools of despotism ready for the hands of the meanest tool of power. “If the people is growing corrupt, says Lord Bolingbroke, there is no need of capacity to contrive, nor of insinuation to gain, nor of plausibility to seduce, nor of eloquence to persuade, nor of authority to impose, nor of courage to attempt. The most incapable, awkward, ungracious, shocking, profligate, and timorous wretches, invested with power and masters of the purse,

* *Letter to Two Great Men*, p. 43.

will be sufficient for the work, when the people are accomplices in it. Luxury is rapacious; let them feed it; the more it is fed the more profuse it will grow. Want is the consequence of profusion, venality of want, and dependence of venality. By this progression the first men of a nation will become the pensioners of the least; and he who has talents the most implicit tool to him who has none *."

Does not this masterly sketch exhibit to us pretty nearly the picture of the present age? Do we not behold a most uncommon eagerness to possess the public money? With what unabating ardour are pensions, places, posts, offices, commissions, and the whole range of crown-preferment, sought after even by those who were born to independent fortunes! No wonder that those destitute of such advantages should become the tools of power. In such an overwhelming tide of avarice, very few are attentive to correct as much as is in their power the fatal principles of the times, which sap, so imperceptibly to the multitude, the foundations of their freedom: The most notorious venality passes with nothing but a slight censure on the character of the individual; ideas of public danger seldom arise from instances in this way the most profligate. The Court Kalendar is a parlour window-book in every house, for ever pored over for the amusement of longing avarice; how few sigh over those immense lists through the love of liberty alone!—War, taxes, debts, funds, and all the consequences of our prodigious trade, are regretted no further than as burthensome to individuals, not as parts of that vast fabric of dependency on the crown, which they most undoubtedly form, and from which there is reason to fear the worst of consequences. Can any one read the lists of the Lords and Commons, without trembling to find such a prodigious number of places, commissions, &c. enjoyed by those only guardians of British liberty. Can any one imagine, that the multiplicity of those without doors, who possess posts in the gift of the crown, are in the least degree independent, whilst we have seen such *sweeps* amongst them more than once on changes in the ministry? The variation of parties prove clearly enough the importance of the chain of dependency, to those who conduct the public affairs. I have already observed that the *present* enjoyment of liberty does not suffer from the smoothness of parliamentary business, nor from the extent of the regal influence, nor am I here applying the venality of the age to the age itself; I rather aim at pointing out the tendency of such universal dependency, and the danger there is that our happy constitution may not long remain on those secure foundations which have hitherto formed such a peculiar blessing to this

* *Idea of a Patriot King*, p. 120.

country. The spirit of independency and freedom raised the fabric—— it is the spirit of venality that can alone destroy it.

Our ancestors, in recalling the constitution to its true principles, or more properly speaking, in creating it, guarded with the utmost precaution the subjects liberty against the open power of the crown; but they could not be aware that a new monster, called *public credit*, would be born to besiege that fortress by sap, which they had laboured so indefatigably to secure against the attack by storm. But this hydra-headed enemy threatens to overturn the mighty fabric, founded on their blood and wisdom: Happy for our posterity if some future patriots should bring back that constitution, which is the peculiar glory of their country, to its true genuine principles, which are far enough removed from venality and dependence*.

The prodigious commerce carried on by Britain, which has been so many years upon the encrease, hath introduced immense riches and still greater public credit, which, by multiplying their signs, and enlarging to a vast degree the national circulation, hath introduced a most consuming luxury, which necessarily is attended with the effects I have been displaying. This nation has hitherto enjoyed all the convenience, ease, and

* The best instituted governments, like the best constituted animal bodies, carry in them the seeds of their destruction; and though they grow and improve for a time, they will soon tend visibly to their dissolution. Every hour they live is an hour the less that they have to live. All that can be done, therefore, to prolong the duration of a good government, is to draw it back, on every favourable occasion, to the first *good principles* on which it was founded. When these occasions happen often and are well improved, such governments are prosperous and durable. When they happen seldom, or are ill improved, these political bodies live in pain or in languor, and die soon.

Idea of a Patriot King, p. 136.

Time only, and long experience, can bring remedies to the defects in the customs of a state, whose form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution: This is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force.

Sully's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 372. 8vo.

In forming this government a latent evil crept into the vitals of the state, and hath, in the course of time, poisoned every part of the constitution. Corruption, that undermining mischief, hath sapped the foundation of a fabric, whose building was cemented with the blood of our best citizens. The growing evil hath spread far and wide, tainted the minds of men with such incurable degeneracy, that the virtue of our forefathers is become the ridicule of every modern politician.

Mrs. M^{rs} Aulay's Introduction to her History of England, vol. i. p. 16.

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elegance of luxury, without paying for those enjoyments with the loss of liberty. But it is not from thence to be concluded, that a *perpetual* immunity from the natural effects of so potent a cause, is to be the privilege of Britons: The constitution is most undoubtedly open to this attack, and there is too much reason to fear that it will one day fall under it. Many circumstances may accelerate or retard the catastrophe, but unless much stronger patriotic efforts are made, than we have any reason to expect, venality must inevitably ruin that glorious monument of British liberty.—I have hitherto confined myself to this single bane of freedom, but there are some other points which require a little attention.

The disposition and genius of a monarch must be of no trifling consequence, in times that are critical to public liberty; either in the very period of the conflict or unopposed destruction, or in those which are preparatory to it. It has been often observed, that republics and free monarchies frequently owe their liberty to a want of great abilities in those individuals, whose stations give them an opportunity to endeavour, at least, to enslave their country: The remark is in a great measure just, and history will, in abundance of countries, prove it; but it is very far from being universal. The spirit and temper of some nations, and the principles of some constitutions, must form exceptions to this rule, and frequently display certain situations, in which striking abilities are more apt to retard than accelerate the work.

To apply this reasoning immediately to the constitution of Great Britain, it is necessary to observe, that in what age soever a design was formed against it, the surest way of succeeding would be to fall in with the manners and principles of the times, to assist them imperceptibly in operating their natural effect, to wait very patiently their course, and never actively exert personal genius, but in certain critical moments when activity ensures success: Even this use of genius would be of no effect without the preceding patience and inactivity; it would even mar the work. This is an exact picture of Cromwell's conduct.

Charles the First and Second, and James the Second, acted diametrically contrary: For instead of being guided by the principles of the times, they blundered impetuously in contradiction to them: If it is possible to make a handle of religion, none is more powerful, and Cromwell had the genius to do it.—But those princes, by being bigotted to certain opinions, would have confounded the most consummate policy in every

every other respect, had they possessed it: Nor was this by any means their only mistake, for they applied violence at conjunctures, when patience and the mask of plausibility would have commanded success.

After the restoration of liberty, under King William, when the royal prerogative was so clearly defined that no open violence could be committed on the subject, under pretence of hereditary rights; it was very evident that the constitution was safe from such attacks, as it had experienced under the Stuarts. Commerce increased, private opulence was considerable, and luxury made large strides.—The principles of the age became totally different from those of the preceding: Any prince, therefore, that was to form a design against the liberty of his subjects, would be extremely absurd to take the same measures which would have ensured success in a former age. Venality is the natural consequence of luxury, and he who should have formed the attempt on any other grounds would soon pay for his mistake.

Standing armies have been much harangued against as dangerous to liberty: They cannot well be stiled constitutional, and in proportion to the extension of dependence occasioned by them, they are pernicious; but as to the mere matter of their force, in executing violent designs against the people, a monarch who depended on such engines alone, would find them but broken rushes: And considered in this light, an army of soldiers is not half so much to be dreaded as an army of placemen and pensioners, especially while they are not excluded from ————. But I have already pointed out the present defects of our constitution.

While luxury, and its attendant venality, are in a good measure the characteristics of the age, I hesitate not the least in asserting, that a prince, in respect of overturning liberty, whether through his own designs, in the time of completion, or undesignedly in that preceding it, had better be without great abilities than possess them. Genius is very apt to be fiery and impetuous; for measuring its own powers with those of the common herd, it feels a superiority that gives a vigorous activity, rather than a cautious prudence, and the impatience which ever attends this celerity of mind, would overturn in one day the silent operations of half an age.

Let us suppose a monarch of distinguished abilities, but full of arbitrary designs, to mount the British throne: Those very abilities, unless they were such as wore the mask of a Cromwell, would hurry him into indiscretions which would awaken suspicion among his subjects.—His

ill intentions would be presently guessed at and dreaded: The eye of jealousy would be thrown on all his actions, and every event of his reign scanned with an attention to its remotest tendency. Striking abilities, which, being regal, must necessarily be magnified, would totally prevent that dangerous security, into which a nation is lulled by seeing a virtuous prince on the throne. When suspicion was once got abroad, light trifles would serve to raise a ferment in the minds of the people, and lay the foundation for a determined spirit of freedom, which catching alarm at the very beginning of the prince's operations, would meet the invader of their liberty with an opposition unthought of and unconquerable.

The very contrary of all this is the case under Kings who harbour no such designs, or who have the art of totally disguising them. The people trust in the virtues of their monarch, and seeing nothing that gives them cause to suspect, have no idea of a lurking danger. In an age of luxury, venality and corruption, such monarchs carry on the business of government in the common stated course; and although, in such times, the hinge of all authority must turn on the principles of the age, yet the people being so accustomed to see such a vast chain of dependency, they do not fear from it the loss of their liberty, unless some impolitic step renders a recourse to it necessary to the crown in impolitic measures.

Such reigns as these, of which I am speaking, may deluge the land with venality, and yet never raise suspicion;—nor even an idea, that business, carried on so much in its common course, can ever tend to any thing uncommon. If some false steps are taken, the people turn their eyes upon their sovereign; seeing no arbitrary mind there, and knowing the virtue of his character, attribute all to the minister, and have not a thought further than his removal:—Administration flows on in the same course, and not a suspicion remains.

Whether the monarch be sincere in his virtue, or whether his conduct is all art and deceit, makes no difference to this argument, provided the people think him just, it is enough. In the reigns which prepare, through venality, for the attack—or in that of the attempt itself, this apparent virtue and moderation are equally necessary to insure success. The business can only be effected by venality, and this vice is considered, even by the whole people, as a nothing, when a good King is on the throne. Sometimes, indeed, an unpopular minister is mischievous to the design, and it must be confessed, that in this respect such monarchs, as I have just mentioned, may easily retard the work; the very contrary of which is

suspected by the people, who are made to believe, by the enemies of such ministers, that their designs are bad, and having long heard of oppositions formed against them in vain, by degrees take part against them, as if liberty was in danger: But in fact she can never be so safe; such ministers would never be kept an hour by a prince who was political enough to see the true road to arbitrary power. The *popular* minister (if the term was not a contradiction) who silences all opposition, and is beloved too much to be suspected, is, of all other animals, the most dangerous to the liberty of a free monarchy: He is the very tool a politically ill designing prince would wish for.

The discerning clearly the means of destroying liberty, is the surest method of learning how to defend it. Let us form a supposition:

If a monarch, in an age of luxurious profusion, was to form the design of destroying the constitution, by rendering himself absolute, and was to possess the abilities requisite for the attempt, he would never, for a single moment, think of using any means but what arose naturally from the principles of the age. Finding himself in the possession of a great independent revenue; and seeing such a vast portion of his subjects depending on him for innumerable posts, and preferment of all kinds, he would undoubtedly extend this chain of influence——nurture this child of corruption with the utmost assiduity. He would study the manners and characters of all the members of the legislature, and all who were likely to become such, with the greatest attention; he would discover their foibles, and presently see the easiest method of *adding them to his list*; he would discern those whom pensions would command, those who were most attached to titles, ribbons and rank; nor would he overlook those whom *certain condescensions* and slight marks of respect would engage; and if any should seem independent, in spite of all these attacks, he would speedily fathom all their connection and friendships, and probably would discover some unguarded opening for his batteries to play against. How few! How infinitely few, are to be found that would continue proof against all the efforts of a monarch from whose favour flow riches, honours, rank, titles, and every thing that can captivate the avarice, the vanity, and the imaginations of mankind!

But his attention would not be directed totally to this class of subjects: On all occasions his general carriage to the meanest people would be easy, affable and captivating. In all his actions and conversation he would display the most perfect affection for his people, and the utmost regard for their honour and reputation: Nothing can make a monarch more popular

than exalting the character of his nation—vowing, for instance, that he would make their name as terrible to the world as ever that of a Roman was. Cromwell perfectly well understood this.

Public liberty, as far as it would be from his heart, would, on all proper occasions, be ready enough on his tongue; and having brought his people to believe him a Patriot King, it would be an extreme easy task to throw any accidental failing or unexpected turn on his ministers: The people are ever ready to roast a minister, and on finding how ready the King would be to part with them, would for ever exculpate him. But he would, above all, take most special care never to contract such a friendship for a servant as to make his removal irksome to him; but turn any from their posts, the removing of whom would be pleasing to the people. And as there arises constantly a set of patriots, pretended ones at least, who oppose court measures till they can become courtiers themselves, and are withal wonderfully popular, he would be ever ready to receive such into his ministry, cordially to accept their services, and by their means extend and forward his plan more than it would otherwise be possible to do.—For these mock patriots being possessed of the confidence of the people, would have the power of granting every thing to their sovereign's will; and such a sovereign, as I speak of, would presently give them the inclination.

Amongst the various men, which, in a limited monarchy, must necessarily, at different times, become his ministers, such a prince would doubtless mark his opportunities for making advances of consequence, when such were in power as were peculiarly formed for his business: Having thrown his own character, with the people, into the point of view he could wish, and at all times commanding a most prodigious system of dependency; he would now and then gain, through the minister, the passing a law for the increase of his own power, which being artfully conceived, might carry an appearance of public benefit to deceive the people, who trusting in the excellence of their King, would be almost blind with infatuation. History sufficiently allows this assertion: Certain laws gained singly in this manner, and never made direct use of, but rather suffered to sleep, would in process of time throw such power into his hands, almost unseen of the people, as would enable him to complete the work with but little difficulty. But if they were quicker-sighted and murmured, the monarch would ever be ready to sacrifice his tool, and in the jumble of changing, and with proper managing the new one, a repeal of what was passed would be easily escaped without his own popularity being the least in danger.

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Such a conduct, pursued in a consistent manner, with the common management of the venal tribe, and above all with due patience, would be the only method that could be attended with success.—The difficulties of it, and the time requisite for effecting it, would depend upon the degree of venality which governed the times: In an age wherein Luxury, with all her attendants, arose to a very high pitch, the business would be easily performed; so easily that it would surprize even the monarch himself. I have made no mention of military force; as necessary as it might be when the work was finished—even an idea of the use of it would mar all in the execution.

From this rough draught of a pernicious plan, it surely appears, that by far the most important part of it is to have patience enough to leave the vices of the times to work their natural effects: The assistance given them requires art and cunning more than striking abilities, which, in nine hundred instances out of a thousand, would be too impetuous for the business; whereas very moderate ones are not infinitely more common, but much nearer connected with the requisite cunning and deceit: For if the monarch's genius was known (and how improbable that it should not) that very circumstance would keep alive suspicions if ever raised, which in the other case would never have had being.

As to the case of such a design being the work of a minister, it is certainly very possible and in many cases probable, especially if he is a popular one, and is able tolerably to preserve the opinion of the people after his accession to power. But in this respect, as in the former, the degree of venality common would determine it: But if ever it was effected by a minister, his master would consequently be of very moderate abilities. "There are very great qualities, says Dr. Campbell, requisite in a prince who aims himself at overturning a constitution: But passive obstinacy is a quality not hard to be met with, and this conduct, by a designing minister, will do the work to the full as well*." This maxim is drawn from the destruction of French liberty; the latter part is applicable, in a good measure, to the constitution of Britain: But the *very great qualities* mentioned in the former part, I think I have shewn, must be very *uncommon* ones, from the necessity of being so intimately blended with very mean ones, dissimulation and cunning. This, however, is with respect to the venal age and constitution of Britain: In other times and countries, the maxims might admit of very few exceptions.

* *Present State of Europe*, p. 257.

From these remarks we may venture to conclude, that if those men, who, from their rank or fortune, may have it in their power to protect the liberty of their country, would really do their utmost in so noble a business; the only means of being successful, is, in all venal ages, to resist those temptations which carry off the common herd of mankind. In such times, the only true patriots are those who resist all manner of bribery, be it dressed up in ever such delusive colours. Were such men actuated with the good of their country they would never suffer suspicion to be lulled asleep, by the circumstance of having either a really virtuous prince on the throne, or one who appeared such. No part of a nation ought to overlook, for one moment, any thing that regarded their liberty, how certain soever they might be of the good intentions of their sovereign. An idea of a constitution being secure in a venal age, it is plain ought never to arise from seeing no violence of any kind offered to the laws, since it is sufficiently evident that liberty may be in real danger without any such violence happening. Nor should a people thus circumstanced think that nothing is so much to be dreaded as a monarch of extraordinary genius; that very circumstance of dreading such an one is security sufficient; for we have found that nothing is so fatal as a blind idea of safety which throws suspicion asleep. M. de Beaumelle justly observes, that an act of parliament in England, which struck at the liberty of the press, would be of worse consequence than one to allow an augmentation of six thousand men in the army. He might have said of twenty thousand, for armies in England are at least voted annually, but such an act would be perpetual. A minister that procured an addition to the standing army, would be considered in a worse light than another who added twenty, thirty, forty, or more millions to the national debt of this country, and yet the latter is by far more pernicious to the constitution than the former. To add two or three hundred thousand to the civil list, which is for life, would be very different from augmenting an annually voted army. To enact, that the members of the House of Commons should sit, like those of Ireland, for life; and in short a multiplicity of other laws, which such a monarch as I supposed, or a popular minister of abilities, would catch the critical moment to procure, would be of infinitely worse consequences than any thing which had a tendency to violence. I would not, however, be thought to sink the ill consequences resulting from standing armies; they are extremely pernicious among a free people, and extend to a vast degree the chain of regal influence; I would only be understood to mean that they are preferable to laws, which, carrying no apparent violence in their aspect, like military force, do not raise such a spirit of suspicion and unpopularity in the people, and consequently

quently are more dangerous in being more silent enemies: Add to this *their* being perpetual, the other only annual: The latter *may* be dropt at the year's end, the other cannot.

If a monarch was to arise, who having played the hero, planned the destruction of liberty by military force; or if a passive prince, of a quite contrary cast, had a generalissimo that sketched the scheme for him, in such cases standing armies would be one tool to work with; and not only standing armies, but those prodigiously numerous bodies of military men who are dismissed at the close of a war; such would be ready at their general's call—too ready, it may be justly feared, to execute all commands; for a man who has led the life of a soldier four or five years, is good for but little many years after. These would form very different tools from those Charles the First had to work with; but even these would be good for nothing alone. To depend alone on the military in a luxurious age, would be acting contrary to its principles, and of course losing the advantage of wind and tide: In such an age, soldiers are such no longer than they are *paid* as such—and *pay* will create armies at any time. Were the scheme therefore to be founded on force, venality must be the corner-stone: Money must regularly be had, the army voted for one year would disband if not continued by parliament; and the business would, I fancy, be more than sufficient in any age for one campaign.

It is not from hence to be concluded, as I before observed, that standing armies, and prodigious temporary ones are of no bad consequence.—All that necessarily arises from these remarks is, that venality and corruption are chiefly to be feared, and that open violence, or laws tending to promote it, are not so much to be dreaded, as those which add to that species of power which is founded merely on the principles of the age, and which being silent and almost unperceived in operation, do not raise suspicions and unpopularity.

We shall close these remarks with a reflection or two on the depravity of mind, and want of political penetration, in any monarch that may arise in Britain, who should be dissatisfied with his legal power; for it must be palpable to any one, that the present power, influence, riches, and security of a King of Great Britain, are by far more considerable than they would be if he was to become absolute. His immediate power over the persons of his subjects would indeed be greatly extended, but the formidableness of his kingdom, the figure made in the eyes of the world, and every thing that arose from being the monarch of a generous, brave
and

and wealthy people, would vanish at once: In this superior consideration of power, his would be inferior. In point of riches he would likewise greatly lose, for what comparison can be made between the prodigious riches of this kingdom at present, which are ever at the *reasonable* command of the crown, and the sums that could be raised on the people by arbitrary power, when trade, agriculture and credit, were either withered or destroyed. In point of security there is no comparison; monarchs now reign in the hearts of their subjects—and what is more, even in their purses—They would then exist but by means of their sword. Liberty has been so long and deeply rooted in this nation, that the loss of it would be attended with much more fatal effects than it was either in France or Spain; the revolution there was much slighter, for the power of the crown was in both countries much nearer allied to despotism, than it is in Britain; and of course the change could not be effected without a more total destruction of every thing that depended on liberty: If this circumstance was attended to by a British King who had formed the idea, if he was a true politician it would alone make him drop the design. Such a prince would very easily manage to reign *in fact* as despotic as any prince in Europe, perfectly consistent with the liberty of his subjects: This may appear to some a paradox, but not to such as are really acquainted with the principles of our constitution. "What makes the King of Great Britain figure among the first potentates of Europe! What renders him at this day the first in the Christian world!—The liberty of his subjects.

* * *

The English have, by more historians than one, been much reproached for entering so readily into a civil war against their sovereign, in the middle of the last century; and the same reflections have been made against other nations that have been actuated by the same spirit; it may not therefore be amiss, in concluding this section, to enquire into the propriety of this opinion, and draw a slight parallel between the value of liberty, and the unhappy effects which must necessarily attend the assertion of it by means of the sword: If the latter are found to outweigh the former, those who have made such remarks are doubtless in the right, and have proved sufficiently, that a nation, when she finds her liberties attacked, had better resign them all at once, and by that means escape the horrors of a domestic war.

But

But if coolness is pardonable in answering such a proposition, let us ask a plain question without the least heat. What on earth is so valuable as freedom? Can any sacrifices too great be made for the preservation of that, without which nothing is any longer of value—without which all possession, even of the common rights of nature, the enjoyment of health, family, fortune, and every thing most dear to the human mind, is totally precarious! Can any one hesitate a moment in answering this query? A florid description of the horrors of a civil war, may be the answer. But why are these effects called horrors? Surely because they are destructive of those very connections and possessions above recited; the security of which fly on the approach of arbitrary power. Can a civil war be the ruin of any thing which despotism will spare? Are not domestic convulsions temporary—and the loss of liberty perpetual? May not the security of every thing valuable to mankind, be rendered permanent by a resolute defence of liberty? Is any thing gained by its loss? Where, in the name of common sense, can be found an argument sufficient to level the comparison?

But I am not much surprized at historians disliking the ages wherein public liberty is asserted; the reign of a Charles the First cannot figure like that of an Anne, wherein the actions of a Marlborough are recited, nor like that of a Lewis XIV. wherein the monarch is the grand hero. But when a people are struggling for their liberty—when the legislative power is constantly involved in disputes with an ill-designing executive, the historic page is by no means brilliant. The nation's jealousy and stubbornness may have some bad consequences in the opinions of courtiers. The reign may not be shining but perplexed and crabbed, filled with the circle of endless disputes, and all the jarring dissonance of patriotism and power, party and corruption, accusation and defence, with a long string of suspicions and fears, which make a wretched figure in history. In such a situation even the public foreign affairs will suffer—paltry considerations!—Let them: The people, however, are securing their liberty; and they had better preserve that with such fancied disgrace, than lose it triumphing in the midst of glory.

Yes: I am persuaded that a free nation had better be continually involved in disgusting disputes between courtiers and patriots, in all the *minutiae* of discontent; and jealous of an ill-designing prince, be aiming ever at fixing new bounds to his ambition, and raising fresh obstacles to designs:—Better far let their annals be despised in future ages, as a collection of disgusting quarrels and uninteresting debates, than have them shine with those glorious but diabolical details, which enliven and adorn the page of an historian. The conquests of an Alexander—the

slaughtered millions of a Cæsar—the daring rashness of a Charles; and the victorious career of a Frederic:—These are the tales of wonder which glow in such splendid colours beneath the pencil of an admiring recorder:—These are the wretches who fill the world with carnage—trample on the liberties of mankind, break through all the ties of nature, and leave their names foremost in the lists of fame.—Is this fame!—Is fame the reward of these military heroes, who, to use an excellent expression of Rousseau's, are good for nothing, but to knock one another on the head!—What a pother is made about this fame! This shining phantom which glitters on the ruins of humanity!

But to leave this digression, the inestimable worth of liberty is not to be put in competition with these alone, but with civil wars themselves and every domestic convulsion that can disturb a free people: No horrors are too great to hazard for the enjoyment of this greatest of all earthly blessings. Take the long-run of several ages, and it will be found that public freedom has seldom been secured but by means of domestic war. England has more than once been a pregnant instance of it: To the courage of our ancestors, exerted in the field against the sway of tyranny, we owe that freedom which is the pride of Britons, and the envy of nine-tenths of Europe. It is to the convulsions, which shook the kingdom in the middle of the last century, that all succeeding ages owe their liberty. Those wars, it is true, were very terrible (though not half so much so as one modern campaign); but had they been fifty times more so, would a brave nation hesitate to hazard all to overturn the efforts of arbitrary power? No; paint the terrors of domestic war in the most striking colours—the terrors of despotism will be more terrible still: Infinitely are all imaginable horrors of that kind to be preferred to the deadly tranquillity which broods over a nation of slaves—before that state of stupid serenity, corruption and negligence, which fascinates a nation's courage, and with all the silence of certainty forges the chains of despotism itself!

The following passage, in Mr. Hume, deserves particular attention: “Matters, therefore,” in case of a revolution, “must be trusted to their natural progress and operation; and the House of Commons, according to its present constitution, must be the only legislature in such a popular government. The inconveniences attending such a situation present themselves by thousands. If the House of Commons, in such a case, ever dissolves itself, which is not to be expected, we may look for a civil war every election. If it continues itself we shall suffer all the tyranny of a faction, subdivided into new factions. And as such a violent government cannot long subsist, we shall at last, after infinite convulsions and civil

wars, find repose in absolute monarchy, which it would have been happier for us to have established peaceably from the beginning. Absolute monarchy, therefore, is the easiest death, the true *euthanasia* of the British constitution *."

But why, in the first place, is the House of Commons to be the only legislature in such a case? Will it ever be again in the power of a vote of the Commons to set aside the House of Lords as useless? I have in another place attempted to prove that such imaginations are absurd. But granting the position, we should then, says he, suffer *the tyranny of a faction, subdivided into new factions*. But what shall we suffer in the REPOSE of absolute monarchy: The term of *tyranny* is very readily bestowed on the *democratical* mode, but according to this author the *despotic* is quite another thing †. Will not those who have the most common ideas of common liberty call that a *tyranny*, and the delegated authority of the *tyrant* to the lowest of his officers, a *subdivision of tyranny*? with this miserable addition, that this *violent government* will probably last long.—*Find repose in absolute monarchy!* What is this blessed repose? I know not a case to which it is applicable. The immediate oppression of the monarch himself, though excessively heavy, may be somewhat regular; but are not the miserable inhabitants of such countries exposed to tyranny in the shape of every superior? What *repose* has the industrious husbandman (and let us not forget that those who live by cultivating the land are three-fourths of the people) under the grinding exactions of every petty revenue-officer? Under the oppressive superiority of the lowest of the noblesse? What *repose* do the inferior noblesse meet with under the uncontroled authority of the great lords? What *repose* do the great themselves meet with, when awed into submission by the supercilious eye of a court minion, or the frown of a La Pompadour? This special repose consists in a chain of oppression from the throne to the beggar, encreasing every link, until the lower ranks are all tyrannized into the most wretched misery. Such a people perpetually suffer, under the deceitful appearance of *repose*, all the miseries that can arise from the worst of faction or of civil wars.

* *Essays*, Vol. i. p. 48. 8vo edit.

† In another passage of the same volume, (p. 138.) he expressly says this—“And thus a species of government arises (*absolute monarchy*) to which, in a high political rant, we may give the name of *tyranny*, but which, by a just and prudent administration, may afford tolerable security to the people, and may answer most of the ends of political society.” The plain scope of this is, that the term *tyranny* is to be shifted from the government of *one* man and his minions, where, according to all common ideas, it ever rested, on to that of the people, where so few ever conferred it.

But it *would have been happier for us to have established absolute monarchy from the beginning*, rather than submit to factions and civil wars. A moment's recollection of our own history will give a decisive answer to this stroke. It would have been better for this nation to have established the absolute monarchy of Charles the First. Would such voluntary establishment of despotism in the Stuarts, who were the acknowledged Kings, have been as easily shaken off as the violent usurpation of a Cromwell? What has been may be.—We *have* experienced the good, and *do* all experience it, of giving the preference to a civil war; we have found it from the beginning of our monarchies, the only road to liberty: Why therefore should we seek repose in despotism, to avoid that which has so often led us to freedom! The civil war, in the middle of the last century, had, to every appearance, the most unfortunate issue, for it concluded in the absolute power of an usurper, and yet so unexpected a circumstance did not prevent the most noble system of liberty in the world being founded in some measure on those very convulsions. But had Charles II. succeeded to the absolute power of his father, would he have been pushed from his throne with as much ease as Richard Cromwell? Oliver's posterity should have been a succession of the ablest men, to preserve the power he had gained; the first weak man in a usurper's line is overturned.—Not so with the hereditary successors of once legal Kings, to whom a voluntary gift of freedom is made. Will the Danes recover their liberty when they have a fool upon the throne?

It was impossible for those men who drew the sword at the revolution, to foresee that the affair would terminate without bloodshed. Had certain persons directed their resolves, they would have advised *peaceable* submission to the true *euthanasia* of the constitution, to seek *repose* in that. But these nations, who owe near a century of freedom to the brave resolutions of their patriotic ancestors, ought to reverence their fame, and eagerly to impress an adequate idea of the sacred value of freedom in the minds of their children, that it may descend to the lowest posterity, that if virtue should, in future ages, again call for the public arm to revenge public injuries, they may seek their repose, not in the tranquillity of despotism, but in the same measures which secured it to their brave ancestors.

But there is very little reason to paint these civil wars, which are carried on in defence of public liberty, in such horrible colours. Take a nation at large, and its sufferings in them are by no means so terrible as some authors would have us to understand. The great men, of prodigious property, may indeed be pretty well stripped; but when we speak
of

of a nation, such are but of little consequence: The plundering them and distributing their possessions to others is a sad thing for such individuals; but of no bad consequence to the people. All the lower classes, upon whom government (and especially that which is severe) bears the hardest, never feel their own consequence, or natural rights, so much as in such times of public disturbance.

This circumstance suggests the analogy between the *people*, thus enjoying their own importance, and the blaze of genius of all kinds, which have, in different ages and countries, been so striking during and after civil wars, and other (to appearance) horrible convulsions. This fact, I should apprehend, must be as strange as any opinion of the little mischief done by them—not to mention the formidable power which so often succeeds them, founded on the encrease of the people, trade and riches.

At what times is it reasonable to suppose the arts, sciences and literature would make the greatest progress, if any particular ones are more favourable to them than others? Would it be supposed by any person who had not attended to their history, that times of civil and foreign war, rapine, plunder, and all kinds of domestic horrors, would be precisely the ages of their greatest fertility? History scarcely produces a fact more astonishing than this; and yet it holds so regularly true, that one might almost be led to suppose such convulsions necessary to their well-being. The age of Philip and Alexander, is as much known for bloody wars, revolutions, and a general flame and disturbance over all Greece, as by the infinity of geniuses of every kind she then boasted; which formed such a collection of great men in all kinds of arts and learning, as have never been equalled. The age of Augustus, which was almost a concentration of Roman genius, was formed in the midst of civil wars, called terrible by all, in the midst of cruel and bloody proscriptions: All the great men that composed the court of Augustus, formed themselves prior to the settlement of the empire: Virgil was forty years old at the battle of Actium.—If ever a complication of military horrors beset a country, it was on Italy, during the age of Leo X. that country was ravaged several times from one end to the other by a variety of enemies. During the space of thirty-four years, Italy, to express myself in the words of her own historians, had been trampled under foot by barbarous nations*. The kingdom of Naples was conquered four or five times by different princes, and the state of Milan underwent more frequent revolutions.

* Du Bos *Reflexions Critiques sur les Poëse et sur le Peinture*, tom. ii. p. 232. Much knowledge on this subject may be gained from M. du Bos.

The Venetians saw several times their enemies armies from their towers, and Florence was almost constantly in war either with the family of Medici, who wanted to enslave her, or with the inhabitants of Pisa, whom they were desirous of subduing. Rome, more than once, beheld hostile or suspected troops within its walls, and this capital of polite arts was plundered by the arms of Charles V. with as much barbarity as if it had been stormed by the Turks. And yet it was exactly during these thirty-four years, that the arts and sciences made that progress in Italy, which is considered in our days as a kind of prodigy. Lastly; that collection of great men of various professions which ornamented the period, called by French authors, the age of Lewis XIV. were all formed in the infancy of that reign, a time of great domestic confusion and civil war. These instances are sufficient.—They prove evidently, that, terrible as the times of such convulsions may be thought, they most indubitably are of all others the most favourable to the advancement of human genius. It therefore surely cannot be thought surprizing that they should be so in general to the lower classes of a people, since both effects proceed from the same cause; the opportunity every man enjoys of asserting his rights, and pursuing the bent of his genius. The most numerous ranks of a nation, in tranquil times, live in a regular subjection to their superiors—their minds and persons are equally regulated by others—but in a period of domestic troubles they feel their consequence, and being no longer such machines, they assert to the utmost the rights of entire freedom; great confusion ensues, but a multiplicity of geniuses, which in calmer times would never have made one advance, burst from obscurity and enliven the otherwise dark horizon*.

But

* “ Toute chose d'ailleurs égale, le gouvernement sous lequel sans moyens étrangers, sans naturalisations, sans colonies, les citoyens peuplent & multiplient d'avantage, est infailliblement le meilleur: Celui sous lequel un peuple diminue & dépérit est le pire. On doit juger sur le même principe des siècles qui méritent la préférence pour la prospérité du genre humain. On a trop admiré ceux où l'on a vu fleurir les lettres & les arts, sans pénétrer l'objet secret de leur culture, sans en considérer le funeste effet, idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset. Ne verrons-nous jamais dans les maximes des livres l'intérêt grossier qui fait parler les auteurs? Non, quoiqu'ils en puissent dire, quand malgré son éclat un pays se dépeuple, il n'est pas vrai que tout aille bien, & il ne suffit pas qu'un poëte ait cent mille livres de rente pour que son siècle soit le meilleur de tous. Il faut moins regarder au repos apparent, & à la tranquillité des chefs, qu'au bien être des nations entières, & sur tout des états les plus nombreux. La grêle désole quelques cantons, mais elle fait rarement disette. Les émeutes, les guerres civiles effarouchent beaucoup les chefs, mais elles ne sont pas les vrais malheurs des peuples qui peuvent même avoir du relâche tandis qu'on dispute à qui les tyrannifera. C'est de leur état permanent que naissent leurs prospérités ou leurs calamités réelles; quand tout reste ecraisé sous le joug, c'est alors que tout dépérit; c'est alors que les chefs les détruisant à leur aise, ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellent. Quand les tracasseries des grands agitoient le royaume de France, & que le coadjuteur de Paris portoit au parlement

But it is of no material consequence to my argument, whether this more favourable picture be accepted or not: The great question being, Whether the security of liberty is not a work of such consequence, that no danger or hazard can be too great to risk for it? A query which I am very sensible will not universally be answered in the affirmative; and I therefore rather hint this from remarking some modern ideas of liberty and freedom, which heaven forbid should ever become common in this kingdom. They result from travelling through various countries; travellers, finding that there are some arbitrary ones, in which the people are *systematically* governed; and not as despotically as in Turkey, conclude that such a constitution is a modification of freedom, and attribute to the principles of modern politics, a general freedom, as they are pleased to call it.

This equivocal liberty is fully explained by a late author, and as the *spirit* of the passage is remarkable, I shall give it without apology at full length; was not the whole chain of these new fangled ideas contained in it, I should be obliged to have recourse to some other quotations, but as it happens to be very complete, it will singly be sufficient.—“Trade and industry owed their establishment to the ambition of princes, who supported and favoured the plan at the beginning, principally with a view to enrich themselves; and thereby to become formidable to their neighbours. But they did not discover, until experience taught them, that the wealth they drew from such fountains was but the overflowing of the spring; and that an opulent, bold and spirited people, having the fund of the prince's wealth in their own hands, have it also in their own power, when it becomes strongly their inclination, to shake off his authority. The consequence of this change has been the introduction of a more mild and a more regular plan of administration. (*In what countries? Not surely in arbitrary ones; and the mildness of free ones is not owing to trade, but the sword, which drove out tyranny.*) The money-gatherers are become more useful to princes, than the great lords; and those who are fertile in expedients for establishing public credit, and for drawing money from the coffers of the rich by the imposition of taxes, have been preferred to the most wise and most learned counsellors. (*This, it must*

mément un poignard dans sa poche, cela n'empêchoit pas que le peuple François ne vécût heureux & nombreux dans une honnête & libre aisance. Autrefois la Grèce fleurissoit au sein des plus cruelles guerres; le sang y couloit à flots, & tout le pays étoit couvert d'hommes. Il sembloit dit Machiavel, qu'au milieu des meurtres, des proscriptions, des guerres civiles, notre république en devint plus puissante; la vertu de ses citoyens, leurs mœurs, leur indépendance avoient plus d'effet pour la renforcer, que toutes ses dissensions n'en avoient pour l'affoiblir. Un peu d'agitation donne du ressort aux âmes, & ce qui fait vraiment prospérer l'espèce est moins la paix que la liberté.” Rousseau *du Contrat Social*, p. 191.

to be confessed, is a very extraordinary argument to prove the advantages liberty has received from trade; if this is the MILD and REGULAR PLAN the Author before meant, as it evidently is, he explains himself sufficiently; it is precisely the very thing I before considered in this section; this MILD PLAN is the tranquillity which attends an enslaved people: It is in this MILDNESS that consists these new ideas of liberty.) As this system is new, no wonder if it has produced phenomena both new and surprizing. Formerly the power of princes was employed to destroy liberty, and to establish arbitrary subordination; but in our days we have seen those who have best comprehended the true principles of the new plan of politics, arbitrarily limiting the power of the higher classes, and thereby applying their authority towards the extension of public liberty, by extinguishing every subordination, other than that due to the established laws. (The fallacy of this argument is palpable: What are these established laws? The edicts of arbitrary princes. But this new system of liberty is in every thing consistent. What a contrast is this to the sentiment of Montesquieu, "La Monarchie se PERD lorsque le prince rapportant tout uniquement à lui, appelle l'etat à sa capitale, la capitale à la cour, & la cour à sa seule personne," which is the case with every arbitrary King in Europe.) The fundamental maxim in some of the greatest ministers, has been to restrain the power of the great lords. The natural inference that people drew from such a step, was, that the minister thereby intended to make every thing depend on the prince's will only. This I do not deny. But what use have we seen made of this new acquisition of power? Those who look into events with a political eye, may perceive several acts of the most arbitrary authority exercised by some late European sovereigns, with no other view than to establish public liberty upon a more extensive bottom. (It is pity this Author did not explain his ideas of the words public liberty: They however are not difficult to be guessed at; the species of freedom which is built on such rotten foundations is very evident.) And although the prerogative of some princes be increased considerably beyond the bounds of the ancient constitution, even to such a degree as perhaps justly to deserve the name of usurpation; yet the consequences resulting from the revolution cannot every where be said, upon the whole, to have impaired what I call public liberty*."

I cannot

* An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Economy. By Sir James Stewart, Vol. i. p. 248.

Swift observes, that there is a set of sanguine tempers who deride and ridicule in the number of sopperies, all apprehensions of a loss of English liberty (*Works*, Vol. iii. p. 55.) Such ridicule, however, is very badly founded; nor ought we to put too much confidence in the lively maxims of such an agreeable author as M. Beaumelle; he is, however, very sensible of the value of liberty properly so called.—“England, says he, is a very striking instance

I cannot help adding here a short sentence from Rousseau; not that I apply it fully to this author, of whom I am totally ignorant, but to all who prefer an equivocal species of liberty to that which is the birthright of Britons. "Les ames basses ne croyent point aux grands hommes: De vils esclaves fourient d'un air moqueur à ce mot de liberté †."

instance, that an unshaken and steady constitution is a happiness that cannot be too dearly purchased.—The constitution of England is immortal, because a wise people cannot be enslaved by an enemy at home, nor a free people by an enemy abroad. Rome perished; and was it possible for her to subsist? her system tended to aggrandizing herself; it did not tend to her preservation. England is arrived to such a pass, as to be impossible for her to perish, because revolutions, which should have been the bane of her system, have served only to complete it." (*Mes pensées.*) Luxury has not done the utmost against this constitution, for although the above-recited Author would have us believe that the operations of trade on constitutions are not hurtful in changing them; yet I shall very readily agree with Rollin, who declares, that—"The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain and indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages and all nations does but too clearly demonstrate this maxim." *Anc. Hist. Manners of the Assyrians, Art. 5. Sect. 1.*

† *Contract Social*, p. 202. This sacred word ought not to be prostituted to that freedom a people enjoys, which is open to the political prescriptions of state physicians, such as are mentioned in the following passage; it is written by a Frenchman on French liberty.—"Oh! si, au lieu de cela, vous vous chargiez de faire labourer tous les champs, en vertu de ce que c'est à vous à faire le service public, & que le soin de la subsistance de vos sujets en est la première fonction, vous croiriez faire votre charge, je le veux; mais vous seriez dans le fait la plus grande faute politique. A cet égard vous sentez cela: C'est cependant ce qu'on fait tous les jours en votre nom, sous prétexte de la police, de prévoir les malheurs, les disettes, & autres masques du monopole, qui abusent de votre sollicitude paternelle. Car dire au laboureur, je veux avoir la clef de votre grenier, c'est lui dire, je veux ordonner, à vos fraix & à vos risques, de votre administration journalière, de votre travail, de vos semences, de vos récoltes, de vos achats, de vos ventes, de vos repas, de vos moments, &c. par mon autorité confiée à une multitude d'agents étrangers à vos intérêts & aux miens." *Theorie de L'Empat. p. 12.*

E S S A Y III.

Of the present State of AGRICULTURE in the BRITISH DOMINIONS.

FROM treating of government, which alone can yield security to any of the possessions of mankind, the transition to agriculture, which yields the most important possessions—and which can only flourish in consequence of government, is not, I apprehend, abrupt. This subject will not be improperly divided into the following parts:

1. *General Remarks.*
2. *Independency.*
3. *Population.*
4. *Riches.*
5. *Present State of the Practice.*
6. *Possible and probable Improvements.*

S E C T. I.

General Remarks.

IF there is any profession or employment among mankind, which, from its antiquity, usefulness and innocence, ought to be held foremost in esteem, it is undoubtedly that of husbandry. All others depend on this alone; no invention can supply its place: The wisest nations and individuals have concurred not only in protecting it, but regarding its professors as the most valuable people in a state: Many great and potent sovereigns

reigns have even practised this art*: Nor can there be a stronger proof of the approaching destruction of any nation, than to see a disregard of agriculture among them, and a ridicule on its professors; when this was the case among those Romans who had once so honoured it, their dissolution speedily followed †. But in the happy times of that famous republic nothing was esteemed equally with agriculture. It was reckoned, to use the expression of Mr. Wallace ‡, the most innocent, most useful, most pleasant, and most honourable employment.—The greatest men took delight in it. Those who commanded victorious armies, shone in the most august assemblies, and had the chief direction of public affairs, did not only amuse themselves with agriculture, but studied it, and often employed much of their time in it. In this way they supported their families in a simple and frugal manner; in this way they promoted the interests of their country. Dictators taken from the plough, and returning to it, after governing their country with supreme authority! What epocha are these in the annals of human nature! In Xenophon's economics may be found how much this first of arts was honoured among the Greeks and more ancient nations.

A slight review of history will convince us of the importance of all enquiries relating to agriculture. The principles of an art of such infinite consequence to mankind cannot be too well known, nor its most distant relations too minutely analyzed: Such an examination, however, being entirely general, will enter no further into this essay, than as connected with the interests of Britain. The connection between agriculture and population is too striking to escape any one, but the balance of them is by no means clear; the world it is supposed has been peopled in different ages to very different degrees. Quere, Does agriculture flourish in proportion to the numbers to be fed? Or do those numbers encrease in proportion to the quantity of provisions furnished by agriculture? It is no easy matter to resolve this question, the subject, however, of the following sheets is nearly connected with it; due attention must therefore be given to it. The different combinations, of which this enquiry is susceptible are very numerous; the degree of a nation's independency founded on her own culture—and the consequences of the total of a people

* Compare the amusements of modern Kings, with such as agriculture would furnish them.—What a contrast! No monarch should be without his experimental farm; it would yield as rational an entertainment as a King of France slaughtering partridges by thousands, in fields untrod by sportsmen, or a King of Spain shooting cats by torch-light.

† See Columella's lamentation of the loss of the ancient taste. *De Re Rustica*, pref. and lib. 1. c. 1. & c. 3.

‡ *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 98.

being employed in it, branch from this common stem, though for the sake of a clearer precision, they will be separated in the ensuing sections.

The balance of the earth's productions, and the labour bestowed on them, is another point of enquiry, which extends to the foundations of all national riches, and will prove the easiest means of explaining the principles of the British commerce and power, so far as they depend on husbandry.

The state of husbandry, and the improvements of which it is capable in the variety of territories which form the dominions of Britain, will conclude this enquiry; a vast and ample field! The candid reader, while he condemns the insufficiency of the author's labours, will form some idea of the vastness of the subject, and accept a sketch in the place of a finished picture: If he meets with an attempt at elucidating the various subjects of which this essay treats, on principles not copied from others but drawn from the most attentive examination, with subjection to no authority but that of fact and reason, he will the readier excuse those mistakes and failings which must result from a want of that universal information which people high in public stations can alone command.

S E C T. II.

Of the Independency resulting from British Agriculture.

HOLLAND is commonly quoted as the grand instance of a state being independent, without growing bread enough to keep its inhabitants from starving; But if this situation can be called real independence, our ideas of the meaning of that word are very imperfect indeed; for it depends upon the neighbours of the Dutch to determine whether they shall starve or not, a circumstance which surely is strongly expressive of dependence. It may be said that the improbability of such a combination among all the neighbours of a state is so great, that no conclusions can be drawn from the supposition; but the only conclusion at present wanted is the *possibility* of the thing; and it should be remembered that it is the universality of the Dutch trade, and their being so truly a commercial people, that no branches come amiss to them, provided they yield even the most trifling profits, which throws such a constant plenty of corn into their markets; the larger a general trade is, the more certain will be the supply

supply of any single commodity; if the Dutch trade in general was to fall, their plenty of corn would vanish likewise; the interest which other nations would have in feeding them with it, would not effect a regular supply: This truth is very obvious from the case of those countries which at present do not raise enough for their use: How frequently do they pay even an exorbitant price, and yet cannot, in some years, keep from starving; witness the Neapolitans—in some years even the French themselves: Whereas, if those nations were to make corn an article of constant trade among many others, as the Dutch do, they would always, in the common course of affairs, be supplied. But even this supply would depend upon their trade at large, and upon the good-will of their neighbours; for in the first place, the demand at home for corn, not being constant but various, would not alone support such a commerce as would be necessary for commanding a sufficiency; and in the next, an unforeseen combination of political circumstances, or an unthought-of general scarcity, might cut off a supply from others. From all which circumstances it may easily be deduced, that a nation that does not raise corn enough to feed itself, *must*, in the nature of things, be dependent for bread and life on others.

Even the fertile kingdom of France, naturally so able to maintain a vastly greater number of inhabitants than she possesses, has been entirely dependent on her neighbours for bread, and even on her greatest enemy. It is very well remembered how the war of 1744 terminated; when the infinite distress of famine, which fell on all France, not only obliged them to pay the English for vast quantities of corn in specie, but even necessitated them to conclude a peace in the midst of a career of conquest, and not the dread of a Russian army as some have fondly imagined. This dependency of a people so amply provided with land, resulted from a want of culture, which must have the same effects as a want of soil—and in many respects even worse, for the people that have no land, know they *must* be supplied by others and trade accordingly, but those who possess a fine fertile tract, conclude, of course, that corn will be raised at home; but when fatal experience convinces them, that in order to have had it raised, it was necessary to have sown, they are obliged to turn their eyes to their neighbours, and then must be supplied in that imperfect manner which is ever the consequence of a vast demand put off to the moment of consumption. Witness France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, all countries extremely fertile.

National independency can therefore result alone from agriculture——
Not from possessing a rich soil, but from the due cultivation of it. If a nation

nation relies on being supplied by her neighbours in the hour of want, she will be totally dependent on them, without having her necessities totally removed; for when once a famine begins to show itself, all the sudden importations that art and speed can devise, will not be able entirely to stop it. Either the extent of the want is not known till too late; or the inland carriage or freight is too difficult, for we generally see vast numbers starved while abundance of ships arrive in their ports with corn. This was the case in France in 1748, and in Naples a few years ago. If, on the other hand, a nation depends on a regular trade for her corn, she must, like the Dutch, be liable to combinations among her neighbours, which are possible, and may prove her ruin; and at the same time will find her very existence to depend upon her commerce at large; and as nothing is more fluctuating than trade, such a dependence, every one will allow, is far different from that on agriculture.

But it may be said, how are any people to depend absolutely on agriculture! and who are they that do depend upon it alone? It will be easy to resolve these queries, and I shall not avoid them, as it is impossible to speak immediately on British agriculture and its consequences, without first unfolding certain general principles, which, by being applied to the state of Great Britain, will throw the subject in the clearest point of view; for which reason I should be sorry if the reader thought I was running wild from my subject, while I endeavoured from foreign examples and general combinations to trace those principles of *dependence on agriculture*, on which the welfare and prosperity of Britain are founded.

When a nation is said to depend on agriculture, it is not to be understood that she, literally speaking, depends on nothing else: Some manufactures are equally necessary, since the business of cultivation cannot be carried on without a great variety of carriages and implements, nor can the profit by cattle be extended to its natural height without manufactures of wool and leather: It would be a very great absurdity in any people to follow agriculture so universally as to buy their shoes and cloaths of foreigners: All that is meant by the assertion is the depending *chiefly* upon agriculture; not chiefly on commerce like the Dutch; on mines like the Spaniards; or on manufactures, as the French did until lately; and yet do in too great a degree. These instances will, I apprehend, sufficiently explain the meaning of the term.

In answer, therefore, to the above query, it may be replied, that the Switzers depend on agriculture. They possess some commerce in the superfluous quantity of their soil's productions, and many necessary manufactures,

tures, but both are subservient to their agriculture. Poland depends entirely upon her agriculture. Sweden and Denmark in a good measure; and if France succeeds in the attempt at exporting corn, manufactures will no longer be her principal aim; as they were while restrictions were laid on husbandry, in order to feed manufactures the cheaper. Great Britain likewise depends chiefly on agriculture, but the assertion requires more limitations to be precise than any of the former ones; for besides the dependence for the necessaries of the age*, she has involved herself, by means of her public debts, in another: If it was asserted, that her entire dependence was upon agriculture, her soil must then not only yield a public revenue sufficient for all the purposes of government, but likewise for the interest of her debts; and if it was found that such impositions would be insupportable to a free people, then she may clearly be said to depend on an aggregate of commerce, manufactures and agriculture.

In the whole circle of politics there is not a more curious point than this of dependence on agriculture; for numerous are the writers who treat the very idea with disdain, and many others who are equally strenuous in its favour: The difficulties in which it is involved, do not however result so much from the mere question in itself, as the state and situation of those nations to whom it is applied: Thus, if it is mentioned with the least reference to Britain or France, a thousand objections immediately are started with respect to taxes, credit, debts, and a multitude of other particulars, which may be of great consequence to the *application* of the principle but cannot affect the principle itself.

To enter much into the spirit of manufactures and commerce, would be to anticipate my subject, but it is necessary here to distinguish between the commerce of those commodities which are merely luxurious, or of a refined elegance, and that of the necessaries of the age: As a part of that prodigious whole of modern political œconomy, that fabric of credit, taxes, military power, &c. which the great kingdoms of Europe take such pains to erect, the first is necessary—but less complicated principles of administration require only the last.

Let it not be imagined that the commerce of necessaries would be inconsiderable to Britain. Very far from it. This nation might depend,

* The necessaries of life is of all others the most indefinite term: They vary in every age.—The reader will take the meaning from the passage in which he finds the expression, and excuse verbal precision.

in the manner I have above explained, on her agriculture, and that commerce which would be in subordination to it, without losing any of her present political importances, very possibly without decreasing her public revenue, and in all probability increase her people thereby: For the balance of the trade of luxuries must lie against a country situated in the latitude of Britain; and all refined elegance tends to depopulation: From whence we may conclude that a dependence on agriculture is not at all inconsistent with numerous manufactures and an extensive commerce: It is only inconsistent with the excess of these, or, in other words, with the balance turning in their favour against the interest of agriculture.—

The exception, however, which I made before, it is necessary to repeat here, that if the public expenses, interest of debts included, run higher than agriculture and its dependent manufactures and commerce will bear, then such application of this principle of *dependence on agriculture* becomes injudicious.

It is no easy matter to discover precisely in what degree Great Britain and France have of late years depended on their agriculture. The extraordinary supplies which the first has found requisite for conducting her affairs, have all been raised by means of credit and paper, if the tautology is allowed: And the foundation of this credit is laid in the aggregate of commerce and consumption at large; to analyze which is impossible: But there is great reason to believe that commerce, in these matters of credit, is considered much more than agriculture: The great fabric of commerce, taxes and credit, which is built in Holland, with scarce any soil for a foundation, has operated strongly on the imaginations of those who have had the direction of British affairs.

France has been in very different situations: All her foreign commerce by sea, which is by far the most considerable, has been ruined more than once; her manufactures of course have suffered severely: Her credit twice struck dead, and notwithstanding these heavy strokes, she has managed to raise immense revenues to conduct expensive wars, and supply the most prodigal court in Europe with food for its luxury. What fund provided these, besides her agriculture? None but her inland trade to Germany and Switzerland, and the exportation of what manufactures she could spare, and which foreign ships could carry out: All besides these her agriculture supplied; which it is palpable was infinitely more than three times her commerce and manufactures could yield. If that kingdom, therefore, could, in the times of horrid confusion, resulting from such a general ruin of trade, national bankruptcy, and an unsuccessful war; if she could, in such a period, support a consuming war,

all

all the ordinary expences of government, and pay the interest of a prodigious debt, by means of her agriculture, how much better might she be able to flourish by it in times of peace and regularity, with such trade and manufactures as depended on it! It is extremely plain from this instance that mighty kingdoms, even in this age of commerce, may exist and flourish by agriculture alone, as well as such small states as Switzerland. If any doubt remained, surely quoting China would remove it in a moment.— The most populous and richest empire upon earth enjoys not trade enough to export their own manufactures on their own bottoms, nor manufacture a single commodity that is not the product of their own soil.

The independency resulting from agriculture, taken in a literal meaning, might be thought to signify the security of possessing a sufficiency of bread: But as all suppositions of recurring to primæval simplicity of living are extremely absurd in modern, and of course refined ages, I shall never annex that meaning to the term, but use it as I have hitherto done, *the production of the necessaries of the age*: This independency must therefore be proportionally perfect according to the variety of useful products of which a soil is capable: Many of the productions of the temperate zone are necessary in the torrid, and *vice versa*. China, and the British and Spanish dominions, are the only ones upon earth that are perfect in the variety of latitudes. China lies in the hottest and almost the coldest climates, by which means her productions are prodigiously various. Spain and Spanish America enjoy the same advantages, stretching southward to as cold a climate as China does to the north. The British dominions likewise extend from the line to the north pole, through territories capable of producing every commodity the most luxurious nation can wish. All the *necessaries of life* peculiar to the various climates, particularly wheat, maize, rice, fish, are produced by them in the utmost plenty, and hemp and flax in some quantities. The *necessaries of the age*, which consist of unmanufactured productions, are not sufficiently extracted from these fertile countries, though many of them are their natural products, such as wine, oil, raw silk, and perhaps spices. Many, it is true, they yield, particularly sugar, coffee, indigo, and others: Tea might easily be raised in them: But of these circumstances more hereafter.

This is a very slight sketch, but it is sufficient to display the multiplicity of necessaries which the different parts of the British dominions produce; products sufficient to render this nation to the full as independent of those of other countries, as the Chinese themselves are: The manufactures and

commerce which result from them, the extensive navigation this various agriculture occasions, are truly such as depend on it, and which I have already observed, are consistent with a national dependence upon that.

Before I conclude this section, it is necessary to take a concise view of several kingdoms and states in respect of the dependence they place on agriculture, and draw a comparison between them and Great Britain; by which means it will be the easier to form an idea of the degree of the latter's dependence on that most useful of all arts: Premising, however, that all very numerous bodies of people inhabiting large domains, such as Britain, France, Spain, &c. must, in the nature of things, depend, for the absolute necessaries of life, mostly upon their own soil, the variation of dependence lies in their political oconomy; in proportion as this is more or less perfect, they will, in a regular degree, more or less depend at certain times upon their neighbours.

France relies more upon her agriculture than Great Britain, for we know, that, incumbered as she is with debts, she can subsist and carry on an expensive war without foreign commerce or credit: This might be the case with Great Britain, but we cannot know it: In another circumstance the latter depends more on it than France did until lately, for by allowing the exportation of corn, and giving a bounty on it, she has been infinitely better supplied than ever France was, wherein Famine has made her appearance very often: Thus, however, is a comparison between what Britain is, with what France was; the case has been altered since 1764, when the French government first allowed a free exportation; and there is the greatest reason to believe, that for the future that people will completely supply themselves, and if ever a bounty should be allowed, and more political principles of administration followed, much more than supply themselves. Upon the whole, therefore, we may venture to conclude the degree of dependence on agriculture in favour of France*.

To be able to assert, that Spain depends as much upon her agriculture as France, it would be necessary to see if she could subsist as well as

* The above sketch is sufficient to turn the scale; but let us further add,

1. The public revenue arises in France in a greater degree from the soil and the consumption of its products than that of Britain.

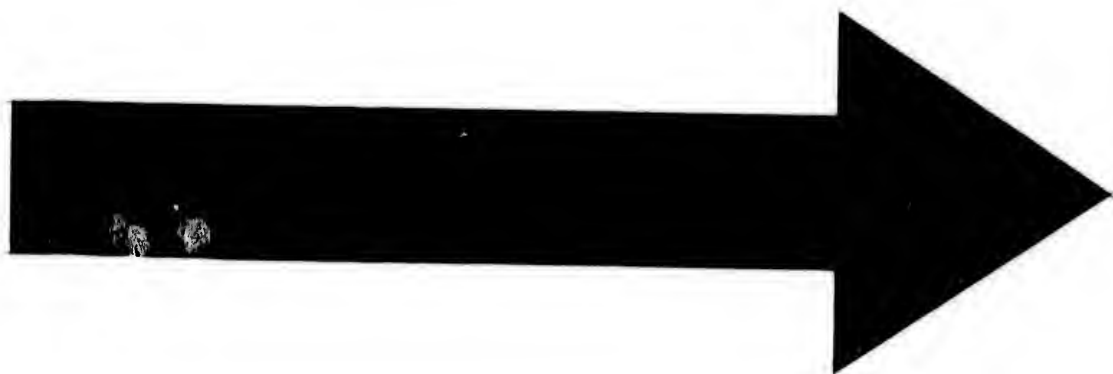
2. It admits a query whether a naval power could be supported on the plan of dependence on agriculture: Now as Britain may be said politically to depend in a greater measure on her navy than France does on hers, this query, not being clearly to be answered in the affirmative, is of some weight.

France

France has done, without her mines and foreign commerce: This circumstance is enough to give the superiority, in this respect, to France. Great Britain depends considerably upon her credit and foreign commerce; Spain most certainly as much; in all probability greatly more, on her mines. The former more than supplies her own consumption with the necessaries of life; the latter is frequently obliged to her neighbours for them. Spain depends as much on her naval power as Britain can do, the connection between the principals and their colonies being of more consequence to the former than the latter. Spain, on the whole, depends less on her agriculture than Great Britain.

Italy, considered at large, enjoys a small commerce, such inconsiderable manufactures, and no mines; what is on agriculture alone she depends, raw silk being reckoned one of her productions: It will doubtless be observed, that if this is an instance of the expediency of a dependence on agriculture, it proves that such a conduct is productive of great misery. But the answer to this I should apprehend equally palpable.— That the ill effects of the political conduct of Italy does not arise from the insufficiency of agriculture itself—but from an insufficient agriculture: Cultivation so miserably guided, and so horribly oppressed, can yield a flourishing independence no where: This instance, therefore, proves nothing against agriculture; on the contrary, it shews that a nation may subsist by it, and with reputation among the neighbouring powers, under the greatest disadvantages. Turkish tyranny is an exception to every thing; it is an instance too foreign to be produced. Italy, however, does not feed her own inhabitants, years of famine frequently come; add to this, that the supplies she receives from travellers, the amount of her manufactures and trade, being taken into the account, deduct a good deal from her dependence on her agriculture; and if we consider how infinitely superior British husbandry is to that of the country of *Virgil*, and the quantities of corn she exports to this very Italy, we may I think determine that an equality subsists in this point: But I freely own the contrast between these countries is so excessive, that a precise parallel is very difficult to draw. This likewise is the case with Germany, which is so split into a variety of interests, that an infinite difference is found among them in respect of dependence on agriculture: But on the whole there is good reason to believe that Great Britain is inferior.

With Poland the case is clear at the first view: She has nothing but agriculture: Commerce and manufactures are equally unknown to her. Since Great Britain obstructed the exportation of corn about twenty years ago, or not so much, (but I write from memory) Sweden has taken such



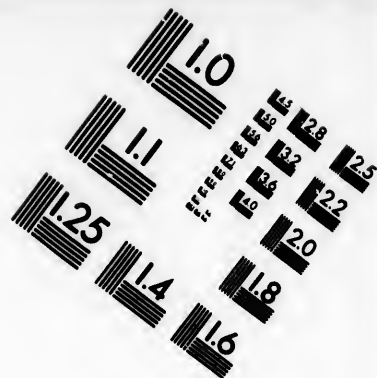
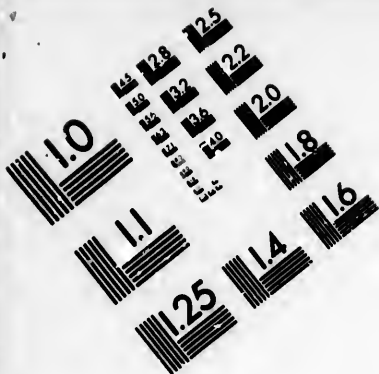
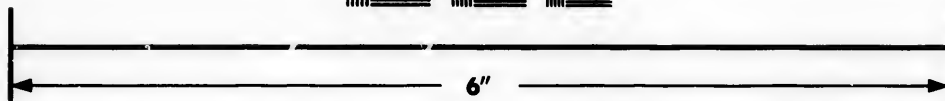
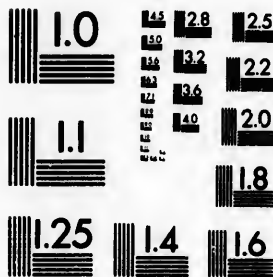


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effectual pains to perfect her culture, that she has for some years past supplied herself entirely, and is all probability will continue to do it. She is much superior to Great Britain in depending entirely upon her agriculture. The same observation is applicable to Denmark and Norway.

In regard to Holland, the superiority of Britain is obvious at once. She is equally so in comparison with Portugal, for reasons plain enough to all. But Switzerland bears away the palm from all Europe. She depends entirely upon her agriculture, and yet enjoys all the necessaries of life, in as ample a manner as any sensible people can desire. She is not without some inland commerce, and has several manufactures of importance, but all depend totally upon her agriculture.

S. B. C. T. III.
Of the Populousness resulting from British Agriculture.

IN proportion as a nation depends upon her agriculture, the numbers employed by it, in comparison with the total of the people, will be greater or less. But politicians differ greatly in opinion concerning the expediency of a very great proportion being so occupied. Some assert, that the more hands are employed in culture, the more populous the nation will be; while others think, that the encreasing them adds only to a vicious population, which encreases numbers only to starve them speedily in one case, and to destroy the public revenue in another. In the whole circle of political oeconomy there is no point of greater importance than this; I shall therefore give it an examination: But as this is not an essay on agriculture in general, but on that of Britain, in particular, I shall enter no further into the question than as it is applicable to this nation.

Of the Population resulting from the Division of Property.

I shall first give a slight extract from Mr. Wallace's reasoning. "The more persons employ themselves in agriculture and fishing, and the arts which are necessary for managing them, to the greatest advantage, the world in general will be more populous; and as fewer hands are employed in this manner, there will be fewer people. It is of no consequence

* Numbers of Mankind
quence

quence in this argument how the people are employed otherwise, fully though they are employed in arts which may increase the riches and numbers of particular nations, if they are employed in such as are necessary for providing food.

"For if 10,000, or any other determinate number, be employed merely in works of ornament, and their labour does not serve for multiplying food, there must be a certain number, by whose labour providing food, these 10,000 must be supported; and if these 10,000 instead of labouring for ornament, were employed directly in providing food, they might not only provide for themselves, but likewise for a certain number of others; by which greater number might be supported on the whole. In order, therefore, to have the greatest possible number of inhabitants in the world, all mankind should be employed directly in providing food; and this must always be the case till the whole earth shall be cultivated to the full. But whenever the earth shall happen to be as richly cultivated as is possible, then will there be room for those arts that tend only to ornament, since then as are employed in the more necessary labour of providing food, must be able to purchase it for a much greater number than themselves."

This reasoning is undoubtedly just; but it is of a very contrary tendency to the following of Sir James Stewart's. But it does not follow from this (from the importance of agriculture), that almost every body in the state should be employed in it; that would be inverting the order of things, and turning the servant into the master. The duty and business of man is not to feed; he is fed, in order to do his duty, and to become useful.

What is his duty, and how is he to become useful? By putting money in the hands of a merchant, or a lawyer, or a mercenary soldier, I should not know if the cultivator of a small (or large) landed property is useful to society, in feeding his fellow-creatures, as any of those fine professions, or any others, his father can instance in. His capacity is it that the landlord cannot be as serviceable to his country, as the man who does his duty and becomes useful, mentioned by the author. In another place he observes, "That if an additional number of people produced, do no more than feed themselves, then I perceive no advantage gained to the society by their production." It is necessary to remark, that the author, throughout his voluminous work, is frequently reminding the

reader that he always supposes an active and sensible statesman at the helm, but this passage is applied to no particular country, and therefore we are to suppose it meant of one that possesses neither state nor laws worth a farthing—if either are good, the very multiplication alone is a public benefit. If he had applied the maxim to the encrease of the race of blackguards at Naples, it would have been just; but not to when general. Behold the man who cultivates in England his little freehold—suppose it so small as only to maintain himself and family: is he a useless being? are his children of no use? When the necessities of the state call to arms—when fleets are to be manned, armies to be raised, are his boys of no use? Is not the family clothed? Are not others employed to cloath them?—How, therefore, can the production of those who only feed themselves be useless? But rather say, How is it possible for a man to feed himself without assisting his fellows?

This latter query is of importance enough to be pursued, as it will throw a great light on the subject, and display the consequence of small freeholders to this nation; and it is here necessary to quote this author's description of the French vine-dresser: "In the wine provinces of France we find the lands, which lie round the villages, divided into very small lots, and the cultivation is carried to a very extraordinary height. These belong, *in property*, to the peasants, who cultivate the vines. No frugality can be greater than in the consumption of this produce, and the smallest weed which comes up among the grain is turned to account for the food of animals. The produce of such lands, I may say, is entirely consumed by the proprietor and his family, who are all employed in the cultivation, and there is no superfluous quantity here produced for the maintenance of others. By the supposition we imply, that the bit of land is sufficient for maintaining the man and his family, and nothing more; he has no grains to sell, no food can by him be supplied to any other person whatever; but the state of other lands, capable of yielding a surplus, such as the vineyard, produces a demand for his labour. This labour considered, with respect to the vine-dresser, is a fund for providing all his wants in manufactures, salt, &c. and what is over must be considered as his profits, out of which he pays the royal impositions. Here we have an idea of society. The vine-dresser depends upon the proprietor for the price of his labour; the proprietor upon the vine-dresser for his surplus. But did we suppose all the kingdom parcelled out and laboured as the spot which lies round the village, what would become of the vine-dresser, with regard to all his other wants? there would be no vines to dress, no surplus nourishment any where found, consequently no employment, not even life for those who had no land. From this ex-
ample

ample we discover the difference between agriculture exercised *as a trade*, and *as a direct means of subsisting*. We have the two species in the vine-dresser; he labours the vineyard as a trade, and the spot of ground for subsistence. We may further conclude, that as to the last part he is only useful to himself; but as to the first he is useful to the society, and becomes a member of it; consequently, were it not for his trade, the state would lose nothing, though the vine-dresser and his land were both swallowed up by an earthquake. The food and the consumers would both disappear together, without the least political harm to any body; consequently, such a species of agriculture is no benefit to a state; and consequently neither is that species of multiplication, implied by such a distribution of property, any benefit. Thus an over-extension of agriculture and division of lands, becomes an abuse, and so consequently does an over-multiplication."

The author, in this passage, allows that the *division occasions multiplication*. The great point laboured to be proved, is, that lands *may* be too much divided: This was as clear before the author wrote as ever it will after. What is the line of distinction? What division is proper and what improper? No body can assert, that there ought to be only a square perch allotted to each person, for that would not suffice even for a house; suppose we extend this perch to the size of the vine-dresser's farm, and strike off his labour in the vineyard; the author asserts that it is so small as not to be sufficient for manufactures, salt, and royal impositions; this, therefore, is precisely the same case as the rod of ground, because insufficient for his *maintenance*, which includes manufactures as well as food—for the man and his family must be clothed, and use implements of husbandry. But the ideas, in the above extract, flow from a very different source: "Were it not from the vine-dresser's trade, the state would lose nothing were he swallowed up by an earthquake." This appears to be a mistake, because it is impossible he should exist without a trade, although that supposition is made by the author, when he speaks of the whole kingdom being parcelled out. "There would not even be life for those who had no land."—There would, therefore, for those who had some.—Here is the stumbling-block: I consider bread and cloathing in the same light, but not even bread could be had without implements— even taxes to the state are the same as bread, if the vine-dresser could not pay them, he could not feed; his land would be seized.

The question is, Can a man feed himself without being assistant to his countrymen? or, in the author's words, without the earthquake's being a political mischief to the country? The vine-dresser's bit of land is supposed only to yield bread sufficient.—This is a supposition of a too minute

minute division of land, so is that of the square perch; nor is there any difference between them: The quantity sufficient for pursuing agriculture as a means of direct subsistence, must be considerable enough to yield food to the cultivator and his family, and a surplus of some product or other, which may be exchanged with others (either immediately, or by means of money) for the remaining necessaries of life, such as cloathing, implements, taxes, &c. &c. I appeal to any one, whether to suppose a piece of land, so small as not to yield the latter, would not be as absurd as the square perch. For to imagine that a kingdom could be parcelled into such bits as Sir James supposes, and cultivated for subsistence, especially in so perfect a manner as he describes, without, at the same time, supposing a number of manufacturers and necessaries, and in consequence a circulation, and a general band of society, which ties the whole people together, is a supposition which leads to no principles, and from which nothing but error can be deduced.

The importance of the subject will plead my excuse for endeavouring to analyze it yet further. Sir James's words—"By the supposition we imply, that the bit of land is sufficient for maintaining the man and his family, and nothing more."—It should seem from this, that the *smallness* of the bits of lands is supposititious, not real; but be that as it may, and to transfer the instance from France to England, let us take a nearer examination of a little English freeholder. Himself, his wife and children, we will suppose to make a family of six persons: He possesses a freehold of twelve acres of land, eight arable and four grass. The latter maintains two cows amply, with a little assistance from the arable, and if much assistance is taken, then three. His eight acres he throws into a course of husbandry, raising three acres of wheat possibly every year; or more probably, two acres of wheat, two of barley or oats, two of pease, and two of clover: This would be the most advantageous course, as turneps would only be proper when he could purchase beasts to be fattened with them; in which case they should be grown instead of pease.—His two acres of wheat will maintain the whole family very amply in bread; besides which, they may eat the produce of one cow. His cows, his clover, and his offal corn, will maintain a fow extremely well; when he fats any of her pigs, he must use some of his barley or pease. His clover, and a little running with the cows in the grass, and one acre of oats, will keep the two horses, with which he tills his land. But I must here observe, that if he kept a yoke of oxen for that purpose, his profit by growing turneps would be great, and his oxen would be much easier fed than horses. Now let us examine what surplus he will have for wear and tear, cloathing and taxes. The produce of a cow.—An acre of barley, if he

he fats no hogs.—The produce of the sow, if she brings him ten pigs in a year; I allow him two fatted for his own use, eight therefore are sold lean.—The two acres of turneps or pease.—And the poultry he keeps.—This surplus Sir James Stewart would call his trade. Nothing can be a stronger proof that such a surplus (and probably greater than I have specified) would remain, than the *rent* which is paid for such spots of land by occupiers who maintain themselves, and after that are able to pay for manufactures, &c. but then he will live by no means so well as I have supposed the owner himself.

But Sir James will doubtless ask, What are to become of the four children? They will grow up and marry, and if a kingdom *was* portioned into such small freeholds, what is to maintain them and their children. A single thought on the management of this little farm will convince us what a variety of manufactures are necessary to support it. Cloathing, household furniture, implements of tillage and carriage, shoeing, dairy utensils, &c. &c. &c. What a multitude of trades are set to work by this little freeholder! From whence are these manufactures to be peopled, but by the children of such men? How are populous cities to be supported with inhabitants, but at the expense of the country? How are armies and fleets to be manned? There are wants numerous enough to be satisfied by his children. But if we take a view of modern society, and all useful speculations must have that for its end, we shall find an infinity of employments besides those abovementioned, by supplying of which, every man who produces children becomes publicly useful; because those children fill up the gaps of the state which must otherwise be stopped by the cultivators themselves.

According to the ideas stated in the passage I began with quoting from Mr. Wallace, the way to render Britain for instance as populous as possible, would be to split the whole into such small freeholds as the above; employing no body in any arts but those of necessity, throwing the surplus of population perpetually into the cultivation of fresh land, until the whole soil was in perfect culture; and then admit the ornamental arts for the employment and maintenance of the future increase of population. But I shall proceed to another passage in Sir James's Inquiry, which further displays his sentiments on this important point.—“In our days, the principal object is to support the lower classes from their own multiplication, and for this purpose an unequal division of property seems to me the more favourable scheme; because the wealth of the rich falls naturally into the pockets of the industrious poor; whereas the produce of a very middling fortune does no more than feed the children of the proprietor,

who in course becomes very commonly, and very naturally, an useless burthen upon the land. Let me apply this to an example. Do we not familiarly observe, that the consolidation of small estates and the diminution of gentlemen's families, of middling fortunes, do little harm to a modern state. There are always abundance of this class of inhabitants to be found whenever there is occasion for them. When a great man buys up the lands of the neighbouring gentry or small proprietors, all the complaints which are heard, turn upon the distress which thence result to the lower classes from the loss of their masters and protectors; but never one word is heard of that made by the state, from the extinction of the former proprietor's family*."

That great inequality of property is favourable to the multiplication of the lower classes, is an opinion which it is difficult to believe ever will be fully proved—*because the wealth of the rich falls into the pockets of the industrious*: But does not the wealth of the man of middling fortune fall equally into their pockets? A tract of country that yields a rent of 50,000 l. a year, one great man enjoys the whole; in all probability above forty of it are spent in the capital, in a profusion of elegancies, flowing into the pockets of the industrious it is true, but the industrious in what? Why the furnishers of luxurious eatables, delicate cookery and French wines—the exhibitors of public shows and entertainments; Italian fingers and French dancers—the industrious gentry of Newmarket and White's.—In a word, in the encouragement of precisely that species of industry which is pernicious to the welfare of a kingdom: But if the great man does not indulge himself in any excess—yet what are the manufacturers he employs? None that work up the products of his own country.—Embroideries, silks, oriental and foreign furniture, costly productions of the fine arts—keeping a variety of attendants in a state of celibacy, besides the consumption of foreign manufactures and products. Thus the income of this tract of land is expended very little to the benefit of the kingdom at large, or the spot in particular; for the expences of a short summer residence, is but little, compared with what is wasted in the capital: It is lucky for the neighbourhood if the vanity of waters, lawns and plantations, seize him: These sometimes take large sums, but not often.

Adjoining to this tract of land lies another of the same rent, but belonging to a thousand freeholders of fifty pounds *per annum*, living in their neat mansions on their rents, in the midst of as many or perhaps

more tenants. What a population is here! and what a consumption of necessary manufactures and home products! Suppose they cultivate their own freeholds, as their income will be large enough to live without any work but managing, of course their employment of labourers would be very great, and population equally flourishing*. Now, whether the 50,000 l. a year was the income of one man, or divided among a thousand or five hundred, or even in estates of three or four hundred pounds a year; in both cases the wealth would fall into the pockets of the industrious, but what a wonderful difference is there to the public between the ends of such industry!—The one is for ever exerted to the most beneficial purposes, the other to the most pernicious ones †.

As to the point of country gentlemen of small estates being of such trifling consequence, I shall quote a passage on the subject from a real politician, who is very far from seeking far-fetched reasons for all modern practices. This author says—“Especially amongst that valuable set of men the country gentry of moderate estates, who are the main support of every kingdom, and formerly abounded more in this country than in half Europe. In ancient times, the same estates kept in the same family for a great number of years; but the misfortune at présent is, that the transitions of property are over rapid, and too many family seats have changed their owners:”

—Veteres jam migravere coloni †”.

In Mr. Wallace's *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, the great importance of a minute division of landed property, is fully proved by the most impartial and judicious review of the political œconomy of the

* For a proof of this assertion, see *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England*, p. 72 and 73.

† S'il y a beaucoup de propriétaires mediocres, il y aura peu de degrés d'inégalité: Les propriétaires résident donc dans leurs héritages & plusieurs emploieront l'excédent de leurs denrées à faire la dépense de nouveaux établissemens de culture, afin de pourvoir mieux leur famille, d'augmenter la propriété utile que les enfans auront à partager. Mais si les propriétaires sont en petit nombre, il y aura de grands degrés d'inégalité parmi eux; L'effet de la richesse sera de produire la variété & le raffinement des jouissances. Les riches laissant le soin de la culture à des colons partiaires, se rassembleront & formeront des villes; la communication augmentée—augmentera le nombre des caprices. Les superflu de denrées sera employé à les satisfaire; & la certitude que les enfans auront un grand superflu, ne laissant aucune inquiétude sur leur sort, la folie usera & abusera librement, au lieu de planter & de créer: Mais ce luxe ne sera point malfaisant, puisqu'il ne sera point opéré par un déplacement forcé de la propriété. *Principes et Observations œconomiques*, tom. 1. p. 40.

‡ *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 197:

ancient and most populous nations. Population is a most undoubted consequence of such a division; and there can be no doubt but if land in Great Britain was more divided, she would be proportionably more populous. More food would be produced, with the attendant consequences mentioned by Mr. Wallace in the quotation inserted above, for large proprietors have their attention called off from their lands by the luxurious refinements of great cities: Waste tracts are not so likely to be broken up and cultivated under the auspices of such, as under the smaller landlord, who feels the necessity of making his soil produce to the utmost; nor should we forget that in general it is impossible land should be so well cultivated by tenants as by the owners themselves. View the vast tracts of uncultivated land, which are such a disgrace to this country; they will all be found to belong to considerable proprietors. Enquire the reasons of their laying waste; you will be told that it will not answer to cultivate them, farmers will hire them for nothing but sheep-walks;—but raise a little farm-house, with a few necessary buildings, and give the property of twenty acres of the most barren land to a stout labourer; do you imagine that the nominal barrenness of the soil will deter him from cultivating it? By no means: Knowing how secure he is to reap the profit of his industry, he will employ himself and his family vigorously in the raising some product or other suitable to the soil, and in a few years render his little property an ample fund for the maintenance of a family.—— This argument, it must however be allowed, will by no means hold good when applied to tenants—they can only occupy such lands in large, but cannot afford to pay rent for it in small quantities.—— And this does not proceed from any probable want of profit, but from the want of that eager industry which actuates a man who labours on his own property; and having but a small stock, is necessitated to make the utmost of it.

The three British islands are supposed to contain about 72,000,000 of acres. It is very difficult to discover what proportion of the surface is occupied by rivers, lakes, rocks, roads, houses and tracts, *impossible* to cultivate; but there is great reason to think the quantity not so considerable as some have imagined: Ten millions of acres I should apprehend a large allowance †; for that is a tract above half as large as the whole island of Ireland. There remains then 60,000,000 of acres to cultivate. Suppose this was divided into freeholds of twenty acres each, it forms 3,000,000 of such, and of course as many families, which, reckoning

† It should be remembered that Sir William Petty (who calculated the whole at 30,000,000) reckons in England 28,000,000 of acres of profitable land; the 29th part, therefore, he throws aside for such an allowance as this. *Political Arithmetic*, p. 7.

fix to a family, would amount to 18,000,000 of people, but from this number 1,000,000 may be deducted for those, the freeholders who, may not marry; though I am well persuaded the number of such would be exceeding small. To these 17,000,000 we must add the number of manufacturers necessary for supplying the total with cloathing, implements, &c. and likewise the number employed in publick business; this calculation must be very indefinite, we cannot judge by the present proportion, because such numbers are employed for exportation; but by calling the total 25,000,000, no exaggeration need be feared. For this number there would be just two acres and an half *per* head, a quantity highly sufficient, and especially if we consider that no allowance is made for fish; the coasts of these islands are so prodigiously well supplied, and the lakes and rivers are so abounding with them, that some millions of people might undoubtedly be fed by them. Coal pits and hedge rows would supply firing.—The latter at present maintain the farmers in fuel, in farms of less than twenty acres. Even a ditch need not be lost; I have more than once seen a sloping banked one, and yielding a middling crop of potatoes, which they would all do, that had no *standing* water in them, which none ought to have: The rotten wood which falls in them, and the rich soil which is washed into them, form a compost which suits that vegetable, and the shade of the row, and the trees which grow in it, is of very little prejudice to it: Another great improvement is the planting apple-trees in the rows, which might entirely save the allotting any ground to barley. These points of rural oeconomy, and many others, would render the two islands thus divided into small freeholds, I am fully satisfied, even more populous than I have supposed; twenty acres of the medium land, between the best and worst, in proportion to the total quantity of each, would be highly sufficient to maintain six people, and the share of the surplus 8,000,000; and this calculation supposes six people, on every twenty acres, dependent on the agriculture, and not only cultivating the land but supplying the class of supernumeraries (the 8,000,000) with hands to keep up their numbers; which they otherwise would be unable to do, especially as all the waste of war, &c. &c. comes from them. Thus the soil would not only keep up its own numbers, but supply the deficiency of the supernumeraries. I have stated this case merely with an eye to multiplication, as to the politics of it, with respect to the principles of the British constitution, that is another question.

With what ease might a certainty be gathered in these matters, if some gentleman who has property in poor, and commonly called barren soils, would try the experiment, by turning twenty acres of his poorest land into

into a little farm, and either give the property of it to some industrious labourer, with a wife and four children, or at least a lease of 99 years at a shilling rent. The capability of such a portion of land's maintaining such a family would then be rendered clear—and the experiment would be perfect, if such farm was thrown into the proper order, by dividing it into several fields, well fenced with the hedge shrubs most proper for the soil; and if any artificial grass is discovered that will really grow luxuriantly on such land, to lay down a field with it; by these means, such poor tracts would be made to turn to the best account possible.

Of the Population resulting from a regular Increase of the Quantity of Food.

No maxim can be clearer than the dependence of population upon the quantity of food produced by any people, provided such quantity be regular; for any surplus, by means of favourable years, or other causes, which occasion an extraordinary plenty, have no effect on population for want of regularity; but any encouragement of agriculture, which, being general and perpetual, has a constant influence on the quantity produced, must increase population. In answer to this, it may be said, that the additional quantity cannot have that effect if it happened to be exported; according to the present policy of Great Britain; but this is by no means so clear as the very exportation may be, and most certainly is an encouragement to culture in general, and tends strongly to lower the price, for a proof of which, we need only to recur to the effects of exportation on the agriculture of England.

There can be no doubt, but if all the corn produced was consumed at home, it would be a sign that population was at a great height; but then we should consider, that the proportion between the quantity of corn produced, and the number of people to be fed, cannot, in the nature of things, be exact; to have corn regularly plentiful and cheap, *more* must be produced than the amount of the home consumption, or the quantity will presently degenerate to *less*. If these islands had 25,000,000 of people in them, and the whole divided as above; even in such case an open exportation ought to be allowed, and even a bounty at certain prices; if no exportation was allowed, the years which yielded considerably above the mean quantity, would prove discouraging to the little freeholders in the price of the quantity eat by the 8,000,000 of supernumeraries.

But

But if an encrease of population depends upon the quantity of food produced, and if such an encrease is of great public benefit, it behoves this nation to encrease the quantity of food by all possible means. The earth's productions bear a regular proportion to the number of people employed in the cultivation; it ought therefore to be the special care of the legislature to encourage agriculture by wholesome laws, framed according to the spirit of the times; that no wrong balance may happen between the numbers employed in husbandry, and all other occupations; since it is exceedingly evident from this reasoning, that no business is of such great consequence as that of raising food. No one was ever more sensible of this truth than Mr. Wallace; he observes with great justice, "That trade and commerce, instead of increasing, may often tend to diminish the numbers of mankind, and while they enrich a particular nation, and entice great numbers of people into one place, may be not a little detrimental upon the whole, as they promote luxury, and prevent many useful hands from being employed in agriculture. The exchange of commodities, and carrying them from one country to another by sea and land does not multiply food; and if such as are employed in this exchange, were employed in agriculture at home, a greater quantity of food would be provided, and a greater number of people might be maintained.—Nor do the operose manufactures of linen and woollen toys, and utensils of wood, or metals, or earth, in which so many hands are employed in a commercial nation, contribute so much to the encrease of the people as many are apt to apprehend: And it is not always true, that in proportion as manufactures are numerous and flourishing, a country must of course be more populous than in times of greater simplicity.—It must be confessed that numerous manufactures make a nation more elegant and magnificent. They introduce a variety of fine cloaths and furniture; but at the same time they divert the attention of mankind from providing food, and while they create a taste for delicacies, and make them necessary in some degree for the bulk of the people, they encrease the number of artists, and diminish that of husbandmen.—In one respect, therefore, a variety of manufactures diverts the attention of mankind from more necessary labour, and prevents the encrease of the people.—This will become more evident, if it shall appear, that, in a state where manufactures abound, every inhabitant has four or five acres of ground to maintain him; and in another, where the taste is more simple, there is not one acre for every member of society.—Suppose a great body of manufacturers in some trading nations that have a large territory, to lay aside their manufactures, and employ themselves in agriculture, pasturage and fishing; they would provide a vast quantity of food; they

they would make all the necessaries of life cheap and easy to be purchased; and it would soon become visible how great a difference there is between agriculture and manufactures, in rendering a nation populous *." The justness of these sentiments, and their being so extremely applicable to the present subject, will excuse the length of the quotation.

I have more than once contrasted the sentiments of this gentleman with those of Sir James Steuart, and there is such a diversity between them in the present instance, that truth must be very far removed from one at least: The latter makes much such a supposition as Mr. Wallace in the quoted passage. His words are, "Let us suppose the wants of mankind in any polite nation of Europe, which lives and flourishes in our days upon the produce of its own soil, reduced all at once to the simplicity of the ancient patriarchs, or even to that of the old Romans. Suppose all the hands now employed in the luxurious arts, and in every branch of modern manufactures, to become quite idle, how could they be subsisted? What œconomy could be set on foot able to preserve so many lives useful to the state? Yet it is plain, by the supposition, that the farmers of the country are capable of maintaining them, since they do so actually. It would be absurd to propose to employ them in agriculture, seeing there are enough employed in this to provide food for the whole †." The farmers are able to provide for the whole, more farmers would be able to provide for more people, Which is the way therefore to procure more? By manufacturing, or providing more food? Surely, by the latter; according to the sentiments of Mr. Wallace. But who are to eat it in the mean time, before the multiplication takes place?—The answer to this is very ready; Export it. Not one of these manufacturers need be idle; the increase of people will be great from their new employment, mouths will be found for the food, and if the progression should be slow, yet a most advantageous trade will, in the mean time, be carried on in exported corn.

From every light in which this point can be considered, it appears extremely clear, that the only means of rendering, or keeping a country populous, is to provide great plenty of food; it is therefore necessary to apply this principle to the present state of British agriculture. There is a most material difference to the prosperity of this nation, between cultivating

* *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 22, 23, 25, 27.

† *Enquiry*, Vol. i. p. 37.

those vegetables which tend immediately to the increase of food, and those which are materials for manufactures, or food for cattle whose flesh is not eaten: And again, between the materials of manufactures, the production of which add fertility to the soil, and prepare it for bread corn, and those which exhaust that fertility, and require the same tillage, manure, and preparation as bread corn. It is extremely evident that these circumstances must have a strong effect on population; the clearest method of examining them will be to form a scale of productions, in the order of their value in respect of population, inserting none but those which are common in some parts of the British Islands*.

I. Wheat justly bears the pre-eminence in all countries, and may be called an universal grower. It is undoubtedly in the temperate zone the most wholesome food, and the principal dependance of the lower classes of people; it is true indeed, that vast quantities of flesh are consumed in England, but the lower people eat but a small proportion of it, and an advantage it is that they eat no more, for the quantity of land necessary to maintain a number in meat, is much greater than for bread: Whatever lands therefore in these islands can bear wheat ought, to be thrown into the culture of it, and such courses of husbandry pursued as are most advantageous for that purpose; great numbers of hands therefore should be encouraged to apply themselves to this culture, which is so much the most advantageous branch of husbandry, that such laws as would have that effect ought certainly to be framed for the purpose. The greatest part of Ireland is a most fertile soil, capable of producing prodigious quantities, but is under such a wretched system of political oeconomy, that not one hundredth part is produced that might be. To have wheat in any country *regularly* plentiful and cheap, is the surest means of promoting population. It is no easy matter to calculate what proportion of the 62,000,000 of acres mentioned above are capable of bearing wheat, but most assuredly infinitely more than are at present applied to it. The consumption of wheat in England has been calculated at 3,840,000 quarters †, which may be supposed to grow upon 1,600,000 acres: The same author that calculates this consumption, reckons the number of the people 6,000,000. If 1,600,000 acres therefore of wheat suffice for 6,000,000 of people, 25,000,000 (the number I before supposed

* In treating of the constitution of the *British Dominions*, it was necessary from the unity of the subject, to connect the American ones with those of Europe; but in the present case a different method is the most eligible, from the extreme difference between the agriculture of each: American husbandry must be inserted in parts of sections by itself.

† Three Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 144.

might be in these islands) would require 6,660,000 acres; and the smallness of this number compared with the total of the surface, proves evidently that I was then very low in that calculation: Nor can any one suppose that a much greater quantity than this might not be regularly produced in these islands. And I apprehend, that it is impossible any political or national business is of so great importance as this of increasing to the utmost, the quantity of wheat produced in the three kingdoms*.

II. Rye is the next beneficial grain that ranks here; and one admirable quality of it, is its growing in poor sandy lands which will not bear wheat, by which means the culture of bread corn is extended, or might be, over the whole territory: Rye is the best grain for bread after wheat, but is not in general reckoned so wholesome, but mixed half and half is excellent; this mixture is called *maslin*. The culture of rye is neglected as much as that of wheat; for there is not a tract of sand in the two islands but would, with moderate improvements, produce crops of it. It will grow to profit on land too poor to yield barley or oats: Was either wheat or rye the only bread corn, one kind of soil must be without it, but these grains are produced on such very different ones, that no tracts of country can be too poor for yielding bread. The consumption of rye in England and Wales is 1,030,000 quarters, or 412,000 acres at two quarters and an half per acre; a very trifling tract of land compared to the quantity of uncultivated soil in England which would yield this grain.

III. Pease in utility follow rye. The white sort are of great importance in affording to the poor, in plentiful years, a nourishing food, and at a low price. When hogs are cheap enough for them to keep one, or to purchase pork, the flesh by means of pease is made to go much further, and each is rendered the more wholesome; but the poor make many hearty meals on pease, without the advantage of the addition of pork. Pease are likewise of infinite utility in feeding and fattening hogs, by which means they conduce greatly to encreasing the quantity of food. Another striking advantage is their ameliorating quality to the

* The most ingenious author of the *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 51. says, "England in a fruitful harvest can produce corn enough (upon supposition that none was sent into foreign countries) to support its inhabitants for four years." Quere whether the author means *does* produce it, or is able by improvements to produce it? The former certainly is not the case with any country. See *Enquiry into Political OEconomy*, Vol. i. p. 1, 112, 113. England, says the author of the *Corn Trade*, p. 203, must be 34 years saving the bread of one.

soil they grow upon: In all rich lands a full crop of pease is sure to be succeeded by a good crop of wheat; and by the best husbandmen is reckoned nearly equal to a fallow.

IV. Potatoes. This root justly deserves the next place in the scale of the earth's productions. Ireland is proof of what vast importance it is as food for mankind; not that it is recommended to be used as generally as in that kingdom; on the contrary, a meal should seldom be made on that alone; but by judicious mixtures the poor of England and Scotland would find it of prodigious consequence to them, if they were encouraged to cultivate it in their gardens and waste spots of ground: Mixed with wheat meal it makes a very nutritive and wholesome bread, which, by the most delicate palates, is scarcely distinguishable from the best white bread. A small piece of meat of any sort, but pork in preference, baked in the midst of a pot full of potatoes, would prove a noble dish for millions of our poor, and would cost a trifle if the whole was weighed—that is, one pound of meat would go as far as five. These particulars may appear too minute to be attended to in such a work as this; but minute as they may be thought, they ought to form important articles in the political economy of mighty empires, for the power and splendor of the publick depend on the very meals of the poor—if they are not well fed, nothing can render a nation really great.

But this root has those qualities which I mentioned as belonging to pease; the feeding hogs, and meliorating the soil: hogs may even be fattened in great perfection on them: What a source of plenty therefore is this vegetable, which will yield thirty-eight quarters per acre*. It exceeds every thing in preparing the land for wheat.

V. Apples are scarcely to be called a crop when properly planted, but they are nevertheless, and in some measure for that very reason, worthy of ranking here. Liquor is as necessary as victuals; and there most certainly is not nourishment sufficient for the labouring poor in water—beer requires vast tracts of land to be sowed with barley, which would bear wheat, and if wheat is produced in the same course of husbandry with barley, yet pease or potatoes might be substituted in its place. The consumption of barley in England and Wales exceeds that of wheat by 600,000 quarters, which is prodigious. If the banks of hedges were

* See *Mills's Husbandry*.

regularly planted with apple trees, they would fully suffice to provide the whole nation with cyder, which is proved by the practice of the cyder countries. What an infinite saving would this be of ground sowed with barley, an impoverishing vegetable, which is of no other use to the people than yielding beer.

VI. Buckwheat. This grain is likewise an ameliorating crop, and prepares the land for rye; if the crop is good, and very luxuriant, so as to keep the soil entirely shaded, the farmer never omits sowing wheat or rye after it; it is little eaten in England, but much in France, and mixed with other meal would make very good bread. It is of all things that which hogs fatten best with, which is singly sufficient to prove its value.

VII. Barley must be ranked here as an article of great use for fattening hogs; particularly so where the soil affects it more than pease, buckwheat, or potatoes.

VIII. Beans. A grain of use likewise in fattening hogs, and many very heavy soils will yield it better than any other production; add to this, that it prepares the land for wheat.

IX. Carrots are one of the most beneficial crops that can be cultivated in very light soils; they improve the land, and yield a considerable quantity of food for fattening oxen, sheep, and hogs.

X. Turnips. Another improving crop; they have the same uses as the carrot, but in a less degree.

XI. Grasses natural and artificial. These vegetables are of merit in proportion to the quantity of cattle they will fat. Some lands are of such a nature that they would yield no corn, such most undoubtedly should remain in grass; but arable ground feeds so many more people than grass, that all should be ploughed that possibly can: And this point is of such importance in the political oeconomy of this kingdom, that the cultivators of it ought, by a system of judicious management in the legislature, to find it their own interest to encrease the lands, in tillage; for if grazing becomes most profitable, population must inevitably suffer. Corn lands, if thrown into judicious courses of husbandry, maintain vast quantities of cattle, besides producing bread for the people; but if the expences of it run too high by the cost of implements, their repairs, or the high price of labour, then grass, notwithstanding its inferiority of produce, will be found the most profitable. *Artificial* grasses prepare the

the land for corn, at the same time that they maintain more cattle than the *natural*; they ought therefore to be encouraged as much as possible.

XII. Madder, weld, and other dying weeds, hops, &c. &c. Whatever is necessary for the home consumption; that is, would be purchased from abroad if not produced at home; provided such products do not impoverish the soil, and are not planted in very large quantities, there is no objection to their cultivation: This is the case with these articles.

XIII. Oats. This impoverishing grain, which fouls and exhausts the land more than any other, is of no real use. Oatmeal is not to be compared to bread made of buckwheat, nor is it so good a food as potatoes; and as to the utility of feeding horses, it is only a means of multiplying a species of cattle which alone may depopulate a nation; and which are already attended with an exceeding bad effect in that respect on England. There is no *really* necessary work which oxen will not perform; and what a difference is there between encreasing an animal whose flesh is food for man, and another whose carcase is eaten by nothing but dogs. The consumption of oats is 400,000 quarters more than that of wheat, in England and Wales; an immense quantity. The whole consumption amounts by calculation to 4,250,000 quarters; and the disproportion in Scotland is vastly greater.

XIV. Hemp and flax. These vegetables require the very richest land, great quantities of manure, and are prodigious impoverishers. A vigorous culture of them is singly sufficient to depopulate a nation, for it would effectually exclude wheat: I have not the least doubt that it is more beneficial to purchase than to raise them, if people are reckoned the riches of this country: Flax is much sown in Ireland, and any culture is better than suffering the people to be absolutely idle; but if that of wheat was properly encouraged by giving a bounty on the exportation, and other national measures taken; or to sum up all in one word, if Ireland was absolutely united with Great Britain, this culture of hemp and flax would no longer be beneficial; it is the proper agriculture of colonies to yield such productions, and the British ones would produce, under proper regulations, enough for all Europe. "One cause of the want of people in Ireland, says the author of the Present State, is the sowing of hemp and flax; which is looked upon as a great improvement, as it may no doubt be in such a soil and climate where the people are so few; but so long as they convert their lands to that use, they will never have any number of people. Hemp and flax destroy the best corn lands, and deprive the people of bread wherever they are sowed. It is
for

for this reason they are obliged to live upon potatoes, as the very best corn lands are not only occupied, but totally exhausted, by hemp and flax; and they buy corn for so few people in such a fruitful country. By such a method of agriculture you will never maintain people, but extirpate them as much as by keeping of cattle and horses instead of them. It is to these two causes that the depopulation of Ireland seems to be chiefly owing. This we may learn from the example of the Ukrain, and parts adjacent, those rich and fruitful countries which formerly overran all Europe, when the people made nothing but corn; but by the planting of such quantities of hemp and flax, as they now make, they have hardly any people in them, and can never maintain any number upon these poisonous weeds which deprive them of corn to eat. It is for this reason that most of the landlords in England will not suffer their lands to be sown with hemp or flax, under a penalty of five pounds an acre. However this nation may want those commodities, and notwithstanding the soil and climate are both fit to produce them, yet Britain is obliged to expend great sums for them, and can never have them of her own growth without a much greater loss in people than they are worth*.”

To have laid a tax of flax therefore upon the people of Ireland, according to the plan of Sir William Petty, was by no means the way to enrich the people: Their present linen manufactory is no answer to this objection; for had the ports of Ireland been laid open for the exportation of corn, with the same bounty as in England, that island would by this time have been peopled and enriched to a very different degree; and would have been a more potent and considerable kingdom, in every respect, than what her linens will ever advance her to. I before observed that industry in any branch of employment is better than absolute idleness: all the poor in Ireland had better cultivate flax, and manufacture linen, than remain idle: all I would insinuate in this passage, is nothing more than a comparison between the production of corn which feeds the people, and that of flax which in one sense starves them: It certainly depopulates, but as certainly enriches those it leaves: It is our absurd politics with regard to Ireland, that prevents population in any case from being the best of all riches †.

I shall

* *Present State of Great Britain and North America*, p. 126.

† Sir W. Petty, who in so many respects was an ingenious calculator, was most certainly, on the whole, a miserable politician. This remark that Ireland may lose in riches (by losing in people) by the identical manufacture which enriches it, has the appearance of a paradox;

I shall carry this scale of productions no further: The tendency of all may be gathered from the foregoing; but a few remarks on the means of producing great quantities of food for man, by the judicious management of the beneficial vegetables, is not unnecessary.

Wheat has certainly the pre-eminence; and next to it comes rye. There are two ways of cultivating them, by fallowing the land for their reception, or sowing them after some other crop. It is to this day dubious, which (the conduct in both cases equally judicious) yields the most grain; from the very uncertainty one may venture to assert the latter deserves the preference. Such preparatory crops as may be followed by these valuable ones, are therefore of infinite consequence, they are chiefly pease, beans, buckwheat, potatoes, and some artificial grasses, particularly clover: from hence it is apparent what prodigiously beneficial crops pease and potatoes are, they feeding men, the rest cattle—the latter encrease the quantity of *food* in that of meat; but what is *directly* applied to the nourishment of the people, maintains by far more than any crop which yields it only in a secondary manner. Beans yield more plentifully than pease, and yet the quantity of pork an acre produces by fattening hogs, by no means equals the quantity of food an acre of pease directly yields; without mentioning the difference in readiness, for pease may be boiled and eat, when hogs are not to be bought for the beans. These noble crops not only yield such plenty of food themselves,

a paradox: Suppose 4,000,000 of people were maintained in it by the culture of corn, she would be richer in that treasure of population, with a balance of trade of 500,000 *l.* than with a balance of 1,000,000 *l.* by means of manufactures, with only 2,000,000 of people. Petty has an observation totally contrary—"If all the husbandmen of England, says he, who now earn but 8*d.* a day, or thereabouts, could become tradesmen, and earn 16*d.* a day, (which is no great wages, 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* being really given) then it would be the advantage of England to throw up their husbandry, and to make no use of their lands, but for grass, horses, milch cows, gardens and orchards, &c." *Political Arithmetic*, p. 124. Here is not so much as a salvo in favour of population, the meer earning is all that is considered; had England only 3,000,000 of inhabitants, that circumstance would not at all alarm this author. What do they earn? would be his question: This is precisely the case with Ireland, give her a flourishing agriculture, fill her with people, let her export her superfluous corn—What are the earnings of her husbandmen? A shilling. Change your conduct, turn her cultivators into manufacturers, let her soil be untilled, but let her linens flourish. What are the earnings of her manufacturer? Two shillings. The case is decisive in favour of the latter, according to the preceding passage of Petty's: But the point is not so easily decided, Which renders the kingdom most populous? Does it feed its own inhabitants when they are manufacturers? Which will yield without oppression the largest public revenue? From which may most sailors and soldiers be taken without detriment? Which is the most regular and certain employment? Which is most open to a foreign rivalry? and a million of other queries, every one of which I believe turn in favour of agriculture.

but ameliorate the soil, and prepare it for wheat and rye; and I am persuaded that most sorts of land (the very worst excepted) would produce them, and wheat or rye, according to the degree of richness, for ever; 1. potatoes, 2. wheat, 3. pease, or *vice versa*, and in light lands rye substituted instead of wheat. I leave the reader to judge of the immense number of inhabitants Britain and Ireland would maintain, if such of a similar course of husbandry was in general pursued. A short calculation will make this evident.

Suppose out of the 62,000,000 of acres before mentioned, we deduct 22,000,000 for grasses and woods, such as are *absolutely* necessary, 40,000,000 remain for the food of the inhabitants, which are to be cropped perpetually with pease, potatoes, rye and wheat: Pease being an uncertain crop, I shall suppose them to produce two quarters per acre, which is an exceeding low computation: The potatoes twelve quarters, and the wheat and rye two and an half: All the land in the three kingdoms that is capable of culture, would at a medium yield these quantities. This course of husbandry would be 13,300,000 acres of each, that is, of pease, of potatoes, and of wheat or rye.

	Quarters.
13,300,000 acres of pease, at 2 quarters,	26,300,000
13,300,000 of potatoes, at 12 quarters,	159,600,000
13,300,000 of wheat and rye, at 2 quarters and an half,	33,250,000
	219,150,000

Supposing that four quarters of these productions were sufficient for the maintenance of one person a year on the medium of men, women and children, and *one* quarter of wheat it has been proved is the average consumption of mankind at present; *four* therefore of these articles must be reckoned a prodigious allowance; the above 219,150,000 quarters would in that case maintain above 54,700,000 persons. I am aware that there is nothing accurate in this calculation; that nothing is here allowed for beer; that there may be a doubt whether sheep enough could be kept for the purposes of cloathing; and that the most eligible scheme of productions should be more various, and the people might have more articles of food: There is a great deal of truth in these objections but then I am very clear that the allowance of *four* quarters is so extravagant, that I might perhaps say the surplus of it is sufficient to make up all these wants, and especially as no notice is taken of the millions which might be maintained by 50, nor of the performing all tillage with oxen, which would

would yield such quantities of flesh, for in the above account 22,000,000 are set apart for grasses and woods, (of the latter of which, but a small portion would be necessary, the hedge rows yielding a sufficiency) and no food supposed to be yielded by them. As to beer none would be wanting, cyder ought to be universally substituted in its room. Lastly, this calculation is meant rather as a proof of what numbers might be maintained in these islands, than to specify any particular number; but one acre per head is mentioned by many authors as sufficient, and is actually the case in some countries, at which rate, the number would have amounted to many more. But whatever may be the opinion of the reader in these points, he will allow the importance of cultivating those crops in preference, which are the food of man. Wheat, rye, pease and potatoes, claim the priority to barley, buckwheat, oats, &c. and carrots and turnips are not of so great consequence in preparing for corn, as in fattening cattle, because spring corn, and generally barley and oats, are the succeeding ones; but if carrots were drawn time enough to sow wheat or rye, the case with them would be different. As to impoverishing crops which do not yield food, nothing more need be said of them. Thus much is sufficient at present, on this subject, of the various merit of cultivated vegetables; I have handled it in a superficial manner, rather as a means of awakening attention, than as a full examination; but its importance is so great, that too much pains cannot be taken to elucidate it thoroughly; and my subject will require something more to be said of it in another place.

Of the Population resulting from particular Methods of Cultivation.

“The repeated industry and diligence, says an excellent author, necessary to be used in this *peculiar sort of husbandry*, (the new) will afford encrease of employment to labouring men, and also to women and children, who could otherwise gain next to nothing. In proof of which, a tract of land planted with vines, lucerne, &c. will employ and maintain more country people, than doubly, or perhaps trebly the same quantity of ground sown with corn. Nor can there be any reason for discouraging or discontinuing these minute advantageous labours, till a kingdom is found (upon some other accounts) to encrease in its populousness*.”

* *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 38.

This passage starts an opinion so nearly connected with my subject, that it is absolutely necessary to give it an examination. The question arising is, Whether that husbandry which absolutely yields the most food for man, may be pronounced the most advantageous to Great Britain, without enquiring into the numbers employed by it?—This point is extremely important, and intimately concerns the well-being of this kingdom.

I have already proved that population must depend upon the quantity of food produced at home in a large kingdom: In such a small dominion as Holland, so cut with navigable canals, the case is different; but in such tracts as France, Spain, or Britain, no regular dependence can be placed in a foreign supply. Population in the British dominions cannot encrease, without an encrease of the quantity of food; but suppose the quantity is encreased by means of a better culture, arising from a division of the country into larger farms, it is imagined by many, that small farms are most conducive to population therefore according to this supposition, the encrease of food might be attended with a decrease of people. True,—of a decrease of those employed in agriculture; but it does not therefore follow that it is general, because the surplus may employ themselves in manufactures, and eat the food produced, as well as if they had produced it themselves; in which case, population would depend upon the demand for manufactures; if that was regularly alive and brisk, none need be idle. This supposition is started for the sake of the conclusion, not that I think large farms diminish the people; they certainly diminish the number of farmers, but probably not the people in general.

Supposing the number of people therefore equal in both, the encrease of food provided by the large farmers, may be exported, as an encouragement for them to continue and encrease their labours, (which is encreasing people) until population is arrived at such a pitch, as to consume the whole at home. And the encrease might in this manner continue progressively with the exportation, as long as fresh lands continued to be brought into culture; but when the whole soil became tilled, the number of people at home would put a stop to exportation, without any law to that purpose.

But in the midst of this train new inventions appear, by the use of which, a more accurate husbandry is introduced, requiring a much greater number of hands. But here it will be better to lay aside the speaking in general

general terms, as the case is in a good measure the present one with these kingdoms.—Drill ploughs and horse hoes are discovered, used, and recommended, being attended with two excellencies; first, of growing a larger produce of bread corn particularly, than in the old method; and secondly, of finding employment for a greater number of poor people. I am not entering into an examination of these instruments, only enquiring the extent of their consequences, supposing they actually perform as their friends declare.

The encrease of the quantity of food, I have already proved is a point of infinite consequence; but the question is, Whether that vast consequence remains, when it arises from the employment of great numbers of hands which might be employed in manufactures, and when the common methods produce a larger quantity in proportion to the numbers employed? Suppose that three acres of land employed in the old husbandry for three years, yield the farmer nine guineas clear profit after maintaining one labourer, and that the produce is 7 quarters and an half of wheat, 7 quarters and an half of barley, and 6 pounds worth of turnips or clover. Suppose three acres in the same time in the new husbandry yield the farmer likewise nine guineas clear profit, after maintaining two labourers and two boys, and that the three years produce is thirteen quarters and an half of wheat. The question is, Which is most beneficial to the publick? The probability of these suppositions is not the present enquiry, they are to be taken for granted, as *principles*, for the sake of the *conclusions* to be drawn from them.

At forty shillings, and two and twenty per quarter, the value of the first products will be 29*l.* 5*s.* and of the second 27*l.* Now the thirteen quarters and an half would probably maintain many more mouths than the seven and an half, and the barley, and clover, or turnips, because it is a great chance if the barley is applied to the fattening of hogs, and the clover, in all probability, will become the food of horses, nor will the beef or mutton arising from the turnips (if they should be the crop) form a balance. The three acres then in the new feed more people than in the old. But, on the contrary, the former takes up the labour of one man and two boys more than the latter, Which is best therefore for the publick good, that this surplus should be so employed, or spared for manufactures? Sir William Petty would answer at once the latter; but the case is doubtful at least; for population will flourish most by their being regularly employed on agriculture, and providing a larger quantity of food, and populousness is of itself the greatest of all riches to

an industrious nation. But manufactures *never* yield such regular employment as agriculture—there is no certainty of a continuance of many branches of them which depend on fashions, foreign rivalry, &c. &c. —From all which circumstances we may at least deduce a balance to the proportional profit of the old husbandry. We may therefore conclude that mode of culture to be the best, which employs most people at the same time that it yields the greatest quantity of food for man.

But there are other variations of this supposition which must not be passed over without notice. What would be the result if both methods were to yield the same quantity of food, the one requiring, as before mentioned, a greater number of hands than the other? In this case the old husbandry would spare more people for manufactures, &c. and at the same time that it provided food for them, than the new; because that yielding no more food than the other, and requiring considerably more hands for the culture, consequently could spare very few. The quantity of food here being the same, population would be the same, if the surplus of the old employed by manufactures, met with as regular a maintenance as those required by the operose culture of the new; but the riches of the publick by trade would be greater by the former.

Again; suppose the old husbandry was managed on an average, as I mentioned before, for the culture of food alone, in this case population would thrive by far more than any new method could occasion, because the superiority of quantity would be on its side. In the common method the inferiority is owing to the crops of barley, clover, and turnips, but if one of direct food was every year on the ground, the balance would turn greatly.

Throughout these suppositions it is laid down as a maxim, that population flourishes in proportion to the quantity of food produced; and that method is supposed to be the most beneficial which yields the greatest crops; and the employment of people in agriculture has the preference to manufactures, unless in such modes of culture as do not yield equally with others: From all which one general conclusion may be drawn, that of all others, the most beneficial system of culture would be that which yielded a superior encrease of quantity in proportion to the numbers employed in it, which, it is very evident, would be in an improved state of the old method. For instance, throw a tract of land into the course above treated of, viz. wheat or rye, pease and potatoes, and let them be raised in the common method;—on the contrary, let another tract be cultivated

tivated according to the new method; and suppose the products equal; that would be the best, which, by adding an additional hand to the culture, would yield the greatest additional quantity; for if the two methods started were on a par, the poor people employed in them would have encouragement to encrease according to the *encrease* of employment, and that encrease must depend upon the profit to the farmer arising from it; if cultivators in the old method began an improvement by ploughing, harrowing, manuring, hoeing and weeding, which required an additional number of men, women, and children, at the same time that a similar improvement was undertaken by those of the new, and at harvest was to find a greater proportional encrease of crop, in consequence of employing such an additional number of hands, than the cultivators in the other method found in consequence of their improvement, it would be decisive at once in favour of the former: And that they would find such a superiority, there is very great reason to believe, but of that more hereafter.

If there is any truth in these remarks, and that there is common experience sufficiently evinces, it must surely be striking to every one, of what great importance all those improvements in agriculture are, which encrease the quantity of food at the same time that they employ an additional number of poor people. No improvement is so great and obvious as that of breaking up uncultivated lands; for such fresh culture is better by far than the most important conquests; new territories are gained without the expence of victories; populous villages arise where scarce a hut was formerly seen; and thousands are fed from those acres which were once a national disgrace. This improvement has made great advances of late years in England, but vast tracts yet remain which are highly capable of culture, and which might be made to maintain a prodigious encrease of people.

In such improvements as these, the attention of gentlemen to agriculture is of great national importance; those who possess uncultivated lands have the opportunity of *improving*; but others whose estates are already well cultivated according to common modes, can do but little in this way; their attention should be directed to the means of encreasing the quantity of manures, and to encouraging those tenants who show a disposition for a lively and vigorous culture; but if instead of such endeavours they busy themselves with drill ploughs, and horse hoes, and all the gimcrackery of husbandry, they most assuredly will not be of such service to their country.

Could the drill husbandry produce as much wheat every year as the old does in its wheat years, or even a large proportion of it, the merit would

would be acknowledged by all; but while nothing but uncertainty attends it, while the machines are complex and expensive, and while so many have tried it with loss, every person has a right to debate its consequences freely. I know not a greater matter of reproach to our gentry of large estates, so many of whom buy themselves in agriculture, than this dubiousness of the merits of the drill culture: What a want of publick spirit is there in such an universal negligence or avarice, that none should make repeated experiments on a large scale and in the face of a whole country, on such points, that their country might be satisfied either of the whimsical inutility of the practice, or its excellence.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Riches arising from British Agriculture.

THE greatest of all riches is the possession of food, for from that results all others, but the riches which form the subjects of this Section are by no means so general; by them are meant nothing but the money or merchandise in exchange, which the sale of the superfluity of the productions of agriculture yield from foreign nations.

It is obvious from this definition, that there must be something dubious in the nature and extent of superfluity; for the justness of the measure depends upon the line of separation between *necessity* and *superfluity*: If any part of the produce necessary for the home consumption is exported, it is no longer the sale of superfluities, but of what ought to remain at home.

I have already endeavoured to prove, that the great business of agriculture is the production of food for man, that population may never stop for want of plenty of necessaries; and it has likewise been shewn, that the only means of having *enough*, is to raise *more* than enough. But raising more than the demand amounts to, only tends to sink the price, and consequently deters the farmer from sowing the next year that extent of ground which a brisk market always occasions: Thus, by means of aiming only at a sufficiency, and never at a superfluity, even a necessity is not procured, nor famine always prevented. But when it is raised for exportation, the farmers are not cautious of sowing too much, they are not fearful of glutting the markets, and by this means plenty is always procured at home.

But still the query remains, What is superfluity? What is plenty? What is the price at which corn ought to be at home? The solution of these questions is of infinite importance to such an industrious nation as Britain. For the expediency of having the necessaries of life at a *reasonable* price, that the poor may be able properly to maintain themselves, is a measure that has universally struck all statesmen; but none has been so blundered about; and nine out of ten of the acts of state which have been framed for the purpose in different countries, have had a direct contrary tendency.

Necessaries vary in every country; what are such in England are not such in France; what are such in France are not such in Spain: There is no term which hangs in such obscurity as this; how difficult it is to discover them with precision, even at home. Some parts of England feed on barley bread, in Scotland on oats, and in Ireland on potatoes, and these several species being of a very indifferent sort when eat alone, they may be clearly determined absolute necessaries. Great numbers feed on rye, and many on that and wheat mixed; I make no scruple to give these the term of necessaries; but in many parts of England the poor eat nothing but fine white wheaten bread; this certainly is no *necessary* of life, while wheat and rye may be mixed and eat *with health*, and what is commonly called household or brown wheat bread. And it is very difficult to allow even these to be necessaries, while it is so well known, a meal of half potatoes and half wheat make a perfectly wholesome bread: Indeed, we may lay it down as a maxim, that *nothing is a necessary of life, if any thing cheaper, but equally wholesome, will serve for regular food.*

The quantity is in the next place to be examined, for whatever vegetable production is converted into bread, a certain quantity of it must be necessary for every one; and I see no reason why that quantity should not be called as much as they can eat, for no poor persons can be in perfect health and vigour, that have not their belly-full constantly; and if they are industrious and without their health and strength, the state suffers as well as themselves in a loss of their full labour. From these circumstances, it follows, that the price of food (whether it be bread alone when flesh is dear, or both when it is cheap) should be so low that the *industrious* poor may always be able to command such a sufficiency, without its depriving them of the means of cloathing themselves decently, and providing themselves with the other few necessaries of life which need no explanation.

Whenever.

Whenever the home consumption is satisfied to this degree, the exportation of the surplus becomes a wise and prudent measure. It causes a certainty of a perpetual plenty at home, and becomes a most valuable branch of trade. This has very clearly been the case with Britain; she has for eighty years exported great quantities of corn, and yet has fed her own inhabitants cheaper by 9s. 7d. per quarter since that measure, than ever she did before, which is such a proof of the expediency of the measure, as can be instanced in scarce any other.

Were this effect the only one of a vigorous exportation, it would be decisive enough, but there are many others. In sixty-eight years she received upwards of 36,000,000*l.* for her exported corn*, which being a very bulky commodity, employed an infinity of shipping and sailors, besides the very considerable amount of the freight—And lastly, we may venture to determine that this vast quantity has been really superfluous at home, because the progression of luxurious living among the poor has been regular during the whole period, which would have been impossible, had any quantities necessary for the home consumption been exported.

But an expensive bounty has been granted on exportation; Of what use can that be? say some. Cannot the corn trade at least take its own course? I should be more explicit in answering these queries, but must in another place enlarge upon bounties in general, the less therefore need be advanced here. It is impossible to suppose that such quantities would have been exported without the bounty, and as the exportation has been of so great national advantage, the expediency of the measure which advanced it cannot be called in question—If the feeding our own poor 9s. 3d. per quarter cheaper than they would otherwise have been fed, and at the same time receiving 36,000,000*l.* for our surplus, be highly beneficial circumstances, and owing to the exportation, they are decisive in favour of the bounty, because that must, in the very nature of things, have had great effect in promoting the exportation.

The riches flowing into a country through trade may, on the present occasion, be divided into two sorts, 1st, The exportation of raw products; 2d, That of manufactures. To enter too largely even into these divisions would be to anticipate the subject; but it is necessary to say a few words on the point which corn occupies in this general scale.

* *Three Tracts*, p. 133.

The exportation of manufactures has always been esteemed by far the most beneficial, in respect of the employment of hands: Allowing this to be the case, (although it is not universally so) yet that of raw materials has many other advantages, and from a slight enumeration of them, it will be evident how high corn ranks among them. 1st, They employ a greater number of shipping and sailors. 2dly, Their freight amounts to far greater sums. 3dly, The demand for them is, and ever will be, much more regular, they consisting in general more of necessaries of life than manufactures. 4thly, A multitude of the latter are wrought from foreign products, the price and expences of which are to be deducted from their manufactured amount; nothing of which is the case with the raw products. Other circumstances might be added to this parallel, but these are sufficient; and it is obvious of what consequences corn amounts to according to these ideas.

Before I conclude this Section, I cannot omit observing what vast riches might be made to flow into this nation, from improvements in Agriculture for the purposes of exportation. I say, for the purposes of exportation; because if they were answered, population, by means of the home consumption being regularly supplied, would follow of course. Whoever makes a trade of corn will never want it to eat. Upon this principle, what tracts of uncultivated land are there in Great Britain and Ireland, which might be made to freight whole fleets of merchantmen. Nothing can be a stronger proof that the domestic policy of this nation is, in these respects, very far removed from perfection, than seeing such a large portion of the soil uncultivated: It may be said, that all extensive countries are in the same circumstances, and most in a greater degree than ours: This may be the case most certainly, but it is a weak argument at best. This nation enjoys another kind of liberty than is common in extensive kingdoms, and therefore ought not to be contented with such a degree of improvement as others enjoy—Its constitution requires more: Besides, we are in a train of political œconomy, which, if properly pursued, would carry improvements of this sort to a higher pitch; of this the bounty on exported corn is a striking instance; even the allowance of exportation at all is scarcely known in other countries, after it has been used with success so many years in England. What a fund of wealth would an universal application of this measure, with some few well contrived laws, produce in these islands! Political management most certainly might be carried to such a height, (and without offending one established custom) that not an acre of waste land should be found in the three kingdoms.

S E C T. V.

Of the Present State of Agriculture in the British Dominions.

I Apprehend it will not be an useless labour in this work, to state the present degree of our improvements in agriculture; for by that means its progress or decline may be easily marked, and the mistake of attributing capital improvements to a wrong period avoided; which has been common in preceding times, for want of better annals to discover the real progress of rural inventions. Those of the present age are but few in number; the endeavours of modern times have been chiefly directed to perfect what was well known to our ancestors. But I shall take a slight view of each article of improvement which is practised at present, remarking upon the degree of its extent, and the success which has attended it. The most important of all, and that upon which every thing depends, is the

Knowledge of Soils.

This is the foundation of all profitable husbandry, and can be gained only by experience; but that degree of it which even experience has hitherto conferred is but confined and uncertain, as appears by the failures of many farmers improvements in manuring, which prove sufficiently that they knew not the real nature of the soil they cultivated: But at the same time it must be allowed, that the writers who have treated particularly of the subject, have been yet farther from discovering an accurate knowledge of it; for an attentive perusal of all the works which have been published in the English language on agriculture, will yield no satisfactory and distinct ideas—The terms they use have no precise definitions, and when they speak the clearest on any particular soil, a precise knowledge of what that soil is, cannot be gained from them. For instance, their remarks on the crops and manures proper for loam may be well imagined and expressed, but what is the loam? general directions for a generally specified soil may be well wrote, but it does not follow that such soil should be minutely defined; and without a most minute description of the variations found in particular kinds of soils, it is impossible ever to understand their real nature. But this minute knowledge is perfectly possessed by some practical husbandmen, as appears by the variations of their conduct with success, in respect
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of crops and manures in the same field, when to a common observer no difference is discerned in the soil.

As well as this part of husbandry may be understood by some of the present race of farmers, yet their knowledge should certainly be possessed by some of the gentlemen who favour the publick with their remarks; for the importance of it is exceedingly great, as will appear by a slight review of a few of the definitions already published.

Although the best, warmest, and lightest land yields most excellent corn, yet the other sorts of land yield not so good fruits, plants, grass, hay, &c. *——A peck of clay may probably have double the quantity of salts in it that a peck of loam has; and a peck of loam may have twice the quantity of salts that a peck of sand has †.——Loam seems to be but a succulent kind of argilla, imparting a natural ligament to the earth where you mix it, especially the more friable, and is therefore of all others the most excellent mean between extremes ‡.——Loam acquires a degree of firmness greater than sand; it is not so easily broken in pieces; it does not so easily admit water, and it does not so easily part with it. It does not acquire such a degree of firmness as clay; it is more easily broken in pieces; it more easily admits water; and it more easily parts with it §.——We may lay it down as a rule, that the difference (in the growth of plants) in general arises from the various sizes of the pores in the respective soils; and that the heaviest is the richest, provided it could be worked as well as spongy and light soils, and its pores be at no further distance than the pores of the best garden mould ||.——Clay in general, of whatever kind it be, is, of all earths, the very worst for vegetation ¶.——The great division or the specific difference of earths may be reduced to these six, viz. rich black soil, commonly called *loam* or *basley* soil, clay, sandy, mossy, chalk, and till. The rich black soil smells agreeably—crumbles—admits water easily, and swells like a sponge—blackest are the richest **.——The red or yellow clay is commonly called the best wheat land, and for clover ††.

* Worlidge *Systeme Agriculturae*, p. 32.

† Miller, *Gard. Diſt. Art. Earth.*

‡ Little's *Husbandry*, Vol. i. p. 25.

§ Dickson's *Treatise of Agriculture*, p. 460.

|| Randal's *Semi-Virgilian Husbandry*, p. 16.

¶ Mills's *System of Husbandry*, Vol. i. p. 19.

** Home's *Principles of Agric. and Veget.* p. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

†† Ellis's *Hertsfordshire Husbandman*, p. 104.

—My land is a poor, dry, up-land gravel*.—The soil a good hazel mould, pretty rich, though light and dry †.—Red hazely brick earth that they have in many places in Essex, which is more properly, I think, a kind of loam, being like red clay, but no binding, and hath no stones ‡.—Clay is a curst step-dame to almost all vegetation §.—Sand itself affords no nourishment ¶.

I might fill a volume with strokes of this nature, and with very little trouble contrast description against description, full of contradictory accounts. I am sensible that in the foregoing quotations I have not given the author's descriptions in full, but I have nevertheless extracted fairly, and if they are turned to, no clearer ideas will be gained than from these short passages.—Now if any such descriptions were read to a practical husbandman who really did understand soils, they would confer no ideas: he would read twenty volumes of such descriptions, and then have a million of questions to ask before he could tell you what any one of the mentioned soils was. We may however lay it down as one maxim among an hundred others, that no soil can be perfectly understood without knowing its spontaneous productions, and what crops suit it best. If it was never ploughed, or at least within knowledge, this latter mark is of course not to be gained; but there are many others which experienced men are guided by.

It must however be confessed, that a vast number of our farmers are very deficient in the use of this knowledge, when they run into the customs of their neighbours, without an eye to the variations of their soil.—Too many of them act thus blindly, who in the manuring and cropping their lands, follow not their own judgments, but the practice of others. When this is the case, nothing but severe experience can induce them to change their conduct. Such men, when they move from one farm to another, do not suffer their judgments to come in play enough in distinguishing the difference of soil: Blind prejudice in this manner leads by far the greatest number of our husbandmen, even in this enlightened age. But this, as I before observed, admits of some exceptions.

* *Practical Observations addressed to Dr. Templeman*, p. 17.

† *Experiments in Yorkshire, Mills*, Vol. v. p. 310.

‡ Mortimer, Vol. i. p. 70.

§ Evelyn's *Terra*, p. 22.

¶ *Du Hamel's Husb. by Mills*, 4to, p. 14. See also multitudes in the *Tours through England*.

Breaking up uncultivated Lands.

There are no tracts of land that are suffered to lie waste in warrens or sheep walks, unless rocky and mountainous, that would not bear crops of corn if properly manured and cultivated. Great improvements of this sort have been made in England within these fifty years; vast tracts of land which had for ages been applied only to the feeding of sheep, have been ploughed up, and made to yield noble crops of barley, rye, turneps, clover, and rye-grass—making the fortunes of a great number of farmers, employing a new race of labourers, and, in many instances, *encreasing* the number of sheep. This latter circumstance will not be thought surprising, if the difference between the cultivated clover and rye grass, and the natural turf be considered.

In the whole circle of political œconomy there is not a more important object than this. Waste land is a standing nuisance to the state; the cultivating of which adds to the quantity of food, encreases the number of people, by finding *regular* employment for them, converts idleness into industry, and rolls a tide of wealth to the national stock.—Very large tracts of warrens and sheep walks have already, in many counties, been broken up and turned to this highly national use, as is very apparent in travelling through all the light parts of England. Much it is true remains to be done, and as private vigour is not sufficient for the work, public encouragement should be added for the completing such noble works.

The tracts hitherto broken up, have consisted chiefly of such lands as were easily ploughed, the surface unincumbered with whins, gossbroom, white thorns, or other strong beggary; and which, from this circumstance, appear to have been ploughed in former times. Such tracts have been carefully selected by our modern improvers, on account of the expence of clearing the others, which they have almost universally left for their old use of feeding sheep; and as every farm of this sort, it is supposed, must have some walk, they pitched upon those stubborn ones for it. This observation I have made in many of the lighter counties, and is very evident even in Norfolk itself.

Now there can be no doubt but such rough tracts are the richest; which is fully proved by their spontaneous productions for thorns, whins, &c. &c. and in proportion to their size discover the fertility of the soil—a very poor one, such as many that are ploughed up on account of the evenness of their

their surface, and which require vast improvement, could not throw out such strong vegetables. But the expence of clearing deters the farmers from attempting their culture: if they could afford the first expence, there is great reason to think the superior fertility of the soil would amply repay them; and when their labourers were got into a regular and handy method of clearing with well contrived grubbing instruments, they would be able to fix a price per acre for the work; and from that time the improvement of such lands would be carried on with vigour, nothing deterring farmers from any attempt so much as *uncertain* expences. These observations are equally applicable to the method of paring and burning, or the more common one of ploughing in the turf. From the vast number of roots which are found, the former might probably answer best, unless firing was so scarce that they would be necessary for the farmer's kitchen: Some grounds I have seen so covered with rubbish, that the value of it for firing was infinitely more than the whole expence of clearing; and this is more particularly the case with those which abound with old ragged thorn shrubs.

In Norfolk the improvement of breaking up uncultivated lands has been carried to a greater extent than in any other county of England. Perhaps the greater half of it has within these forty years been sheep walks, but now covered with exceeding fine crops of corn, &c. and yielding ten times the rent it did before. It is true this county is peculiarly fortunate in its veins of marle and clay; the spreading of which on the old sheep walks, have been the principal means of the prodigious improvement that county has experienced. The method generally pursued has been to marle the turf with from 50 to 80 loads per acre, and plough it in sometimes for winter corn, but generally for turnips; after the turnips barley; and with the barley, rye-grass and clover, which they leave on the ground three years, and then dung it, or fold it and sow winter corn. It is to be observed that the account given in the work entitled *Les Elemens du Commerce*, and quoted by M. de Boulainvilliers in his *Les Intérêts de la France mal entendus*, contains many mistakes; for instance, "A une récolte de froment, succède une récolte de jachère: ensuite, deux, trois, ou quatre moissons, au plus d'orge, d'avoine, de pois; après lesquelles revient une année de repos. Par conséquent, sur trois, quatre ou cinq années, il y en a toujours une de perdue, pendant laquelle la terre reste en friche & se maigrit*." This passage so disgraceful to the husbandry of Norfolk is all false; so far are the best farmers of that county from taking three or four crops of corn running from their lands, that they take no more

* Les Intérêts de la France, tom. i. p. 144.

than

than one, regularly intermixing turnips and clover; nor is such a thing as a fallow known; in general, turnips supply its place. A little further it is said, "Quelques uns sèment un peu de trefle, ou de luzerne; mais avec peu de profit, étant obligés de donner du fourage à leurs bestiaux pendant l'hiver." There are two capital mistakes in this passage; there is not a sprig of lucerne sown in the whole county by common farmers; and their clover is so far from being attended with little profit, that it is extremely profitable mixed with rye-grass, and nearly supports their numerous flocks of sheep with which they fold their corn lands. In another place he says, "La luzerne, la trefle, le sain-foin ont doublé la quantité de nous fourages." A strange assertion, when clover *mixed with rye grass* is the only grass sown. And further on, "La luzerne est sans contredit la plus avantageuse de ces prairies artificielles." Not an acre sown in the county. It is very plain from these quotations, that there is much hearsay and many falsehoods; there are however some truths in it,

This improvement of breaking up sheep-walks in Norfolk has certainly been carried to a vast height, and the spirit of it exerted in a very noble manner: near half the county, as I observed before, is an improved sheep-walk, regularly inclosed with ditches and quick hedges, and ornamented with a vast number of plantations. Those very tracts of country which formerly yielded nothing but sheep and rabbit food, are now covered with as gallant crops of corn as any in England; and in years which are not remarkably dry, with finer crops than the richest and strongest counties yield. I know not a more pleasing idea than what must occur on travelling through the western parts of that county, to think what an alteration tillage has produced; to think of the vast number of people maintained, where formerly scarce any were to be found; and of the flow of wealth this cultivation has poured into the kingdom from a soil, which, in being waste, was once a nuisance.

But at the same time the publick has been so nobly benefited, private advantage has been immense: Many landfords, in the course of twenty or thirty years, advanced their rents thirty, forty, and fifty per cent. Some vastly more; the instance of Mr. Morley of Barham is well known, and I believe justly stated by the author above quoted; from 180 to 800 *l.* another from 19 to 240 *l.* Nor do I believe that any county in England can produce so many instances of a great advance of rents from this great improvement of ploughing up sheep-walks, and marling, of which more hereafter.

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The tenants likewise have reaped prodigious profit on these admirable improvements, and made larger fortunes by their agriculture, than any country I apprehend in the world can produce, the West-Indies alone excepted. Twenty and thirty thousand pounds are not at all uncommon; some few have made forty and fifty thousand, which in many other countries would appear incredible, but in this excites no surprize. It is not uncommon for a farmer to sell from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds worth of barley in one year, the product of one crop. Twelve hundred pounds worth of wheat has been sold, and was only the farmers second crop, barley the principal. These instances will call to mind a multitude of others, and especially the names quoted by the Author of the Tours, viz. Mr. Curtis of Sommerfield, Mr. Mallet of Dunton, Mr. Glover of Creek, Mr. Car of Maffingham, Messrs. Savaries of Cidderstone, Mr. Barton of Rougham, Mr. Rogerfon of Narford, and many others: Their names ought to be more celebrated in the annals of mankind as good husbandmen, than those of Alexander, Cæsar, or Frederick, as great generals. The one feed the species, the other destroy it. The farmers scatter plenty over a whole country, and render those tracts populous which were once a desert. The heroes enter a territory smiling with peace and plenty, and leave it bleeding from innumerable wounds. What is the boast of such a farmer? He has fertilized once barren lands, made wastes and wilds yield food for his fellow-creatures, enriched his country as well as himself, and inhabited those tracts with *men*, which were once the residence of *beasts*. What says the mighty Cæsar? *Veni, vidi, vici*; I have slaughtered many millions; I have desolated once fertile countries, and inhabited those tracts with *beasts*, which were once the residence of *men*.—The trump of fame fills the whole world with Cæsar's mighty name! Seek in another age the remnant of the farmer's fame, few traces will be found: What a striking difference of merit in the world's eye, between cutting the throats of mankind, and feeding them!

There are yet vast tracts of uncultivated lands in other countries of England, which go by the names of warrens, sheep-walks, downs, commons, wolds, &c. &c. that have rich veins of marle, clay, and chalk under them, and might be broken up to as great profit as those in Norfolk have been: It is plain, common causes do not operate strongly enough for their improvement; if they did, such tracts would not remain waste, for so ought all lands to be reckoned that feed rabbits or sheep alone: Publick encouragement should therefore be given to the converting them into arable farms; such encouragement would not be
very

very expensive, and the whole of it being expended at home would encrease the most valuable of all circulation, that which enlivens industry. Let any one travel from London to Exeter, Bristol, Lancaster, or Berwick, and take notice of the great quantities of land yet uncultivated; the proportion in Scotland and Ireland is greater still: A statesman that should turn these waste tracts into arable farms, would deserve more from his country, than if he was to conquer foreign provinces of a thousand times their extent.

Incloſing of open Lands.

There are many tracts of country in England well cultivated but not incloſed, whereas all that are incloſed admit of a much higher improvement than thoſe which remain open. The beſt Norfolk farms were incloſed at the beginning of their improvements, and this ought to be the firſt; for no ploughing, manuring, nor any excellent general management can be made the moſt of without this being firſt executed, unleſs the farmer is at an immense expence in hurdles every year. In the counties where incloſures are moſt common, and where waſte lands have been ſo taken in, agriculture muſt in the nature of things be in a much higher ſtate of improvement than in others which have not purſued the ſame courſe.

The advance of rents has been prodigious in ſeveral counties, in conſequence of incloſing; for the difference of cultivating a farm incloſed and open is found by all farmers to be ſo great, that it will eaſily enable them with profit to give vaſtly more for the former than for the latter. Unleſs a field is incloſed, it is extremely difficult to reap the utmoſt advantage of turnips and artificial graſſes, without which no laſting improvement could be carried on.

There are many tracts of land in different parts of theſe iſlands ſo exceeding dry and ſandy, that they are ſuppoſed to admit of no improvement, and therefore lie waſte; but it is extremely plain to me at leaſt, that incloſing them is the proper improvement, and would be a real one; and for this reaſon: The great fault of theſe lands is their extreme dryneſs, they are ſufficiently ſo to make mortar with; now there is nothing which will correct this quality ſo much as cutting them into ſmall incloſures, and planting the rows with ſuch ſhrubs and trees as beſt ſuit the ſoil; and there are many that do; and every here and there planting whole fields, the profit of theſe plantations would be conſiderable; but that is

not the motive I mean, they would attract and retain a great moisture from the air, and stagnate it like all woody countries, which are universally damp and moist: thus the soil which in common is blown over by a drying wind for miles without interruption, and necessarily dries up in a minute the wetness of rains, would always have a moist atmosphere hanging over it. I have often remarked that even a small plantation on these driving sands has regularly been an improvement to the soil around it. For the very same reason that roads are laid open and exposed to the sun and wind, these tracts of country should be shut up and made as close as possible.

Whatever landlords are possessed of such soils, would find an amazing profit, in time, from inclosing them and planting some portions. This profit cannot be expected immediately, for the improvement would not operate until the hedges and plantations were grown enough to intercept the wind; this however would not be many years, and the soil would then be found, without the least further expence, totally changed, and sufficiently good to yield those crops which are the most suitable to the light ones. But if either landlord or tenant was then to bestow a marling or claying on it, the return would be great; whereas before such inclosing and planting the whole expence would be thrown away.

Compare the soil of many parks with the country around them; and those parts which are known to have received no sort of manure will be found much superior to the waste lands adjoining. This fact is always attributed on supposition to the owner's improvements by manuring for the sake of beauty, but this frequently is by no means the case, he raises plantations for their beauty; and possibly surrounds his park with them, and this it is which works the improvement; and I am persuaded will universally be attended with such an effect on all the neighbouring sands.

I think the most driving, barren, and desolate tracts of sand I ever met with, are crossed by the roads leading between Barton Mills and Brandon, and Bury and Brandon in Suffolk; but these are terribly loose and dry in their present state, and in a windy day fill the air with clouds of them. I instance these particularly, because I am fully persuaded that inclosing them and planting a certain quantity, would so far change the nature of the worst of them, as to make them fertile enough to yield good crops of corn, turnips, and grasses. Every one who is acquainted with

with those tracts of country, will be sensible what a prodigious improvement this would be.

The method most commonly adopted at present in inclosing, is that of a single ditch with a row of white thorn in the middle of the bank, and a dead hedge on the top of it. Nothing makes so good a fence at so small an expence as this, but the white thorns are often planted on dry sandy soils which by no means suit it; other strong vegetables thriving much faster, particularly whins, which well managed will grow to an impenetrable fence much sooner than the white thorn on such soils.

The new method used in Northamptonshire is very expensive, but admirably effective. It is digging a double ditch, making a semi-circular parapet of the earth thrown out, and planting it with four, five, six, and sometimes more rows of white thorn, by which means no dead hedge is ever necessary, provided the ditches be made of a proper depth; the cutting of these hedges yield an immense quantity of bushes, which are very valuable for numerous uses, and the fence is always impenetrable to man or beast.

I have seen many inclosures in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and elsewhere, consisting of nothing but dead hedges, with great numbers of live bushes and underwood growing in a slovenly manner on each side, but no ditch; the hedge is made by interlacing the bushes and underwood between stakes, by which means much ground is suffered to be overrun with rubbish, meerly for keeping in repair a fence which is for ever coming in pieces: It is said the tenants want the succession of dead hedges for firing, but never was there a worse method of their supplying themselves; if pollard trees are so scarce as not to yield a sufficiency of croppings for that purpose, certain fields should be planted entirely with underwood, to be thrown into regular cuttings for the farmer's fire, instead of letting it depend on the destruction of his fences.

As to the present custom of divers proprietors agreeing to inclose commons or common fields, and the certainty they are under of obtaining acts of parliament for the purpose when a general consent is properly notified, it is amazing that any one should be so prejudiced or so blind as to deny the greatness of the benefits which result from them. It is a common plea that the poor cottagers suffer, but the fact is the direct contrary, for they meet with a prodigious additional employment, in return for a mere nominal advantage. The farmers turn such a number

of cattle, especially sheep, into all commons, that the poor man's cow is absolutely starved, insomuch that a less addition of work than what the inclosing occasions would make ample amends for the loss of this imaginary benefit; and all this on a supposition that the publick good had nothing to do with it, which is so far from being the case, that it would be absolutely impossible to have a flourishing agriculture with great numbers of these commons: Nor should we forget that a dependence upon a right of commonage is apt to make a poor family more idle than they would otherwise be, which is a publick loss.

The objections are equally strong to common arable fields, the rise of rent upon inclosing such proves this sufficiently: What a detestable cramp is it on an industrious cultivator, to be necessitated to plough and sow like his neighbours, and have all the cattle of the county come over his lands at certain times! Every friend of husbandry improvements considers the willingness of the legislature to allow of inclosing as one of the greatest encouragements to agriculture this kingdom meets with.

I cannot dismiss this sketch without remarking that a strict attention to inclosing ought not only to influence those who possess open fields, but likewise those whose lands are already inclosed—to keep them so, and by an attentive management prevent all gaps and weak places, which are easily forced by cattle straggling in the road, or by their own, while confined to certain fields; and I the rather hint this, as a very sensible and accurate observer has remarked great neglect of this sort. Speaking of the excellent German horn-beam hedges, he says, “It is not uncommon to see the sides of high roads thus guarded for ten miles together: And it were to be wished that all lovers of husbandry in England would follow the same example. Even upon our great turnpike roads it is a melancholy, and to say the truth, a slovenly sight in a land famous for agriculture, to find sometimes no mounds or fences at all, (though the adjoining fields are rich arable and pasture lands) or at best to meet with gaps and shards every hundred yards, large enough not only for a sheep, but even for an elephant to enter. Of this foreigners see very glaring instances, not twenty miles from our metropolis*.” Nothing can be more just than this reproof; and I have taken notice of it in several parts of the kingdom: The greatest part of Essex and Suffolk however is well fenced, and especially against the roads; possibly

* Essays on Husbandry, p. 114.

owing to an article which is in most leases there; that the tenant shall regularly do a certain quantity of ditching in a specified manner every year.

Marling.

Marle ought to be considered as the prince of all manures, and if the time it lasts is taken into the account, it is likewise the cheapest. The Norfolk improvements by this marle are the greatest of modern times; those vast tracts of uncultivated lands which have been there broke and mentioned above, are chiefly improved by marle; and so exceedingly fertilized, that those which have now been done these fifty years are yet good lands, bear fine crops of corn, and will be the better for ever with good management. The common quantity of marle laid on an acre in that county is from 60 to 100 load of about 35 or 40 bushels each; and the common expence of digging, filling, spreading, and use of horses, is reckoned to be from fifty shillings to three pounds per acre. The marle is of a soft, fat, unctuous nature, and not only enriches the soil but keeps it very clean from weeds; the harder it is, (to the hardest of all, which they call *cork*) the worse.

The revival of this great improvement in that county was begun (as the above quoted French author has remarked) by Mr. Allen of Lyng House about 70 years since, and carried on for some time by him with great success, before his method was adopted by his neighbours; till Lord Townshend gave his attention to the practice, and encouraged it amongst his tenants, which forwarded it greatly in general; and the beneficial consequences which resulted from it becoming every day more evident, this excellent improvement spread over all the western part of the county to the extraordinary emolument of the farmers who practiced it.

I have called this the *revival* of the improvement; because there is great reason to believe that marling was a very ancient custom, though discontinued in many counties for a great number of years. Nothing can be a stronger proof of this than a passage in Fitzherbert's treatise entitled *Surveying*, first printed in the year 1530. Speaking of the improvement of bushy and mossy ground, he says, "And if there be any marle pyttes that have been made of old time within the said close, than whan the landes begyn to weare, if he have nat sufficient of such bushy and mossy grounde to breake up and sowe, than there woulde be newe marle

marle pyttes made, and the landes new marled, the which is moche better than outhere donge, muck, or lyme, for it will last twenty yeres together, if it be welle done, and shall be the better while it is land. And I mervayle greatly, that in the commen felde, *where of old tyme hath been made many great marle pyttes*, the which hath done moche good to the landes, *that nowe a dayes no man doth occupye them ne make none other*, and they nede not to doute, but there is marle nowe as welle as was than *." It appears very plainly from hence, that the practice of marling is extremely ancient, and this attentive observer intimates the *great number of marle pitts* which had been made, so that there is reason to suppose this excellent manure was more commonly used heretofore than at present; and that a very sensible author of the present age had a good foundation for asserting that "Marle (the most lasting and cheap of all manures, which may be found in numberless parishes throughout this kingdom) is known and used much less at present than in the two preceding centuries †."

There is a common mistake, or rather prejudice, among many husbandmen on the better kinds of land, that marle, even when they have veins of it under their farms, do not work improvement on them; nor answer the digging and spreading; and this notion results from their knowing it to be commonly used on sandy soils, from whence they conclude that it is improper for their fields: But no manure is better for the richest soils, or for those of common goodness, from eight to fifteen shillings of rent: Such lands are so used to dunging, that it does not work the effect of a new manure, and marle not only enriches such, but has a very fine effect in cleaning them from weeds, and sweetening them.

No one can assert that marle improves such lands as much as those light ones it is commonly used for: the latter have been raised by it from 1*s.* 6*d.* 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre, to 10*s.* 12*s.* and even to 15*s.* and 16*s.* which is a rise that the other cannot possibly experience. And it is certainly most owing to this noble manure, that such prodigious improvements have been made in Norfolk: without it neither inclosing nor ploughing up old land would have produced such crops of corn as that county is famous for; but the amelioration worked by marle has covered those lands with gallant crops of corn, which without it would never have produced any. Several of the north-west counties of Eng-

* See *Certain Ancient Treats concerning the Management of Landed Property. — Surveying*, p. 82.

† *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 192.

land have been likewise wonderfully improved by marle, and especially Cheshire.

The improvement by means of this manure which is yet wanting, is the fertilizing in general all the waste lands in the three kingdoms; and this is yet a vast field of amelioration for the minds of millions to range in. The improvement by marle is not general in England, even where there is plenty of that which is exceeding good, vast tracts of land remaining yet unploughed in which this manure abounds; and in Scotland and Ireland is found the greatest plenty of it, but the use made of it extends only to a very few spots. It greatly behoves landlords who are the owners of waste soils that can be so improved, to be themselves at the expence of inclosing and marling them, and then let them to tenants who understand the cultivation, but have not a purse for improving. Gentlemen whose fortunes were large enough for such a noble work, would find it the best way of disposing of their money, and that which returned by far the highest interest. But to see a man of large fortune possessing tracts of uncultivated land covering possibly whole valleys of marle, and none of it inclosed, manured, and formed into new farms, is one of the most wretched spectacles the world affords, and rendered peculiarly melancholy when we reflect that possibly as much money is staked by him on a card, or ventured on a horse-race, as would fertilize and people every waste acre on his estate.

This business of improving waste lands is of such infinite national consequence as highly to deserve more than common favour from the crown itself: Some scheme of attention might possibly be fallen upon which would be attended with great effects. Kings and princes cannot be too sensible of the great importance of encouraging agriculture among their subjects; few of them know, or can conceive the extent of the consequences of such a conduct; a Constantine IV. or an Henry the Great, are as seldom to be met with in that sphere, as a Duke of Sully in another.

Suppose in Britain an order of knighthood was instituted with the common distinctions of a ribband, &c. to be conferred on all who formed a *complete farm* inclosed, manured, and lett, of at least two hundred acres of land which was waste before such improvement. In this order there might be three or four different classes, the lowest to consist of those who cultivated, as above, 200 acres, and the others of those who improved greater quantities, and all to rank accordingly. The sovereign himself should wear the ensigns of the order, that it might be held in great respect, and it would be proper to give the knights rank before

before baronets or those of the Bath; no *ancient* prejudice would be opposed by this, since they are both honours of the other day, and totally useless, compared with such an one as I have mentioned; and the original of the baronets so mean as to cast a reflection on the very title: Some such plan as this might be thought of, which, by attacking the vanity of mankind, might influence them greatly to such noble improvement.^{3.}

Besides something of this nature, it would be of infinite consequence for the sovereign to give attention to the *practice* of agriculture, by letting it be publickly known, that no person whatever should cultivate waste lands, that is, form a complete farm on such, without meeting with some mark of royal favour. Suppose, for instance, a monarch was publickly to give notice, that it was his will all persons forming such new farms should transmit to him a plan of the lands *before* improvement, and another of them *after* it, with a sketch of the building, inclosing, and manuring; that he might have a perfect knowledge of every one's performances of this beneficial kind, and give them proportional marks of his favour. The execution of such a plan would work surprisingly in favour of agriculture, and vast tracts of uncultivated lands be seen to take a new face.

Chalking.

Chalk is in general an inferior manure to marle, but on many soils works great improvement. I believe there is no part of the kingdom in which it is used with greater success than in Essex; it is brought by shipping from Kent, and is of a fat soapy kind, nearly a-kin to the best marle; the expence of manuring an acre of land with it is very high, seldom being done effectually under five pounds. This chalk is of much the same nature as that which the farmers use in the Isle of Wight; and is better than that of Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Shropshire, or Wiltshire. Chalk is commonly used on much better lands than those which have been so vastly improved by marle, and consequently such striking effects are seldom met with from it—but it is nevertheless highly valuable. The most perfect way of using it I ever remarked, is in Essex, and likewise in the neighbourhood of Ipswich in Suffolk; the mixing it with their dung, forming layers of each, and turning it over once or twice; but a yet better method I observed once, which was to spread the chalk in the foddering yard 18 inches or two feet deep, before winter, and fodder all the cattle of the farm all winter upon it; in the spring it was mixed up together, ready to carry on to the land designed for turnips. By this means no urine is lost, which is the richest of all manures.

Pliny's

Pliny's speaking of the husbandry of chalk among the Britons, is a very striking proof that many practices by some thought modern inventions, are in reality extremely ancient; and we may venture to conclude that the agriculture of our British ancestors was far from being mean, if they had made such an advance as that of chalking their soil.

Liming.

This manure is more generally used in Ireland than in either England or Scotland; The Irish are strongly prejudiced in its favour for all sorts of soils, even limestone land; though some late experiments have been made which prove it to be very badly adapted to the latter. It is however commonly used with great success; and in several counties of England the same practice at present continues, and in some at a very great expence. Great parts of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Leicestershire, Dorsetshire, and Shropshire, are improved by lime. And within thirty years the practice has been much more common than heretofore, in several parts of Scotland, which kingdom abounds greatly with limestone. As good a manure as lime is, it is by no means a lasting one, but soon wears out: That which is burnt from stone is much better than that from common chalk.

Burning.

Parings off the surface of the soil and burning it, is a method more common in Cornwall and Devonshire than in any other part of England. In the fenny parts of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire it is common to burn the stubble, rushes, reeds, and other rubbish, but the burning the turf is a very different operation. The reason why this practice, even in those two counties, does not flourish at present as much as formerly, is owing in some measure to a perpetuity of former burnings; for after several, the soil will not be covered with so thick a turf, or filled with such strong roots as at first; and another reason is the abuse of the practice by those farmers who are peculiarly wedded to the custom, in burning too often, which has occasioned their being restrained from it by many landlords; but performed with judgment and moderation, it is an excellent method of manuring land, and the best of all for breaking up uncultivated soils. It shines with peculiar lustre in the *Mémoires sur les défrichemens*, who proved its efficacy in a vast number of extensive experiments. In Cornwall 500 bushels of ashes are sometimes gained from a single acre; and the common expence of paring, burning, and spreading the ashes in very coarse grassy ground

choaked

choak'd with weeds, comes to about 1 l. 7 s. per acre*. A very cheap price. This husbandry is totally unknown in the eastern counties of England; in Norfolk a man who was to pare and burn an old sheep walk would be thought mad; and yet the soil is in many places the same; and likewise answers very exactly to M. de Tourbilli's description of those parts of his estates which he improved in so wonderful a manner by it.

Draining Fens, &c.

The capital improvement in this article has been made in Cambridge-shire and Lincolnshire; in which two counties near 500,000 acres have been converted from a totally useless and pernicious soil, into a most profitable one. Indeed, this branch of husbandry improvements has of late been prosecuted with more success than any other. The vast importance of it must be allowed by every one, for the land recovered from the pernicious waters is of a very strong and fertile nature, and when securely banked in, lets for a great rent. The idea of the profitableness of the measure is clearly formed by all the landlords who have property in the fens, but in the method of doing it they have by no means reached perfection; and it is a very discouraging circumstance ever to have so vast a work as a considerable fen bank broke by the floods, which yet sometimes happens, and has done of late extremely often.

No bank is secure that is not well planted with proper shrubs; those whose roots are peculiarly matting, and which agree with the soil of which it is composed. To plant any others would be an absolutely useless expence. Had those very banks which of late years have given way, been planted with such shrubs, and at a proper time, so that their roots might have penetrated deep, the misfortunes arising from the floods would have been avoided; the banks would never have broke. A bank should be thrown up one year, and perhaps two, before it is planted, that the sourness of the soil may be corrected by the vicissitudes of the weather; such a sweetening is necessary to insure a vigorous growth; and the tops of all the plants should be kept low by pruning pretty often: they might be allowed to rise to height enough for the cutting to be of great value, were it not for the additional unhealthiness of the country, which would infallibly ensue. For the very contrary reason that I advised the enclosing dry lands, wet lands are to be left open; the action of the winds and sun is too drying for the first, but nothing can be too drying for the latter: A fen, be it of ever such extent, should be as open as an unbounded heath; but the common practice is the very contrary,

* *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 84.

even the banks of all the ditches are stuck with rows of aquatics, such as alder, willow, and fallow trees, by which means the air is stagnated as well as the water; and this planting renders the country as unwholesome as the waters. For this reason the plantations on the banks should be kept trimmed down as low as was consistent with their practice, and all cavities which their growth might occasion in the banks, kept filled up with earth, and the whole constantly sown with rye-grass, the matting roots of which luxuriant weed would bind the surface in a wonderful manner.

Draining bogs is the great improvement in the present Irish husbandry; and is of prodigious consequence to that kingdom, which abounds so much with them: Their bogs when drained are extremely fertile; and as that island is so impolitically managed as to render hemp and flax profitable crops compared with the more common ones, their drained bogs are well adapted to produce those vegetables; hops would likewise thrive greatly in them; nor is any crop more valuable on them than that of cabbages for fattening cattle, M. de Fourbilli's growing thirty-seven pounds worth on one acre of a drained bog. Nor is any soil more fertile in producing oats, and sometimes beans; but they must be very perfectly drained for grain. The crops of coleseed grown in the Cambridgeshire fens, called the Isle of Ely, are prodigious.

There is another species of draining which is highly deserving a mention, though not marked with such striking effects as that of bogs and fens; which is that of common wet land both pasture and arable. The usual husbandry of such soils is to throw them up in ridges, and cut with a plough what is called water thoroughs; but the true method of draining them is not by means of open drains, but covered ones, which is much practised in Essex and Suffolk. The method is, first to discover the fall or slope of the field, if it has any, that the drains may be cut accordingly; if the surface is level, the depth then varies, that the water may every where run speedily off. They dig them from 22 to 32 inches deep, 12, 14, or 16 wide at top, and 4 below; they first lay in stones quite free from dirt or gravel to the depth of 10 inches or a foot, then small faggot wood 4 or 5 more, then a layer of straw, and lastly fill it up with part of the mould dug out: this is the most perfect way of making them. They frequently do them with wood and straw without the stones, and in Essex sometimes with straw alone, which it is said will last many years; which, if true, must be owing to the earth forming an arch when the straw is rotten and gone. The great enemy to all these drains is the mole; if he makes his way accidentally through them, it is twenty to one but he stops the current of the water, and this cir-

cumstance is a strong reason for cutting as many outlet drains as possible, that in case some are stop'd, others may remain to carry off the water. The expence of making them is for the labour, from 2*d.* to 3*d.* per rod, but the prices of the materials vary in different countries: In a stony soil they cost but little, and in a wood land tract bushes are no very great expence: I believe upon an average the whole expence is about 6*d.* per rod.

There is no improvement exceeds it; soils, which from their wetness disappointed the husbandmen's expectations, are converted at once into mellow, sound, and beneficial lands. Without this operation no manures yield any return when spread upon such fields; the excess of the water washes away the salt and nitrous particles, but after draining every spoonful takes effect, and yields a return incredible to those who have not seen the experiment. I have many times viewed in different counties large tracts of land of very little value, which, when drained in this manner, would be worth three times the rent: But the misfortune in these cases is, that farmers who have not been used to any practice in husbandry, will never be persuaded into it: It requires at least a century to spread a new, but really useful practice, through a single county. Folding sheep was known in England in Henry VIII.'s reign, and has not yet travelled quite through the kingdom. Hocking of turnips is 150 years old, and not yet practised in more than one-third of the kingdom.

The Drill Husbandry.

The invention of the drill plough deserves, beyond a doubt, to be noted amongst the principal of modern ones*. The original idea had great merit, although the use hitherto made of it has been but trifling: The great misfortune attending this implement is the complexity of all

* After all possible researches, says the Author of the *Essays on Husbandry*, I find it difficult to determine what nation claims the credit of inventing the drill plough. It is certain that Lord Sandwich is mistaken in saying that Lucatell invented it; he only was the first Spaniard that learned to manage it from an Austrian engineer, about the year 1660. How long therefore the Austrians were in possession of this secret before they imparted it to the Spaniards, is a circumstance not easy to be ascertained. Thus much may be depended upon, that Hartlib mentions a drill plough by name, nine years before the Spaniards boasted of their Sembrador: See *Legacy*, p. 10, 1651. Blythe also knew it, and says expressly that it ploughed, sowed, and harrowed, at one and the same time: *Improver improved*, 1653. It is equally hard to ascertain how long the Chinese have been in possession of a drill plough, but, in all probability, for many ages. An exact model of one (where the contrivance is no ways contemptible) was sent to the keeper of the seals in France by father d'Incarnville, and a print of it may be seen in the *Culture des Terres*, tom. ii. p. 190, 191.

that

that have been made: The inventors aiming at rendering their ploughs universal for sowing any number of rows, and at any depths, and various seeds at the same time, has made them to consist of so many parts, (and those necessarily very weak ones) that no care or attention is sufficient to preserve them from perpetual accidents; and this has been the case with all from Worlage's to Mr. Randal's. I am strongly persuaded that no drill plough will ever prove useful in common practice, that sows above one kind of seed at the same time, or that cuts drills at various distances, or that sows at different depths. I know of none hitherto invented sufficiently strong and firm in all its parts to prevent numerous repairs. But with the common farmers all implements should be so firmly made, and the parts so strongly fixed together, with no alterations necessary for various works, as to bear such rough usage, as ploughs, harrows, rollers, &c. &c. and a drill to sow at the same distances, and depth, &c. might certainly be made in that strong manner.

The principles upon which this husbandry is founded are just, and consonant to the ideas of all good husbandmen in all ages and countries; for there is no other effectual method of destroying weeds, nor can the old method be so conducted as to preserve the soil equally open, loose, and pulverized.

That this method has not flourished and answered upon experience in the manner its advocates have expected, must be attributed to the ploughs hitherto invented, being of such a gimcrack make, and so imperfect, that fair play could in no case be entirely given it. Whatever the husbandry be, if the instruments are not perfect the practice will be incomplete. It must however be allowed that much more care, attention, and expence, are necessary in the new than the old method. And this excess may extend so far, that the produce will not pay a return: In many instances this certainly has been the case, in others success has attended the experiments in it.

As to the present state of the drill practice, I wish it was in my power to lay before the reader every trial in the kingdom; were it in my power, I fear the list would make but a poor figure: However, the following sketch will give a slight idea of those which I apprehend are most worthy of attention.

Sir D. Legard's in Yorkshire are very satisfactory. The following particulars will in a few words give the result of them. The soil very

light,

light, very dry, but a good hazel mould, and pretty rich. The result of an experiment on barley, as a comparison between the two methods, was, in respect of produce,

	Q.	B.	P.
Neat product of one acre in the old method	5	4	2
Ditto sown in equally distant rows with the drill plough	6	0	2
Ditto ditto horse-hoed	3	0	2

This, as to produce, is determinate upon the above described soil, but as a full register of all the expences of each method is not inserted, it proves not which is the most beneficial method. Another set of experiments is the register of the culture of seven acres, the result of which was as follows:

	Q.	B.	P.
2 acres of oats drilled, which yielded per acre	4	3	0
5 ditto barley ditto	2	0	1
4 ditto wheat ditto	1	1	1
3 ditto barley ditto	3	3	2
4 ditto wheat ditto	1	2	3
3 ditto barley ditto	4	0	0
4 ditto turnips, value 6l.			
3 ditto barley ditto	2	3	1
7 ditto ditto ditto	3	1	0
7 ditto wheat ditto	1	3	2

To these we should add three other experiments;

2 ditto barley ditto	4	2	0
4 ditto wheat ditto	0	1	3
1 ditto barley ditto	2	7	3

The mean quantities per acre of all these crops are,

Of oats	4	3	0
Of barley	3	1	1
Of wheat	1	0	1

It is to be remarked that wheat is a crop which thrives as well drilled and horse-hoed as either barley or oats; we must not therefore attribute the poorness of the crop to the method of culture, but to the soil, the real nature of which it is difficult to gain a knowledge of, for it is called in general a good hazel mould, yet it is afterwards called so poor

as never to have let for more than one shilling per acre. From whence I conclude the soil of these experiments varies, which shows the necessity of minuting the nature of the soil of each experiment. The produce of wheat is very trifling, but that of the barley and oats very considerable; it is doubtful whether the old husbandry would yield equally valuable ones on such a soil, but then as no real comparison was experimentally made, we know not this matter, and had the comparison been made without the respective expences, we should nevertheless have remained in the dark.

The same gentleman in his experiments on drilled turnips found the produce as follows,

11 tons per acre
27 ditto ditto

And he values them as 1*l.* 10*s.* the 11 tons. The medium is 19 tons; but unfortunately he does not mention whether he weighed the apple alone, or both apple and leaves: But I know by experience that in some parts of the kingdom the price of 1*l.* 10*s.* for 11 tons would be very high, a common acre frequently producing 20 and 25 tons only of apples, and the mean price per acre is reckoned between 34*s.* and 40*s.* per acre.

An acre of potatoes horse-hoed 38 quarters, which is very considerable; the best of all this cultivator's horse-hoed crops*.

The next experiments in the drill husbandry which occur to me are Mr. Wynn Baker's; they were performed in Ireland, but it is necessary for the sake of perspicuity to mention them here. He made trial for comparison of barley in both the old and new method; the result was that the old method produced per acre,

	Q.	B.	P.
Statute measure †,	3	2	2
Ditto new method,	2	7	3
Old superior to new,	0	2	3
Drill took less seed than the old method, by	0	2	0
Yet in favour of the old method,	0	1	3

* I have extracted these particulars from *Mill's Husbandry*, Vol. i. p. 310.

† In Mr. Baker's report to the Dublin Society, his measure of land is the *Plantation*, and that of corn by the barrel, stone, and pound; but I have reduced them to the common English measures, reckoning the bushel of barley at 48 pounds.

There

There are some odd fractions which I have omitted, and which would have reduced this 1 bushel and 3 pecks something lower, but as a slight difference is immaterial, I was not so solicitous about absolute accuracy; and especially as this experiment is by no means conclusive, the expences being omitted; for though Mr. Baker does sum up in an imperfect and general manner the expences, yet it is evidently *from his ideas in general*, and not really minuted upon each crop. He reported to the Dublin Society at the same time the following result of a comparative experiment on turnips:

	T.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.
An acre of drilled, statute measure, weighed	29	9	0	25
Ditto old method	27	1	0	14
New method superior by	2	8	0	11

The rows of these drilled turnips were 5 feet asunder. The same objection which lies against nine experiments out of ten has force likewise in this, for the expences are given in a very imperfect manner; it appears however that the old method was the most expensive, but then the turnips were thinned by hand, and weeded *besides* hoeing, which is such a way of going to work, that in turnip countries farmers would laugh at it. But notwithstanding these circumstances the new method appears the most advantageous.

Now I am mentioning the new husbandry in Ireland I should observe that it seems to be practised there by Bellingham Boyle Esq; of Rathfarnham near Dublin: All the account I can meet with of his experiments, is contained in the following passage from the *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 91. "That excellent husbandman, from 16 lb. or near a peck of wheat sown, reaped about 50 bushels of grain; which crop may be computed to have made a return of near two hundred pecks for one; on which account, the first premium was adjudged to him by the Dublin Society, Nov. 18, 1763." It is natural to imagine that this was performed upon the principles of the NEW HUSBANDRY.

The next practiser of the new method is Mr. John Willy of South Pertherton; the substance of his account is this: He tried it in sowing wheat for some years, but with ill success, and left it off; but he continued it for turnips and beans. His minutes prove nothing, for his expressions are all indefinite; he grows turnips 2 feet around—and *believes*

* *Museum Rusticum*, Vol. v.

he has double the crop of any sown in the old way. But as to a certainty, or a register of expences, no such thing is to be found in his account*."

Mr. Randal of York applied the new husbandry to the culture of turnips, but all the minutes I can meet with in his works amount to nothing more than "the finest turnips ever seen in Yorkshire by all accounts were grown in rows 3 feet asunder †." He likewise mentions having cultivated other vegetables, particularly potatoes, in that method; but has published no experiments on them.

The Society of Arts gave a gold medal in the year 1766 to the Rev. Mr. H. Lowther of Aikton near Carlisle, for his account of cultivating wheat in this manner.

From this short sketch of those gentlemen that have practised the new husbandry it appears, that *very* little can be asserted experimentally either for, or against it. The trials that have been made of it are extremely few, and all that have been published are minuted in so incomplete a manner, that but little *determinate* knowledge is to be collected from the whole. We find in a few instances the produce, but scarcely in any the *clear* profit. From whence we must conclude, that this celebrated practice is known very imperfectly in this kingdom †.

The Cultivation of New Vegetables.

I must be allowed to give this title to all not *universally* cultivated, some I shall name that have been long in use, but are not yet become *absolutely* general.

I. Clover.

Of all the artificial grasses this is the best known in England. (I speak of the common species called the *red* and *broad* clover.) It has made its

* *Practical Observations* addressed to Dr. Templeman, p. 26.

† *Construction of a seed-furrow plough*, p. 23.

‡ I may here add that it is as little known in France. All the famous experiments in the *Cultura dei Terrei*, &c. are manifestly *partial*; nor are the expences any where *accurately* inserted, and very seldom mentioned at all. Which single circumstance is enough absolutely to destroy the authority of any.

way through most parts of that kingdom, but has not yet been able to complete its progress through *all* the counties; nor is it by any means *well* known in Scotland, if we may judge from Mr. Maxwell's earnest recommendations of it there*. And I apprehend it to be quite unknown in Ireland from a passage in *Mr. Baker's Report to the Dublin Society*, wherein he says that he *sowed a little of it for the first time in his life*; indeed he says it is of very general use, but therein he must be understood to mean in England.

But the excellence of the plant is undubitable: A crop which is frequently of superior value to any †, and upon an average nearly equal, which, at the same time that it yields so great profit, prepares the land for wheat, requires no other praise: And another circumstance which is of prodigious consequence, is the luxuriance and *strength* of its growth; some other grasses are even *quicker* in their growth than clover, but none has such strength in overpowering weeds, which renders it of peculiar advantage to common husbandmen; who, in a business of any extent, (let theoretical writers assert what they please) cannot possibly cultivate grasses which require much culture after they are once sown.

It is somewhat of a publick misfortune that those gentlemen who have employed themselves in trying experiments in agriculture, have cultivated only the *newer* vegetables, or the old ones in a *new* manner:

* *Practical Husbandman*, various passages.

† A very remarkable instance is that of Mr. Wood's crop at Brockhall near Kelvedon in Essex. In 1754 he laid down a field of 12 acres with it; and in May 1755 he turned into it the following cattle, and kept them in it 6 weeks: I have added the value of their feed.

	l.	s.	d.
12 horses at 1 s. 6 d.	—	—	—
12 cows at 2 s.	—	—	—
10 oxen at 2 s.	—	—	—
8 heifers at 1 s.	—	—	—
100 sheep at 3 d.	—	—	—
30 hogs at 3 d.	—	—	—
He then faved it for feed; but the only specification of the quantity is that the crop was 24 waggon loads; I shall therefore suppose it (as the field certainly was a very good one) some thing above the medium, or 5 bushels per acre, at 25 s.			
24 loads of clover straw	—	—	—
	75	0	0
	12	0	0
Total	117	15	0
9 s. 16 d. per acre.			

They

They have neglected common matters (which are generally the most useful) too much. The publick wants to be certain of the profit of a crop of clover, and the degree of variation between a crop of wheat after clover, and after a fallow: If it is clear that in such and such soils wheat yields as well from a clover lay as from fallow, it is of prodigious consequence to the nation that (under such circumstances) wheat should always be sown on the former. It is very extraordinary that none of our husbandry writers tell us from experiment, what is the profit of a crop of clover on clay, loam, &c. &c. If any one would know, for instance, what he is to expect from a field of clover, Where is he to gain his knowledge? My land is a heavy loam, says a farmer, lets for 12s. an acre, more inclinable to a moist brick earth than any other soil, none of my neighbours sow clover—you gentlemen who write of agriculture, tell me, not only whether I shall succeed, but what crop I may on an average expect, if I sow my clover with barley after a fallow?—What *book* can answer such a question, suppose the soil any you please?

Clover is found to be exceeding good food for horses and sheep. The finest for hogs, and very good for cows, oxen, and heifers. I should however remark that the husbandry of keeping half and three quarters grown hogs on it, is known in but few parts of England: In many parts they turn them into it in May, and, if there is water in the field, never take them out till Michaelmas: Nothing makes them thrive better, nor does clover by any management turn to greater account.

Husbandmen in those parts of these islands where this grass is not cultivated, who are desirous of cultivating it, should remember these three things. *First*, Not to venture it with any crop that is not sown after turnips, carrots, or a fallow. *Secondly*, To make their soil as fine for its reception as possible; if they sow their spring corn on one earth in land which is not in remarkable good order, not to venture clover with it. *Thirdly*, Not to sow it with the corn, but before the roller passes over it, by which precaution any damage resulting from a very wet season will be avoided: I have known barley almost ruined by the luxuriance of the clover amongst it.

II. Trefoile.

This grass is in every respect inferior to clover, except in nourishment; indeed I believe the *quality* of it is superior in being sweeter food, but as to quantity and luxuriance of growth there can be no comparison between them. Trefoile succeeds best on lighter soils than clover affects.

III. *Rye-Grass.*

Generally mixed with both the preceding: It has a great number of valuable properties, which render it of no inconsiderable use to the farmer. It thrives (I believe without any exceptions) on all sorts of soils: I have seen fine crops of it on exceeding light lands, and very wet clays. All the Norfolk farmers sow it mixed with clover on their improved sheep-walks; and it is in other counties commonly sowed in wet lands. It yields by much the greatest burthen on the latter, takes a wonderful hold of the ground in a very short time, and kills every weed the land is subject to: I have found it of great use in destroying couch and black-grass. Nor is it delicate in its culture, for it will thrive well though sown in slovenly fields such as would yield no clover. It must however be acknowledged that it by no means improves the soil like clover; on the contrary, it exhausts it not a little; but is found more mischievous in this respect on good, than on poor land.

IV. *Sainfoin.*

One of the finest grasses in the world, and much sown in many parts of England: For poor light soils it has not an equal; lasts many years, and yields very fine crops of most excellent hay: I have seen two, and two and half, and three tons of hay the product of one acre, in soils that did not let for above half a crown, which, in such, is the *ne plus ultra* of their improvement: No tillage I apprehend can make them turn to so great account. Sainfoin thrives vigorously on all soils that are not wet; sand, gravel, and dry loams; but on clay or any other wet soil the weeds presently destroy it.

In the eastern parts of the kingdom it is very little sown, which is very surprising, as it is introduced even by a few farmers. In the West of England vast quantities of it are to be seen every where. In Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, &c. they understand the advantages of it, and use it accordingly; and in Kent upon their chalky soils they sow it more than any other grass.

It is greatly to be regretted that the culture of sainfoin is not extended to many parts of these islands where it is scarcely known; it would prove a much greater benefit to the husbandry of several counties, than almost any acquisition they could make.

The variations of the culture of sainfoin are but few: The principal one is the sowing it with a drill plough, which was introduced by the famous Tull, who found it greatly superior to the broad-cast method; and in Yorkshire Sir Digby Legard has made many experiments upon it, which prove that the method is likewise upon his land superior.

I should not omit remarking that few of those gentlemen who have amused themselves with experimental agriculture, have made any variety of trials upon this plant; and yet its natural excellence is such as might have induced them to have given it great attention. Mr. Tull understood its culture better than any one that has succeeded him; and yet but little precise and determinate knowledge of it is to be gained from his writings any more than from Sir Digby Legard's. The author of the *Essays on Husbandry* says, it likes the same soil, exposure, and culture as lucerne; and the experiments upon it in the *Culture des Terres* justify the assertion: we want therefore to be informed by comparative experiments, the difference of cultivating it in the common broad-cast, and in the drill methods—and the rows in the latter to be at various distances, and likewise in the transplanting way, in the same manner as lucerne is managed. A series of such experiments would be attended with great

V. Lucerne.

There is some reason to believe this the prince of all artificial grasses. It grows quicker than any; yields as much in quantity as any; is of all the most nourishing; and lasts as long, if not longer, than any. As to its disadvantages they are but few in comparison with its excellencies. It must however be allowed that it is of all the most delicate, and requires the most attentive culture; nor will it thrive well either on very light sands, or wet clays.

The present state of its culture in these kingdoms is comprized in the experiments of gentlemen; for I know of no farmers that have introduced it into their fields. It has been chiefly managed in the three ways, by transplantation, by drilling, and by sowing broad-cast.

In the first method the author of the *Essays on Husbandry*, the Rev. Mr. Harte, Canon of Windsor, stands foremost: He cultivated lucerne in this manner during several years, and registered his experiments with such accuracy, that they form the most determinate course of any hitherto published. The result, in a few words, was nearly as follows:

He sowed the lucerne in a small spot for a nursery, and from thence transplanted them in rows 3 feet 4 inches asunder, and the plants 1 foot in the rows.—The soil was a loam on a chalky bottom, and a marly clay.—It was cut annually 5 or 6 times.—The expence the first year is 6*l.* 12*s.*, afterwards 2*l.*—It grows in a year 10 or 12 feet high.—An acre will keep two coach horses 5 months, and fatten a small heifer besides.—It will yield 5*l.* per acre, annually, clear profit.—It is six or seven weeks earlier than even broad clover, or winter vetches.—An acre seeded will be worth about 7*l.*—I have omitted all the particulars of the culture, which are drawn up in a most intelligent manner, and nothing omitted: The reader may easily perceive that the foregoing particulars are really *to the point*, and conclusive.

None of the other cultivators of lucerne in this method published their experiments, so that it is very difficult to know the result; but it appears that Bellingham Boyle Esq; in Ireland, Christopher Baldwin Esq; of Clapham Common in Surry, Peter Newcombe Esq; of Hadeleigh in Suffolk, and —Crocket Esq; of Luxborough in Essex, have each of them tried it. Mr. Baldwin's soil is a sandy loam upon a gravel; his rows two feet asunder—and an acre will maintain 2 horses, and one beast that eats just half as much as a horse, all the summer, or from May to Michaelmas. The result of the other experiments are not known.

In the drilling method there are likewise several: William Taylor of Cannon Hill Surry, 3 acres on a strong clay—cut four and five times every year—Three acres maintained five horses five months*. Mr. Ray's in Suffolk consisted of one acre on a gravelly loam, the rows 2 feet asunder, and maintains two cows from May to October.—Christopher Baldwin's Esq; abovementioned; the soil, culture, and produce the same as his transplanted.—Mr. Johnston of Ilford in Essex has 1 acre, but no *exact result* of it is found.—These are the principal ones hitherto published, and, like the transplanted, prove that this vegetable is of very great importance.

In the broad-cast method the first experiments to be mentioned are those of Mr. Rocque the great *modern* father of it. His soil was exceedingly rich; but the profit more than proportioned, for he made upon an average thirty pounds per acre. This extraordinary profit arose neither from soil nor culture, but *situation*. The near neighbourhood of the capital furnished him with a market which is to be found no where else:

* This experiment obtained the Society's Medal; and was published in the *Museum Rusticum*.

I should be more particular upon his experiments did not his situation form so strong an exception to all others: Mr. Baldwin's situation is very near London, but the natural soil is not so good. One remark it is necessary to make upon Mr. Rocque's lucerne, and that is, he never ascertained how long it would last, for he successively had it on different grounds—but never published one regular register of any experiment for several years.—The Rev. Dr. Tanner of Hadleigh in Suffolk has five acres of this grass sown in the broad-cast manner; which has lasted four years, and maintains about thirteen horses and cows the summer round.—Mr. Johnston above mentioned has likewise an acre of it, but the separate product is not known †.—A gentleman ‡ in Lincolnshire has tried lucerne in this method, and in drills by transplantation; but so very few particulars of his experiments are published, that it is needless to mention them further than this; his drilled, in 3 feet rows, the second year was cut four times, and each time was from 18 to 24 inches high; the soil light and poorish.

These are the principal experiments that are known in these kingdoms upon this grass: There are doubtless many more, but, unfortunately for the publick, few that are published.—From these it appears that lucerne is an object of great importance in husbandry, and exceeding worthy of attention from farmers who occupy small farms, and from all practisers of an accurate and garden-like agriculture; I do not recommend it to those who have an extensive and various business, as I am inclinable to think that it requires more care and attention than they can give, *according to their present modes of practice*. If they would cultivate such a quantity as would constantly employ a pair of horses and a man, and keep both for that single purpose, (except now and then using the former when the lucerne did not want them) he would find no difficulty in cultivating that, or any other delicate plant; but trying only an acre or two it is seldom executed in a perfect manner, for it does not appear a matter of consequence in the midst of a large concern; the effect of which is, the requisite articles of the culture are given at *leisure* times rather than *proper* ones, and *one* acre fails in the same hands that would turn *ten* to an admirable account.

VI. Burnet.

The last discovered of our artificial grasses; and it has been cultivated with such spirit, that its properties and value are pretty well known:

† See *The Six Weeks Tour* for these Experiments.

‡ *Milk's Husbandry*, Vol. iii. p. 276.

It is no where got into the common farmer's hand; however, the extent to which gentlemen have cultivated it, have spread a more general knowledge of it than one would apprehend could have attended to now a grass. According to the best information to be gained, the present state of its culture is nearly comprized in the experiments of the following gentlemen.

Mr. Davies Lambe of Ridley in Kent, 7 acres—They yielded 2000 bushels of feed, 200 sacks of chaff, and 7 loads of hay, at one cutting, on July 6—In 12 days after that cutting, 7 cows, 2 calves, and 2 horses, were turned into it, and kept till Michaelmas; and from the middle of November to Christmas, 6 head of cattle kept in it.—Christopher Baldwin Esq. at Clapham Common 17 acres—Soil the same as that of his lucerne mentioned above.—The produce not specified; but both these gentlemen assert that horses, cows, and sheep, feed very heartily on burnet.

In 1766 the society gave a gold medal to Mr. John Searancke for cultivating 37 acres of burnet. The result of the experiment not known.—Mr. Johnston of Ilford aforesaid has an acre or two in drills, but the produce unknown.—The Earl of Northington at the Grange several acres, which have turned to great account, but the particulars unknown.—Nor are any determinate particulars to be gained from Mr. Rocque's experiments.—John Lewis Esq; of Tracey in Devonshire, 6 acres.—Soil a heavy marly loam—4 of them yield at one cutting 1000 lb. of feed.

In respect to the number of acres sown with this grass, it is, as I observed before, considerable; but what is much to be regretted, none of these gentlemen have published one full experiment on it: They give us general assurances with a few particulars, but have not registered every circumstance of soil, exposure, culture, produce, expence, and profit. All these articles are absolutely necessary for the perfect understanding of one experiment; and indeed are of such force, that when the trial is judiciously made, they give such a value to it as to yield conclusive knowledge as far as the circumstances of soil and management extend. Burnet however appears in general to be a very valuable plant; and will, I doubt not, prove no inconsiderable acquisition in husbandry.

VII. *White Dutch Clover.*

There is no finer food for sheep than this grass, which lasts in the ground for many years. No fields should be laid down for pastures without

without a small quantity of it, for it thickens at bottom long before the natural grasses: But in respect of quantity of produce, it is a mere nothing compared to the common clover, lucerne, sain foin, or burnet; it does not by any means equal even trefoile in this respect. It is no where in common use.

VIII. Separated natural Grasses.

An object of prodigious utility, which had its birth in Sweden in the school of Linnæus; was transplanted into England by the ingenious Mr. Stillingfleet, and adopted by the society for the encouragement of arts: It has made however scarce any progress; for even the London feed-shops cannot supply the smallest demand; which is somewhat surprising, as grass seeds multiply at such a vast rate when once sown carefully and kept clean. Indeed I know not of one experiment upon these grasses even among gentlemen themselves: It is true their culture is very delicate, troublesome, and expensive *at first*; for the seeds must all be gathered by hand, and sown in drills; and as no drill plough can shed them, the drills must be drawn by a line, and with a rake, and the seeds dropt in them by hand, and covered with a rake; and they require when up to be hoed very constantly, and the rows themselves hand-weeded; the expence of an acre the first year I should not estimate at less than fifteen or twenty pounds: This is a strong reason for the society (if they would spread the culture of separated grasses) undertaking the execution themselves; which might be done with very little trouble, by publishing the prices per pound at which they would purchase the seeds; naming such as might eagerly induce poor people (on receiving the information) to gather a great quantity of them. Then it would be in the power of the society to direct some of their correspondents to cultivate of each an acre, furnishing the seed, and expressing at what price they would purchase the produce, taking care to name such an one that no loss could be sustained; or else being themselves at the expence, and receiving the produce; as to the trouble, no cultivator, who was earnest in wishing well to experiment-making, would regret it.

Mr. Rocque made some experiments on a few grasses, but was very unhappy in his choice: The Timothy is, comparatively speaking, a very weed; for though cattle will eat the hay, yet they will do the same with straw: Mr. Ray's 4 acres of it in Suffolk turned out nothing comparable to his common pastures; and Mr. Lewis and a friend of his

both tried several acres of it without *any* success. His orchard grass turned out nothing better; and though the bird grass bid fairer for proving of value, yet no experiments hitherto known have spread such a report of it as one would have expected from Mr. Rócque's encomium of it. The dwarf poa is a good grass, but yields a trifling produce in quantity.

IX. Turnips.

The next great improvement after artificial grasses (and especially clover) was the culture of this root. It was one of the principal points of the Flemish husbandry, from whom we learned it above an hundred years ago. And, strange as it may seem, has not yet spread over the whole kingdom; for I cannot call the slovenly manner in which some counties cultivate it, the turnip husbandry.

In all the eastern and southern parts of England they manage it properly, that is, make their land exceedingly fine for it, and hoe them well; but in some parts of the west of the kingdom, and most part of Wales, their management of them is a disgrace to their agriculture; for they plough but once for a vegetable which requires a garden mould, and never bestow any hoeing: Nor has their proper culture extended itself over all parts of the north of England. Managed in this wretched manner the turnip husbandry is by no means profitable; but when cultivated with care and attention none is more so; of which I cannot give a stronger proof than by referring to the practice of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which raise I believe as many turnips as any five counties in England. The farmers of those counties find them the most beneficial vegetable they can cultivate by way of a fallow, nor is any fallow more advantageous to the land, for the finest of all barley is that which succeeds turnips.

The use of the root itself is of vast importance when raised to its natural size, for the quantity of beef that is fatted solely upon them is immense; besides the prodigious benefit of maintaining flocks of sheep in the winter and spring, when there is scarce any other food for them, and, at the same time, improving the soil in the finest manner. In a word, the advantages of cultivating turnips in the requisite method is so extremely great, on all soils that are dry enough to yield and admit the carrying or dragging them off, that the farmers in those parts of the kingdom where the culture is not known, suffer a much greater loss than commonly imagined. Nor can any gentleman possessing estates in such

such parts of the kingdom, do a more considerable benefit to their tenants than aiming, by all possible means, at introducing the culture of turnips among them.

X. Carrots.

This excellent root is commonly cultivated only in the island of Guernsey, and in the neighbourhood of Woodbridge in Suffolk; one farmer in Norfolk has raised large fields of them, but I do not hear that this example has been followed by his neighbours: The person I mean is Mr. Billing of Weasenham, who published the account of their culture at the desire of the society for the encouragement of arts, &c. About Woodbridge they apply them only to the feeding of their horses, and shipping them off for the Thames; but Mr. Billing fattened many bullocks upon them; and with great success, besides keeping his flock, dairy of cows, and his hogs upon them: They yielded him about 5 *l.* 10 *s.* an acre profit, which is very considerable, and more than double what can be made by turnips: So extremely beneficial is their culture, that vast tracts of land in these islands, which at present are waste, or nearly so, might be rendered, by means of carrots, equally, or more profitable than the best wheat land: I have many times seen fine carrot land to a very considerable extent, but none applied to the use in large except by that one farmer in Norfolk. It is inconceivable what an advance in the value of such lands would ensue upon the introduction of their culture. This however must not be expected from tenants; landlords should cultivate a large field of them upon their estates, and let their tenants not only see them but view the process of fattening cattle with them, and see the beef at their own butchers. Experiments of this nature should be often repeated, and *on a large scale*, for small ones do not catch the attention of common farmers.—It is greatly to be regretted that more experiments upon this most useful root have not been published, for the farmers about Woodbridge and in the isle of Guernsey, though they raise large quantities, publish (as it may be supposed) nothing concerning them, and Mr. Billing's treatise is not drawn up in that accurate manner, in respect to the expences, that one could wish; for it rather consists of informing the reader what carrots will in general cost, than of a register of what his own really did cost. Nothing is so easy as the registering experiments in agriculture: All that is requisite is to minute every thing *at the time*; but if that is omitted, and a treatise afterwards drawn up upon any branch of culture, it must consist of *general assertions*, *indefinite expressions*, and *instructions*

instead of facts—a system of which is more difficult to form, than a mere recital of facts.

XI. Parsnips.

The society has offered a premium for the culture of this plant, but I never heard of one experiment being made upon them, or their being sown by farmers any where but in Guernsey; nor is it known to what extent the husbandmen, even in that island, cultivate them.

XII. Potatoes.

This is one of the most important articles of husbandry; for at the same time that potatoes clean and meliorate the soil, they increase greatly the quantity of food both for men and cattle; and are a most profitable root. The field culture of them is not known in any extent only in Ireland and the neighbourhood of London; and that chiefly along the Essex road about Ilford. In Ireland they are planted in very great quantities, the poor people living chiefly upon them, and sometimes feeding their cattle with them: Their culture in Essex is extremely profitable; for I have known them to yield from 20*l.* to 30*l.* and even 35*l.* per acre, and that so early as July; the digging them up has prepared the land so well, that fine turnips have succeeded them; or, if they leave them in the ground till Michaelmas, wheat. Potatoes were cultivated in Yorkshire upon a large scale by Mr. Randal, the author of the *Semi-Virgilian Husbandry*; but he planted them in rows, and horse-hoed them; whereas in Essex they dibble them in promiscuously about 8 inches from each other. There could scarcely be a greater improvement in British husbandry than the introducing potatoes regularly into the courses of common crops, for their value is far beyond turnips, and they improve and mellow the soil much more. It is a mistaken notion to imagine that they will not thrive without dung, good hoeing is of as much importance to them as any manures whatever: And they are of admirable use in fattening hogs.

XIII. Cabbages.

It appears from Mr. Randal's *Semi-Virgilian Husbandry*, that he cultivated the large Scotch cabbage in large quantities, and applied them to the fattening of oxen. He asserts that an acre *will* fatten six; but he does not say he knew one ever *did*. However, there is reason sufficient to believe they may

may be turned to great account upon pretty rich soils. The turnip cabbage was used for the food of cattle by the Author of the *Essays on Husbandry*, but with what success is not known. Mr. Wynn Baker in Ireland cultivated them likewise for fattening of cattle, and found that one acre would maintain four fattening bullocks seventy-six days. No species of the cabbage is yet cultivated by any common farmer—or at least, by none that are known.

XIV. *Madder.*

I may venture to call the culture of this vegetable in England the *effect* of the society's attention. It was never cultivated to any extent before that patriotic set of improvers took it under their patronage; but at present there are a great number of acres yearly planted, insomuch that we bid fair for putting an end to the importation of it from Holland; an object of no inconsiderable importance. But the culture of madder would flourish much more, if an accurate set of experiments on it was laid before the publick: There is at present so much uncertainty in the expences and produce, that the premium has not that great effect which would attend it were an exact register published of the cultivation of a few acres in different soils. The present state of this article of modern agriculture in Britain is comprised in the acres which have been planted in consequence of the Society's premiums. I know of none by common farmers; they are the experiments of gentlemen; except some that have been tried in hop grounds in Kent, and, I should remark, with great success.

The Courses of Crops.

The British husbandry in this respect has received as great improvements as in any other case whatever: For before the introduction of turnips and clover, the farmers imagined that fine crops of corn could only be had after fallow years; but experience having convinced them of the contrary, they have within a few years extended their ideas, and now gain in many parts of the kingdom as fine wheat and barley after *fallow crops*, as ever their ancestors did after a *fallow*. It cannot be said that these beneficial practices are yet become general; but in many parts of the kingdom they have carried them to great perfection.

The courses of the crops *commonly* cultivated in England are chiefly as follow :

On rich heavy soils,		On rich, but lighter soils,	
1. Fallow	1. Fallow	1. Peafe	1. Wheat
2. Wheat	2. Barley	2. Wheat	2. Peafe
3. Beans	3. Clover	3. Barley	3. Barley
4. Wheat	4. Wheat	4. Clover	4. Clover
5. Peafe	5. Beans	5. Wheat.	5. Oats.
6. Wheat	6. Wheat		
7. Barley.	7. Peafe		
	8. Wheat.		
		On light loams.	
1. Fallow	1. Fallow	1. Turnips	1. Fallow
2. Barley	2. Wheat	2. Barley	2. Barley
3. Oats.	3. Barley	3. Clover	3. Oats
	4. Oats.	4. Wheat.	4. Clover.
1. Fallow	1. Fallow	1. White peafe	1. Turnips
2. Wheat	2. Barley	2. Turnips	2. Wheat
3. Beans	3. Clover	3. Oats	3. Oats
4. Oats.	4. Oats.	4. Clover	4. Clover.
		5. Wheat.	
		On sandy loams.	
1. Turnips	1. Carrots	4. Clover and rye-grafs.	4. Rye.
2. Oats	2. Barley		
3. Clover and rye-grafs	3. Oats.	1. Turnips	1. Rye
4. Rye.		2. Buckwheat	2. Turnips
		3. Rye.	3. Turnips
1. Turnips	1. Carrots		4. Barley
2. Barley	2. Oats		5. Clover and rye-grafs.
3. Buckwheat	3. Clover and rye-grafs		

I could extend these tables to several pages, but I believe these, with changes in a few articles, nearly comprehend the common practice. In Scotland they sow but little wheat; and both there and in Ireland bear is generally substituted instead of barley.

There is not a more important point in husbandry than this of varying the crops with judgment. The most profitable course that can be followed

followed upon heavy lands is to sow wheat after a fallow, and if they throw in barley after the wheat, never, on any account, to let any grain follow; for that is the sure method of exhausting the soil, and filling it with trumpery. If beans are cultivated as they ought to be, that is, hoed clean twice or thrice, wheat succeeds them advantageously; after wheat, if pease are sown, they should be carefully hoed with small hoes, and hand-weeded if barley is designed to succeed them. But in these respects of keeping what may be called the *fallow crops* thoroughly clean, the farmers are extremely culpable, for they frequently sow corn after them without taking the least care to destroy the weeds. This management is likewise conspicuous in their crops on the lighter soils; if they give their fields a good turnip fallow, they are apt to run them too much upon the credit of it: A good crop of clover will always ensure a good one of wheat after it; but then barley and oats coming sometimes successively, ruins the land again. The best course, of all others upon these soils, is fallowing for turnips; then sowing barley, throwing in clover with it, ploughing up the clay, and harrowing in wheat. Thus cropped the soil will always be clean, and yield good crops; especially if the turnips are fed on the land by sheep. Carrots, as I have already remarked, are sown in few places, but they have all the advantages of turnips, and many more; for their culture loosens the soil to a greater depth, and cleans the surface more, by frequent hoeings. The great point in this article of courses is never to let two crops of *corn* come together, but to introduce pulse, roots or grasses between them: it is a very simple rule, but of great importance.

General Management of Farms.

Whatever profit may arise from separate articles, such as manuring, cleaning, properly cropping, &c. &c. it matters but little if the general oeconomy be not such as affords the requisite profit upon the whole. I apprehend the husbandmen of this age have a more superior knowledge in this article, over preceding ones, than in any other age. In some parts of the kingdom, the general profit on agriculture is considerable, and owing not altogether to low rents or external causes, but to an intelligent general management.

In many parts of the west of England, and in Wales, a plough never moves with less than four horses to draw it, and commonly with five or six, or six or eight oxen; and this on light, as well as heavy soils. It is plain enough, that a vastly greater number of these beasts must be kept

kept on a farm so tilled, than on one which is never ploughed with more than two; consequently a great loss ensues from using more than the necessary number; — I don't add, if the soil will admit of it, because I venture to conclude it so, as I have many times been an eye-witness to their ploughing a great variety of soils, and seldom making any distinction between heavy and light ones.

In the eastern counties, they understand this matter of proportioning the length to the work infinitely better; the strongest soils are ploughed up (and let me add to three times the depth of the western furrows) with two horses, and a larger surface done than by six in the west.

It is the same with servants and labourers as with horses: I observed, that in the western parts of the kingdom the farmers kept more by far than were necessary, and more than the proportion of their brethren in the east: I need not add, that it is another sure way of impoverishing them, nor is it of any service to the state, because the supernumerary hands are not employed to any advantage; they are kept because the people are indolent, and do not exert themselves as in other parts of the kingdom; besides, the extra number of working cattle occasions a necessary increase of servants; keeping so many more than is really wanted, is keeping them in idleness, and a slovenly execution of their business: if the farmers who acted thus, ploughed, hoed, and otherwise cultivated their fields proportionably the better, they would benefit not only themselves, but the state; better crops arising in return, their industry would not be useless; one hundred acres might then be brought to yield as much as *two*.

In the immediate management of the fields, there appears as great a difference between the husbandmen of different parts of the kingdom. A farm, consisting all of arable land, is by no means so profitable as to have a part of it grass; but in some counties the farmers plough up all their natural grass, without regularly laying down a sufficient quantity of artificial: in the improved parts of Norfolk, many very large farms require to be all under the plough, but then the farmers take care always to have a great plenty of clover and rye-grass, which maintains their numerous flocks. In richer counties, where clover alone is their grass, they are very negligent in not fallowing regularly for barley, that they may constantly have clover sown with the first crop. Where there is not a due proportion between the arable land and the natural grasses of a farm, if the deficiency be not supplied by artificial ones, all must suffer through a want of manure, for cattle cannot be kept without grass of some kind or other. The clover, and the clover and rye-grass husbandry,

dry, are perfectly understood in Suffolk and Norfolk, but scarcely known (advantageously) in Wales; was hardly introduced into Scotland in the year 1757, and is yet of no extent in Ireland.

Much of the same nature, and in part composed of this fault in agriculture, is the not throwing a farmer into the requisite *variety*, if I may be allowed the expression. It is by no means profitable to have the farmer depend on one or two crops; he should have many; that if the seasons prove unfavourable to some, others may make him amends. It is in some parts of England (and in many of France) the practice to divide a farm into two parts; half every year sown with wheat, and the other half fallow. The course of three years is better, but by no means perfect. In many parts of the east of England the farmers always contrive to have natural grass — artificial grass — corn — pulse — and roots, and this management should be extended every where; for the year's business is so, that a less dependance is had on the seasons, and much work never to be done in a short time.

I venture these hints rather as the explanation of an idea than as a full detail of the subject: the reader will easily comprehend the importance of this general system of management, and be sensible that it extends to a greater variety of cases than what I have specified. These, however, are sufficient to shew, that in some parts of the kingdom rural oeconomy is better understood than in others, and the contrast ought to excite landlords to introduce the best methods known among their tenants; an easy matter to manage by means of leases, when the desired practice is nothing essentially different from the common methods. If they are required to proceed on contrary *principles* to what they have been accustomed, they will never comply.

Degree of Encouragement which Agriculture at present meets with.

No nation can be conducted by a comprehensive and general system of political oeconomy, without her agriculture, either in its immediate practice or distant consequences, being the subject of particular laws, intended for its encouragement. Such laws indeed are generally more rare than they ought to be, for it is greatly in the power of the legislature of any country to promote and extend the well-being of husbandry; nor does the whole range of politics present so important an object. Wise laws of this nature would, if it is to be imagined, be oftener enacted, was agriculture

the only great interest of a state; but there being generally several kindred ones, as manufactures, commerce, &c. those laws which tend to the promotion of the one, may in some instances be detrimental to the other; and this circumstance is what too often prevents good laws having a being. The necessity of a balance between various interests, gives rise to a fear and timidity of advancing any one singly, lest others should suffer; and so, through an extreme caution, none are benefited: but if more courage and penetration occasion a different conduct, agriculture in modern times has been so slightly attended to, that its interests have generally been sacrificed to those of manufactures and foreign commerce. It is the part of a true statesman to see more clearly into the real balance of these important concerns, and by discerning the true combinations and dependencies of them, to venture freely on laws for the promotion of their well-being, without being deterred through timidity.

What striking instances of faulty conduct are the heavy burthens imposed in many countries upon the cultivators of the soil, and that through an idea that their being oppressed is of less ill consequence to the state, than if the weight of taxes fell on others. The famous Colbert, in prohibiting the exportation of corn, drew an absolute parallel between agriculture and manufactures, and palpably gave a preference to the latter, infinitely injurious to France. That great man, in this instance, shewed an amazing want of penetration.

The first and grand encouragement which agriculture met with in England, and which did more for it than all other measures put together, was the bounty on exported corn; too much can never be said in commendation of that excellent law: much do I wish that I could go through a list of many such.

The rule of political conduct in Great Britain, of always granting acts of parliament for liberty of inclosure to whatever sets of landed proprietors agree in petitioning for them, has been of incomparable use in promoting good husbandry. Indeed, without this maxim of state, waste, and commonly called barren lands, would scarce ever be converted into profitable farms. Inclosures are the first foundation of a flourishing agriculture. — The bounty and the allowance of inclosures are the only great acts of legislature in Britain which have been of prime consequence to, and peculiarly designed for the good of agriculture.

Convenience of carriage, resulting from inland navigations and improved roads, are public works of great benefit, but designed for other purposes

purposes besides the encouragement of husbandry. The cultivation of the earth cannot be carried near to perfection without this ease of moving the product of it. For while agriculture was exerted only for the feeding and supporting a small neighbourhood, it was impossible it should flourish; as all exportation, even from county to county, or from district to district, must depend on the means of conveyance. When the roads were excessive bad, and no rivers artificially navigable, the expence of carriage was greater than the value of the commodity, and consequently all exportation from inland parts impracticable; but when the bounty was given, which proved such a noble encouragement, and the improvements which an increase of riches spread over the country, co-operated in rendering an ease of conveyance every where an universal necessary of life, rivers were daily made navigable, and all the roads of the kingdom wonderfully improved. The shape of the island is peculiarly beneficial for exporting its produce: scarce a village in it is more than seventy miles distant from the sea; and, at present, by means of numerous inland navigations, and good hard roads every where to their banks, no farmer in the kingdom need be at any loss for even a foreign market for his corn; which, when ill-judged and hasty prohibitions on exportation do not abound, is so noble and vigorous an encouragement, that every village in the kingdom is publicly benefited by it; and every landlord enriched by a rise in the rent of his farms, which has been regular for near a century.

Besides these public encouragements, the agriculture of this kingdom has been greatly benefited by a judicious conduct in individuals. Landlords, by giving up ancient customs in the leases by which they let their farms, and falling by degrees into a system of improvement, by aiding their tenants, have done great things towards advancing of husbandry. The effects of this spirit have been clearly seen, by open lands becoming inclosed; by wet ones being rendered dry and sound; by means of thorough ditching and draining, in all its methods of being performed; by dry soils being ameliorated by plantations, and marling, and claying; by the converting waste tracts of land of all kinds into farms; by permitting tenants to plough up unprofitable grass, and lay down arable land instead thereof, to supply its place; by joining in the expence of most great improvements; and by accepting a certain yearly portion of divers sorts of lasting improvements, instead of a part of the rent. These circumstances, with various others, have been of incomparable use in promoting the interests of British agriculture: and with great satisfaction I perceive this system of encouragement is become pretty general. One can travel into very few counties, if any, wherein there is not kindled an eagerness for pushing husbandry to perfection, and a warm endeavour

at raising the value of land. And this latter aim has been so extraordinarily successful, that throughout more than half the kingdom the present tenants are better able to pay twenty shillings an acre, than fifty years ago only their grandfathers could pay ten. Such are the glorious effects of the spirit and industry of individuals, co-operating with the legislature in the grand work of improvement!

There is yet another circumstance relating to the attention of parliament, which must not be overlooked: gentlemen in this age, besides encouraging their tenants, have applied themselves to the *practice* of agriculture. Never were so many farms in the hands of gentlemen as at present. There is a kind of passion for agriculture, which is even become fashionable; and never was *taste* more rational! Horses, dogs, and the weather, have been the country gentleman's topics of consideration long enough; it was high time they should shew themselves somewhat more rational than the animals they discoursed of. The culture and management of a few fields around their houses, is become an object of conversation as well as profit; and to so general a degree, that scarce a visit in the country is made without farming and country improvements finding a considerable share in the conversation: that soil, which was formerly beheld only as the footing of a dog, and the food of a hunter, is now pregnant with a noble and rational amusement, healthy, cheerful, and profitable; of assistance to the poor, and beneficial to the state itself.

The tracts of soil in this kingdom and in Ireland, which are at present occupied by gentlemen, may be supposed by some to be inconsiderable, but there are many reasons for thinking them far otherwise. It is not only gentlemen of landed estates who farm: younger brothers who inherit small fortunes, half pay officers, and various other ranks of people, seem at present to consider agriculture as infinitely the most genteel employment they can apply to; and I might remark, that this idea of being fashionable, and the security of not sinking in the eyes of the world, allures an incredible number of people to make it their business. The wonder is, that these ideas did not become common before; for it would be amazing, if any young fellow, whose ideas were above a counter, should not prefer the life of husbandry to that of measuring tapes or silks; to the inspecting wool-combers or weavers; or even to the more profitable prospects of the compting-house clerk, *content to tell, that two and two makes four*. We are not therefore to be surprized, that the country life of this age; that a farm tinged with the *simplex munditiis* of human life, which modern luxury throws over every thing in the universe, should have charms to captivate such numbers.

But

But, as I was remarking, every gentleman that lives in the country farms; a great number of clergymen occupy their own glebes; and among the renters of land we see many gentlemen, and their number daily increases. The question is, How far are they beneficial to the general interests of agriculture? but not, I apprehend, a difficult one to be answered.

It should be considered, that unless husbandry was arrived at the summit of perfection, (which every one will acknowledge to be far enough from the case) all the opportunities of improvement should be canvassed to the utmost, and every thing at least tried. Now, all improvements in agriculture, in ages when very few gentlemen farmed, yet came from those few: considering the situation of common farmers, it would be surprizing were it otherwise. Who introduced the culture of turnips? Who revived marling in Norfolk? — But particulars would be endless. We may, however, certainly conclude, that all future (as well as past) improvements will come from gentlemen. If this is not a capital advantage, nothing can be. And husbandry is of that nature, that it is impossible to guess what these improvements may amount to; for a great number of men of some education, and ideas superior to those of common farmers, being employed on examining the real nature of a variety of soils, and trying numerous experiments out of the common road, there arises the probability of new discoveries at present unthought of, and especially if accident should throw an inquisitive genius among the number of gentlemen farmers. Eighteen quarters of wheat raised on one acre of land*! What a signal for emulation, and carrying the power of culture to the highest pitch!

Gentlemen cultivate their fields in a more expensive manner than common farmers: and although they in general may not yet have discovered the conduct which is requisite for producing crops proportioned to such extraordinary expence, yet the very incurring of it is an encouragement to one of the most valuable classes of the people, the labourers; they meet with an increase of employment, by far better than the most liberal gratuities. And by the intercourse which farming occasions, gentlemen necessarily become acquainted with the state and condition of the poor; their wants, and the causes of ill management in the legal care of them. By thus examining on the spot the effects of the numerous laws which have, from time to time, been enacted relative to them, and which have grown into a vast system of our national politics, they would be enabled clearly to see their propriety or impropriety; and from such genuine

* By Mr. Yelverton in Ireland.

knowledge of the case spreading, we can only hope for amendments in that branch of our domestic oeconomy, which most calls for it.

I wish I could add among these instances of benefits resulting from gentlemen's farming, that of the publication of sensible and intelligent books upon the subject. Agriculture being in fashion, numerous volumes are of course published on it; but few, very few that are really the result of experience. What is infinitely wanted at present, is such a general and comprehensive treatise or directionary of husbandry, that a young cultivator may find his book as safe and sure an adviser as a company of neighbouring farmers. Such a book would be invaluable. But as to those which every day swarm from the press, a man might with the utmost ease squander a thousand pounds a year upon an hundred acres of land, in only executing what they paint as necessaries. Such works have a terrible effect in discouraging gentlemen who have credulity enough to trust them.

I cannot conclude these few hints without strongly recommending to gentlemen who have an inclination for the business, not to suffer such wretched authors to deceive them into enormous expences, and possibly to their ruin, but to persist in a prudent and cautious conduct. Whenever they pursue such ideas, they will find agriculture a *profitable employment*, as well as a most rational and *pleasing amusement*; and the experience of all ages is sufficient to prove, that the wisest and most polite nations have considered it as an honourable profession, not inferior or beneath the attention and practice of emperors, kings, nobility, and heroes. History is full of examples to prove this. "Hence," says one of the first writers on rural oeconomy, "the genius of animating agriculture must reside in him, or those that hold the reins of government, in any flourishing state or kingdom; as also in the nobility and gentry of all denominations; nor should rewards be wanting, nor public premiums, nor marks of favour. For agriculture, in a word, as it is the most useful, so it appears to have been the first employment of man. And, indeed, it is a noble occupation to employ usefully the gifts which God has deposited for us in the hands of Nature, and bestow them when perfected by our industry for the support of human kind.—*Xenophon*, in his *Book of Oeconomics*, bestows due encomiums on a *Persian* king, who examined with his own eyes the state of agriculture throughout his dominions, and in all such excursions (according as occasion required) bountifully rewarded the industrious, and severely discountenanced the slothful." And the same author concludes another passage with remarking, that "a truly great prince ought to hold the arts of war and agriculture in the highest esteem; for by such means he will be enabled to cultivate his territories effectually,

effectually, and protect them when cultivated." Such was the character Xenophon gave of one of the most amiable and prosperous princes that ever adorned the pagan world. There are modern princes, who may equal Cyrus in his military capacity, but are totally ignorant or regardless of matters of agriculture*.

S E C T. VI.

Of the possible and probable Improvements of British Agriculture.

WITHOUT falling into an undue prejudice in favour of any particular interest of the state, in opposition to another, I may venture to assert, that agriculture is of all others the most important to this kingdom: and this great consequence is not only resulting from the natural dependency which all nations have on the soil, but from the connection there is between a flourishing commerce and a vigorous culture of the earth; not forgetting that one of the most important articles of British trade is the exportation of corn. No one therefore can dispute the improvement of this beneficial art being of infinite consequence to every interest of the state. It has doubtless received vast improvements in modern times, but it is very far from being arrived at the height of perfection. Considering the *liberty* and *riches* of this country, it is indeed amazing that our husbandry is not in most places better, and in all more extended. It is astonishing, that such a vast part of the kingdom should remain uncultivated, while there are such actuating encouragers in being as exportation and allowance of inclosure. Our political arithmeticians calculate, that the waste and unimproved lands in England alone amount to fifteen millions of acres. An entire accuracy in the number is not of consequence; but it is plain enough to all, that a vast proportion of the soil is in that state.

Those who are acquainted with the nature of soils, and have examined into the *pretences of barrenness*, must be sensible that there are very few tracts of land but what may be applied to some profitable use; and rocks, steep mountains, bogs and fens excepted, scarce any but what will admit of vast improvement *by tillage*. The prodigiously extensive tracts taken up in feeding rabbits and sheep, might all be converted into arable farms, to the vast increase of the people and the riches of the country, without diminishing the manufacture of wool: a fact well known by those who

* *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 16. 18, 19.

attend to the stock maintained by many farmers on clover and rye-grass and turnips.

When we hear therefore of millions of acres of unimproved land in this noble and flourishing kingdom; when soils too dry for tillage, and too wet for grass, are talked of, it should move every one's emulation to disprove such ill-founded epithets, and appeal to that spirit of improvement which has for some years last past so gloriously distinguished these realms.

The conducting our husbandry to the utmost pitch of perfection, both in respect of breaking up uncultivated lands, draining bogs and fens, and discovering all improvements of which the common practical parts of it are susceptible, is thus beyond a doubt the capital object in the politics of Britain. It ought certainly to employ the first attention of the legislature, that such laws may be framed as are most probable to occasion the wished-for perfection. It is in vain to expect that private interests should be powerful enough to effect such an important business: past experience has sufficiently proved this. The great improvements which modern times boast, were certainly set in motion by a single law, *the bounty on exported corn*. Without such an unexampled spur to the industry of individuals, those improvements might never have been thought of. Nor should we suppose, that because the bounty has done *so much*, it must do *all*. Experience will likewise convince us, that we must not trust to that alone, especially as obstructions and even prohibitions on exportation grow more common than in preceding times. And the continuance of so much waste land proves, that more powerful engines must be set at work to operate the perfection of our agriculture. Perhaps population suffers so considerable a decline, that a want of people may for half a century back have obstructed our improvements in a manner in a very material degree. It is true, such a prejudice could not appear in its full extent, because the bounty working at the same time in our favour, might every moment supply the defects occasioned by such a want of people. But in this case, the bounty has been of infinite and unknown benefit; for what would have been the effects of it, had population been at least passive? — These, however, are but conjectures; and to extend them would be to anticipate my subject. Without multiplying reflections on a fact so apparent as the want of perfecting the agriculture of Britain, I shall proceed to minute the principal means of effecting such improvement.

I. Gaining a complete knowledge of the soil and culture of the whole island.

II. Breaking up, or otherwise improving waste tracts, and peopling them.

III. Applying throughout the kingdom each soil to its proper use.

IV. Perfect rural mechanics.

So minute an accuracy as to include every subject of improvement down to the minutest that can be mentioned, is not at present necessary: these general heads will, I apprehend, leave no important point untouched.

I. *Gaining a complete Knowledge of the Soil and Culture.*

Before defects can be supplied, and ill practices remedied, they must be accurately known; and the real state of our agriculture can be discovered no otherwise than viewing it every where on the spot. Proper persons should be appointed to make a survey of the whole British empire, who should take a minute account of every acre of land; specifying the nature of the surface, and the strata to a certain depth under it; with accounts of all the trials that have been made of manuring, the former with the latter; and of all other methods of manuring; together with the whole system of culture and management, and the success which attends them; to take an exact account of the breeds of cattle; and, in a word, of every circumstance concerning rural oeconomy. The result of such a general tour, when engraved by way of maps on paper, in respect of soil, with references to the accounts of culture, &c. would form a most noble repository of political knowledge. By comparing the nature and management of a variety of tracts of land, the capability of the soil for profitable productions would be known, and the defects of culture and management, wherever found, would be apparent. By means of such a knowledge of the real state of agriculture, the legislature would have some foundations to proceed on in whatever maxims they adopted, or whatever system of conduct they planned; whereas, at present, for want of such authority, the good or ill effect of laws are only guessed at, not clearly known.

The moment such a tour as this I have sketched was effected, registered, and published, the next business which should then be immediately executed, would be, the gaining a confirmation of all circumstances which appeared the least dubious, or unsupported by requisite authority: such parts of so considerable a tour, performed by various persons, would doubtless be found; but were the whole, to appearance, fully satisfactory, yet, a confirmation of it, resulting from experiment, would be of

admirable consequence, in rendering that demonstration, which might be alone the result of observation and reason; and in case of mistakes in discovering them, and yielding absolute certainty in every circumstance. Such a farther knowledge might be gained by various means; but the principal, and what would fully effect it, may be sketched in a minute*.

In the first place, gentlemen should be found, who, from practising agriculture, really understand it: such, I flatter myself, are by no means scarce: clergymen, who farm their own glebes, would form a great number of them; and several intelligent occupiers, of a cast superior to common farmers, might be joined in the list of such as a dependence might be placed in. Such men should be requested to execute given experiments, and register the operations and result: the expences which the crops did not repay to be reimbursed by the public. For instance, in the general survey above sketched, a large tract of country is coloured as an uncultivated sand; which is imagined from reason, and remarking the neighbouring husbandry as not to answer cultivation. Greater certainty is wanted in this matter than those who execute the survey can gain. A neighbouring gentleman or occupier is pitched upon, and desired to enclose in the worst part of such tract, a field of fifty acres, and to manure, cultivate, and manage it according to given directions: such an experiment, as far as it extended, would set the affair in a clear light; and is sufficient here to explain my meaning. The same remark is applicable to undrained fens and bogs, and to all kinds of injudicious practices in husbandry.

A still greater certainty, attended with numerous advantages of a superior kind, would result from the execution of another plan, which should undoubtedly be an object of immediate attention: it is, the forming of divers *experimental farms* for the trial of a variety of practices in agriculture on different soils, which remain at present in the dark. Such a plan for a light sandy soil is already minutely sketched †, but others of the same nature should be executed in bogs and fens, in the clay, loam, and chalk-soils, and extended to all parts of both islands, from the cold latitude of the Highlands of Scotland to the most southern counties of England: for this evident reason, the husbandry of a clay, for instance, in the latter, must be essentially different from that of the former; and experiment would yield a determinate knowledge of both.—To this plan I should lastly add the establishment of premiums to encourage indi-

* Since this was written, the attempt has been partially made by a private gentleman, in the *Tours through England*; but this is not the plan I propose. The travellers should be authorized by the Parliament, and every village of the kingdom minutely examined: many should be appointed for the work.

† *Letter to Lord Clive*, 8vo. 1767.

viduals to prosecute the same enquiries, in whatever points might be the easiest determined by them.

From these several methods of prosecuting this grand enquiry, there can be no doubt but an absolutely certain knowledge of the British soil and culture, its omissions, mistakes, and defects, would be gained; (a knowledge the most important that any nation can acquire!) for in this case, the result of the tour would form a minute and exact foundation for all future operations, by displaying the state of the *surface*, its nature, culture, and management; and exhibiting numerous instances of improvements to be copied and extended. Private information would next succeed, of trials performed at the cost of the public, that such instances of improvement might have better foundations than reasoning by analogy; hence would result a great certainty in divers points of enquiry. Then comes the establishment of experimental farms to yield a determinate knowledge of every soil, and all the variations of treatment requisite for carrying their product to the utmost possible height. And lastly, the numerous experiments which would be performed by individuals in consequence of the premiums;—and these would throw fresh light on any subject of enquiry, which during the process of the whole work appeared not so clear as was necessary in an undertaking of this nature. And let me, lastly, remark, that the result of all these several means of acquiring the desired knowledge, combined into one general view of British and Irish agriculture, would be attended with such immense benefits, that their extent is easier to be imagined than expressed; for every circumstance being clearly known, every defect and mistake rendered apparent, and even experimentally proved; every improvement of which both kingdoms are capable, examined, tried, and pointed out, what further could be wished for towards giving perfection to the whole? I will venture to assert, that it would, at the conclusion of such a work, be easier to advance our agriculture to the highest pitch of perfection, than it was to execute the preceding preparation. No one can think I have sketched any thing impracticable: it would be an expensive business, but every part of it might be executed even with ease, were the money once found; and who could repine at an annual grant of one hundred thousand pounds until the whole was finished? Upon such a plan it might be executed in twelve years: beyond all doubt it might be done, and upon a more minute and extensive plan than I have sketched in twenty. The returns would repay the expence an hundred fold. Whatever laws are now made, anywise relating to rural oeconomy, are framed in a great measure in the dark;—they are mere experiments. If they answer, they are continued; if not, repealed: and thus the circle is frequently

run, without any regular system of legislation being pursued: And it should be remembered, that these experimental laws are sometimes of dangerous consequences, at others, the repeals of them are equally bad; and yet such an uncertainty must involve the whole business until such plan as I have sketched be executed.

When it was perfected, the case would alter at once; instead of making laws in the dark, and having no means of certainty, but trying the effect of them, with design to continue or repeal according to circumspection; the legislature would have sure ground to proceed upon. They would know wherein consisted the requisite assistance, and those laws proper to yield it be apparent to every one of common apprehension; nor would the effect of any new projects or plans proposed for their consideration be uncertain, but with a very slight examination discover in what degree they would be of benefit or mischief. In a word, such a knowledge of our agriculture would prove the surest guide upon which a statesman could depend, by presenting to his view the *real* state and strength of the kingdom he governed; and by displaying on all great occasions of war, peace, or other important events, their effects on the sinews of all power, population and husbandry. Such a knowledge as this being gained, I come next to specify some improvements, which we may conclude would be the consequence of it, from the apparent want of them: even at a distant view.

II. *Breaking up Wastes, &c.*

There can be little doubt but the converting of waste tracts of land into profitable farms ought to be one of the first undertakings in the great business of improvement; for from thence results the increase of food, population, and riches. Those which are the property of the crown might be totally improved at the expence, and upon the account of, his majesty, who would gain immensely by the improvement. And as to those vastly numerous and extensive ones, which are private property, as it is evident from their being waste, that private interest is not strong enough, public money should be applied to induce all proprietors to act with that vigour which the public good requires.

The royal forests, and other wastes, should be immediately inclosed in such divisions, that those parts which are covered with grown timber may be preserved to that use, and others, in which young trees are growing, divided off for the same purpose; the open parts would then remain, which

which should be struck into inclosed farms, and let to the best advantage. If the soil was of a very poor kind, it should be manured with marle, chalk, clay, or earth dug from under the surface; and if the land was any where so wet as to require draining, such operation likewise is to be performed. The returns of rent for a soil heretofore waste, would nobly repay all expences of inclosing, draining, manuring, building, &c.

In respect to private property, a bounty should be given to encourage individuals, upon small scales; and honours, titles, ribbons, or medals; in others. In tracts of dry sandy soils, which feed nothing but rabbits, the legislature might grant a bounty of five pounds per acre on all that was inclosed; manured at the rate of not less than one hundred loads per acre, houses and barns, &c. built, and in short converted to farms, and let to tenants. The moment a farm was thus completed, the bounty should be payable.

A proper bounty should likewise be allowed on all bogs and fens, or other unprofitable tracts which are converted into farms, and let. Exemptions from taxes, which is a capital encouragement in France, would not be so proper in this country as bounties.

In the north and western parts of Scotland, in many in Ireland, and in some in England, there are very extensive tracts of uncultivated land, amounting almost to whole counties, which are so very thinly peopled, that they would require colonies to be planted on them as much as any waste in America: and for such a purpose, foreigners should be invited to settle with us, and brought from their country at the government's expence; and the individuals, to whom such waste lands belong, should either contribute considerably to the settlement of them in farms, or else sell a sufficient quantity of land for that purpose to the government, that proper tracts might be granted to the settlers, under such reservations and conditions as should be found most convenient.

But the period peculiarly adapted to such undertakings is the conclusion of a war. Vast numbers of men and families are then discharged from the service, who have a profession and employment to seek, and for want of having a proper one provided, for the most part, apply to none, and of course remain a worse burthen to the society than when paid by it: if any prove more industrious, they are very apt to leave their country for foreign ones, where they meet with that reception denied them at home. The ill consequences of either alternative must be apparent to all; for no foreigners we can procure at a much greater expence, would be of such

such national service as these military men, who probably are used to a variety of hardships, inuring to labour. I cannot avoid remarking, the sad omission of acting upon this plan at the conclusion of the last peace: upon a moderate computation, one hundred thousand men were then dismissed, to seek new methods of livelihood; some encouragements were given to those settling in America, who were discharged there: but such a plan of policy was by no means beneficial to Britain, of which circumstance more in another place.

That system of oeconomy, which excludes the expences of such really national objects as these, is not a whit less prejudicial than a system of extravagance; critical seasons for noble undertakings are lost, which cannot be recovered, of which the instance we are speaking of is a notable one. After the vast grants which had past the parliament for conducting a war; after the immense sums which had been sent out of the kingdom;—five millions a year to Germany;—and on the conclusion of a treaty, not five-pence to cultivate the arts of peace! Unhappy delusion! Wretched oeconomy! —The opportunity was lost; —pray Heaven, it be long before another offers!

Foreign protestants might be gained in considerable numbers, and planted upon the tracts of uncultivated country above-mentioned, until the whole are fully-peopled; an object of infinite importance. The ideas of those who might command such works are, however, different; for when the Palatines were in England, instead of keeping them there, the first thought was that of hurrying them to America. Avoiding the expence of forming such colonies, is the more surprizing, as all the money is expended *at home*, and in the most beneficial manner to agriculture, and industry, of all others. When such tracts of land as I have described were converted into farms, the very returns of rent alone would be of infinite consequence, and sufficient to repay the whole cost, but yet those returns would not be the most considerable that would ensue; the new settlers would give a vast addition to the general consumption, not only in what immediately concerned themselves, but in the whole system of *employment* they created. This would be attended with an increase of circulation; both would be prodigious while the improvement was executing, and of very considerable extent afterwards, for the products of the industry of such a number of hands, with the consumption of necessaries and employment of artizans they would be exchanged for, with the additional commerce occasioned by the whole, would altogether form an addition to the industry, riches, and revenue of the kingdom, of the utmost importance.

III. *Applying*

III. *Applying throughout the Kingdom each Soil to its proper Use.*

This part of rural oeconomy concerns lands already in cultivation, rather than those which are waste; for it is to be taken for granted, that new improvements would in every circumstance be conducted on a proper plan. This article is by no means of trifling consequence; for an error which runs through the whole course of common management, upon lands which have undergone various preparatory operations, and at a considerable expence, must, in the nature of things, be of exceeding bad consequence.

I sketched a table of productions according to their degree of importance, in a preceding part of these sheets; the less therefore is necessary to be added here. Thus much is, however, a further object of attention. Land ought never to be employed in the production of an inferior specie, when it is capable of producing a superior; and the merit of the production should be considered in respect of *public* as well as *private* profit. Oats, for instance, may in some fields be an admirable crop to the cultivator, but they are a pernicious one to the community. The agriculture of Britain can never be perfected until the general culture is, by such means as shall be found most conducive to the end, brought into a regular course of employing the soil upon the most valuable productions; and the endeavour of accomplishing this should particularly aim, among other points, at the following:

First, To banish to as great degree as possible the use of oats, a grain which are peculiar for exhausting the soil, and contributing only to feed horses, the excessive numbers of which animals at present tends strongly to depopulate the nation.

Secondly, Apply those tracts which are somewhat too rich and strong for corn to the production of vegetables used in manufactures: such as hemp, flax, madder, &c. which in the common management occupy lands in every respect proper for corn; a conduct which ought immediately to be changed. All encouragement, bounties, premiums, &c. should be applied not in general to the production of a plant, but of a plant *on a given soil*. This method of regulating such articles of culture would not be attended with any ill effects, because there most undoubtedly are soils peculiarly proper for each. I am hinting these particulars upon a supposition, that their culture is found not only profitable to individuals, but beneficial to the community; a point not to be discussed here.

If

If the production of these vegetables is encouraged; and if there are certain soils peculiarly adapted to them, surely it is a matter of high consequence to cultivate them upon such, that other tracts may not be applied to them more proper for corn. This knowledge of soils, I suppose, acquired; at present we are ignorant of their peculiar biases, but sow and plant them almost at random. I cannot but entertain an idea, that the nature of all soils, and the vegetables they peculiarly affect, will one day or other be known experimentally. It is a desideratum in natural philosophy worthy the attention of another Bacon.

Thirdly, Suffer underwood to occupy no land that is proper for corn. Some is peculiar to the production of several kinds of wood, but vast quantities are taken up with copses which would produce excellent crops of wheat and other grains. Coal, for this reason, is one of the most beneficial productions of these islands; for, by means of it, a vast quantity of the soil, which used heretofore to be covered with wood, is now converted to tillage, as fast as inland navigations are made for the cheap conveyance of it: a point of vast importance. Burning coal, in preference to wood, is upon all accounts to be promoted; the manure arising from it, infinitely superior to that of wood, is an article of prodigious consequence, the quantity being immense.

Fourthly, The proportion of the soil that is occupied by grass, is another point of very great consequence. Grass-farms will probably be found much the most profitable to individuals, but population suffers by them. I forbear, however, to enter into a particular examination. As proper comparative experiments are not made upon the means of farming without grass, we are at present in the dark; but if the enquiries already described gave sufficient proof that too great a part of the kingdom consisted of grazing land, it would be no difficult matter to lessen the quantity.

IV. *Perfect Mechanics.*

This part of the design is of vast importance; for notwithstanding the opinion of some politicians, that the invention of those machines, which with slight labour perform the work of a thousand hands, is prejudicial to a state, too much reliance should not be placed in it. This is not the place fully to debate the point, but thus much I shall here observe: The idea is just, under supposition that the people deprived of business by the invention of machines either will not, or cannot, by the state, be found in other employment; but for twenty thousand labourers, for instance, to complain

complain of being deprived of three months work, while twenty thousand acres of waste land remain, is an absurdity under a government that acts for the good of the state. If every acre was completely cultivated, and all possible increase of manufactures at an end, these machines would be pernicious, and their invention ought to be discouraged; but until such times come, it is weak politics indeed to fear any number of men being so beneficially deprived of employment. The more men in such a situation, *that had been used to industry*, the better; the various parts of this general plan of improvement would be so much easier and sooner executed.

The first undertaking should be, to perfect the instruments already in use, among which the plough bears the pre-eminence. The two material properties of which are, depth and levelness of cutting, and ease of draught. Without examining the various ploughs that are used in these kingdoms, I shall only remark, that the best I have seen is the common Suffolk one, which nearly resembles the Rotheram plough. For common work, I apprehend nothing better is wanted than the first, slightly varied to various soils. For double ploughing, which is one plough following another in the same furrow, I know of no particular inventions, except Mr. Randal's of York, and that only in an advertisement: sufficient and repeated trials should be made of them and others, until perfect ones were discovered.

The improvement most wanting in the plough is a contrivance of carrying two, three, four, or more furrows at once; this I have in part seen executed, but uselessly, as a proportionable strength of cattle was requisite: but I am confident that it is within the power of mechanism to invent a machine which would with any given number of draught-cattle plow three or four times the ground, and equally well with the best ploughs now in use. Such a machine would be attended with so many excellent consequences, that the discovery of it well deserves a considerable premium.

The drill-plough (upon supposition that the new husbandry was experimentally found preferable to the old, which in respect to some or other vegetable is probable) ought likewise to be an object of such bounty. All hitherto invented are extremely faulty, either not performing the requisite operations, or able to work only in very light soils. For an examination of most, I refer the reader to Mr. Randal's description of his seed furrow-plough, where he criticises them very justly. His own, ingenious as the invention is, is strong enough only for light soils, but falls in pieces in

heavy ones, and in the very moving from field to field. The principle it is built upon is good, and will admit of an accurate regularity, but the parts are all too weak, and some too complex: no man can be more able to remedy those defects, and improve the machine to perfection in the course of a few trials, but those trials should not be left by the public a matter of private expence; with due encouragement, this gentleman would produce an admirable drill-plough, and is as likely to make great improvements in the whole circle of rural-mechanics as any man whatever.

As to horse-hoes, various excellent ones are already known, which, with the common Suffolk foot-ploughs, and the same country double-breasted plough, are sufficient for all uses.

There are few instruments of husbandry more various in different countries than the harrow; as far as common use extends, they answer their purpose tolerably. The best I have seen is that with bent teeth, and with handles like a double-breasted plough; all have, however, a material defect; if the land be not plowed exceedingly fine, several harrowings are necessary, which knead and harden the earth by so much treading of the draught cattle, instead of leaving it loose and fine. The great thing wanted is an harrow which will, with once going over the land, reduce all the clods on the surface to powder, and stir the ground enough at the same time to cover any seed: some extraordinary allowance of strength may well be allowed for such a machine, as the cattle might tread in different tracts, and the teeth stir up their footings, and leave the surface fine and level. Such an harrow might possibly be framed upon the principle of horizontal wheels, grinding the clods turned up by perpendicular teeth.

A draining-plough is an implement of very great consequence, and which has been an object of attention above a century, but never any bid fair for real utility, until the Society for the encouragement of arts, &c. offered a premium for one, for which the above-mentioned Mr. Randal was a candidate. What plough, however, was found best, or whether any was approved, is yet a secret to the country in general as much as if no Society existed. There is but little difference between no premiums or *unpublished effects* of premiums. Several sorts of draining ploughs are much wanted.

One to cut furrows across ploughed fields, which should throw the moulds all out on one side.

One to cut drains in grass-lands, which should throw the moulds out half on one side, and half on the other.

And one to cut, what are in the country called land-ditches, but more properly hollow-drains. For instance, a drain thirty inches deep, eighteen wide at top, and three at bottom, I should apprehend it might be done at one operation, but certainly at two; the moulds to be all on one side.

As to machines which are totally unknown, and have not yet been objects of any public attention, there might be several which would be of incomparable use; those which have occurred to me are the following:

A plough for cutting ditches and forming the moulds into a bank on one side. I doubt it would require a strength too great to perform this at once, or even twice going; but if the work was neatly done at three or four times, the benefit resulting from it would be prodigious.

If a ditch-plough was invented, it would be very easy to proportion it to the cutting canals and navigable rivers, by means of several working one after another.

A machine for thrashing of corn: a very slight attention to the method of working with hand-flails, is sufficient to convince one, that a more compendious manner of executing it might be invented: a range of flails on one side the thrashing floor, to be worked by machinery behind them, kept in motion by a horse as in a mill, with space enough in front for men to move about, and lay the corn under the flails with forks, and when thrashed clean, to turn out the straw, would be necessary, and might in the building of all new barns be very easily provided*.

A machine for digging earth, &c. and throwing it into carts. Such an one should rest on four small wheels, for the convenience of moving; the fall of a beam, in the manner of those in oil-mills, might be used to strike a very large spade into the earth; the first motion to cut the shape of the piece to be raised; the second, to fix the spade to it; the third, to raise it a little above the cart; and the fourth, to strike it in: all might be performed in a minute; and four or five repetitions load a common cart: a saving, which would be immense in the marling, claying, or otherwise manuring of large tracts of land.

* Since this was written, an admirable one, on a different construction, has been invented.

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E S S A Y IV.

Of the present State of MANUFACTURES in the
BRITISH DOMINIONS.

IT would be intirely uselefs in an essay of this nature to enquire into the origin of manufactures, or examine what are absolutely necessary to mankind, or whether any are necessary to a state of nature; such disquisitions belong to other desigs. I take it for granted, that many are necessaries of life, and many more necessaries of state. To determine which are the most important in both these respects; to examine how far they ought to be extended; and to endeavour to point out the means of attaining perfection in them, are subjects of real consequence, and such as merit infinitely more able pens than mine to discuss.

In so free a country as this, there must of course be vast numbers of political tracts published in a course of time; either professedly upon the subject of manufactures in general, or which touch upon some parts of them in particular. I have read a great number of such works, and made extracts from them of such passages as yield the most information. To combine into one view all such pieces of intelligence; to remark their extent, and add a few observations upon their present state and future improvements, is the purport of this sketch. Where a barrenness of materials occasion voids, I hope it will not be expected that I should make them good out of my imagination.

I shall consider manufactures under the several heads of

- I. *Those from our own products.*
- II. *Those from foreign products.*
- III. *Population.*
- IV. *Comparison between those of Britain and of other countries.*
- V. *Means of promoting them.*

I am sensible the subject might be more divided; but the quantity of my materials, which is by no means equal to what I could wish them, renders it necessary to be more circumscribed than if I was possessed of a greater plenty. The subject is likewise much interwoven with the articles *colonies* and *commerce*, which must not be anticipated, as it is impossible to connect all three under one head.

S E C T. I

Manufactures wrought from our own Products.

THE consumption of manufactures in these kingdoms is of an infinite amount; if we take a view of all the necessaries of life, food excepted, we shall find that manufactures form a vast proportion of them. What a prodigious number of blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, masons, glaziers, bakers, brewers, &c. &c. that supply the real necessities of life! In common conversation, these artificers, &c. are not included under the expression of manufacturers, but that is a mere inaccuracy; for they are as much so as the costly establishment of the Gobelins itself: they are found so extremely necessary to every movement in common life, and so scattered about the kingdom, that we naturally call them by a different name from such as work for foreign exportation, and are established in a particular spot or town. If to these we add the workers up of our raiment, and the furnishers of our houses, what a vast number of manufacturers are required for the consumption of a single man of fortune.

Our manufactures from our own products compose a great part of our inland trade, and by the universality and perfection to which they are arrived, save the nation much money, which used in former times to be sent to foreign countries for what we now have at home. This was once the case even with woollen cloth itself, that manufacture which should take the lead in all such catalogues as these.

Wool.

In respect to the number of sheep, and quantity and value of their wool, they must vary considerably in long terms of years. It might, for instance, be somewhat different twenty or thirty years ago from what it is at present, but whether increased or decreased, it would be difficult to determine;

determining; many reasons might be advanced, on both sides of the question. Salmon reckons the fleeces annually shorn in England at 12,000,000 *l*. * Another calculates the wool shorn and pulled in Great Britain and Ireland at 596,160 packs †. Another supposes England to yield 500,000 packs, and Ireland 300,000, each pack 240 *lb*. ‡ A fourth writer § makes it much more considerable, as appears by the following passage. — “ It appears by the toll-books, that there are brought into Smithfield market for slaughter, to serve London within the bills of mortality, 36,000 sheep and lambs weekly. Now, allow 6000 of these throughout the seasons to be lambs, and that there are 30,000 sheep slaughtered one week with another, then the rest of England is generally computed to contain about seven times as many inhabitants as London within the bills: but supposing it contains only six times as many, and that accordingly, there are 210,000 sheep slaughtered in England weekly; and likewise, that four years sheep are kept for stock, or that there are always in being four times more than are thus slaughtered, as is usual with sheep-masters to compute, and allowing every sheep, one with another, to bear four pounds of wool, and every pack to weigh 240 *lb*. then the yearly wool of England, according to this computation only, amounts to

Packs.
728,000

Now, in the country throughout England, people feed as much on flesh as in town, and drinking less, they generally exceed them in the quantity they eat.

Then, as Scotland is of less extent, and less fruitful than England; admit there are but one quarter-part of the sheep in it, it amounts to 182,000

Then, as Ireland is not one-fourth part less than England, but is full as fertile, and taken up chiefly with feeding, it hath been judged by some, who have taken great pains thoroughly to inform themselves, that it hath near as many sheep in it as there are in England; but suppose we say only half the quantity that England produces, or 364,000

Total, packs, 1,274,000

In this calculation is not included the wool of sheep continually slaughtered, called vell-wool, nor the wool of lambs.”

* *Geographical Grammar*, p. 237.—1757.

† *Proposals humbly offered to consideration of Parliament*, p. 3.—1737.

‡ *Trowel's Plan for preventing the clandestine running of wool*, p. 3.—1738.

§ *London on the wool trade*, p. 15.—1739.

The same author reckons, that all the wool and labour of England, that is consumed at home and sent abroad, amounts to 14,000,000 *l.*

Davenant reckons the value of the unmanufactured wool of England at 2,000,000 *l.* and when manufactured, at 8,000,000 *l.*

Busching lumps the revenue of wool at one-fifth of the whole land of England*. D'anguel says, 44,000 acres of salt-marshes in Romney maintains 132,000 sheep, and that 600,000 are kept in Dorsetshire in a circle of twelve miles †.

These authorities are but dubious, however, we may suppose them to be near the truth, the medium of several opinions nearest. Salmon makes the fleeces of England 12,000,000; and if we proportion Scotland and Ireland in the same manner as London did, it will be a fourth (3,000,000) for Scotland; and a half (6,000,000) for Ireland; the total will be 21,000,000 of fleeces; and supposing each to weigh 3 *lb.* (Salmon, reckoning them at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* each, copied, I apprehend, from better authority) and the pack 240 *lb.* the whole will amount to

	Packs.
	262,500
The next writer calculates the quantity at	596,160
Trowel supposes 800,000 in England and Ireland, to which I shall add 125,000 for Scotland (a fourth)	925,000
London's account is	1,274,000
Davenant reckons the wool of England worth 2,000,000 <i>l.</i> the price was then 5 <i>l.</i> per pack, therefore the number of packs 400,000, and with a fourth for Scotland, and an half for Ireland the total is	700,000
As to Busching nothing is to be made of it.	

The medium of these several quantities is 751,532 packs; and it is observable, that the medium comes nearer to Davenant than any of the others, a presumption in its favour, as he is undoubtedly an author of good credit.

The value of wool is at present 7 *l.* per pack; this total amounts therefore to 5,260,724 *l.*

From hence we find, that the mere product of wool unmanufactured amounts to a very considerable sum.

* *System of Geography.*

† *Avant et Deservant.* p. 111.

Chambers tells us, but without mentioning his authority, that a pack of short wool employs sixty-three persons a week to manufacture it into cloth; viz. three men to sort, dry, mix, and make it ready for the stock-carder; five to scribble or stock-card it; thirty-five women and girls to card and spin it; eight men to weave it; four men and boys to spool it and reed quills; eight men and boys to scour, burl, mill, or full it; row, sheer, pack, and press it. A pack of large, long, combing wool, made into stuffs, serges, sagathies, &c. for the Spanish trade, will employ for one week two hundred and two persons, whose wages amount to 43 *l.* 10 *s.*—Thus, seven combers, 3 *l.* 10 *s.*—Dyers, 5 *l.*—One hundred and fifty spinners, 18 *l.*—Twenty throwers and doublers, 12 *l.*—Twenty-five weavers and attendants, 12 *l.* A pack of wool made into stockings will employ for one week one hundred and eighty-four persons, who will earn 56 *l.*—Thus, ten combers, 5 *l.* 5 *s.*—The dyer, 1 *l.* 16 *s.*—One hundred and two spinners, 15 *l.* 12 *s.*—Doublers and throwers, 4 *l.* 10 *s.*—Sixty stocking weavers, 30 *l.**

Another writer gives a different instance, but not so satisfactory an one. “Three packs of wool weighing, 720 *lb.* manufactured into broad-cloths, camblets, serges, hose, &c. on a moderate computation, one sort with another, employ four hundred and fifty persons, (I might say a great many more, almost six hundred, but I am willing to keep within bounds) such as combers, scribblers, stock-carders, spinners, weavers, fullers, burlers, dyers, dressers, and pressers, who, upon an average, will earn, each person, 5 *s.* a week, the whole amounting to 112 *l.* 10 *s.* or 3 *s.* 4 *d.* per *lb.* of wool †.

Davenant reckons the manufacturing the wool of England adds 6,000,000 *l.* to its value †. Anderfon in his *Chronological Deduction of Commerce* says, the manufacture employs a million and a half of people. Before

* *Chambers' Dictionary*, art. *Wool*. 1743.

Twelve pounds of wool, says another writer, which cost the manufacturer 9 *d.* per *lb.* rough in the Norwich manufactory, are, by labour only, made worth 42 *s.* in a species of stuffs, called fattins, of which there is a variety of qualities; and, in one of their best sorts, the above quantity is made worth 52 *s.* which is near six times the original cost. In some other articles of manufacture in that city, the disproportion is much greater. *The Complaints of the Manufacturers relating to the Abuse in marking Sheep*, considered, 8vo. 1752.

† *Consequence of Trade*, p. 12. 1740.

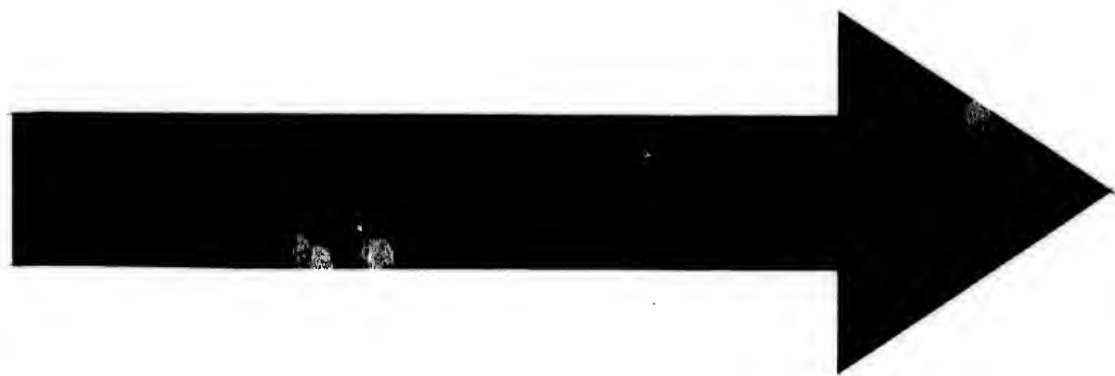
‡ If a view is taken of the variety of artizans employed either wholly or in part by wool, we shall certainly have a very great idea of the numbers. The author of the *Observations on Wool*, p. 12. gives the following list of them.

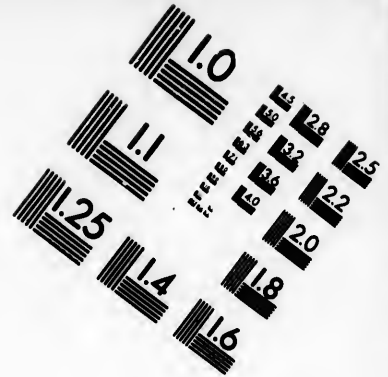
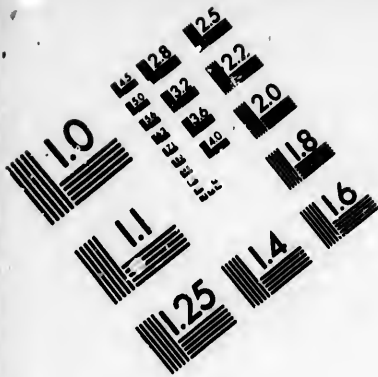
Bobbin winder
Burlers of cloth
Baymaker
Brand-lippers

Calender
Cloth-shearers
Camblet-makers
Crape-maker

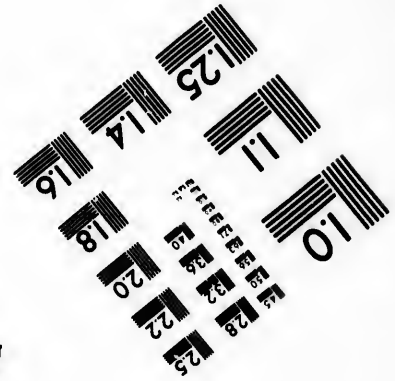
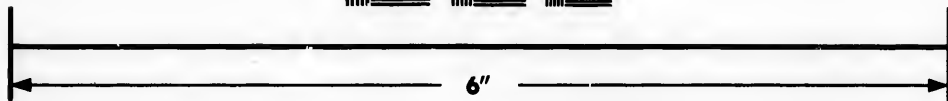
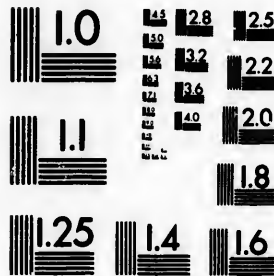
A a

Cullgeer





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Before we attempt from these minutes to determine the amount of the labour bestowed on our wool, some account must be taken of the quantity exported unwrought, or rather runned, as it is totally contrary to law; for it would be reckoning falsely to calculate the whole product as manufactured at home.

Cullgeer	Ranter-maker
Con-drawer	Rowers of cloth
Clothier	Shepherd
Carder and spinner	Sheep-washer and shearer
Doublers	Sorter of wool
Dyer	Spinner of worsted or gersey
Duroy and sagathy maker	Scourer of stuffs, tames, &c.
Duffel maker	Scribler
Damask of Kiterminster, &c.	Seizer of chaines
Enterer of chaines, &c.	Seamer of hose
Farmer, or turnip-grower for sheep	Say-maker
Fuller or tucker	Shalloon-maker
Feltmonger	Serge-maker mixt
Finisher of hats	Shroud-maker
Farmer to raise woolds	Sigg or piss-gatherer for dyers
Factor of yarn, &c.	Master-throwsters
Farmer to raise seafells	Tender of throwster-mill
Farmer to breed sheep	Turner of throwster-mill
Garter-maker by hand	Tainterer or fetter
Grazier	Tainey-maker
Garter-maker by engine	Turnip-hower to feed sheep
Hat-maker	Tapestry-maker
Hat-dyer	Undertakers of burials
Handle-maker with teafells	Weaver of plush
Hatband and loopmaker	Wool-winder
Engine-maker	Warper of chaines
Imbossor of cloth, &c.	Weaver of serge, shalloon, &c.
Knitters of stockings	Weaver of broad-cloth
Landlord, or fetter of lands	Weaver of calimancoes, &c.
Merchants	Weaver of wadding
Master wool-comber	Weaver of rugs
Milled caps and hose-maker	Weaver of coverlids
Master-ships	Weaver of trape
Mop-maker	Weaver of draught-damask, &c.
Mariners or sailors	Woollen draper
Mounter of draught-loom	Wool-stapler
Mixer of wool	Wool-jobbers
Pickers of wool	Weavers of linseys strip'd, &c.
Pickers of pieces of calimancoes	Waste or thrumb dealers
Presser	Waterer of cheyneys, &c.
Packers	Weaver of carpets
Pattern reader for draught-work	Yarn or worsted-maker
Quill-winder	Yarn or worsted-dealers
Quilter of petticoats, &c.	Yarn-factors.

Besides these, he gives a yet longer list of trades, *more or less*, employed by sheep.

As to the quantity run, or owled abroad, as some call it, opinions are various; one supposes the quantity from Ireland alone to be 20,000 packs yearly*.

Another author †, who seems to be very well informed, viewed many woollen manufactories abroad, and gives the number of looms employed in several places. “At Abbeville, 1000 employed in making paragens, besides many more in druggets, serge, cloth-serge, &c. all chiefly with British and Irish wool.

At Amiens, several thousands of looms, on silk and worsted stuffs, made with our wool, and their own mixed.

At Mondidrie, a large manufactory of shalloons and cloth-serge, chiefly on our wool.

At St. Omers, cloth, druggets, duroye, sagathies, shalloons, and stockings, 350 looms, besides a vast number of stocking-frames; some of their goods all our wool, some half and half.

At Lille, 1000 looms of camblets alone, *all* of English or Irish wool; and a much greater number working on mixed wool. Many hundred looms, camblets, fattenets, purnelloes, &c. also 200 stocking frames; one half work all our wool, and half mixed. They can make no calimancoes nor camblets without half or two-thirds our wool.

At Turcoin, many thousand hands employed in English and Irish wool.

At Roubaix, fine calimancoes, camblets, and other stuffs, all of our wool.

At Lannoy, and the whole neighbourhood around it, vast numbers of various manufactures on our wool.”

From hence he proceeds with the same tale to Amsterdam, mentioning a vast number of looms, that work our wool alone, or a large proportion of it.

A third writer says, “according to a very moderate computation, the French have yearly 500,000 packs of our wool unmanufactured, and that one pack enables them to work up two of their own ‡.”

* *An Enquiry how far the declining state of the Woollen Manufactures does affect the English landed interest*, p. 1.

† *Observations on British Wool*, p. 20, &c. 1738.

‡ *Consequences, &c. of Trade*, p. 15.

The first of these accounts tells us, that Ireland runs 20,000 packs. Now, according to the former proportion, that will be 40,000 for England, and 10,000 for Scotland; in all, 70,000 packs. The third account, 500,000. The medium, 285,000.

I must own the third account appears to me prodigious; but the consideration of the high price our wool bears abroad, makes one rather wonder that all is not run. At Abbeville it was 10*d.* per *lb.* and of a fine long staple 10½*d.* when the author of the *Observations on Wool* was there in 1739; who, by the bye, was sent by Sir Robert Walpole to enquire into the state of the foreign woollen manufactures; consequently it is much dearer at present. If we therefore reflect on the account given by that well-informed writer, who so fully explains the necessity they are under to have our wool to work up their own with, we shall not be surprized at large assertions of the quantity; and I shall venture to take the above-mentioned medium of 285,000 packs.

	Packs.
The total product,	751,532
The export manufactured,	285,000

466,532

Manufactured in Great Britain and Ireland.

The next enquiry is the value of the labour bestowed on these 466,532 packs. I have no method of gaining a knowledge of this point, but by proceeding as I have yet done, compare a diversity of assertions and opinions.

Chambers tells us a pack of short wool employs sixty-three persons a week, and one of long ditto two hundred and two a week, whose wages amount to 43*l.* 10*s.* The proportion of the first is, five packs employ six persons a year; therefore 466,532 packs employ 559,838: that of the second is nearly each pack four persons a year; consequently 466,532 packs 1,866,128 persons; and supposing the quantity of each the same, the medium will be 1,212,983 persons employed by wool, according to this account: And supposing all to earn on a medium the same as the 203 persons, the value of the whole labour will, supposing such persons fully employed the whole year, amount to 13,582,028*l.*

The author of the *Consequences of Trade* says, that 3 packs will maintain 450 persons a week, and their earnings be 112*l.* 10*s.* According to this account, the total number will be 1,345,765; and the amount of their labour 17,417,194*l.*

Davenant

Davenant reckons the labour on wool in England, adds 6,000,000 *l.* to its value. The proportion of a fourth for Scotland, and a fourth for Ireland (not a half, as hitherto calculated, because a less proportion is manufactured there than grown) will make this sum 9,000,000 *l.*

London, above quoted, reckons the total wool and labour at 14,000,000 *l.*:

Chambers makes it ————— *l.* 13,582,028

The author of the *Consequence of Trade*, ————— 17,417,194

Davenant, ————— 9,000,000

London, wool and labour, 14,000,000 *l.* If we deduct
of 5,260,000 *l.* the value of the wool, according to page

684, there will remain ————— 9,740,000

The medium, ————— *l.* 12,434,805

I shall here, for the sake of clearness, throw these several estimates into one view.

Growth of wool in Great Britain and Ireland, — 751,532 packs.

Value of ditto at 7 *l.* ————— *l.* 5,260,724

Exported unmanufactured, ————— 285,000 packs.

Manufactured in Great Britain and Ireland, ————— 466,532 packs.

Value of the labour, ————— *l.* 12,434,805

Value of ditto, and the raw material, ————— 15,700,529

Value of the whole growth and the labour, — 17,695,529

I am sensible that these conclusions are not all founded upon indubitable authority: I wish an actual survey of the kingdom presented the world with such. Much important knowledge would result from certainty. However, in default of what we could wish, an attentive view of the best in our power, thus collected, yields a more comprehensive idea of this capital manufacture than is to be gained from the loose and scattered passages which are met with in the several books and papers that have been written on the subject.

From this view, the immense importance of manufacturing all the product at home, appears in the clearest light; for the amount of the loss by suffering 285,000 packs to be runned, is easily discovered by arithmetic. According to the proportion of that which is manufactured, the loss is 7,596,090 *l.* an article of immense consequence to Britain; for it is a melancholy instance to see such numbers of unemployed poor, and feel so heavily the weight of employing them, and at the same time suffer:

suffer a raw commodity to be carried out of the country, which would give industry and maintenance to such numbers of people. Such a fact wants no painting to exhibit it in its genuine deformity.

But there is an attendant circumstance, the explanation of which will point out extensive collateral evils: for, as *we* lose the manufacturing of so much wool, *others* must gain it; and, unfortunately, the greatest share of it falls to the French, and the rest to the Dutch and Netherlanders. It is true, the loss itself is the great matter; but nevertheless, it had much better for the interests of this country go all to the Dutch than to our natural enemies. Not that the former are more deserving of it than the latter, but no acquisitions can render them formidable to us; whereas the growth of the French manufactures, trade and navigation, is of undoubted consequence to us. The author of the *Consequences of Trade* asserts, as a known fact, that the French work up two packs of their own wool to every one they have from us, and which they could not work up without it. Indeed, in the *Observations on British Wool*, it appears, that there are some manufactures of ours intirely, and others which use half and half; but then some add but a small quantity of it to their own. For which reason I shall suppose (and by the best accounts we have, it will be found no exaggeration) they are enabled by every pack of British or Irish wool to work up two of their own, which they otherwise would not be able to manufacture at all into the finer sorts of goods which they most want for the purposes of trade. Consequently, that there is nothing improbable in this supposition, will appear by the following list of goods which foreigners cannot make without mixing some of our wool with their own.

The following are made of combing-wool:

Says	Duroys
Borsleys	Durants
Shalloons	Ranters
Spanish crapes	Buntings
Burying crapes	Boulting clothes
Tameys	Swathing lands
Prunellos	Serge denim
Sattenets	Camblets
Harrateens	Camblettees
Cheneys	Calimancoe plain
Serges	Calimancoe flowered
Sagathies	Damasks

Ruffets

Ruffets	Cadis
Everlasting	Gartering
Cantiloons	Quality binding
Worsted plush	Stockings
Quarter diamond	Caps
Bridseye and diamond	Gloves
Grogran	Breeches knit
Paragon	

With many other sorts of plain and figured stuffs.

The following of combing-wool and carding-wool, mixed together :

Bays	Druggets corded
Broad rash	Flannel
Cloth serge	Swan skin
German serge	Quinco bays or wading
Long ells	Perpetuanas
Druggets plain	

The following of long-wool and silk-mohair and cotton, mixed :

Norwich crapes	Caps and gloves
Silk druggets	Venetian poplins
Hair plush	Alapeens
Hair camblet	Anterines
Stockings	Silk fattenets
Spanish poplins	Bombasines,

With divers sorts of figured, clouded, spotted, plain, and striped stuffs.

Having shewn what a great number of different sorts of stuffs are made of combing-wool, I would just observe, that the foreigners cannot make any of these sorts of goods with their own wool fit for a foreign market; but when mixed with the wool of Great Britain and Ireland, then they are enabled to do it: and that is the reason the foreigners covet our combing-wool before the clothing or short wool, which makes the loss to us the greater. Since then Providence hath furnished us with such an inestimable advantage, by virtue of our wool, above every nation in Europe, it necessarily follows, that our woollen goods must be the most valuable and the most in vogue of all others; and consequently, that few foreign markets can, or will be without our stuffs, stockings, &c. and therefore must be supplied by our merchants, *if we were so kind to ourselves to keep our wool at home*; and consequently those markets will

be engrossed by us; which will cause a constant demand for our woollen manufactures *. Nor can a greater proof be wanting of the necessity they are under to have our wool, than the high price they give for it. To the clandestine procuring it they owe the prodigious advance of their Spanish and Levant trades; for without the goods which they work up by means of it, they could supply neither of those markets. And it should be remembered; that these are the two branches of our commerce, the loss of which our merchants have, for a long series of years, most complained of.

Thus, to the infinite detriment of our trade, foreign nations, and the French particularly, by means of receiving from Great Britain and Ireland 285,000 packs of wool, are enabled to form a manufacture of 855,000 packs, which is two of their own to one of ours: And calculating the value of such a manufacture by the same proportions above laid down for the British ones, the state of so much of their woollen manufacture as depends upon our wool, will be discovered; and is as follows:

Total packs,	—	—	—	—	855,000
Imported from us, packs,	—	—	—	—	285,000
Of their own, packs,	—	—	—	—	570,000
Value of ditto, at 6 <i>l.</i>	—	—	—	—	£. 3,420,000
— the imported, at 10 <i>l.</i>	—	—	—	—	2,850,000
Total value,	—	—	—	—	6,270,000
Value of the labour bestowed on the whole,	—	—	—	—	20,724,675
Total value of their own wool, and the labour,	—	—	—	—	24,144,675

If these totals are not sufficient to alarm every British statesman, and open the eyes of the most blind, I know nothing that will. To see that foreigners gain upwards of 24,000,000 *l.* annually, by means of smuggled wool from us, is a very melancholy consideration. Yet this is not the extent of the evil; for all this system of manufacture being founded intirely upon a runned commodity, the mischief is, the returns are made in the same manner; so that the 2,850,000 above mentioned is paid us in wines, brandy, cambrics, filks, toys, &c. &c. to the vast detriment of the revenue, and the infinite prejudice of all our manufactures.

Leather.

This is beyond a doubt one of the most important manufactures we have; and yet, for want of preceding writers extending their inquiries, I cannot meet even with conjectures or calculations of any kind: under

* Observations on British Wool, p. 5. and 6.

such circumstances, it is totally beyond my power to present a tolerably complete view of our leather manufactory. It is true, conjectures and opinions, unsupported by facts, are by no means good authority; but yet, the comparison of several, the assistance of some facts, leads by degrees to truth, or at least near it; and such methods are the only ones private men have to ascertain the truth. A few calculations on the present subject will help one to form some ideas of the great consequence and extent of this manufactory.

Supposing there are 9,000,000 of people in Great Britain and Ireland, and that three-fourths of them wear leather-shoes; (which cannot be beyond the reality) each person, upon a medium, five pair in a year, and the price, on a medium, six shillings a pair, (boots included) this consumption amounts to	£. 10,125,000
Suppose the consumption of leather, by coaches, chains, &c.	100,000
By coach, waggon, cart, and plough-harness, and saddles and bridles,	500,000
By leather-breeches, suppose 2000,000 of pair to be wore annually at 10s. on an average,	1,000,000
Total,	11,725,000

Many may possibly think this calculation over-rated in some particulars, and that may possibly be the case, though I rather think not; but then, the numerous articles which are quite omitted, such as jackets, trunks, flasks, caps, cloaksbags, binding of books, &c. &c. I am confident supply such excess, if any, and if none, would add considerably to the above total. Each of these articles, and of many other more trifling ones, when the consumption of so many millions of people is considered, amounts to a very considerable sum. This total consists, however, of the value of the commodity fully manufactured. As to the proportion between the raw material and the labour bestowed upon it, it consists of such a variety of species, that a calculation founded on no other authority than a supposition, could not come near the truth.

Lead, Tin, Iron, and Copper.

A vast quantity of the iron used in these kingdoms being imported from abroad, is not to be included here; this article concerns that only of our own produce.

These manufactures are certainly of an immense amount: But it is impossible, even in the way of conjecture, to come at their value; the vari-

ous uses to which our own iron is put, being, in a multitude of instances, quite intermixed with the use of foreign, and by many artificers worked up under the name of foreign iron, renders any guesses even quite random thoughts. Our copper is likewise converted to, an amazing number of uses, and takes under the manufacturers hands a million of appearances; witness the share it has in the vast manufactories of Sheffield, Birmingham, &c. where a multiplicity of utensils, toys, &c. &c. are made of it, the workmanship of which amounts to many thousand times the original value. Likewise the copper manufactories of Bristol, Gloucester, Swansea, &c. wherein the ore is carried through the whole process from the mine to its being made into pins, and various other implements. Indeed, if the whole amount of the consumption of Great Britain and Ireland in these four metals is considered under the infinity of shapes they take in the manufacturers hands, it will be found amazingly great. No family in the three kingdoms exists without making a consumption of them, considerable in comparison to their general income. Not a kitchen is furnished without being filled with these metals;—not a house built without a great consumption of them: In short, if we take a view of the whole circle of home consumption, food and cloathing alone excepted, we shall find scarce any thing but is either composed in part of them, or made by means of them;—and that from the cannon and the balls of an hundred gun ship, down to the pins in a woman's dress. If I might venture an opinion, I should not hesitate to conceive all this amount not far below the whole woollen manufacture:—But herein I may be mistaken; it certainly is superior to that of leather, which there is reason to believe rises in value, as above mentioned, to near twelve millions sterling.

Indeed these metals have many peculiar circumstances attending them, which contribute infinitely to their value: They are gained, not from the product of the surface of the earth, (like leather and wool) which might otherwise produce corn, but dug out of its bowels to the obstruction of nothing, and instead of which nothing could be obtained. In other words, the ore, as it lies in the bed, is *absolute* profit. The digging it employs a considerable number of men of the most important kind, viz. bold and hardy to an extraordinary degree. And their capability of being worked into such an amazing number of the most useful implements for the service of common life, and extraordinary necessity, altogether render them such valuable objects, that a dependance on foreign nations for them would be a state of insecurity, as well as loss by trade. In the present situation of human life, they are as much necessaries of life as bread and wool:—even bread itself cannot be gained without iron.

Flax.

The manufacture of linen is the staple of both Ireland and Scotland. The following extract from a very ingenious writer will present a very clear account of Ireland's share of it. It is computed, that the value of linen made in Ireland yearly, amounts to a million sterling; and that half thereof is yearly exported, and that the remaining half is consumed at home; reckoning 5 s. a head for 2,000,000 of people, one with another, for all their consumption in linen. It is also computed, that the following quantities of rough flax, worth 40 s. per Ct. when fully manufactured into linen, will, at a medium of coarse and fine, be worth the following sums annexed to them, viz. one Ct. of flax, when manufactured into linen, will be worth 16 l. a ton 320 l. an hundred tons 32,000 l. and 3,125 tons will yield 1,000,000 l. — It is also estimated, a good acre of flax will produce 3, 4, 5, or 6 Ct. of flax; and if we allow 4 Ct. or 32 stone to be raised from every acre, one with another, in a good year, which is a reasonable allowance; on this supposition, the aforesaid 3,125 tons of flax, which are all that are at present supposed to be made use of in our linen manufacture, before estimated to be of the value of a million sterling yearly, may be raised from 16,625 acres only; and if we allow but 3 Ct. or 24 stone to be raised from every acre, one with another, which is a low computation, then it will require about 20,832 to raise the aforesaid quantity, 3,125 tons. And as we import yearly 500 tons from foreign countries, we raise 2,600 at home on 13,000 acres. These particulars will best appear if thrown into one view.

Acres of flax in Ireland,	_____	_____	_____	13,000
Product, tons,	_____	_____	_____	2,600
Imported, tons,	_____	_____	_____	500
Total, quantity tons,	_____	_____	_____	3,100
Value,	_____	_____	_____	£. 124,000
Value manufactured,	_____	_____	_____	1,000,000
Ditto, foreign import deducted,	_____	_____	_____	980,000
Export,	_____	_____	_____	500,000
Home consumption,	_____	_____	_____	500,000

I should, however, remark, that by another † account, and which seems of very good authority, the *exportation* amounted in 1759 to

14,093,431 yards, valued at a medium of 1 s. 4 d. per yard	£. 936,562
If the former <i>consumption</i> is added,	500,000
The total manufacture will be	1,436,562

* Mr. Prior of Dublin.

† Anderson's *Deduction*, vol. ii. p. 417.

The following table of Scotland's manufacture will set it in a very clear light.

Account of linen cloth for sale, stamped in Scotland from Nov. 1, 1727,

Year.	Yards.	Value.
1728	2,183,978	192,818
1729	3,225,155	114,383
1730	3,755,922	131,262
1731	3,401,578	145,656
1732	4,584,828	168,822
1733	4,722,105	182,266
1734	4,908,400	185,224
1735	4,880,622	177,466
1736	4,538,478	168,177
1737	4,731,420	183,620
1738	4,666,912	185,926
1739	4,801,237	196,068
1740	4,699,672	188,777
1741	4,853,190	187,658
1742	4,431,480	191,689
1743	5,061,312	215,927
1744	5,480,747	229,364
1745	5,536,925	224,252
1746	5,486,334	222,870
1747	6,661,788	262,866
1748	7,353,098	293,864
1749	7,360,286	322,045
1750	7,572,540	361,736
1751	7,886,374	367,167
1752	8,759,943	409,407
1753	9,422,593	445,321 †
1754	8,914,369	506,816 †
1755	8,914,369	506,816 †
1756	8,914,369	506,816 †
1757	9,764,408	401,511 §
1758	10,624,435	424,141 §
1759	10,830,707	451,390 §
1760	11,747,720	522,153 §

Total value, £. 8,879,788

Besides an immense quantity manufactured in private families.

† *Postlewaite's Dictionary*, Art. SCOTLAND, thus far. ‡ *Anderson's Reduction of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 400. § Not having these years, I have supposed them the same as the preceding one. § *Anderson*, vol. ii. p. 499. 415. 420.

The quantity of last year 405,000, according to the proportions of Ireland,

Is made from, tons of flax,	_____	1895
Value of ditto,	_____	£. 5,800
Value,	_____	450,000
Flax deducted,	_____	394,200

Hemp.

This article is inserted here rather as an item that hemp is produced and worked up at home, than as a manufacture of great extent, since more is imported from abroad; but as such importations will in another place be more particularly considered when I come to speak of commerce, the less is necessary to be mentioned here. — There is no linen in the world stronger than hemp. In Suffolk, and the borders of Norfolk adjoining, they make large quantities, but I believe the use of it does not extend far, Scotch and Irish linens being infinitely more worn. — The whole manufacture of Irish linen, and the sale of Scotch, amounts to 1,886,562 £. The total of all cannot be less therefore than 2,500,000 £.

Glass.

This is beyond all doubt the noblest manufacture in the world, if we consider the exquisite utility and elegance of the thing itself, and the meanness of the materials from which it is made. Invention and ingenuity in this manufacture raise a prodigious valuable commodity from the dregs of the earth. In respect of value, glass is created out of nothing. Labour, buildings, and tools, here confer *all* the value, which is the case with no other manufacture in the universe. — The consumption of Great Britain and Ireland is intirely supplied by our own manufacturers, and no inconsiderable quantity exported; but to determine the quantity and amount is impossible; however it must be to a very great value.

Paper.

In respect of utility, and the low value of the raw material, paper ranks nearly with glass. We formerly imported the whole consumption from France and Holland; chiefly from the former; but a better spirit arising in the nation, this manufacture, like most others, has made a glorious advance; for the home consumption of these islands is not only supplied by our own mills, (smuggled goods in this and other cases excepted) but we export some to foreigners, and great quantities to our American plantations. As to the amount of the manufacture, I meet with

with no authorities to venture on any conjectures. The importation from France alone in 1663, amounts to upwards of 100,000 *l.* into England, but the whole consumption must have been more, as Holland supplied us with much; and at present we probably consume six times as much, besides the consumption of Scotland and Ireland. I cannot conceive the whole to amount at present to less than 1,000,000 *l.**

Porcelain.

Of late years this manufacture, in its various branches (of which there are a very great number) has made prodigious advances towards perfection, and is carried on with so much spirit, particularly in Worcestershire and Staffordshire, that the value is very considerable. The consumption of the kingdom is supplied with them, the oriental only excepted; which is sufficient to prove, that the amount is immense. However, conjectures in such a case would be too vague, for me to venture on any particular sum for the total value of this manufacture.

Suppose glass, paper, and porcelain, to amount to 1,500,000 *l.*

These are the chief of our manufactures that are worked from our own produce. There are many others, it is true; but then they are either what are more properly called the works of common artizans, such as wheelwrights, perukemakers, &c. or else too inconsiderable to merit a particular article here.

S E C T. II.

Manufactures wrought from foreign Products.

IT is certainly obvious enough to all, that this species of manufactures is by no means so advantageous as those already mentioned; for a very considerable deduction is to be made from the product of these, on account of the materials purchased from foreigners.

Silk.

Vast sums were formerly paid to France for an infinite variety of wrought silks, which at present we make at home, smuggled goods excepted, which indeed are very considerable. As to determining the

* The printing news-papers alone in London, several years ago, before there were so many as at present, formed a trade of above 131,000 *l.* a year. See *Les Interests de la France Mal Entendus*, tom. iii. p. 285. 1755.

amount

amount of the present consumption, the only rule I have to go by is the quantity manufactured, formerly imported, and that of the raw material at present. In 1663, the import of silks from France alone amounted to near 600,000 *l.* a year to England. I shall add a fourth for Scotland, and a third for Ireland, and the total will be

£. 950,000

To this we must add the import from India, Holland, and some from Italy, suppose these amounted to

200,000

At present there is smuggled, according to Sir Matthew Decker §, 200,000 *l.* in silks, he says, "upon us;" whether he means England alone, I know not, but I will suppose Great Britain and Ireland, and that in 1663, as duties were so much lower, that only a fourth part was smuggled, or

50,000

Consumption in 1663,

1,200,000

Now, supposing we at present consume twice as much as in 1663, no extravagant idea; for we are infinitely richer than we were then, and the number of those who wear silk I might say trebled and quadrupled within a century: however, to reckon it only double, our present consumption will be found to amount to 2,400,000 *l.*

The next means of discovering our consumption will be, by the importation of the raw commodity; but here I have few minutes to direct me: the medium of many accounts is a pretty certain rule to judge by:

The quantity imported from Turkey into the port of London in 1720, was 400,000 *lb.* at 24 *oz.* to the *lb.* *, which, at the rate of 20 *s.* amounts to 400,000 *l.* But as this trade is much declined since, I shall suppose the value of the whole from China and Turkey to amount to that sum.

£. 400,000

The Spanish and Italian importation, according to one writer †, is

1,500,000

By another's account ‡,

1,350,000

The medium,

1,425,000

Add the Turkey and East India importation,

400,000

1,825,000

‡ *Causis of Decline of Foreign Trade*, 12mo. p. 107. 153.

* *Pestelbruyet's Dictionary*, Art. LEVANT.

† *Thoughts on the Times, and the Silk Manufactory*, 8vo. p. 7. 1765.

‡ *Account of the Benefits which have resulted from the Society*, 8vo. p. 10. 1765.

If the labour bestowed on this commodity only doubles the value, the amount then will be	3,650,000
By the first account, or rather guess,	2,400,000
Medium, being the amount of our own manufacture,	3,025,000
To which we may add, the importation of wrought silks, which, according to Postlethwayte, is	1,000,000
The total of our consumption and exportation,	4,025,000

Cotton.

The manufacture of cotton is considerable, not only in the amount of those goods which are made of that alone, but more so in the mixtures of it with wool, flax, &c. The manufactories in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire, use a vast quantity of cotton; particularly those which are employed in making fustians. As to the amount of this manufacture, I find no accounts of it. The quantity of cotton annually imported (chiefly from the Levant) for these manufactures, and other uses, is about 13,000 bags*, and amounts in price to about 300,000*l.* As we are told † 5000 bags produced in Guadalupe in 1761, sold for 112,702*l.* at which proportion the whole will amount to the above mentioned sum. Manufactured, it may amount perhaps to three times that value.

Recapitulation.

Amount of the woollen manufacture,	£. 15,700,529
Leather,	11,725,000
Flax and hemp,	2,500,000
Glass, paper, and porcelain,	1,500,000
Silk,	3,025,000
Cotton,	900,000
I apprehend the number employed by lead, tin, iron, &c. to be about 900,000; if they earn, one with another ‡, 10 <i>l.</i> a head, the amount will be	9,000,000
	<u>44,350,529</u>

* *An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation*, 8vo. p. 37. 1762.

† The Author of the *Present State*, p. 148. rates it at much less, only 90,000*l.*; but his authority does by no means appear so good, naming scarce any particulars, and rating the price so low as 1*s.* a pound, whereas it is oftener double.

‡ Considering the nature of these manufactures, a much larger sum must be allowed to them than to any others; a much greater proportion of grown people being employed in them.

SECT. III.

Of the Effect of Manufactures on Population.

IN the preceding essay, which treated of agriculture, it appeared, that population depends in the most intimate manner upon agriculture; and notwithstanding the common example of Holland, is found to receive an increase from no quarter comparable to that from an increase of the culture of the earth. But it is not from hence to be concluded, that the establishment of manufactures has, in this respect, no influence; on the contrary, they, under certain circumstances, have a strong effect. When the full power of agriculture, in peopling the earth to the utmost, is mentioned, it implies only what might attend it if the political system of a country tended to the same point; or, in other words, if the pushing husbandry to the utmost extent was the first business of the legislature. But in a different situation, like the present one of Britain, for instance, when agriculture is nearly at a stand, or improves, but improves but slowly, (whatever excellence she may be arrived at) and a multitude of manufactures, the bread of numbers of the people, the case is different. The business then is to harmonize agriculture and manufactures; that is, carry both as far as possible, without making use of means which injure either of them.

If we suppose a million of people employed by a manufacture in the present state of the political system, that million of subjects; and the amount of their earnings, are so much profit to the state:—Not because manufactures employ them so much the more beneficially than any thing else, but by reason of a want of better employment. If the legislature, by a preceding management, had gradually turned that million of manufacturers into cultivators of waste land, no body can doubt a moment but they would be better employed, and would increase their numbers infinitely more than if they continued manufacturers: Their business would tend not only to maintaining themselves and families, but giving food to millions of others. Reverse the medal, and suppose this million no longer manufacturers, without the before-mentioned previous management of the legislature, and then the importance of manufactures (taking things as they are) appears at once; for instead of maintaining themselves, and adding their labour to the public stock, they would either starve or remain a dead weight upon the public.

From hence it results, that such part of the nation as are employed in manufactures, are profitably employed, as they would not find a main-

tenances were manufactures annihilated. As to the propriety of that system of politics which is the cause of these circumstances, it has nothing to do here; I shall hereafter speak of that, when I come to consider the general state of the people. — Agriculture being at a stand, or improving but slowly, a vast number of the lower people do not find employment in it. This is the case with whole towns, and numerous villages, and even considerable parts of families, whose heads are husbandmen; for a farmer, though he employs a certain number of labourers, yet does not, and perhaps cannot do the same by all their families, who are able to work. What, in such a case, could these poor maintain themselves by, did not manufactures come in to their assistance?

In the preceding section we have seen the value of our manufactures, let us now endeavour to ascertain the number of people employed by them. This business was nearly done in the preceding section, in the inquiry into the value of the labour. It is disagreeable to mix subjects in this manner; but as the number of people, in some cases, was used to discover the value of the labour, and the labour in others to discover the number, such a slight tautology is unavoidable. To begin with wool.

According to Chambers' account, quoted at page 180, the number employed in Great Britain and Ireland, in the manufacture of wool, is 1,212,983.

The author of the *Consequences of Trade* makes the number (see page 180) 1,345,765.

Davenant says, the manufacture adds 9,000,000 to its value, (see page 181) which, calculated according to the price of labour before mentioned, is equal in number to 808,655.

To these I shall add the following authorities, not quoted before. Mr. Anderson * says, "our manufacture of wool employs 1,500,000 persons." The passage seems to concern England alone; if we add therefore a fourth for Scotland, and the same for Ireland, the number will be 2,250,000.

Sir Matthew Decker † says, "If English wool was intirely kept at home, the manufacturing of it must employ at least one million of people; who may be supposed to maintain at least another million of

* *Historical Deduction of Commerce.*

† *Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade, 1739, p. 58.*

helpless infants, &c. and the same proportion for Scotland and Ireland." All would be 3,500,000; deducting what is ruin, it is 2,771,770 persons.

Chambers' account,	1,212,983
The author of the <i>Consequences of Trade</i> ,	1,345,765
Davenant,	804,655
Mr. Anderson,	2,250,000
Sir M. Decker,	2,171,770
The medium,	1,557,834 †

This number is very considerable, and proves the great importance of the woollen manufacture; but if we consider the quantity smuggled abroad, we shall find this number, great as it is, ought to be much greater. In the preceding section, the quantity appeared to be 285,000 packs; now, calculating these to employ the same proportion in number as what we keep at home, the loss of employment will be found to amount to 951,644. And as foreigners, particularly the French, work up two packs of their own wool to every one they receive of ours, and in goods which they could not make at all without ours, such a manufacture, according to the proportions already laid down, will be found to employ 2,596,390 of their people; and all this by means of our smuggled wool!

Were all the lands of these islands fully cultivated, and every person in them fully employed, this circumstance would not be so melancholy a one; but while we have so many millions of idle poor, it is really a very dreadful one. It is surely a proof of exceeding weak politics, to suffer such a consuming loss for so many years, as this nation has experienced this, perpetually to waste it. The loss of so much employment, in the course of an age, becomes that of as many people: For the lower classes of a state waste or increase in proportion to employment. There is not a demonstration in Euclid clearer than, *increase employment and you will increase the people*. If a new manufacture was discovered, which regularly maintained a million, in fifty years a million of people would be as good as added to our numbers; for what was wanting in a real increase would be made up in the difference between the number of the idle in the two periods. But of this more hereafter.

The next manufacture is that of leather. In the last section the amount of its value was conjectured; and conjecture is the only guide I

† Postlethwayte says, the Spanish cloths alone employ a million of people, if so, the total must exceed the above. See *Dictionary of Commerce*, Art. BRITAIN.

have to discover the number of people employed by it. The value was 11,725,000*l.* Now, as leather does not employ so many people as wool, in proportion to the value, I must not state the one according to the other, without making a deduction upon account of that inferiority of employment. This deduction, I think, cannot amount to more than the proportion of 2,725,000*l.* to 11,725,000*l.* Taking this as near the truth, I shall suppose the value of leather to that of wool as 9,000,000*l.* to 15,700,000*l.* the amount of our manufactured wool; and as the leather employs 1,557,000 people, the proportion of the former is 892,500 people employed by leather.—I never offer any calculations or conjectures of this kind without feeling the great difference there is between such and authentic accounts; but the latter are scarce ever to be had. Even in those writers, whose authority is reckoned good, plain assertions must be accepted in lieu of authentic documents; and as I had rather adopt such assertions (with the advantage however of comparing them together) than give fresh ones of my own, I have, and shall make, use of them upon that plan, giving the reader my authority. When an inspector of the customs publishes, like Davenant, his political arithmetic, we have, at least, the satisfaction of knowing, that the writer had real opportunities of gaining his knowledge. But what an amazing number of assertions are even adopted by the nation, without a quarter of his authority? Nay, what a number are to be found even in the works of Davenant himself, not concerning our imports and exports, that have no other authority than mere calculation and conjecture? But, as I remarked before, where authority is wanting, we must compare the opinions of others, and adopt the medium; and where even opinions are wanting, it is then time enough to add to the number of conjectures already in being.

As to the manufactures of lead, tin, iron, and copper, from the very great extent of them, I conceived them to employ more people than leather. Suppose, however, they only equal it, the number will then be 892,500; say, 900,000 people.

Flax and Hemp.

Mr. Prior of Dublin, before quoted, says, it is computed that the following quantities of rough flax, such as we have from Riga, worth 40*s.* per Ct. will give employment for the whole year to the following number of persons, one with another, including spinners, hecklers, weavers, bleachers, &c. viz. one Ct. of flax will employ for a year 2 hands; a ton will employ 40 hands; 100 tons will employ 4000 hands; 1000 tons will employ 40,000 hands. Now, as the whole quantity used in

Ireland amounts to 3125 tons, it employs, consequently, 125,000 hands; and 1395 tons in Scotland, employs 56,250; together, 181,250 people, besides a considerable part of the home consumption of Scotland not included. But I should remark, that Sir Matthew Decker *, in a slighter calculation of this sort, in respect to linen and silk, reckons the number employed to maintain as many more; in which case, the number depending on this manufactory in those two kingdoms is 362,500 persons.

What number should be added for crambries, sail-cloth, English linens, &c. &c. I have no grounds to conjecture, but they cannot less than make the number 181,250 up 200,000.

Glass, paper, and porcelain, though by no means equal to many of the preceding articles, are certainly of very considerable consequence in the employment of the poor; suppose they amount to 1,500,000 *l.* and the labour $\frac{2}{3}$ of the sum; if the people earn 6 *l.* per head, their number will be 225,000. But this is a mere conjecture.

As to silk, Sir Matthew Decker * computes, that the manufacturers of it earn, one with another, 6 *l.* a head, and the amount of the labour $\frac{1}{2}$ of the value: According to this calculation, the number employed by it is 375,000. But with respect to the cotton, there is no conjecturing the number, because it is so mixed with other materials; but supposing the value of it manufactured to be three times the prime cost, and the manufacturers to earn, as in silk, 6 *l.* a head, the number will then be 100,000. I know not what other rule to conjecture their amount by.

Recapitulation:

The woollen manufactory employs	_____	1,557,834 people.
Leather,	_____	892,500
Lead, tin, iron, and copper,	_____	900,000
Flax and hemp,	_____	200,000
Silk and cotton,	_____	475,000
Paper, glass, and porcelain,	_____	225,000
		<hr/>
		4,250,334

If we deduct about 192,500 from leather, 100,000 from iron, &c. and all the hemp, the remainder, 3,757,834, I should assign as England's share.

* Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade, 12mo, p. 107.

I must here once more repeat what I have mentioned often already, that I do not presume to offer these totals to the reader as accurate and conclusive; those which are formed from the opinions of others, or from facts of acknowledged probability, I give as such, and where they are wanting, have substituted conjecture in their room. I may probably be mistaken in many points, but I can scarcely think such mistakes to arise to any very considerable deviation from fact. The preceding minutes certainly prove thus much, that the number of the people employed by manufactures is very considerable. Four millions of persons, without taking into account a great number of more trifling manufactures, is such a total, as I must confess surprizes me, and yields strong reasons for believing these nations more populous than they have hitherto been supposed by many politicians. But of this more in another place.

As the political system of Great Britain has rendered manufactures so extremely necessary to the maintenance of the lower classes of her people, it is highly requisite to keep them in so flourishing and vigorous a situation, as to be always on the increase in value; for the perfection of agriculture not being the great aim of the legislature, if manufactures droop the poor will starve, and a constant loss of numbers ensue: consequences which ought to be guarded against with the most unremitting diligence.

It plainly appears from the preceding accounts, that the circulation occasioned by our manufactures is prodigious.

That the number of people they employ bears a great proportion to the total sum of our inhabitants; and that our numbers, according to the present system of policy, would lessen greatly, were they suffered to decline. And as our navigation and foreign trade will likewise be found to depend greatly on them, the necessity of supporting them in their present condition, and extending them as long as we have any unemployed poor, must be apparent to all.

This last circumstance ought to be decisive; for it is ridiculous to complain of many hundred thousands of idle poor, without taking effectual means to render them otherwise. From the foregoing survey it appears clearly, that materials to work upon are very far from being wanted, since foreigners employ above two millions and an half of people, by means alone of our wool. Our manufacture of glass might be extended to fifty times its present amount, having no bounds in respect of materials; and by employing the idle poor, might form a larger trade of exportation than we enjoy in that article at present. Our metals are
likewise

likewise inexhaustible, and forming the most universally useful articles of exportation, might be made to employ many more poor than they do at present. In short, no branch of these manufactures can be named but an increase of employment might be found in it for great numbers. And employment, as I before remarked, should certainly be carried to the utmost extent, as the surest means of increasing the number of our people. The great evil we at present lie under is, the running of our wool abroad. Many proposals have been made to prevent it, but none that bid fair to compass the desired end, except the general register scheme. Objections there certainly are to that, but none near equal to taking no measures of prevention, especially as that would certainly do the business. If the legislature continue to reject a register, it is highly incumbent on them to discover and execute some other plan that will answer the same end.

S E C T. IV.

Comparison between the Manufactures of Britain and those of other Countries.

HAD we the most accurate account possible of the British manufactures, yet the only true method of coming at their real importance is, by comparing them with those of other nations. The very absolute necessities of life alone excepted, nay, without excepting even them, manufactures will be found in every instance matters of trade and commerce; foreign nations will give the supply, if they are not made at home: And as that degree of industry, which is requisite for making such imports unnecessary, will certainly generate into exportation, and become a means of enriching any people, and of enabling them to purchase those matters of foreigners which *cannot* be had at home without their being impoverished; so is it highly requisite to direct that industry in such an advantageous manner, that more industrious, or more fortunate nations may not damp or destroy it by the mere force of underselling. Hence proceeds the connection between the manufactures of one country and those of another: They are all in a constant state of rivalry, inasmuch that those who sell cheapest (quality as well as price considered) have it in their power to starve whole provinces in other countries, though at three thousand miles distance. Now, as any single manufacture seldom flourishes in a country but at an expence of more than it is worth; to have any one or more in full vigour, it must be but as a link in a vast chain of manufactures and commerce; all grow up together, and assist each other in the growth, till at last a vast system of industry is formed, which

stands or falls, as it will bear the comparison with those of other nations. Let us examine what figure the manufactures of Britain make when viewed in this light.

It would be a very instructive, as well as an amusing task, to sketch the amount of the manufactures of Holland, and form a comparison between them and our own; but unfortunately there are no foundations for such an undertaking. Modern travellers and political writers have strangely neglected this subject. Sir William Temple and de Witte are at this day the best authors who have treated of the political state of Holland. That republic has long been on the decline*; it would be a curious disquisition to inquire into the progress of that decline, by comparing their manufactures and trade at different periods. If we could discover what they were when at their height, and the state of them at present, we should see clearly not only the progress, but be able to trace the causes in the increase of the trade of other nations, and possibly in other circumstances at present unknown. But the amount of the Dutch manufactures in point of the value of the raw materials, and that of the labour bestowed on them, and the number of people employed by them, are all equally unknown. I have met with no minutes of these subjects that even yield a clue to form a calculation by. In respect, however, to the comparison with Britain, let it be observed, that they by no means equal us in any capital article: And, as to the whole amount, there is the greatest reason to believe the advantage infinitely on the side of these kingdoms.

The same observations are applicable to Germany; with this difference, that being chiefly an inland country, her manufactures are those for home consumption, in a vastly greater proportion than those of Holland; so that whatever may be the amount of them, (of which I am totally ignorant) they are, and must be, of the less consequence to Britain. The northern nations are yet poorer in manufactures.

As to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, it is well known they are not what deserve the title of manufacturing countries. For although they possess some manufactures, and Italy in particular a few for exportation, yet the whole is of such trifling consequence, when compared with those of Britain, that no rivalry is to be apprehended from them.

France then remains the only country unmentioned; and in respect to her manufactures, some minutes may be found, which will assist in

* Sir William Temple observed in 1668, that they had then passed the meridian of their trade.

sketching

sketching their amount; but calculation and conjecture must, I fear, be called in to assist, where explicit authority is wanting.

M. de Voltaire says, "In 1669, forty-four thousand looms for weaving cloths were computed in the kingdom. The manufactures of silk being brought to great perfection, produced a commerce of more than fifty millions of that time *;" or near 4,500,000 *l.* now.

M. de Boulainvilliers asserts, that the consumption of gold and silver in the manufactures of laces, &c. amounted in 1754 to two millions †.

The same author says, "If the government was to take an account, house by house, throughout the kingdom, they would not find a less sum, perhaps than ten milliards of industry ‡." This is expressly manufactures consumed at home; for he is summing up the prodigious quantity of *ornamens entièrement inutiles*. Soon after, he says, "If it was possible to make an exact comparison between the manufactures which England annually employs for her own use, with those which France applies in the same manner, (I speak of national manufactures) we should find, in proportion to extent and population, that France consumed perhaps six times as much. That is to say, in the same proportion, if an hundred thousand workmen were necessary in that nation to supply inferior demands, five hundred thousand would be wanted for ours.

Another writer says, "The manufacturers of Lyons send abroad, more or less every year, as many different sorts of workmanship in silk as sell for fifteen millions: And Paris supplies foreign countries in goldsmiths work, jewellery, clocks, watches, gold, and silver lace embroidered, and a multitude of toys and trifles, to the amount of ten millions more §." Total, 1,093,750 *l.*

An English writer gives a detail of the export of French manufactures to England and Holland alone, when her commerce was at its height, amounting in the whole to 4,500,000 *l.* || which now would be 7,692,000 *l.* The proportion between the real value of French money now and in

* *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 112.

† *Les Interets de la France mal entendus*, tom. ii. p. 121. 1756.

‡ *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 229. or 437,750,000 *l.*

§ *Mémoire du Marq. du Mirebeau pour concourir au prix*, p. 254.

|| *An Inquiry into the Revenue, Credit, and Commerce of France*, 8vo. p. 37, &c. 1742. It is chiefly copied from Fortry, who had undoubted means of gaining intelligence.

1683, being as 117 to 200, according to Voltaire, that is, 117 millions, were then as good as 200 now.

It appeared before that foreigners gained by British wool alone above 24,000,000*l*. Suppose the share of France $\frac{2}{3}$ of this, it will be 19,200,000*l*.

The reader will doubtless see the impossibility of calculating the exact amount of French manufactures from these passages; but they, nevertheless, are not without their use; for such prodigious separate articles must, when joined, amount to an infinite sum. I am sensible they are declined since the date of some of these articles, but then, the very fact of their being once so considerable in them, while we know they have been gaining in others, is yet a matter of great consequence. That vast exportation to England and Holland is greatly lessened; but then, they have one to the West Indies, Spain, Portugal, and especially the Levant, which at that time did not exist: It is likewise supposed they have lost some millions of people, but yet, their numbers at present are very considerable, amounting, by the lowest calculations, to 16 or 17,000,000; the home consumption of manufactures among whom, with a considerable exportation, must, altogether, amount to a prodigious annual total, and forms a system of industry highly to be dreaded by any rival nation.

We may therefore venture to determine, that the French manufactures, although we know not the exact proportion of them to the British ones, are of great importance in the commerce of Europe: And if a conjecture is allowed, I should apprehend them superior in amount to our own; and most certainly they are more to be dreaded by us than those of all Europe besides.

We should consider, that the French supply their own consumption with almost all the necessary manufactures. The amount of this, added to their exportation, must form a system of industry of vast extent: For supposing they possess in proportion to Britain, setting any superiority of our exportation against their consumption, which M. de Boulainvilliers says is six times greater in proportion than ours, their manufactures will by that rule amount to a prodigious total.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

Of the means of promoting the British Manufactures.

AS it appears from the preceding review of our manufactures, that they are undubitably of infinite importance to the benefit of these kingdoms, in bringing vast sums of money from foreigners, and giving employment to several millions of hands, who, were it not for them, would, according to our present system of policy, starve, or become a most heavy weight upon the community, it is surely an inquiry of very great consequence to attempt to discover the best methods of promoting and extending this system of manufactures; since there is great reason to apprehend their not advancing will speedily be followed by their declension.

But indiscriminate and general encouragement is not that upon which the prosperity of our manufacturing interest depends. I have already considered them under two heads; those working upon our own products, and those working upon foreign ones. It is very plain that the former are of the highest value, and consequently no encouragement should be given to the latter, that can in any manner be of detriment to the others; and if both are under an equal want of assistance, the first should always have it in preference to the last. There are an hundred reasons for making this distinction; but one or two will set the propriety of it in a clear light. A very large deduction is to be made from the product of those manufactures which are wrought from foreign materials on account of such materials. Thus, we pay abroad an immense sum for raw silk in hard money; whereas if a million is received for woollen goods, the whole is profit to the nation; no such deduction being made from it. Secondly, A great precariousness attends the former manufactures. If foreign princes or states refuse us the raw commodity, our manufacturers starve; if bloody wars in such countries prevent the production, we are in the same melancholy situation; if the production fails through natural causes, it is the same. Our manufacturers have often experienced bad crops of cotton in the Levant; — and woful is the condition of many of our fabrics in such a case. Thus it appears, that many causes may operate to the hazard and destruction of those of our manufactures which are wrought from foreign products. And these reasons, as I before observed, are sufficient to induce us to give the greatest encouragement to the other species.

But those which are gained from nothing, if I may use the expression, such as glass particularly, and paper, &c. are superior in value to all; which every one must be sensible of, who considers the receipt of their production is *absolute* profit. Suppose all the wool of Britain sold abroad unmanufactured, and the hands at present employed on it turned to making glass; the general product (providing a market for the glass was found) would be infinitely greater than before. — As far therefore as a market can be procured, these manufactures are, of all others, the most profitable and important. Next come those which work up our own valuable products; and, lastly, those which depend on foreign ones.

But whatever should be our policy in promoting our best manufactures, none should be discouraged. All kinds of them thrive best in company; that is, in the same country. It is an infinitely difficult matter to raise manufactures at once, among a people who possess none; but it is an easy matter to add new ones where there are an hundred old ones. The spirit of industry is established, and a general ingenuity among vast numbers of people. Is it not apparent, that a weaver of any kind would sooner be taught a new species of weaving, which he never saw, than a labourer from the plough? It is for this reason that manufactures are so very difficult to fix among those who have not been accustomed to them. To imagine that Colbert was the father of the French ones; is a great mistake; and M. de Voltaire's account of them by no means just; for one would imagine from him that the minister created the whole system. It is true, he extended them infinitely, and was the creator of the exportation in French bottoms; but France sold to the value of five millions sterling before Colbert was heard of.

As single manufactures of all kinds should therefore be considered but as links of a vast chain, none of them should be slighted; for even the best will flourish in some measure through the influence of the worst. If any of the inferior ones should therefore have symptoms of a future decline, such measures should be pursued as are most likely to prevent it: But when in a flourishing state, though not of a great extent, no very vigorous ones should be adopted for causing a great increase, if the same attention, differently directed, would advance a more important manufacture*.

Such

* A French author of the present age draws a comparison between different kinds of manufactures upon another principle, and there is much truth in his remark. He says, "The desire of usurping commerce would have it swallow up all industry; but they are ignorant of a certain principle, the demonstration of which returns upon us every moment, viz. that it is

Such being the scale of importance in which our manufactures should be considered in respect of encouragement, the next point to examine is, the different means of promoting their interests.

I. The prosperity of all manufactures depends upon the purchasing the raw material at a reasonable price, and the procuring the necessary labour at the same. If these circumstances do not combine in the manufacturer's favour, it is impossible he should afford his goods so upon a par with foreigners, and the consequences of not equalling other nations in cheapness, is not only losing the exportation, but, in multitudes of instances, the home consumption likewise. As to the raw materials, I do not find many complaints of the British and Irish manufacturers not being able to procure them at a reasonable price: those of our own products are pretty regular in their rates. It is true, they have risen within a certain number of years; but if the prices of all sorts of commodities all over Europe in a given time rise ten per cent. manufacturers of any country cannot suppose the materials they work upon should be the only ones to keep down. Their rising with the rest must not be called being at too great price: The reasonable rate is, always being in proportion to every thing else at home and in other countries. The same observation is applicable to the price of labour, about which our manufacturers have clamoured exceedingly. Labour must rise with the necessaries of life: while they are rising all over Europe, even proportion would be destroyed, if that was not likewise to advance. And when comparisons are made between the price of labour in Britain and Ireland, with that in France and Holland, the mere pay of the workmen per day is alone no proof at all; the only just comparison is, by the quantity of work a given sum of money will procure in either country: For most certainly the pay of a weaver in

is much better to export the raw material, than suffer a loss upon the first sale in favour of manufactures; for this first loss, and the succeeding multiplication of it, may never return. In losing the view of the natural existence of things, and their situation in the grand circle of prosperity, we are led astray in the first step. If we had considered industry in its real utility, which is that of facilitating the consumption which necessity alone occasions, we should have comprized in the most useful the fabrics which were the most gross, as the most proper for a great number of consumers. We should have known, *that were the people in a state of wearing* cloaths and shoes, thirty millions of woollen habits, and sixty millions of pairs of shoes yearly, would employ more workmen, occasion a greater sale, maintain more cattle, procure more manures, and consequently better harvests, than would the making of all the tapestries, all the fine dyes, all stuffs of silk and cotton, all the glasses, and all porcelains in Europe. We might see, that the constant profit of the principal consumption is demonstrated by fact, since the more magnificent manufactures cannot be sustained but at a great expence to sovereigns for the establishment and the purchases, while millions of trifling retailers subsist without difficulty upon the sale of the lowest merchandizes. But when once we have mistaken our way, we have no fixed guide, but court a glimmering for éclat, whereof the common effect is to mislead us yet more." *Theorie de L'Impot*, p. 68.

France

France may be but nine-pence a day, and that of one in England a shilling, and yet the English manufacturer may undersel the French one all over the world. The hours of working,——the ability of the workman, and the time of recreation or idleness, may make a much greater difference than this. There is no satisfactory account of the price of labour in these three countries, with a just comparison, yet published in the English or French languages; it is impossible therefore to assert, that our manufacturers are undersold, *because* of their high price of labour.

However, whether they are undersold upon that account or not, it is highly expedient, for the good of our manufactures, to keep the price of labour as low as is really consistent with other prices; particularly in two respects;——in contriving that workmen shall work full hours for their pay, whatever it is; —— and in not suffering them to have any certain dependance for a future maintenance, but on the strength of their own industry. If these points are not effected, let prices be high or low, there can be no balance between the price of work and general prices. To extend these reflections to their utmost, would be to anticipate future subjects, and bring confusion upon the whole. It is sufficiently clear, that our whole system of poor's laws act very contrary to these ends; and the remedying such tendency is all the favour our manufacturers want in respect to the price of their labour. There is great reason to believe, from the very superior ability of our workmen, that were these points properly managed, our manufacturers would undersel all Europe, at least as far as concerned the price of their labour.

II. It is a certain fact, that the French and Dutch have long, and do at present, undersel us in the Spanish and Portuguese markets in several species of goods; and that the French have drove us almost out of the Levant trade; but those who have had the best means of gaining information, are very sensible that this loss is not owing to high prices of labour, but a want of attending to, and pleasing the taste of the purchasers. The light druggets, commonly called the French drugget, is a well worked cloth, looks neatly, but is very thin, light, and cheap: This is the manufacture which those warm countries affect. Now, the fine English broad cloth is, beyond all doubt, a proportionably better cloth, and has ten times the wear in it, which weighs so much with our manufacturers, that they cannot be persuaded to make goods so inferior to their common ones; and this obstinacy has prevented our gaining that trade which this cheap French invention beat us out of*.

I have

* The French, says an anonymous writer, were the first introducers of this manufacture; and are, at this time, the sole venders thereof in the Lisbon and Spanish markets, to the very great

I have inserted this case as an instance in which our manufactures stand in need of our superior attention: considerable branches may in this manner be lost for want of attention. The means of preventing such ill effects are, first, to have a constant opportunity of discovering the disease the moment it begins; for which purpose there ought to be inspectors of manufactures appointed under the board of trade, to take a regular account of the imports and exports, and as much of the home consumption as possible, that as soon as any change or falling off of any branch ensued, due inquiries might be immediately made into the causes: And if, as in this instance, foreigners were found to undersel us by new inventions, or any other means, a proper method might be taken to prevent the extension of the evil, and regain the lost ground: Nor should such important business be left to take its own course, but spirited encouragement given, until a perfect security was gained. We see, in the case of Penryn, that even uncommon private attention and industry was easily (*infamously*) overthrown, and rendered unsuccessful; whereas had the event been under the inspection of the board of trade, and that board been in possession of a power to support and carry the attempt through to perfection, what noble consequences would have ensued! A very valuable branch of manufacture regained, and with it many articles of exportation, and other advantages, ever attendant on supplying foreign markets: For those who export one species of merchandize have it in their power likewise to promote the sale of other species, and to gain an advance upon those who have but one or two articles to trade in. The French,

great detriment of our trade. Various attempts have been made to make this useful manufacture in this kingdom, and thereby to rival our enemies in this branch of trade, but none that I have heard of have succeeded, except one of the worthy proprietors who established the manufactory at Penryn in Cornwall. This gentleman, whose uncommon diligence in promoting the good of his country deserved a better fate, went himself into those parts of France where this branch of manufacture was carried on, and discovered the principles on which it is made, and afterwards established at a great expence a manufactory thereof at Penryn, where he made druggets equally light and fine with those of France, and could deliver them at the Lisbon markets for the same price that the French do theirs; and, if he had had a quick return, get a good profit for himself. But, reader! express thy surprize! when I tell thee, that this branch of manufacture, which would be attended with such national advantages, was intirely stopped, and the worthy introducer thereof almost ruined, because he thought it his duty to vote against the present representatives of the borough of Penryn at the last general election. These druggets are made in France of the best of the Spanish or Turkey wool, which is very well prepared, and scribbled; and afterwards spun into the finest yarn that this wool can be spun into. When placed in the loom, the chain and siling, or warp and woof, must be of one quality, and be driven pretty close, as this cloth must not be beat up closer after it is wove; (these last particulars are what the generality of our manufacturers have erred in) a yard of this cloth, which is half-ell wide, when finished, should not weigh above four ounces. The French sell their druggets at Lisbon from 1 s. 6 d. to 1 s. 10 d. per yard." *Propositions for improving the Manufactures, &c. of Great Britain*, 8vo. p. 32. 1763.

by adding an article to their exports of such consequence to the southern markets, were certainly enabled to extend their traffic even in other articles, to the great increase possibly of those which might before have been trifling. For instance, a house at Lisbon was supplied by the British merchants with large quantities of cloth, and a few other articles of British manufactures; but the French inventing a drugget, which outsets the English cloths, he is obliged to have them to supply his markets with. Thus, a new correspondence is opened, which before might not exist. The French merchants take the opportunity of supplying the chief demand to recommend their own manufactures, which answer the smaller articles he takes of the English; and as there is much less trouble in few dealings than in many, the Portuguese is induced at once to close with the proposition, if the French goods are as cheap as the English, and very probably if they are a small matter dearer. Thus, the British exportation is deprived of several articles in consequence of the loss of one material one; and this is generally the case in trade throughout the world. I have sketched the means of preventing such evils, which might very easily be executed, and would be attended with divers good consequences.

Another misfortune attending manufacturers being left so much to themselves as they are in Britain, and which might readily be remedied by the inspectors just proposed, is the making goods of a bad kind, and for the sake of great profits, destroying the credit of the nation in all commercial matters. It is true, we have many statutes to guard against this villany, but laws which do not execute themselves are much worse than none. The conduct of the French is wiser. "It would be tedious," says a very sensible and well-informed writer, "to enumerate all the ordinances and arrêts of council which have passed in France upon this subject; these prescribe an assize of measurement and quality in the several manufactures of woollen and linen cloths, gold and silver brocades, amodes, lustrings, leather, hats, paper, tapestry, glass, and all other kinds of necessary implements and utensils, made and wrought in each respective province. And for the prevention of frauds, in putting a false gloss or colour, or using bad materials in their composition, marks and stamps are fixed upon them by way of sanction of their being made answerable to the standard. And it is ordained by several arrêts of council, that all the manufactures which do not answer the marks and stamps so respectively put upon them, shall be exposed upon a gibbet in the public market-place, with the name of the maker wrote underneath, at full length; and upon a repetition of the like deceit, the maker himself to be chained to the gibbet for a certain number of hours, and ever after deprived of his freedom to work in the same trade. It is by such punishments

ments we should endeavour, on our part, to prevent the like frauds, which may destroy the *credit* of any of our manufactures, that *credit*, upon which the possibility of their being sold at all, doth intirely depend. It is a strange neglect in policy, that in a national concern, any tradesman should be suffered, with impunity, to sacrifice the honour of his country, and create such diffidence and distrust amongst foreigners, as to lessen our general intercourse of commerce, and bring a loss and disgrace to the whole kingdom*." One instance of this destruction of national credit I shall add. The manufacture of guns for exportation to the coast of Africa, &c. in the neighbourhood of Bristol, affords them exceeding cheap; the barrels, if I mistake not, for half a crown or three shillings each, but by making them in a most scandalously dangerous manner, and totally unproved, they burst in the hands of the people who used them, and consequently to the destruction of our trade, as much as to the persons of the purchasers. This (and some other instances of the same stamp) was what enabled the French to rival us so successfully in the African trade, and to beat us out of the North American Indian one. The manufacturers laid the blame upon the Bristol merchants, and asserted, that they had more than once offered to prove every barrel for an additional six-pence in the price, but were always refused: And thus, between both, the trade itself was near lost, and in a manner which is very shocking to think of. What a proof is this of the necessity of inspectors of our manufactures, for the prevention of any such vile goods being sent abroad.

III. There are many manufactures of so exceedingly complicated a frame, that the price of labour, were it as low as possible, would consume almost all the profits. In such, machines have been introduced, and are of infinite benefit; the experience of which has extended them to a few other cases, and in whatever works they are used, they infallibly lower the prices greatly of all the goods that are made by means of them. This is a fact so well and universally known, that no person assigns the want of more to their not fully answering the ends expected; but in general to an opinion embraced by some, that they should not be extended too far on account of depriving numbers of people of their employment. But as others have advanced arguments to the contrary, I shall lay the state of the controversy before the reader, and afterwards endeavour to extract the truth.

Montesquieu says, "Those machines which are designed to abridge art are not always useful. If a piece of workmanship is of a moderate

* *Laws and Policy of England relating to Trade*, 4to. p. 39. 1764.

price, such as is equally agreeable to the maker and to the buyer, those machines which would render the manufactory more simple; or in other words, diminish the number of workmen, would be pernicious.

Another likewise observes, " ——— Nor can there be any reason for discouraging or discontinuing these minute advantageous labours till a kingdom is found (upon some other accounts) to abate in its populousness. Hence it is, that all inventions which perform the work of twenty people, with one pair of hands, are, upon the whole, detrimental rather than useful in a well-peopled country, except you can have lure and quick vent for what commodities you thus produce.

M. de Boulaingwilliers enters more particularly into the debate. "A malady," says he, "is expanded over our arts. I would speak of machines which tend to simplify and diminish the labour in our manufactures. The cabinets of our ministers are every day filled with projects of machines proper for lessening the number of hands employed in our fabrics. From hence it results, that a multitude of artizans in France are become useless, and must offer their industry to others. I do not speak only of springs and movements. All the manufactures of the kingdom will soon form themselves; they will be in no want of artizans. The first object of manufactures is employment, or, which is the same thing, of giving subsistence to a great number of men. Wandering from this principle, is contradicting the institution itself of arts; it is diminishing the number of men; for, every time that we place bounds to subsistence, we do the same to population. So established is our prejudice, and so generally is it received, that we are come to confound the product of industry with the means of subsistence, which ought to create industry; two things very different in their principle and object. — Let us suppose a manufactory to employ ten thousand citizens, and on the other hand five hundred machines, which produce the same amount of labour in the same art. It is certain, that the first gives a living to a much greater number of subjects, and therefore completes a much more important object. The maintenance of ten thousand artizans, who draw their subsistence from a branch of industry, forms in the state a multitude of other smaller manufactures. But to set the inconvenience of this prejudice in the stronger light, we must begin by curing another. I speak to those who establish it as a principle, that when a machine diminishes the artizans of one art, that they directly apply themselves to another. — Since the taste of mankind is so very refined, and that one great luxury always succeeds another, the arts are become so complicated, that a man
has

has not time in the course of his life to master above one. If he loses that by any accident, he can never have any hope of replacing it: If it was not so, we should not find in every revolution, which happens in an art, so many idle men, and so great a number of useless subjects.—It is objected, (and here lies the strength of their system) that machines, in diminishing the price of labour, bring in great riches to the state. But they do not bring into their account the precarious manner in which these riches are distributed; they concern only a small number of particulars, the proprietors of the machines. They cannot demonstrate geometrically, that a sum of ten millions, which circulates amongst fifty thousand manufacturers, is better for the state than one of an hundred which circulated amongst a thousand*.”

These are the chief writers I know that are *against* the introduction of machines; let us now take a view of those that are *for* them.

M. D'Angueil remarks,—"Industry and the genius of mankind has a successive influence upon the price of manufactures in diminishing the labour in the number of hands employed. Such is the effect of water and wind-mills, and other machines of a precious invention. Silk-mills I have already mentioned. Those for sawing planks, in which, under the inspection of one man, by means of a single ax, he may, in a windy hour, cut ninety planks, each three toises long. The looms for ribbons, with twenty or thirty shuttles, used at Manchester and Glasgow, and in Holland, and doubtless known elsewhere. It is, however, objected, that every machine which diminishes the workmen half, at that instant takes from half the means of subsisting, at least until a new employment is found for their industry, either in some work for which fresh hands are wanting, or at least by means of such good markets caused by the machine as doubles the interior as well as exterior consumption. Such industry is not always ready to replace a man in employment; nor is it probable that other manufactures should want workmen, while such numbers of poor are a charge to the state; and especially as those workmen, without employment, chuse rather to be maintained in a state of charity and idleness than in a manufacture to which they are strangers. In fine, that consumption has bounds; but in supposing it even doubled, it diminishes again when foreigners have procured the same machines, from which time the inventor receives no further benefit from his invention—”

* Les Interets de la France mal entendus, tom. iii. p. 272.—278. A person who sits down, professedly to translate an author, is inexcusable if he fails in any respect. I hope it is otherwise with a quotation: the sense of a writer in this case, though without his elegance, appears to me preferable to an extract in a foreign language.

Other reasons are likewise added, something like those which the watermen on the Thames urged against building Westminster-bridge.

But these objections are but specious ones, except with those who take the abuses and the burthens under which commerce is embarrassed, for sacred and necessary principles. What! because we multiply the means of subsisting in the state without labour; because we diminish the means of subsisting but by a labour burthensome to liberty; because the length of apprenticeships deprives all the manufactures of an infinity of subjects necessary to them; because the privileges and monopolies of foreign commerce prevent an increase of consumption; we must therefore renounce the benefit of lowering the price of labour, unless that can be done without diminishing the number of workmen! Thus the burthen imposed upon industry brings forth only new burthens; on the contrary, the efforts of industry rendered free, would produce fresh industry among men, who, living by their labour, are animated by emulation and necessity. Why not attend to the industry of other nations, who, by availing themselves of machines, force us to adopt their use to preserve our interests when we meet at the same market. The surest profit is always enjoyed by that nation who is most industrious; and, all things equal, the nation whose industry is the most free will be the most industrious. I allow, however, that the use of machines should be gradual, lest a sudden use of them occasion a too great vacancy in employment: But this prudence is not particularly necessary, except in a state of such disadvantages as subsist at present; besides, whether from the discouragements on invention, or the proximity of perfection, our industry seems to be at a point where gradations are soft, and violent changes the less to be feared.*

M. Bertrand says, "It seems there are certain speculators, who apprehend danger from the introduction of those machines which shorten labour. But if they sometimes distress the workmen, it is never for a continuance. In a land of industry, the more people the more employment, and the greater choice. For example, one would have thought that the discovery of printing would have starved the copyists; instead of which, there are more than ever. Besides the printers, compositors, correctors, booksellers, paper-makers, there are a thousand times more authors than there were in the fifteenth century. And how many more workmen might yet have employment; if, like the industrious Chinese, we discovered the admirable secret of rewhitening written paper? It is said, that near Pekin there is a village intirely inhabited by workmen, who

* See *Les Avantages & Desadvantages*, &c. p. 293.

clear old paper. The necessity of subsistence animates industry, and doubles it. A sensible writer in our own language speaks as follows upon this subject:—“Since the price of a manufacture depends so much on the wages paid, and the numbers employed in making it, so consequently the fewer that shall be employed about it, the cheaper will be the manufacture. Now, in order to complete a work, by few hands, engines and machines are contrived to supply the place of a greater number, by the help of which, the most curious pieces of art may be finished in a little time, and at a small expence. The Dutch, who never spare industry where money is to be got by it, yet make use of engines and machines wherever they can make them answer the purpose, and save the expence of labour. Instances of this appear in the great number of mills for sawing of stones and wood, which by the guidance of one or two men perform the work of a multitude. Here it may seem strange, that in a discourse concerning the benefit of employing our people, a recommendation should be offered of that which must destroy the necessity of their labour. All that can be alleged in answer to this is, that since other nations do make use of such engines, and are thereby enabled to offer their productions at a low rate; it is in vain for us to persevere in toilsome methods, which will lay us under an obligation to demand larger prices, for our commodities, in proportion to the greater cost in making them.”

In Sir James Stewart's *Inquiry*, I find the subject fully debated; the following extracts will give his sense of the matter:—“A machine which will abridge the labours of men, cannot be introduced *all at once* into an extensive manufacture, without throwing many people into idleness. The introduction of machines can, I think, in no other way prove hurtful by making people idle, than by the suddenness of it; and I have frequently observed, that all sudden revolutions, let them be ever so advantageous, must be accompanied with inconveniences. — I want to make a rampart cross a river, in order to establish a bridge, a mill, a sluice, &c. for this purpose, I must turn off the water, that is, stop the river; would it be a good objection against my improvement to say, that the water would overflow the neighbouring lands, as if I could be supposed so improvident as not to have prepared a new channel for it? Machines stop the river; it is the business of the state to make the new channel, as it is the public which is to reap the benefit of the sluice. — If the

* *Essay sur L'Esprit de la Legislation, Bern. Mem. 1765, tom. ii. p. 119.*

† *Laws and Policy, &c. p. 42.*

machine proves hurtful, it can only be, because it presents the state with an additional number of hands bred to labour; consequently, if these are afterwards found without bread, it must proceed from a want of attention in the statesman; for an industrious man made idle, may constantly be employed to advantage, and with profit to him who employs him. What could an act of naturalization do more, than furnish industrious hands, forced to be idle, and demanding employment? Machines therefore I consider as a means of augmenting (virtually) the number of the industrious without the expence of feeding an additional number; this by no means obstructs natural and useful population, for the most obvious reasons.—We have shewn how population must go on in proportion to subsistence, and in proportion to industry: Now, the machine eats nothing, so does not diminish subsistence, and industry (in our age at least) is in no danger of being overstocked in any well-governed state; for let all the world copy your improvements, they still will be the scholars. And if, on the contrary, in the introduction of machines, you are found to be the scholars of other nations, in that case you are brought to the dilemma of accepting the invention with all its inconveniences, or of renouncing every foreign communication.—Upon the whole, daily experience shews the advantage and improvement acquired by the introduction of machines. Let the inconveniences complained of be ever so sensibly felt; let a statesman be ever so careless in relieving those who are forced to be idle; all these inconveniences are only temporary, the advantage is permanent, and the necessity of introducing every method of abridging labour and expence in order to supply the wants of luxurious mankind, is absolutely indispensable, according to modern policy, according to experience, and according to reason.—An expedient found to operate most admirable effects in reducing the price of manufactures, (in those countries where living is rendered dear, by a hurtful competition among the inhabitants for the subsistence produced) is the invention and introduction of machines. We have in a former place answered the principal objections which have been made against them, in countries where the numbers of the idle or trifling industrious are so great, that every expedient which can abridge labour is looked upon as a scheme for starving the poor. There is no solidity in this objection, and if there were, we are not at present in quest of plans for feeding the poor, but for accumulating the wealth of a trading nation, by enabling the industrious to feed themselves at the expence of foreigners. The introduction of machines is found to reduce prices in a surprizing manner; And if they have the effect of taking bread from hundreds, formerly employed in performing their simple operations, they have that also of giving bread to thousands, by extending numberless branches of ingenuity, which
without

without the machines would have remained circumscribed within very narrow limits. What progress has not building made within these hundred years? Who doubts that the conveniency of great iron works and saw-mills prompts many to build? And this taste has contributed greatly to increase, not diminish, the number both of smiths and carpenters, as well as to extend navigation. I shall only add, in favour of such expedients, that experience shews the advantage gained by certain machines, is more than enough to compensate every inconvenience arising from consolidated profits and expensive living; and that the first inventors gain thereby a superiority which nothing but adopting the same invention can counterbalance*.

Thus have I ventured to lay before the reader the sentiments of several authors, in extracts of such a length, that an apology may, by some, be thought necessary for inserting them: but the great importance of the subject induced me to give their opinions full play; that by such an opposition of arguments and assertions the truth might be discovered.

It appears very clearly to me, that the writers for machines have greatly the advantage of the argument. Montesquieu's supposition of the moderate price between buyer and seller destroys the total effect of his opinion, because there is no such thing as that moderate price; the moment one mercantile nation offers manufactures cheaper than another, it will command the trade, be the former price as moderate as may be, and have the rival workmen.

Mr. Harte likewise condemns their use only in case of not possessing a sure and quick vent for the goods thus produced, but the very end of machines is the acquisition of such a quick vent; nor can any sale be so sure as that which is founded upon cheapness of price. If the machine does not answer these purposes, it will fall of itself.—There are none yet invented and in use but what immediately answered those points, and continued with equal success, until foreigners copied them. There is reason from hence to imagine, that this very ingenious writer objects but slightly to them.

Mr. de Boulaivillers' objection to machines is founded upon their taking bread from numbers, who, he insists, cannot earn it by a new employment; and asserts, that the riches procured by them are useless, from the few hands they come into. But Sir James Stewart fully answers

* *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, 4to, vol. i. p. 119, 1767.

the two first of these objections, by proving, that machines give employment to thousands, by an additional consumption, (mentioned likewise by M. D'Angueil) and that in a vastly greater proportion than they diminish it; and, as to the second, his comparison of the machine to a naturalization act, is very just:—industrious hands that want work will always find it in an industrious manufacturing nation. The objection to the inequality of the possession of the riches acquired by machines, is not indeed expressly answered, because it is such an one as no body could have expected. M. de Boulaivilliers should certainly have remembered, that money cannot enter a trading manufacturing country without circulating, and it cannot circulate without causing employment: indeed the very term means no more than payment for merchandize, goods, or labour received:—The objection to the use of machines therefore, urged by these authors, are more than answered by the others, and the point established, that it is highly expedient to use them. But I shall venture a few remarks before I dismiss the subject, on those points which I think the above-quoted writers *for* machines have not fully explained.

The examples there produced of the practice of other nations are very pertinent; if the French or Dutch undersell us by means of machines, it would be highly impolitic not to copy them. I have already, in this section, remarked the danger of being undersold by foreigners, even in one article, and shewn that the loss of several, and lastly, of a whole trade, follows that of a trifle. The French begin to undersell us in a commodity at Lisbon, the manufacturing of which employs five thousand industrious hands:—In this situation, a machine is invented, which will make the old quantity of that commodity, with the labour of only one thousand hands: it is established, and the trade regained at once, with security. In this case, four thousand hands are rendered idle, and deprived of bread. Let me even extend the supposition farther than is necessary, and suppose the legislature to take no care to provide them with fresh employment. The misfortune is a very great one;—but let us reverse the medal: instead of acting in this manner, we aim only by common means to regain the market, and of course meet with no success: they increase their exportations, and in the progress of ten or a dozen years, we find *our* exportation of this commodity at an end—dwindled to nothing. The difference of these cases is only that of four thousand at once being out of employment in the one, and four hundred annually in the other. But then comes a difference infinitely greater: with this branch our rivals have wormed us out of three or four others; and at the end of twenty years more, very probably have drove us fairly out of the whole trade, to the deprivation (though gradually) of the work of forty thousand people.

Let

Let no one imagine this supposition too extended. View the present state of our Levant and Spanish exportations; recollect what they were once; and dread the being underfold in a yard of tape, as a sure forerunner of the loss of a whole trade. — No one surely can in this case assert, that the machine is not of very superior benefit. — Let us imagine another case.

In the infancy of a new manufacture, which bids fair, if wrought cheap enough, to be of considerable importance, difficulties are found in fixing a proper price for exportation; the labour requisite is much and complicated, the aspect of the undertaking lowers. A machine is introduced that simplifies the performance, and lowers the price for every cent. — exportation succeeds, the manufacture flourishes, and the nation is enriched. Where is the mischief of this machine? M. Boulainvilliers makes no distinctions.

How many inhabitants the less does this country possess on account of our present machines, our silk-mills, stocking-frames, water-mills, wind-mills, iron and copper-works?

Foreigners are in possession of a branch of exportation wrought by industrious hands, out of which we want to beat them: In what manner shall we form the endeavour? by the expensive round of labour, or by a machine? It is odds if the first answers; the invention of the latter ensures success.

The reader certainly remarks, that these cases are upon supposition, that no new employments are found for the hands left idle by the machines, who must discover them or starve, or be maintained as paupers; and under such conditions we find they are of infinite consequence, and ought to be highly encouraged; but if we suppose the legislature watchful to the employment of the people, and takes care that if a certain number are deprived of one work they shall have another, than which nothing is more easy, as the people are industrious; were they used to idleness, nothing indeed would be more difficult than their employment; in this case, the benefit of machines is yet greater, and their introduction into any branches of industry whatever perfectly safe, Sir James's caution of avoiding a too great suddenness observed.

It will here doubtless be asked, About what are the legislature to employ the industrious — people rendered idle by machines? The employments which judicious and well-contrived laws yield, are infinite. The

great foundations of employment in this nation are agriculture and manufactures; while we have a full half of these lands waste and uncultivated lands, it is an affront to common sense to ask what to do with industrious people. I have in a former essay proved, that the full cultivation of our soil ought to be the first of all objects, as it is by far the most profitable. To assert that it is beyond the power of the legislature to cause a vast increase of cultivation, and of course of employment, is absurd. I should enter further into a proof, had I not been so particular before. — But it is replied, That it is not husbandmen, but manufacturers, that are idle and in want of work. — I have observed among many manufactures, that when the pay of the farmer exceeds that of the master manufacturer, and manytimes without, upon account of change and agreeableness alone, that the workmen of the latter let themselves frequently to the neighbouring farmers for a certain time, when there is much business; and this not because they want work in their own professions. No manufacturers earn greater wages than wool-combers, and yet I have seen whole tribes of them hoeing of turnips, which is a work even of nicety; and in harvest and hay time, it is well known that a great number of manufacturers, all over England, are in the farmers' pay. — I produce these instances only to prove, that people, though their profession is weaving, combing, &c. &c. yet are able to do the work of husbandry. Indeed one's reason is sufficient to tell one, that little, besides strength, is requisite in *most* of the works of agriculture. It would be ridiculous to assert, that lawyers, for instance, are too delicately formed for thrashing or loading.

The mention of lawyers reminds me of sawing mills, and the strange neglect of this country in not copying the Dutch * in this respect. The number of lawyers in these kingdoms is immense, and that number all hardy strong fellows, who ought to be otherwise employed: the not using mills lays an exceeding heavy tax on all the articles of consumption relative to building, even the most necessary; on our ship-building, and consequently on our trade and navigation. Such height of imprudence is hardly to be matched.

Agriculture therefore would (properly directed) employ most of the hands which machines rendered idle, and there is no necessity for its employing *all*; because those whose age, strength, or former occupation were most contrary to the business of husbandry, might be employed in

* The Dutch mills are excellently contrived: those at Gottenburgh are worked by the wind, and so contrived as to raise the timber out of the sea. *Hasselquist's Voyages to the Levant*, 8vo. p. 6. 1766.

other manufactories; and as to the difficulty of learning again, it is in numerous branches a very slight affair, and would be vastly facilitated by having worked at another business before. Would not a weaver of says or bays be taught to weave ruffels and calimancoes much sooner than a blacksmith? or than one who had never learnt any trade? However, we frequently, in manufacturing towns, see the very circumstance I speak of. When a new branch is introduced, the masters of it are at some difficulty in the very beginning, but they get over it: not by employing people who never worked at any trade, but by setting those to it who have practised a business of some resemblance.—In short, there cannot be a more false opinion than to imagine industrious hands rendered idle cannot be found with new employment in such a nation as this. The legislature might, at a very small expence, (but if it was a large one, it matters not) establish a manufactory in that place where a machine had occasioned idleness, to yield new employment, in case individuals did not, on private views.—When I make use of the expression, *the legislature to do so and so*, I apprehend the reader understands my meaning to be nothing more than providing the money necessary for such undertakings; that the government may appoint either private agents to manage the affair, or by means of inspectors, as before-mentioned, under the board of trade.

From whatever circumstances this subject can be considered as relative to; from whatever points of view it is beheld, there is the greatest reason to believe, *that machines for simplifying work and abridging labour in manufactures are admirable inventions, of prodigious use in rendering commodities cheap, and in employing and maintaining great numbers of people.*

IV. As it appears so strongly, that selling manufactures cheap is the only way to have them flourishing, no methods of attaining that end should be overlooked. I have already endeavoured to prove, that on this account there should be a balance between the price of labour and that of provisions, that foreigners may not be able to undersell us; for this reason likewise, the *situation of manufactories* should be attended to with great care at their establishment. There is always a difference between the prices of provisions, &c. in great cities and in the country; so that they may rise in the former too high for the prosperity of manufactures, which therefore should ever be established in distant provinces.

I know it may be urged, that the prices of provisions are frequently too low for the prosperity of manufactures, (indeed oftener than too high, while there remains no exact balance) and in that case, the rise occasioned

by a great city, will be advantageous, which is so far very just; but this leads me to remark, that the luxury and debauchery of them will, at all times, occasion more mischief than to balance this benefit.

Provisions certainly may rise to such a height all over the kingdom, that the labouring poor must work six days in the week to be able to live, and even good hours every day. That is precisely the proper height of prices; but then, an additional price will have evil consequences; masters must raise their wages, and that must be attended with a greater price of the manufactures; the competition of foreigners then takes effect, and the whole fabric goes to ruin. This height of prices exists in London, for instance, when the country enjoys the exact medium. — By the height of prices, the reader will doubtless understand house-rent, and all *necessaries of life* as well as food.

These facts sufficiently shew, that the situation of manufactories is an article of great importance; and consequently one way of promoting their prosperity is, by establishing them in the country instead of great cities, and removing those into the country which are already in London; a business which may by some be thought a difficulty, but an earnest endeavour, I am persuaded, might effect it.

V. So much has been occasionally mentioned on the prices of provisions, that it is necessary to add a few remarks upon the balance between them and labour. Hitherto I have been particular in expressing the necessity of high prices, as conducing so much to general industry; but this has been constantly upon supposition, that our present policy is continued, of forming no other balance than forms itself. But if a proportion be minutely enacted to remain between the price of labour and the price of necessaries, in all its variations, then the case would be different, and the lower the prices of the latter the more our manufactures would thrive. But here again is another difficulty; the proportion laid down must extend to every species of labour whatever, or else manufacturers, did it only concern them, would quit their respective avocations, and turn husbandmen, artizans, or what not, for the sake of better wages.

This proportion would be no easy matter to lay down, and yet less to execute equally; but yet I believe it might be done. It must be very comprehensive: for instance, it must not be taken from wheat or bread alone, but from every thing. Wheat, we will say, is fifty shillings a quarter; — malt, thirty-six; — rye, thirty; — rice, two-pence per pound; — salt-fish, three half-pence; — butter, six-pence; — cheese, (the medium between

flet,

flax, two and three meal) two-pence half-penny;—beef, three-pence half-penny;—mutton, four-pence;—pork, four-pence;—candles, seven-pence;—soap, seven-pence;—potatoes, two shillings per bushel. All these articles should certainly be taken an account of, and doubtless many more, for the labouring poor of the whole nation. To these should be added the price of cloaths, shoes, and stockings, of certain denominated kinds; house-rent also; but by what rule, I know not. These concern the poor in general; but those who find their own instruments and tools for their several businesses, should have an addition of their price.

I have only supposed prices for the sake of explaining my ideas; let us see what proportion can be gained from them.

	l.	s.	d.
A quarter of wheat,	2	10	0
A quarter of malt,	1	16	0
A ditto of rye,	1	10	0
A pound of rice,	0	0	2
Ditto of salt-fish,	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of butter,	0	0	6
Ditto of cheese,	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of beef,	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of mutton,	0	0	4
Ditto of veal,	0	0	4
Ditto of pork,	0	0	4
Ditto of candles,	0	0	7
Ditto of soap,	0	0	7
Ditto of salt,	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
A bushel of potatoes,	0	2	0
A yard of woollen cloth, (to be specified)	0	3	6
A pair of shoes, (to be described)	0	5	0
A ditto of stockings, (ditto)	0	2	6
	£. 6 12 7		

These prices we find amount to six pounds twelve shillings and seven-pence. Suppose it is enacted, that the justices of the peace, at every quarter-sessions, shall, in a specified manner, be informed of the prices of these necessaries; and when the total appears as above, have a power of fixing a day's labour (whether in husbandry, manufactures, &c. &c. only with the addition of tools in some cases, as above-mentioned) of twelve hours at one shilling, or what other price was found more adequate; and one of fourteen hours, or more or less, in proportion; that

is, in fewer words, a total of from 6 *l.* 12 *s.* to 8 *l.* 5 *s.* to be a penny an hour; from 4 *l.* 19 *s.* to 6 *l.* 12 *s.* to be three farthings; from 3 *l.* 6 *s.* to 4 *l.* 19 *s.* to be an half-penny; from 1 *l.* 13 *s.* to 3 *l.* 6 *s.* to be a farthing; and above 8 *l.* 5 *s.* to rise in the same proportion, and each fixation to hold from sessions to sessions.

This is a mere sketch, and I am very far from inserting it as an accurate matter; I mean only to shew a compendious method of stating a proportion. As to the objections which may be made to the sums and quantities I have affixed, there are numerous; — for instance, rice is as much a necessary of life as wheat, and yet the price might sink to be cheaper than dirt, without being felt in the total; hence the necessity of not bringing so large a quantity of wheat, rye, and malt to account as a quarter; and yet, it must not be reduced so low as soap and candles, &c. because food is more necessary than cleanliness or candle-light. Firing I omitted, which should not be forgot, both coals and wood, and that again without just foresight, would, near coal-mines, occasion other difficulties. — Most of the articles should therefore be rated by the pound; but then, the number of pounds should vary in proportion to the usefulness of each article.

Were proportions between labour and prices of necessaries thus fixed, the poor would always be secure of a proper maintenance, as their pay would ever rise with a necessary rise of their expences; nor would they sacrifice any thing for this benefit but the ability of sometimes earning enough in two days to maintain them a week, which in some cheap years is the case at present. A sacrifice which would be highly advantageous to them, for such great earnings always lead them into drunkenness and laziness, and a consequent deep wound to our manufactures. Those who are most conversant with the conduct of the labouring poor, I doubt not are thoroughly sensible of this.

VI. The last method of promoting our manufactures in general, which I shall insert here, is that of giving bounties on their exportation, which is in many cases the most powerful of all.

Applying a share of the *public* income to the benefit of *particular* trades, or sets of people, is thought by many a species of inequality and injustice; and as such has been much railed against in the bounty on exported corn. Nevertheless, that bounty has proved one of the noblest and most truly national measures that ever was adopted by any people; and similar ones, in case of declining manufactures, would operate effects proportionably

as great. When the private manufacturers of one nation come in competition with those of another, to supply a foreign market, and threaten to beat them out of the sale, what can, in all probability, prevent the loss, but the interposition of the public? This interposition ought first to consist in *general* laws of encouragement, such as the preceding articles which I have minutely; that is, by carrying the police and management of manufactures to as high a pitch as possible; but after that is affected, and foreign rivalry yet likely to take place, *particular* bounties should then be applied, which are such powerful engines, that nothing but a foreign nation adopting the measure can keep you from starving their workmen. We have seen this in the bounty on corn, without finding them wise enough to follow us for sixty-six years: at last they opened their eyes, and begin with *allowing* of exportation.

I before instanced the French and Dutch, underfelling us at the Lisbon, Spanish, and Levant markets, in a light species of druggets, of a very small price; and quoted the remarkable Per. yn case, where an industrious manufacturer had established a fabric of those druggets, which he could afford to sell as cheap as the French; and if he had a quick return, make a reasonable profit for himself. Instead of suffering such an undertaking to be crushed in its infancy, suppose a bounty had been granted upon the exportation of those druggets, we should then have beat our rivals at their own weapons; regained a valuable branch of trade, and twenty articles of exportation we had lost with it. When we come to compare the navigation of Britain with that of France, we shall find, that her Levant trade maintains a fifth of all the sailors employed by the whole commerce of France. Now, if we consider the former state of our own trade to that part of the world, and the very trifling share France had in it, we shall at once discover wherein that nation gained the advantage of us. It was chiefly in the exportation of woollen goods, either by inventing new sorts more adapted to the climate than the old ones we sent, or else by underfelling us in the latter. It was many years before our Turkey trade fell in this manner before the efforts of France; but one slight advantage brought on another; first in one article of exportation, then in another, and at last in all, until our manufactures received that fatal loss of almost the whole commerce of the Levant; which, on the contrary, was just so much clear profit to France. Precisely the same event has come to pass in Spain, and is working its way in the Lisbon markets. It is no argument to assert, that our manufactures are most of them as flourishing as ever;—how then can we be beat out of a trade? Because our American exportation has increased: was that any rule that other branches should not at the same time decline?

From

From these instances we plainly see, that bounties would have saved this nation not only the fifth of the present French exportation, but much of that nation's Spanish trade. For had bounties been given at first upon those articles of manufactures which the French founded their success upon, we should have preserved those trades, as it would have been impossible for them to undersell our cloths, by coming to market, with the advantage of a public premium on their exportation. The bounties, we will suppose, might have amounted for a few years to an hundred thousand pounds a year; but the preservation of those trades might well be worth several millions. An hundred thousand pounds are paid out of the pocket of the public, for the benefit of — not the manufacturers alone, but of all the variety of poor people employed in making the numerous exports in such trades as those were — to the merchants, sailors, victuallers, ship-builders, and all that depend on navigation; — to the farmers in the employment of those poor, who would otherwise burthen their rates; — and to the landlords in the same effect, with the addition of an increase in wealth and circulation, which raises the value of their lands. In one word, the public pays the bounty, and the public receives the benefit: And I apprehend this fact to be so invariable, that I do not think a bounty upon exportation (provided it was not on a new material) could be devised, which would not repay itself to the community at large with cent. per cent. profit. However, some distinction should certainly be used in granting them: when given to the proper objects, (if I may use the expression) they will never fail paying; — not cent. per cent. — but twenty thousand per cent.

Let us suppose the balance of our trade to Portugal to be 300,000 *l.* per annum in our favour. A foreign nation invents a light cloth, which takes greatly in the Portuguese markets, and sells it at twenty-pence per yard; our manufacturers cannot afford such cloth under two shillings, the consequence of which is, first, the loss of that market for our cloths, and, secondly, as before explained, that of the whole trade. But to prevent these consequences, the legislature throws in a bounty of six-pence per yard on such of our cloths as are exported to that market; this enables our merchants to undersell the foreign ones two-pence per yard, and consequently to secure the trade. Perhaps the exportation of the cloth may amount to a million of yards, in which case, the bounty will amount to 25,000 *l.* a year; the saving, 300,000 *l.* — double the bounty, will it cease to be the most prudent measure? Let us always remember, that we should not, in such cases, calculate our loss at the mere amount of the former balance in our favour, but in that vast variety of interests, which are hurt and damaged by the loss of a large active trade; such as employ-
ment

ment of the poor,——stock of seamen,——navigation, general wealth,
 &c. &c. &c.

A modern author gives a different instance, though to the same purpose, of the benefit of bounties.—“ Let me suppose a nation, accustomed to export to the value of a million sterling of fish every year, underfold in this article by another, which has found a fishery on its own coasts so abundant, as to enable it to underfell the first by twenty per cent. This being the case, the statesman may buy up all the fish of his subjects, and underfell his competitors at every foreign market, at the loss of perhaps 250,000*l.* What is the consequence? That the million he paid for the fish remains at home, and that 750,000*l.* comes in from abroad for the price of them. How is the 250,000*l.* to be made up? By a general imposition upon all the inhabitants. This returns into the public coffers, and all stands as it was. If this expedient be not followed, what are the consequences? That those employed in the fishery are forced to starve; that the fish taken are either upon hand, or sold by the proprietors at a great loss; these are undone, and the nation for the future loses the acquisition of 750,000*l.* a year*.”

* *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 296.

E S S A Y V.

Of the Present State of the BRITISH COLONIES.

TO treat this subject to its utmost extent, would require the compass of several volumes; but a minute description of the countries which form our American settlements, or an history of their transactions, are equally beyond the bounds of my plan. I mean to lay before the reader the present state of their agriculture, population, commerce, &c. to inquire into the advantages we reap from them, and the probability of a continuance; and to point out wherein such advantages may be improved. These inquiries will open the way to many others very curious and important; in forming which, I foresee my principal difficulty will be, the selection of materials; for I have a profusion lying before me, a vast many of which must, I doubt, be rejected; and yet more to be compared before their authority is allowed. This extensive subject will not appear confined, if divided into the following parts:

- I. *Present state in respect of situation, population, agriculture, manufactures, and labour.*
- II. *Staple commodities.*
- III. *Benefits resulting to Britain from her settlements.*
- IV. *Defects in their establishment, and the means of remedying them.*
- V. *Security of their remaining under the dominion of Britain.*
- VI. *Comparison between them and the colonies of other nations.*
- VII. *Of forming new settlements.*

These articles of inquiry will, in their subdivisions, include every thing that concerns my plan; which is to give, in proportion to my ability, a more comprehensive view of the British colonies, in a small compass, than is to be met with in any of the numerous volumes written on the subject: especially as several excellent works published before the last general peace are now very imperfect.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

Of their Situation, Climate, Extent, Number of People, Increase, Agriculture, Commerce, Fisheries, Manufactures, and Labour.

FOR a few remarks on the natural advantages of the British colonies, I refer the reader to the beginning of the First Essay, where the subject is touched upon just so much as to give a transitory, but connected view of the whole British empire: a few observations must be added here on their

Situation, Climate, and Extent.

The situation of the British settlements is advantageous in a very great degree; for the benefits which are at present known so well to result from colonies, depend, in a great measure, on their distance from the mother-country; for in this consists the increase of navigation, and the consequent increase of seamen. Our colonies enjoy this advantage: I mention it not as a peculiar one, but as a benefit we enjoy as well as other nations; and in respect of situation, this circumstance is the most important, next to that species of it which causes a climate different from our own. The use of colonies is the production of commodities which cannot be produced at home, that the *manufactures* of the latter may be exchanged for the *productions* of the former, without foreign competition, which use would not be answered by settlements in a climate the same as that of the mother-country.

The climate of our American settlements varies from the excess of cold to extreme heat; and as that of Britain is temperate, the extremes are so far the most beneficial, as most requiring her manufactures: But then, it is to be remembered, that those of our colonies, whose climate most resembles our own, yet vary considerably from it: Hence a greater degree of benefit results from them than if the temperature was exactly the same in both.

When we speak in this manner of our American climates, we must not be guided by their latitude, but productions. For instance, those which are too cold to produce wheat; those which are fertile in producing it; and those which, however well they might produce bread-corn, yet produce but little, on account of more valuable articles. The first contain New Britain, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and New England.

The second, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The last, all from Maryland to the most southerly of the West Indian islands.

The difference between the climates of North America and Europe in point of latitude, is very remarkable; for latitude 45, which in Europe is that of the middle of France, temperate and warm enough for the production of such excellent wines, is in America that of the middle of Nova Scotia, a region of frost, and almost perpetual snow; a contrast very striking, but resolvable into the vast regions of ice and snow to the north, as far as the 82d degree, and probably much further; whereas the European and Asiatic continents terminate about latitude 70*, and perhaps in no small degree

* I shall here take the liberty of transcribing a passage on this subject from a late writer, who in the course of his work gives many reasons to imagine him perfectly acquainted with that country, and others, which occasion a very different opinion. However, the following is not one of the latter. "These severe colds are commonly attributed to the woods, with which that continent is covered; and it is imagined, that the clearing of these will abate the rigor of the climate, which is as contrary to all reason and experience, as all the other common opinions relating to that continent and the colonies is it. Now, as these vulgar errors proceed from an ignorance of the climate, it may be proper to give some account of it here, as far as our room will permit. This coldness of the climate, which is felt all over North America, appears to proceed chiefly and principally from the three following causes, besides others which conspire with them, particularly the nature of the soil.

I. That continent, in all probability, extends to the north pole, as no end could ever be found to the land, although it has been searched as far north as the latitude 80 and 82 degrees. In these northern parts, America is as extensive from east to west; both Greenland and Spitzbergen appear to be parts of that continent, or at least nighly join to it in those frozen regions. Thus North America extends over the greatest part of the frigid zone, and is by that means constantly overwhelmed with frost and snow; whereas Europe and Asia terminate, in or about the 70th degree of latitude. Thus America extends farther north than any other part of the world, and by that means is so much colder. Europe is surrounded by the warmer ocean, which is always open; Asia, by an icy sea, (the *mare glaciale*;) and America by a frozen continent, which occasions the diversity of climates in these three continents.

II. That continent, which is thus extensive in the northern parts, is one entire group of high mountains, covered with snow, or rather with ice, throughout the whole year. These mountains rise in the most northern parts of the continent that have been discovered in Baffin's Bay, and spread all over it to New England. Hence "the coast of Labrador is the highest of any in the world, and may be decried at the distance of 40 leagues;" and in the western parts, discovered by the Russians, they tell us, "the country had terrible high mountains, covered with snow in the month of July." This was in latitude 58 degrees, and the country to the southward of that, in 40 degrees, is by the Spaniards called *Serras nevadas*, *snowy mountains*. "So a ridge of mountains rise at Cape Tourmente, by Quebec, and run four or five hundred leagues, forming the greatest ridge of mountains in the universe," which spread over all the northern parts of that continent. These are what we call the *Northern snowy Mountains*, which extend to the 43d degree of latitude, and render the whole continent unfit for agriculture to the northward of that. The river St. Lawrence is only a large arm of the sea, which runs up between these mountains, as Hudson's and Baffin's Bay do in the north, in order to carry off the snow waters.

III.

degree to the height of the land. These excessive colds acting during a large part of the year, and the southerly latitude in a hot sun, the rest of it causes such violent variations, that many productions, which one would imagine would flourish there, by no means do. Even wheat, that hardy and almost universal grower, thrives not in New-England. The preceding scale of climates, according to productions, points out those colonies at once which are the most advantageous to Britain, and likewise the rule to judge of the climate of settlements in general: The latitude must not be our guide, but the products of the soil.

As to the extent of our American colonies, the accounts I have met with are various, but it will not be difficult to come near the truth.

III. All the countries which lie within the verge of these mountains, or north of New-England, are perpetually involved in frosts, snows, or thick fogs, and the colds which are felt in the south proceed from these frozen regions in the north, by violent north-west winds. These are the peculiar winds of that continent, and blow with a fury which no wind exceeds. It appears from many observations, that they blow quite across the Atlantic ocean to Europe. The great lakes of Canada, which are an inland sea, extending north-west for 12 or 1300 miles, give force and direction to these winds, which blow from the northern frozen regions, and bring the climate of Hudson's Bay to the most southern parts of that continent whenever they blow for any time. Northerly winds are cold in all countries, (north of the line I suppose he means) and as these blow with such violence, and from such frozen regions, they are so much colder than others. Every one may observe, that the extreme colds in North America proceed from the winds, as I found by keeping a journal of the weather there for fifteen years; whence a north westerly and cold weather are in a manner synonymous terms in all our colonies.

Many imagine that these colds proceed from the snows lying in the woods; but that is the effect, and not the cause of the cold. The question is, What occasions such deep snows in these southern latitudes? They who attribute this to the woods do not distinguish between wet and cold, or the damps of wood lands and frosts, which are very different things; so different, that they destroy one another like a shower of rain in a frost. These colds are so far from being occasioned by the woods, that one half of that continent, which is the coldest, and from which they proceed, has not a wood in it; and is so barren, that it does not bear a tree or a bush. It is from this want of woods in the northern parts, and the great lakes, that these furious winds proceed, which are very much abated by the woods. In the woods, these cold winds may be endured, but in the open fields they are insufferable either to man or beast, and that even in the southern colonies. We talk from experience.—Hence if all the woods in that continent were cleared, Canada and Nova Scotia would be as uninhabitable as Hudson's Bay; our northern colonies as cold as Canada; and the adjacent southern colonies in the situation of the northern, which would make a very great alteration in the affairs of this nation.—Let us not deceive ourselves therefore, among other things, with the vain hopes of mending Nature, and abating the rigor of these inhospitable climes; that is not to be done but by cutting off at least twenty degrees of that continent in the north, and levelling the innumerable snowy mountains, from which two causes these severe colds proceed. *The present State of Great Britain and North America*, 8vo. 1767, p. 257. There is a great deal of justness in these ideas, but they may, perhaps, be extended too far: Those vast woods may be an admirable shelter against the north-west wind, and yet clearing a part of them away upon the sea-coast, be of great benefit to the air. Hence another writer says, speaking of New-England, "The clearing away the woods, and the opening the ground every where, has, by giving a free passage to the air, carried off those noxious vapours which were so prejudicial to the health of the first inhabitants." *Europ. Sett.* vol. ii. p. 163.

The

The author of the *Present State of Great Britain and North America*, is certainly a prejudiced writer; for his invariable purpose is to represent our colonies as trifling spots of land, and by talking only of the cultivated parts, would reduce them all to a less size than the mother-country. Whether there is some or much truth in what he says about their soil, matters not to the present enquiry of their extent: that writer has given their particulars in square miles, so often, that I wish I could have depended upon him for his facts; but that is not to be done. His accounts brought together from various parts of his work are as follows:

The whole from the Gulph of Mexico to the North Pole contains about 1,600,000 square miles^a; All from New England to South Carolina, inclusive, 102,000 square miles^b; New England and New York 16,000^c; New Jersey and Pennsylvania 11,000^d; Virginia and Maryland 24,000^e; North and South Carolina 51,000^f. The whole British dominions that will produce any thing the nation wants, from the ocean to the Mississippi is 500 miles long and 550 broad, or 275,000 square, and all that is fit for culture but 137,000^g.

Leaving these strange assertions for the present, let us pass on to another writer much more candid: New England, according to him, is 300 miles long, and 200 broad^h, at the broadest part; say therefore, 150, or 45,000 square; New York 200 by 50, or 10,000ⁱ; New Jersey 150 by 50, or 7,500^k; Pennsylvania 250 by 200, or 50,000^l; Virginia 240 by 200, or 48,000^m; Maryland 140 by 130, or 18,200ⁿ; the Carolinas 400 by 300, or 120,000^o; Georgia 100 by 300, or 30,000^p: Of Nova Scotia he only gives the latitude^q; Newfoundland 300 by 200, 60,000^r. Salmon, although a trifling writer, is pretty accurate in his measurements: New Britain, he says, is 1600 by 1200^s, consequently 1,920,000 square; Nova Scotia 500 by 400^t, therefore 200,000 square; Canada 1800 by 1200, consequently 2,160,000 square^u.

It would be very easy to extend authorities to infinity, but it is needless to give any more since most writers vary. I shall however examine our American dominions (by Emanuel Bowen's last new map of North America) according to the treaty of peace concluded in 1763, by which means something conclusive may be gained. As to the general extent the use of knowing it is but little, further than a matter of curiosity, and

^a p. 134. ^b p. 23. ^c p. 132. ^d p. 133. ^e Ib. ^f Ib. ^g p. 225.
^h *Account of European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 163. ⁱ Ib. p. 186. ^k Ib. ^l Ib.
^m p. 207. ⁿ p. 226. ^o p. 241. ^p p. 264. ^q p. 274. ^r p. 280.
^s *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 587. ^t Ib. 592. ^u Ib. 635.

as serving to discover the wilful mistakes of a writer who contracts it to 1,600,000 square miles.

If a line is drawn from the cape of Florida to the Icy-mountains, north of Baffin's-bay, the length is 57 degrees, or 3,933 miles; the breadth varies greatly. The promontory of Florida is but 100 miles broad; from Cape Charles, in Maryland, to the forks of the Ohio 700; from Cape Cod, Massachuset's-bay, to the junction of the Mississippi and the river La Roche 1000; from the north point of Cape Breton to the part of the Mississippi nearest Lake Minity 1900; from Cape Charles, New Britain, to longitude 105, west of London, latitude 50, 2100. Now, Florida being so very narrow must be omitted, and its length 350 miles deducted from the above mentioned 3,933, there will then remain 3,583. The medium of the other breadths will not be far from the truth; but under rather than over it. It is 1425, consequently the number of square miles is 5,105,775, to which we must add 95,000 for Florida and Newfoundland; the sum total will then be 5,200,775, very different from 1,600,000 as the above-mentioned author asserted.

But without such immense regions into the account, let us next enquire into the extent of those parts which either are cultivated, or will, in all human probability, admit of being so, and that only to the extent of those accounts which we have yet received; for as many tracts to the north west we have reason to believe them all inhabited, and know that New Britain is by Eskimaux; yet, as our knowledge of those countries is very imperfect, I shall not take them into the account.

Nova Scotia, New England, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, bounding them by the river St. Laurence and the two lakes, form a pretty equal oblong square of 900 miles long, and near 400 broad on a medium. *Square Miles.*

This makes _____ 360,000

Maryland, Virginia, and the country through which the Ohio runs, extending northwards to the southern banks of lake Erie, and in a level line from thence to the junction of the Mississippi, and Moingona form another oblong tract, very equal, 700 miles long, and 350 broad; that is _____ 245,000

The two Carolinas, Georgia, and all the southern tract to the level of the Gulph of Mexico, form a square 450 miles north to south; and upon a medium 650 east to west, or _____ 292,500

Florida,

	<i>Square Miles.</i>
Florida, 350 by 100	35,000
The north west inhabitable coast of the river St. Laurence, I call but 20 miles broad; it is in length from Montreal to Laduac 300 miles; this is	6,000
The island which is enclosed by the lakes Huron, Ontario and Erie, and the river Utaevas, is an indented oblong 360 miles long, by about 150 broad on a medium: This country is said to be most of it fertile.	54,000
The peninsula, between the lakes Illionois and Huron, and the strait between the latter and Erie, down to the former line, from the south of Erie to the junction of the Mississippi and Moingona, is an oval 3000 miles long by 100 broad	30,000
The country, bounded by the lakes Illionois and Superior, the Mississippi and the above-mentioned line, is an oblong 360 miles long by 280 broad	100,800
Total *	1,122,800

Those who will take the trouble of consulting the best authors who have given an account of North America will find, that these tracts of land are capable of producing; some, all the necessaries of life; most of them plenty of food, and some raiment. As to the benefits resulting from these immense tracts of country to Great Britain, that is a very different question: we shall by and by find that the lands the *most* fertile in food and raiment are not those which form the most beneficial colonies to a nation which even exports both.

* For the sake of a comparison, I add the European countries, which equal the above.

Great Britain and Ireland	105,634
Holland	9,540
Flanders	12,968
France	130,837
Spain and Portugal	178,094
Italy and Mediterranean islands	75,576
Switzerland	12,884
Germany	181,631
Poland	222,000
Turkey in Europe, including Little and Crim Tartary	212,240
Denmark	14,418
	1,163,822

I have not joined the amount of our West Indian islands to that of the continent; because the value of the land bears no proportion in each: the following table will shew their extent pretty accurately.

<i>Islands.</i>	<i>Square Mile.</i>
Jamaica	6000
Barbadoes	140
Antego	100
St. Christophers	80
Nevis	70
Montserrat	65
Tobago	108
Grenada	280
Dominica	280
Barbuda	290
Anguilla	200
	7525 *

Population.

The population of the British continental colonies gives an example of increase, unknown in any other part of the globe; but surprising only to those who do not consider the effect of so easily procuring plenty of fertile land. I shall first lay before the reader the number of inhabitants in our colonies, and then add some remarks upon their past and future increase.

It is asserted by the author of the *Present State*, &c. That their numbers amount to 3,000,000 †. In another place, he says, it is 3,000,000, including those we have in Africa and the East Indies ‡; but he supposes them again 3,000,000 in another place §. He says, there are 800,000 in Virginia and Maryland ||. In another passage, he says, there are nigh a million and a half of people in *these northern colonies*, which he means I know not, but just before he talks of New York, New England,

* This table must serve instead of a more correct one: the four first, and Tobago, are taken from Templeman's survey, Grenada and Dominica from Dr. Campbell's expressions in his *Considerations* † where, he says, they are as large again as Barbadoes: The rest from multiplying the length by the breadth, but that in some shapes is deceitful.

† p. 272. ‡ p. 127. § p. 176. || p. 283.

H h

&c.

Sec. Sec. those which produce nothing wanting in Britain, (p. 166) so, I apprehend, it is north of Maryland and Virginia. Is it not amazing a writer of sense can be so inaccurate and even contradictory? It is such circumstances as these which make one cautious of depending upon a book, which were it consistent, would give us more information than half that has been wrote; but in another place, notwithstanding these random assertions, he calculates them from the taxable people: He says, "In 1755 they was computed to be 1,600,000, when the most exact account of their number was taken;" he adds an 8th for deficiency, which makes 1,800,000 at that time, but then he goes on—"And, perhaps, not much less than 2,000,000, besides 3, or 400,000 negroes;" from hence, says he, "They cannot, at present, be much short of 3,000,000, including negroes, of which many are daily purchased*."

Another writer says, The Inhabitants of North America are reckoned to be near 2,000,000 of people †.

A third, gives the following account of their number :

New England †	_____	_____	_____	_____	354,000
New York §	_____	_____	_____	_____	90,000
New Jersey	_____	_____	_____	_____	60,000
Pennsylvania ¶	_____	_____	_____	_____	250,000
Virginia **	_____	_____	_____	_____	65,000
100,000 Blacks					
Maryland ††	_____	_____	_____	_____	40,000
60,000 Blacks					
					<u>859,000</u>
160,000 Blacks.					<u>1,019,000</u>
Blacks and whites, exclusive of Carolinas, Georgia, Nova Scotia, Canada and Florida,					

This account is therefore very incomplete.

Another writer, and the most accurate of all that have wrote on American affairs, says, there are 25,000 whites and 39,000 blacks in South

* p. 215.

† *Considerations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom*, 4to. 1766.

‡ *European Settlements* vol. ii. p. 168, copied from Douglas, who wrote many years ago: this, therefore, must be much under the truth.

§ p. 191.

|| p. 194.

¶ p. 199.

** p. 216.

†† p. 233.

Carolina :

Carolina*: Another says, the total is near three millions.†: Dr. Franklin supposes the total above a million †.

Upon these several accounts, I must observe, that the author of the *European Settlements* wrote some years (about 10) ago, and collected his intelligence from other writers, who preceding him several years, inso-much that the fountain head of his authority cannot be thrown back less than 25 years from this present time; consequently the inhabitants of those countries are now double the amount he makes them, as we shall by and by find that is the rate of increase. Now, I apprehend, had he given the above table complete, the total would not have been far from 1,200,000, by which account they at present amount to 2,400,000. As to the first quoted writer's 3,000,000 he contradicts himself; besides, one of those points which he seems to exaggerate is, that of the colonies populousness, for upon it he founds several parts of his argument. Upon the whole, from these circumstances, I cannot conceive the number to amount to more than 2,200,000: we shall not be far from the truth if we suppose the total on the continent and islands to be about two millions and a half.

So considerable a host of people has not been spread over that continent by emigrations from Europe; but by their own rapid increase. It is but a small portion of these two millions that went from this side the water: Plenty of fertile land has peopled vast tracts, and will people the whole continent. If we form tables of the increase of mankind, on a supposition that every couple marries and has so many children, and every child the same, according to known mediums, we are surpris'd that the world is not overstocked, the natural increase of mankind is so great: But, in countries already peopled, the foundation of such increase, marriage, does not exist in a quarter of the vigour supposed in such tables; for marriages take place in proportion to the ease of subsisting families, and in well settled countries this ease is a matter of difficulty; hence marriages are few, and many very late in life. Luxury, debauchery, and other consequences of great cities likewise prey upon the species, and prevent, as well as destroy, their production. All this is quite the contrary in America, as Dr. Franklin observes, "Land being plenty in America, and so cheap, as that a labouring man that understands husbandry can in

* A description of South Carolina, 8vo. p. 30. 1761. From several passages I take it to be wrote by the governor: a most excellent and satisfactory account it is. Shame to the rest of our American governors, that they do not follow such an example, and undeceive the nation in relation to its ideas of that continent!

† *Four American dissertations*, 8vo. p. 70. 1766.

‡ *Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind*, 1751.

a short time save money enough to purchase a piece of new land sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family; such are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward to consider how their children when grown up are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered. Hence marriages in America are more general, and generally earlier than in Europe: And if it is reckoned that there is but one marriage per annum among 100 persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, *our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.*" But, soon after, he forms a supposition of their doubling in 25 years, and this latter term has been commonly received as the rate of increase in America. Let me however remark, that the writer from whom I have taken these accounts, calculates them for *all* our colonies; whereas I by no means quote the passage in the same sense, but only in respect of those which possess neither cities, trade nor manufactures, and such parts of those which do possess them as are back-settlers, and not within the sphere of their vortex. So, if the total doubles every 25 years, the planting, and *really* increasing part, must increase at a quicker rate, and in all probability does. Such causes will act in America, and be attended with such effects, as long as there is a plenty of land for new settlers; nor will this increase stop until all our territory is peopled, either by the natural effect of many years, or by that of ill-adviced regulations and obstructions; of which more by and by.

It appeared before, that we possess land on the continent that will admit of population, above 1,122,800 square miles; and as there are 640 acres in a square mile in North America, we have 718,592,000 acres. England is peopled nearly in the proportion of one person to five acres; our colonies, so populous, would contain 143,718,400 people: And if they contain at present 2,000,000, and double the numbers every 25 years, the period of their number will be as follows:

In 1792	they will be	4,000,000
1817		8,000,000
1842		16,000,000
1867	a century hence,	32,000,000
1892		64,000,000
1917		128,000,000
1942		256,000,000

There

There are several obstacles however to their increasing in future periods at the rate they do at present. A large proportion of them will be fixed at so great a distance from the fresh land (the only cause of their quick increase) that the difficulty of getting at it will prove an obstruction to population. Great cities will be raised among them; vast luxury and debauchery will reign in these, the influence of which will extend to the extremities of the empire; and these causes, which certainly will operate, must render their increase slower in a distant period than it is at present. — And as to the number of people the land can maintain, a deduction must be made from the above 143,718,400, upon account of the barren land being in a greater proportion there than in England: But let me remark, that this circumstance must not be carried to the extravagant length which the author of the *Present State* has calculated it, who every where reduces their good land to the size of an handkerchief. Some of their mountains are *reputed* (I say reputed, since we have no proof of it) to be barren; and perhaps they have more of them *in proportion* than Britain, but this likewise is unknown. It is certain they have an infinity of plains, all the southern parts from the sea to the *tops* of the Allegany and Apalachian mountains, is one gentle rise, and so regular that those can scarcely be called mountains. The tract of the Ohio, which is prodigiously extensive, is one continued meadow: That of the Mississippi, though a high shore and dry, is a fertile plain. — If we allow seven acres a head, we shall make a sufficient allowance for unprofitable mountains: their number of inhabitants will then be more than 102,000,000.

As to population in our insular colonies, or those of the West Indies, increase is there quite another thing; they consume people instead of increasing them: a contrast very striking in respect of negroes. The sugar islands require a vast annual supply; whereas, in the healthy climate of Virginia and Maryland, they very nearly keep up their number by procreation. The following table will shew the numbers in our islands, according to the *Account of the European Settlements*, which I have compared with some others; but none of good authority having been published since the war, I find no reason to make any alteration. It is true, we have made some important acquisitions, which are peopling quick; but then, it is more than probable, that it is from old settled islands:

<i>Islands.</i>	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
Jamaica *	25,000	90,000
Barbadoes †	25,000	80,000

* Vol. ii. p. 69.

† Ibid. p. 89.

Islands.

<i>Islands.</i>	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
St. Christophers*,	7,000	20,000
Antigua †,	7,000	30,000
Nevis ‡,	5,000	12,000
Montserrat §,	5,000	12,000
To these I shall add Bermudas **,	5,000	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	79,000	244,000

Agriculture.

The reader, doubtless, remarked, in my sketch of the subject, that notwithstanding my assigning a division to the agriculture of the colonies, yet I formed another for their *staple commodities*: These subjects though they mu^t be somewhat blended, yet must be examined in different lights. Staple productions are particularly relative to their condition as colonies, and the benefit of their mother-country; but their agriculture, taken in general, respects their common subsistence; an article to be considered separately, as some of the colonies have no staple productions at all.

In this inquiry, I shall begin with the northern colonies, and proceed regularly southward; by which means those climates (in that country) will be best known, which are the fittest for producing commodities for Britain. As to the territories of Hudson's Bay, New Britain, and Newfoundland, I shall not mention them here, since from the accounts hitherto received they are totally unfit for agriculture: I must remark, however, that we should never give too much into such ideas, as preconceived and false ones may occasion our neglecting colonies which have a capability of producing something though unknown to us: I hint this especially with regard to the southern tracts of Newfoundland. In stating the sketch of our colonies' soil and produce, which is necessary before we can form any tolerable ideas of their importance, I shall proceed as I have so frequently done before, collect the opinions of various authors, and examine how far and in what respect a dependance may be placed in them. I shall begin with Nova Scotia.

“This province,” says a very sensible writer, “lies between the 44th and 50th degrees of north latitude; and though in a very favourable part of the temperate zone, has a winter of an almost insupportable length and coldness, continuing at least seven months in the year: to this immedi-

* Ibid. p. 92.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

** The ceded islands I do not take into the account, as we know nothing of their numbers.

arely succeeds, without the intervention of any thing that may be called spring, a summer of an heat as violent as the cold, though of no long continuance; and they are wrapt in the gloom of a perpetual fog, even long after the summer season has commenced. In most parts the soil is thin and barren; the corn it produces of a shrivelled kind, like rye; and the grass intermixed with a cold spongy moss. However, it is not uniformly bad: there are tracts in Nova Scotia which do not yield to the best land in New England*." The author of the *Present State* agrees very well with this, but makes it yet worse: "All the countries north of the settlements in New England lie within the verge of the north-snowy mountains on one hand, and the islands of ice on the other, which render the climate unfit for agriculture, on account of the perpetual frosts, or more pernicious cold fogs. These mountains run down to the sea-coast, and leave but here and there a spot fit to inhabit; so a ridge of these bare and barren mountains runs through the whole peninsula of Nova Scotia. Hence there are but a few inconsiderable spots fit to cultivate, and the land is covered with a cold spongy moss, in place of grass, as all countries are that are so drenched with snow. "The land is so barren, that corn does not come up well in it; and though never so much pains be taken to manure it, still the crop will be very inconsiderable, and they are often obliged to throw it up at last. For this reason they are obliged to sow corn on their marshes." *Relation de l'Acadie*, p. m. 283. This is the account which the French give of Nova Scotia from one hundred years experience; and this has made it so difficult to people that country, which hardly produces either corn or grass, if it be not had in a few marshes, and these are not fit for corn in any part of the world. The clearing of the woods would make those countries much more uninhabitable than they are, (*this is very apocriphal; experience speaks the contrary*) as must appear to all who are acquainted with the climate of North America; and the land is not worth the charge of clearing, as it must all be grubbed: the soil is so barren that we see manure itself will hardly make it yield a crop, not even now, when it is fresh and fertile. The earth is so chilled by the frosts, snows, and perpetual cold fogs, both in winter and summer, that it seems not to have warmth enough in it to rot manure, and make it yield its nourishment†.--It is not in the nature of things that any land, whatever it may be to appearance, can be fruitful in such cli-

* *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 274.

† In this, as in most other accounts, variations are to be met with: Thus, La Honton says, "Most of the countries of Acadia abound with corn, pease, fruit, and pulse; and have a plain distinction of the four seasons of the year, notwithstanding that it is extreme cold for three months in winter. It is a very fine country; the climate is indifferent temperate; the air is pure and wholesome; the waters clear and light." Vol. i. p. 221.

mates. In such frozen regions we never meet with a fruitful soil in any part of the world, and much less in North America*.

I apprehend there is no difficulty in forming a pretty accurate idea of this country from these accounts; and the more especially as there are no contradictory ones that can be depended upon in the least. It appears therefore, that to inquire minutely into the particular agriculture of *such a country* would be absurd; the nature of the thing speaks itself: Its inhabitants, while few, must subsist with great difficulty, and with all possible industry at last not subsist from their soil: this is the case with Nova Scotia: take from them their fishery (I am speaking in point of existence) and you render their life precarious. So much for the agriculture of this country.—But, says the reader, this is a part of that country which I have in another place exhibited as possible to support a numerous people. True; but there is a very material difference between that *gradual* effect by the *extension* of old settlements, and forming *new* colonies in it. Nova Scotia may be just such a country as here described, and yet come in future times to maintain a numerous people. Many of our present back settlements, far to the southward, had they been formed at once into a colony, would have appeared with as wretched an aspect as Nova Scotia; but by means of being brought into culture by degrees, the woods partly cleared, the soil improved, with other alterations which an advancing people occasion, the climate improves, and those tracts *have* turned out capable of subsisting numbers of people, which once were thought inhospitable deserts; and let me add, would have remained so, if colonies had been planted at once in them, instead of advancing by degrees, and clearing as they advanced. Instead of planting colonies therefore in the midst of such deserts, New England should have been let alone until her inhabitants, by the mere force of increase, advanced into it, and in process of time they would have spread over the whole.

Canada comes next; but it is here necessary to make a distinction between what is commonly called by that name and what is marked by the government by proclamation to be the bounds of the *colony*; at present I speak only of what *are* colonies, and leave the countries prohibited from settlers by proclamation to be described in another place. Canada therefore, which is at present a colony, is a strip of land about two hundred miles broad, on the north coast of the river St. Lawrence, and above six hundred miles long; likewise another very narrow strip to the south of the river; The whole extending no further south than about half between Montreal and Lake Ontario.

* P. 243.

Whatever has been said of Nova Scotia is applicable to this tract: By the gradual advancing of old settlements, it may certainly be brought to support its share of inhabitants; but in the same manner as with Nova Scotia, not by planting colonies in it. I should give the reader particular extracts to support these assertions, but it is unnecessary, and the more particularly, as the French writers who have treated of Canada, and all who have advanced any thing in favour of its present situation, have included the territory of the Lakes in their descriptions, which the present colony has nothing to do with, according to the above-mentioned proclamation of October 7, 1763, which defined the bounds of all our colonies.

New England is the next colony in situation. The author of the *European Settlements* gives the following account of their agriculture; but before I insert it, let me remark, that I do not quote this writer merely as the authority of *one*, but as the collected authority of many. Those who will take the trouble to consult the books, from which it is probable he drew most of his intelligence, will find that he gives an epitome of the whole that was known when he wrote, which is not more than ten years ago; but as some few works worthy of attention have appeared since, it is necessary to recur to him for the general account, and to them for particular ones, either in confirmation or contradiction of what he asserts; that is, of what was the general degree of knowledge ten years ago. It is true, I could have rendered this essay more uniform and entertaining, by giving a single general description, combined for such materials as I possess, but uniformity and agreeableness are not what we want. Many different ideas are current concerning our plantations;—regulations have been given them, and bounds assigned; these have occasioned a ferment and a variety of opinions: It is the intent of these sheets to examine all the authorities we have, and endeavour to determine what is the real state of the case. Materials, it is true, will fall short too often; but nevertheless, such as we can find shall speak for themselves.

Though, says the above-mentioned writer, this country is situated almost ten degrees nearer the sun than we are in England, yet the winter begins earlier, lasts longer, and is incomparably more severe than it is with us. The summer again is extremely hot, and more fervently so than in places which lie under the same parallels in Europe. However, both the heat and the cold are now far more moderate, and the constitution of the air in all respects far better than our people found it at their first settlement. The clearing away the woods, and the opening the ground every where, has, by giving a free passage to the air, carried off

those noxious vapours which were so prejudicial to the health of the first inhabitants. The temper of the sky is generally, both in summer and in winter, very steady and serene. Two months frequently pass without the appearance of a cloud. Their rains are heavy, and soon over. The soil is various, but best as you approach the northward. It affords excellent meadows in the low grounds, and very good pasture almost every where. They commonly allot at the rate of two acres to the maintenance of a cow. The meadows, which they reckon the best, yield about a ton of hay by the acre; some produce two tons; but the hay is rank and sour. This country is not very favourable to the European kinds of grain. The wheat is subject to be blasted; the barley is an hungry grain, and the oats are lean and chaffy; but the Indian corn, which makes the general food of the lowest sort of people, flourishes here. The ground in which it thrives most is light and sandy, with a small intermixture of loam. About a peck of seed is sufficient for an acre, which, at a medium, produces about twenty-five bushels. — Their horned cattle are very numerous, and some of them very large. Hogs the same*. They export † all sorts of provisions; beef, pork, butter, and cheese, in large quantities; Indian corn and pease.

The author of the *Present State* varies a little from this account. Let us hear his description. — “If it were not for Indian corn, which exhausts land much more than any other grain, these colonies would not have corn to eat (*the northern ones*). Their barley is a poor hungry grain, and oats are lean and chaffy. On account of the long and hard winters, and backward springs, wheat does not grow till the excessive heats of summer come on, by which it is drawn up before it has a root, and strength to support it, and produces much straw, but little corn. The corn grows in these violent heats of summer, by which it often *shrivels* when it should *fill*, and comes to nothing. The harvest is two or three months later than it should be. About Boston the wheat harvest is not before the middle of September; but about Perpignan in Spain, which lies exactly in the same latitude, and in the same situation, surrounded by mountains on the west, and the sea to the east, the wheat harvest is always between the 12th and 24th of June; as we are informed from the best authority, M. du Hamel, in his *Elemens d'Agriculture*. The corn is frequently seized with a frost in the middle of summer, and totally blasted. For these reasons, they are obliged to give a bounty on the growing of wheat in New England, *we are told*, and do not make corn to eat ‡.”

* Vol. ii. p. 163—166.

† P. 173.

‡ P. 156, &c.

From

From these two accounts we may venture, however, to determine, that many particulars in the first are yet unimpeached, and others which seem rather to clash may be reconciled; by the latter one would apprehend the New Englanders in constant danger of starving, whereas it is therein confessed that they raise Indian corn; and by the first account, in such quantities as to *export* it. This corn exhaust lands, he says, more than all other grain, yet they continue to cultivate it in quantities; their land must therefore be *good* to bear it. Further, he says, it has much straw, though little corn: this is another proof of the goodness of the soil, and gives us great reason to believe the former account of their grass and dairies; for that land which will yield much straw will, with few exceptions, be found fertile in grass.—The soil of this colony therefore appears to be good, notwithstanding its best corn is maize; and to be of a nature not very different in effect from that of Britain, as it produces plenty of grass and *bread-corn*; the distinction between maize and wheat, as long as people can live on either, is of little consequence. The first writer mentions their growing flax, and some hemp, but unsuccessfully; of this more hereafter, as a *staple*. Hence we find, that the agriculture of this country is that of maintaining its inhabitants *immediately*, and not secondarily by way of exchange.

“New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, says the first quoted writer, admit of no very remarkable difference. The soil throughout is in general extremely fruitful, abounding not only in its native grain, the Indian corn; but in all such as have been naturalized there from Europe. Wheat in such abundance, and of so excellent a quality, that few parts of the world, for the tract which is cultivated, exceed it in the one or the other of these particulars; nor in barley, oats, rye, buckwheat; and every sort of grain which we have here. They have a great number of horned cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs. Every species of herbs or roots which we force in our gardens grow here with great ease; and every species of fruit; but some, as those of peaches and melons, in far greater perfection. They raise in all these provinces, but much the most largely in Pennsylvania, great quantities of flax. Hemp is a flourishing article. In the year 1749, they exported from New York city 6731 tons of provisions, and a *vast quantity* of grain. In 1751, New Jersey exported thirty-eight ship loads of wheat, beef, pork, flower, and bread; but that of Pennsylvania infinitely exceeds both. These provinces are as healthy as can be wished *.”

* Vol. ii. p. 187. 191. 195. 205.

The author of the *Present State* says so little upon these colonies in particular, that I can only give the following slight extract from him: Speaking of the *northern colonies*, he says, "The winters last for five or six months; the snow lies four or five feet deep; and the cold is twenty degrees greater even at the town of New York on the warmer sea-coast, than the most intense cold felt in England during the hard winter of 1739-40. By the observations made in January 1765, by the masters of the college at New York, Fahrenheit's thermometer fell 6 degrees below 0, which is 21 degrees below 15, the greatest cold in England.—Water then froze instantly, and even strong liquors in a very short time.— And we are told it is not unusual there to see a glass of water set upon a table in a warm room freeze before you can drink it. — In the inland parts, the cold is much more intense, and they have frosts the whole year, even in the middle of summer; which have been observed by many in the month of July upon the mountains in the most southern parts of Pennsylvania, and even on the mountains of Virginia, although they are but very low. In the town of Philadelphia, which lies in the 40th degree of latitude to the southward of Naples and Madrid, I saw the winter set in with a violent north-west wind; a hard frost and ice of a considerable thickness on the 10th of September †."

There is nothing in this account which expressly contradicts the former; but the immense cold mentioned in one, and the melons; and those herbs which we force in England growing so naturally, as specified in the other, forms a strange contrast; and yet perhaps they may not be inconsistent; since we shall hereafter find, on indubitable authority, that lemons and oranges are in America spontaneous productions, in places where British ones have been *destroyed* by the severity of the frosts. It must therefore be resolved into the strange peculiarity of the North American climate. — It appears, however, that these provinces are very fertile ones in the production of all the necessaries of life, inasmuch that their principal export is of such. I should remark, that their exportation of hemp and flax is very trifling, compared with that of corn and provisions.

Virginia and Maryland come next. "The climate and soil, says my first author, was undoubtedly much heightened in the first descriptions, for political reasons; but after making all the necessary abatements which experience has since taught us, we still find it a most excellent country. The heats in summer are excessively great, but not without the allay of refreshing sea-breezes. The weather is changeable, and the changes sudden and

† P. 166.

violent.

violent. Their winter frosts come on without the least warning. After a warm day, towards the setting in of winter, so intense a cold often succeeds as to freeze over the broadest and deepest of their great rivers in one night; but these frosts, as well as their rains, are rather violent than of long continuance. They have frequent and violent thunder and lightning, but it does rarely any mischief. In general, the sky is clear, and the air thin, pure and penetrating. The soil in the low grounds is a dark, fat mould, which for many years, without any manure, yields plentifully whatever is committed to it. The soil, as you leave the rivers, becomes light and sandy, is sooner exhausted than the low country, but is yet of a warm and generous nature, which, helped by a kindly sun, yields tobacco and corn extremely well. There is no better wheat than what is produced in these provinces; but the culture of tobacco employs all their attention, and almost all their hands; so that they scarcely cultivate wheat enough for their own use. Horned cattle and hogs have multiplied almost beyond belief*.

The description of the author of the *Present State* is as follows: "It is commonly alleged, and we see in all our histories of Virginia, that their lands are extremely rich and fertile, infomuch that it is imagined they will bear tobacco, or hemp and flax, for ever. But although their lands, particularly in Maryland and the northern parts of Virginia, are by far the best of any in North America on this side of the Apalachean mountains, they are far from being rich; the soil is in general very light, and so shallow, that it is soon worn out by culture, especially with such exhausting crops as Indian corn and tobacco. It is for this reason that they are now obliged to sow wheat, and exported fifty or sixty ship loads last year.—One-third of the country may be said to be a good and fruitful soil; a third-part is but indifferent; and the remaining third is very poor and mean, although not quite barren.—The southern parts of Virginia are very poor and sandy, like Carolina, and all the country to the southward, whence they will hardly bear tobacco of any value.—The swamps of Virginia alone would produce much more rice than all Europe and America consumed; and the rice we have seen grow upon them was nigh as large again as what is made upon the poor grounds in Carolina †."

There is a very material difference in these accounts: But we should remark, that as the latter author aims rather at *depreciating* the soil of our colonies, something is to be allowed by way of abatement on that

* P. 209.

† P. 177. 182.

account. From whence we may conclude, (and especially as he says the soil of these colonies is the best we have planted in North America) that their land is better than he represents it. But the culture of wheat is that on which they differ so much. The first says, they sow scarce any, importing it from other settlements; whereas the latter asserts, that they export considerable quantities, from which we may be very sure they serve their home consumption. Yet these seeming contradictions are not difficult to reconcile. I have already observed, that the author of the *Account of the European Settlements*, although he omitted no authorities he could consult, yet his materials cannot be supposed *later* than five and twenty years: Now, so long ago, the inhabitants of these colonies might cultivate nothing but tobacco, and at present nothing but corn; great changes might happen in that period. We should remember, in that time the war broke out, which was occasioned by their want of *fresh* lands, inducing them to pass the mountains and settle upon tracts usurped by the French; they were not only driven back, but all their frontier settlements wasted and destroyed during several years. All that time the tobacco culture could only be continued on old lands, which it consequently exhausted so much as to render them more profitable for wheat: nor were they a great deal better, for the peace, as the proclamation of October 7, 1763, reduced them even to more scanty bounds than the forts of the French. Hence arises the difference we find in twenty-five years. It appears that now a common husbandry, such as is practised in the mother-country, is become more profitable than their staple commodity: a proof by the bye that they are become very populous, and that either themselves or their neighbours have populous manufacturing places which they supply with provisions.

The next colonies in order are the Carolinas and Georgia, which I connect, as their soils and products are much the same. The author of the *European Settlements* gives the following account of them. "The climate and soil do not considerably differ from those of Virginia; but where they differ it is much to the advantage of Carolina, which on the whole may be considered as one of the finest climates in the world. The heat in summer is very little greater than in Virginia, but the winters are milder and shorter, and the year, in all respects, does not come to the same violent extremities; however, the weather though in general serene, as the air is healthy, yet, like all American weather, it makes such quick changes, and those so sharp, as to oblige the inhabitants to rather more caution in their dress and diet than we are obliged to use in Europe. Thunder and lightning are frequent; and it is the only one (he speaks of South Carolina) of our colonies upon the continent which is subject to hurricanes; but they are very rare, and not near so violent as those of the West Indies.

Part

Part of the month of March, and all April, May, and the greatest part of June, are here inexpressibly temperate and agreeable; but in July, August, and for almost the whole of September, the heat is very intense; and though the winters are sharp, especially when the north-west wind prevails, yet they are seldom severe enough to freeze any considerable water, affecting only the mornings and evenings. The frosts have never sufficient strength to resist the noon-day sun, so that many tender plants which do not stand the winter of Virginia, flourish in Carolina; for they have oranges in great plenty near Charles Town, and excellent in their kinds, both sweet and sour: olives are rather neglected by the planter than denied by the climate. The vegetation of every kind of plant is here almost incredibly quick; for there is something so kindly in the air and soil, that where the latter has the most barren and unpromising appearance, if neglected for a while, of itself it shoots out an immense quantity of those various plants, and beautiful flowering shrubs and flowers, for which this county is so famous, and of which Mr. Catesby, in his natural History of Carolina, has made such fine drawings. — The whole country is in a manner one forest, where our planters have not cleared it. The trees are almost the same in every respect with those produced in Virginia; and by the different species of these, the quality of the soil is easily known; for those grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickory, are extremely fertile; they are of a dark sand, intermixed with loam; and as all their land abounds with nitre, it is a long time before it is exhausted, for here they never use any manure. The pine-barren is the worst of all: this is an almost perfectly white sand, yet it bears the pine-tree, and some other useful plants, naturally yielding good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine. When this species of land is cleared, for two or three years together, it produces very tolerable crops of Indian corn and pease; and when it lies low, and is flooded, it even answers well for rice. But what is the best of all for this province, this worst species of its land is favourable to a species of the most valuable of all its products, to one of the kinds of indigo. There is another sort of ground, which lies low and wet upon the banks of some of their rivers; this is called swamp, which in some places is in a manner useless, in others it is far the richest of all their grounds; it is a black fat earth, and bears their great staple, rice, which must have in general a rich moist soil in the greatest plenty and perfection. The country near the sea, and at the mouths of the navigable rivers, is much the worst; for most of the land there is of the species of the pale, light, sandy coloured ground; and what is otherwise in those parts is little better than an unhealthy and unprofitable salt-marsh. But the country as you advance in it improves continually; and at an hundred miles distance from Charles Town, where

it

it begins to grow hilly, the soil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpose of human life. The air is pure and wholesome, and the summer heats much more temperate than in the flat country; for Carolina is all an even plain for eighty miles from the sea; no hill, no rock, scarce even a pebble to be met with: so that the best part of the maritime country from this sameness must want something of the fine effect which its beautiful products would have by a more variegated and advantageous disposition; but nothing can be imagined more pleasant to the eye than the back country, and its fruitfulness is almost incredible: wheat grows extremely well there, and yields a prodigious increase. In the other parts of Carolina they raise but little, where it is apt to mildew, and spend itself in straw; and these evils the planters take very little care to redress, as they turn their whole attention to the culture of rice, which is more profitable, and in which they are unrivalled, being supplied with what wheat they want in exchange for this grain from New York and Pennsylvania.—The land in Carolina is very easily cleared every where, as there is little or no underwood. Their forests consist mostly of great trees, at a considerable distance asunder, so that they can clear in Carolina more land in a week than in the forests of Europe they can do in a month. Their method is, to cut them at about a foot from the ground, and then saw the tree into boards, or convert them into staves, heading, or other species of lumber, according to the nature of the wood, or the demands at the markets. If they are too far from navigation, they heap them together, and leave them to rot. The roots soon decay; and, before that, they find no inconvenience from them where land is so plenty. Black cattle have multiplied here prodigiously; about fifty years ago it was a thing extraordinary to have above three or four cows, now some have a thousand, some in North Carolina a great many more; but to have two or three hundred is very common*.”

The *Present State* varies greatly from this account. “It is the great misfortune of the nation, says that work, that an extensive part of her dominions, which lies in a climate that might otherwise produce every thing we want from North America, is as barren as it is unhealthful, and unfit either to raise any considerable colonies, or to make any thing of consequence in them. Both North and South Carolina are a low, flat, sandy country, like a sandy desert, for a great distance from the sea-coast; and the farther south we go to Georgia and Florida, it grows so much worse. It is said by Mr. Catesby, who was sent to America on purpose to explore these southern parts of the continent, that a third part

* Vol. ii. p. 241.

of Carolina is a pine barren, or a *sandy desert*; and he, with many others from whom we have had particular accounts of all these southern parts of North America, have assured us, *that the greatest part of the rest was little better.* "In the inland parts indeed, as he says, the country is more high and hilly, *but the hills are nothing hardly but banks of sand, rocks or stones*, with a few savannas or low meadow-grounds, which afford good pasturage in the vallies, which are called rich lands in Carolina. From Charles Town to Port Royal the country is very low and flat, with great numbers of small rivers and creeks, and swamps and marshes on their borders, which are their rice-grounds, and *only fruitful lands in the country.* Thus, all these extensive southern parts of North America produce little or nothing else, and the lands are hardly worth cultivating, if it be not in the unhealthy and destructive swamps and marshes, which they are obliged to be at the immense toil and fatigue of clearing, draining, and cultivating, at the risque of their lives, in order to get rice to supply the place of wheat, and to have pasturage on the low grounds, *neither of which the uplands afford.*—Many of our rice plantations would have been broke up before this time, if it had not been for the assistance of indigo, which has supported them. — The only way to render Carolina of any service to the nation is, to settle the inland and western parts, *which are as fruitful and healthful as the eastern and maritime parts*, to which we are confined, are the reverse of both. — The badness of the pasturage in the southern colonies renders it impracticable to maintain stocks of cattle sufficient to manure lands for indigo, hemp, and flax *."

On this account we must in the first place remark, that the author palpably contradicts himself: *a third part of Carolina*, says he, *is a sandy desert, and the greatest part of the rest little better.* But soon after the case is greatly changed, for the *western parts are fruitful and healthful*: From hence we must not allow of this part of his assertion in contradiction to the account given by the first quoted author, who likewise says, that the back country (that is, the western parts) is *hilly and prodigiously fruitful*; whereas the other asserts the hills to be nothing but *banks of sand, rocks and stones.* The one tells us that the inhabitants give all their attention to rice, *because it is the most profitable culture*; the other, that they cultivate it *to supply the place of wheat.* The former says again, *that their dry lands delight in indigo*; the latter, that *their lands produce little or nothing, and are hardly worth cultivating, except in the wet swamps*; one says, *the back country is very fertile in wheat, and that the quantity of cattle kept in the province is prodigious*; the other, that

* Page 139. 178. 235.

their uplands will produce neither corn nor grass. What are we to depend upon in this case, wherein writers vary so greatly? Give most credit to that which is most consistent, or the account given by the first. However, here we will have recourse to a third *, of better authority than either.

“The inland of South Carolina,” says this writer, “for a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles back, is flat and woody: It is remarkable for the diversity of its soil; that near the sea-coast is generally sandy, *but not therefore unfruitful*; in other parts there is clay, loam, and marle. There are dispersed up and down the country several large Indian old fields, which are lands that have been cleared by the Indians, and now remain just as they left them. There arise in many places fine savannas, or wide extended plains, which do not produce any trees; these are a kind of natural lawns, and some of them as beautiful as those made by art. The country abounds every where with large swamps, which, when cleared, opened, and sweetened by culture, yield plentiful crops of rice: along the banks of our rivers and creeks, there are also swamps and marshes, fit either for rice, or, by the hardness of their bottoms, for pasturage. Our climate is various, and uncertain to such an extraordinary degree, that I fear not to affirm there are no people upon earth who, I think, can suffer greater extremes of heat and cold: it is happy for us that they are not of long duration.—In summer the thermometer hath been known to rise to 98 degrees, and in winter to fall to 10 degrees. In summer the heat of the shaded air, at two or three o'clock in the afternoon, is frequently between 90 and 95 degrees; but such extremes of heat being soon productive of thunder-showers, are not of long duration. On the 14th, 15th, and 16th of June 1738, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the thermometer was at 98 degrees: a heat equal to the greatest heat of the human body in health!—I then applied a thermometer to my armpits, and it sunk one degree; but in my mouth and hands it continued at 98 degrees.—Sixty-five and $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees may be called the temperate heat in Carolina, which exceeds 48 degrees, the temperate heat in England, more than that exceeds 32 degrees the freezing point. When we are in the streets in a serene dry day in summer, the air we walk in, and inspire, is many degrees hotter than that of the human blood †.”

From these several accounts we may venture to conclude, *first*, that the back or hilly country of these colonies is extremely fertile, pleasant, and wholesome; *secondly*, that the maritime or flat part is fruitful in rice, indigo, &c. but *very* unpleasant and unwholesome; *thirdly*, that both

* *A Description of South Carolina*, 8vo. 1761.

† P. 5, 6. 11. 17. 19.

abound

abound in pasturage and most of the necessaries of life; but the back part in a very superior degree.

We come next to Florida, the last colony on the continent; but about which the author of the *European Settlements* is silent. I shall therefore begin with a very modern account, and contrast it with that of the *Present State*. "The sea-coast of East Florida," says Dr. Stork, "is a low flat country, intersected by a great number of rivers, very like Holland, or Surinam in America: It continues flat for about forty miles from the coast, and then grows a little hilly, and in some parts rocky.—The trees of Florida are at a distance from one another, and being clear of under-wood, this country has more the appearance of an open grove than a forest. The rains and the heavy dews, which are more frequent here than to the northward, create such a luxuriant vegetation, that the surface of the earth, notwithstanding the heat of the sun, is never without a good verdure. The sandy soil is most prevalent, especially towards the sea. There are generally four strata or beds of earth found in East Florida; the uppermost is a mould of earth, a few inches thick; beneath is a sand, half a yard in depth; below that a strong white clay, resembling the marle in England, and may be used as a manure to the sandy land; this stratum is commonly four feet thick: The fourth layer is a rock, composed of petrified sea-shells. The fertility of Florida is much ascribed to these two strata of clay and rock, which contribute to keep the sand moist, and prevent the rains from sinking away from the roots of the plants and trees. The lands upon the river St. Mary's are the richest in the northern parts of the province; the abundance of cane-swamps sufficiently shews the fertility thereof. The best trees that grow in the swamps on this river are the live oak and cedar, very useful for ship-building; their extraordinary size is a strong mark of the goodness of the soil. From this river to that of St. John's, is a tract of pine-barrens. We find a striking difference between the pine-barrens of Florida and those to the northward; the pine-barrens to the northward, from the poverty of the soil, do not answer the necessary expence of clearing. The closeness of the trees hinders the grass from growing under them, so that large tracts of land are no farther useful than to make pitch and tar: whereas in Florida, as the trees stand at a greater distance, and both the rains and dews are more frequent than to the northward, the pine-barrens are covered with good grass, of a perpetual verdure. The tropical fruits and plants are found in great abundance upon the river St. John, and afford the strongest evidence that both the soil and climate are fit for sugar, cotton, indigo, and other West India productions.—The land about Augustine, in all appearance the worst in the province, is yet far from being unfruitful; it produces two

crops of Indian corn a year; the garden vegetables are in great perfection. The orange and lemon-trees grow here, without cultivation, to a larger size, and produce better fruit than in Spain or Portugal.—The climate of East Florida is an agreeable medium betwixt the scorching heat of the tropics, and the pinching cold of the northern latitudes. All America, to the north of the river Potomack, is greatly incommoded by the severities of the weather for two or three months in the winter. In East Florida there is indeed a change of the seasons, but it is a moderate one; in November and December many trees lose their leaves, vegetation goes on slowly, and the winter is perceived. In the northern parts of the province, a slight frost happened last year, the first known there in the memory of man. I do not find upon inquiry, that snow has ever been seen there; the winters are so mild, that the Spaniards at Augustine had neither chimnies in their houses, nor glass-windows. The tenderest plants of the West Indies, such as the plantain, the allegator, pear-tree, the banana, the pine-apple or ananas, the sugar-cane, &c. remain unhurt during the winter in the gardens of St. Augustine.—The fogs and dark gloomy weather, so common in England, are unknown in this country. At the Equinoxes, especially the autumnal, the rains fall very heavy every day, betwixt eleven o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, for some weeks together: when a shower is over, the sky does not continue cloudy, but always clears up, and the sun appears again. The mildness of the seasons, and the purity of the air, are probably the cause of the healthiness of this country. The inhabitants of the Spanish settlements in America consider East Florida, with respect to its healthiness, in the same light that we do the south of France, and they look upon Augustine as the Montpellier of America. The Spaniards from the Havannah and elsewhere have frequently resorted thither for the benefit of their health. Since it came into the hands of Great Britain, many gentlemen have experienced the happy effects of its climate. Mr. Dunnet, the secretary of the province, and Mr. Wilson, a merchant there, both in a deep consumption, have ascribed the recovery of their health to the climate. It is an indisputable fact, which can be proved by the monthly returns of the ninth regiment in garrison in East Florida, that it did not lose one single man by natural death in the space of twenty months; and as this regiment does duty in several forts, at different distances from Augustine, St. Mark's, d'Apalachie at two hundred miles, Piccolata thirty, Matawzas twenty, it proves in the most satisfactory manner, that the climate is healthy in different parts of the province.—The peninsula of Florida is not broad; and as it lies betwixt two seas, the air is cooler, and oftener refreshed with rains than on the continent: the intire absence of the sun for eleven hours makes the dews heavy, and gives the earth time to cool,

so that the nights in summer are less sultry here than in the northern latitude, where the sun shines upon the earth for seventeen or eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. The heat, which in South Carolina and the southern part of Europe, is sometimes intolerable for want of wind, is here mitigated by a never-failing sea-breeze in the day-time, and a land-wind at night. It is only in and near the tropics that the sea and land-breezes are at all uniform and to be depended upon. — The white people work in the fields in the heat of the day without prejudice to their health; gentlemen frequently ride out for pleasure in the middle of the day; and governor Grant is regularly on horseback every day from eleven to three o'clock in the afternoon*." I should remark, that the author of this account resided some time in East Florida. As to West Florida, he speaks of it as a very unwholesome country. In a journal of a voyage up the river St. John, annexed to the preceding account, by Mr. Bartram, the king's botanist for the Floridas, we find nine parts in ten of the adjoining country swamps and marshes; and on the 3d of January, he records a froit that froze the ground an inch thick; thermometer 26; the 21st of the preceding month it was 74.

The author of the *Present State* speaks thus diametrically contrary to Dr. Stork. — "Except dismal swamps, it appears from all accounts, that they have no other corn or grass-grounds in Florida fit to maintain any number of people. It is contrary to all reason and experience to call Florida healthful. There never was a healthful country known upon the sea-coasts of America, whether north or south, from New York, or at least from Virginia to Peru: all the British and Spanish colonies in these climates are very well known to be very unhealthful on the low flat marshy sea-coasts; and Florida lies in the very midst and worst situation of them all. If it is healthful, it must alter the very nature of things. It is a low flat and marshy sea-coast, scorched with burning sands in a hot climate and close woody country, and flooded with excessive heavy rains, which have no drain from the land, but stagnate all over a low flat country, and form those swamps and marshes of which it is full, which become perfectly pestiferous, where the waters stagnate and corrupt in such a hot climate. There is not a hill in the whole country to drain it from the heavy rains, either in East or West Florida; from which alone any one might perceive they can never be healthful: In these respects they resemble all the most unhealthful parts of our colonies and of all other parts of the world, and the climate is more intemperate: we ought

* An Account of East Florida, by William Stork, 8vo, 1766. p. 24. 25. 27. 29. 39. 40, 41, 42, 43.

not therefore to be deluded with stories about the healthfulness of such a country, when all the world shews it to be the reverse. The reason that is given for the healthfulness of Florida is, that the garrison of St. Augustine, (he had just before allowed the banks of Augustine to be healthy, because they are high and dry) after staying there for twenty months, happened to escape alive; but surely that is no certain proof that the country is healthful; it may be a sign that it is inhabitable, and so are all parts of the world, in some degree, from Greenland to Gomorron, but that is no proof that they are healthful: They appear to be unacquainted with the state of health in North America, who draw that conclusion from such an observation.—They who tell us that Florida is healthful, would at the same time persuade us that it will bear sugar; in which they seem not to know how much they contradict themselves. The small share of health that people generally enjoy in all these southern and maritime parts of North America, proceeds from the winters, in which the people recruit their strength and vigour, so as to be able to live out another summer; but in such winters sugar is killed, when men recover; but Florida seems to be unfit for either. — Good lands in these southern parts of North America should be covered as they are upon the Mississippi, and all other places, with tall, red hiccories, as high and straight as elms; white, chefnut, or scarlet oaks, tulip trees, black walnuts, locusts, &c. of which we do not meet with one in Florida. And it is not a tree or two of any kind that denotes the quality of the land, but intire woods of them. But many who are unacquainted with these things deceive themselves, and impose upon the nation, and it is to be feared do not know land when they see it. If they find a few oaks on land they think it must be good; but there are four and twenty different sorts of oak in North America, which grow on all sorts of soil, from clay to sand, and from the best to the very worst of all. Others again are as much deceived about what they call hiccory-lands.—So upon seeing a little clay upon the sandy banks, they tell us these barren sands have a clayey foundation.—Mr. Bartram could find no clay till a bit was searched for as a rarity, which proved to be only a concretion of shells. The sandy banks in all these southern parts of North America have some *strata* of clay and shells in them, otherwise they would be washed into the sea, where there are no rocks nor stones to support them; but you will find no clay in the land. But the way to judge of good lands is, from the corn and grafs they bear, and the crops they yield: so that if any will tell us of good lands in Florida, what sort of grafs do they produce? or do they bear any? and what is it like? Sandy soils in hot climates never produce good grafs; and in Florida they are covered with pines, which spoil every thing, and even the earth itself, as we have said. But what sort of corn will lands produce which bear no grafs? We are told indeed,

indeed, they have two crops of corn in a year, which it is well known the Indians of Florida always had, and yet they never had corn to eat for above six months in the year. There are five very different sorts of Indian corn, and a dwarf early kind, of which they have two crops a year in all the southern parts of America, and yet it yields so little, that it is not worth planting; if it be not in Canada and Florida, where the soil or climate are fit for no other.—Thus you can neither have wheat, barley, rye, oats, good Indian corn, nor grass; so that it is to be feared we do not know or consider what it is to plant such a country.—It is surprising, that when this nation has so few people, we should think of nothing but settling the barren and pestiferous sea-coasts of Florida, and the West India islands, which have been called healthful as well as the other.—The swamps, which they would call rich lands, lie on St. John's river, which is the only part of the country that is of any value. Now, the lands on the lower parts of that river are sandy and barren for one hundred and twenty-five miles, above which these swamps extend forty or fifty miles farther; and beyond these the river is so choaked up with pond weeds, (a sure sign of an offensive stagnant water) that it overflows its low borders, and drowns the country about it, which forms many lagunes or miry-marshes, from that to its source nigh the Cape of Florida. This is the whole of this country, which some would extol and magnify. As for any uplands, we hear of none but what are all sand. The pine-barrens come down to the river side, where it is not swampy; and the low grounds between the swamps and the barrens adjacent are but two or three hundred yards broad, and these are all sand, says our author. *See Bartram's Journal, MANUSCRIPT; which passage we do not find in the edition that has been published, although it is the most material of the whole, as it contains a general description of the country, and the author's opinion of it after he had viewed it: but as this is not in favour of the country, it was not deemed fit to print*.*

I hope the candid reader will not condemn such long quotations, without considering the great importance and necessity of gaining a knowledge of a colony in respect of climate, soil, and agriculture, before any just reflections on the use of it can be advanced; and where accounts that come from those who, to all appearance, are no trifling judges, or at least the best we have to guide us, differ so exceedingly, a slight or general mention of each is open to a thousand mistakes, omissions, and even fallacies. Hence it is requisite to quote the author's own words, before a fair comparison can be made.

* Page 188, 189. 194. 199. 200. 202.

From both these accounts it appears, that Florida is in general a flat country, much intersected with rivers, and abounding greatly with swamps and marshes. I do not at present inquire, whether these are fertile or barren; they certainly must be unwholesome. The maritime part of the Carolinas is the same, and that we have already found it to be. A country so hot, as any must be wherein the thermometer rises in December to 74*, and containing so much low and wet land, I should apprehend must, in the nature of things, be very unhealthy. But Dr. Stork declares the contrary, and even names instances of no slight consequence. How is this to be reconciled? The recovery of the two persons from a consumption was, in all probability, at St. Augustine, and not in *the country*. And the ninth regiment being alive must be attributed to chance, possibly they were sickly; a circumstance not mentioned. The author of the *Present State*, however, quotes this fact very unfairly; he calls them the garrison of St. Augustine, whereas they were quartered over the country; a material difference. But in this and in the following circumstances, let us never forget Bartram's journal being mutilated. His general opinion of the country must certainly be the most important part of the work, and a part which every reader cannot but be surprized at the want of. To publish it so unfairly, displays such a design to set off the country in a light more advantageous than true, that I must own the credit of Dr. Stork's account is thereby greatly impeached, or at least the *sincerity* of it. A description may be true, and yet not worth a groat; for if the *whole* truth is not published, all had better been kept in darkness.— But the white people, it is said, support their labour in the heat of the day through summer; and governor Grant is on horseback every day from eleven until three. These are strong circumstances, and very inconsistent with such heat as one would imagine they must endure: We may likewise from reason allow what he says of the refreshing land and sea-breezes, which must render them more healthy than in Carolina. Let us therefore steer a middle course, and suppose that Florida, from its resemblance to the maritime parts of Carolina, would be equally, if not more, unwholesome, were it not for these breezes, which mitigate the heats, and render it as wholesome as such a soil will allow.

As to the point of its bearing sugar, Dr. Stork seems to have concluded too quickly; for the cultivation of that vegetable is very inconsistent with such a frost as Bartram records. The cane may grow at St. Augustine, and yet (as the author of the *Present State* remarks) produce nothing but

* The thermometer in the *Centurion*, during her surrounding the globe, and passing the line several times, never rose higher than 76. *Aspin's Voyage*, 4to, p. 182.

melasses. What this author likewise mentions of the trees, which do and ought to distinguish good land, is very just, and bears hard against Florida. Likewise Mr. Bartram's searching for, and not finding a bit of clay, does not very well accord with Dr. Stork's stratum of clay so near the sand. But the remarks on the corn and grass, of the same author, appear not to be well founded, because Carolina, according to his account, has as little; and yet we know, on better authority, that it raises large quantities of indigo, and maintains prodigious herds of cattle; whereas, according to him, without grass there can be no indigo,—and most certainly no herds of cattle. This part of his argument is therefore the language of prejudice. In the next paragraph he couples Florida and the West Indian islands together, and is equally against both; which proves in the clearest manner that, politically speaking, he knows nothing at all of the matter. In debating the benefits of colonization, whoever of common sense questioned the propriety of planting islands in the West Indies? This point I shall dismiss, as too clear to bear an argument.

From these circumstances therefore we find, that Florida is not only unwholesome, but totally improper for the cultivation of sugar: that it is very deficient in all land but swamp and pine-barren. But as to *their* degree of fertility, we know but little. The one asserting the latter to be very fertile in Indian corn, indigo, &c. the other, that it will bear nothing; however, if we reason by analogy from Carolina, we may suppose the swamps to be good rice grounds, and the pine-barren to be not unfruitful in many useful productions. — More express determinations would be the result of the quotation from Dr. Stork, had it not appeared that Bartram's journal was mutilated; but such a circumstance makes one suspicious, that he might be directed what to write, as the other was what to publish: And this, with the greater reason, as no answer to the very heavy accusations of falsehood brought by the author of the *Present State* has appeared on the part of Dr. Stork, which it must be allowed does not tend to strengthen his credit. As to West Florida, I find it agreed by all to be unwholesome, and *as* a colony good for nothing.

The West Indian islands come next in order: in accounts of which authors have been much more consistent, and therefore I shall not be under the necessity of quoting various descriptions of one thing. I shall in general adhere to the author of the *European Settlements*, as he collected his work from all the materials yet extant: But wherever I can call in later authority, I shall not neglect it. Jamaica claims our first attention.

“The face of the country, says he, is a good deal different from what is generally observed in other places. For as, on one hand, the mountains are very steep; so the plains between them are perfectly smooth and level. In these plains the soil augmented by the wash of the mountains for so many ages, is prodigiously fertile. None of our islands produce so fine sugars. They formerly had here cacao in great perfection, which delights in a rich ground. Their pastures, after the rains, are of a most beautiful verdure, and extraordinary fatness. They are called savannas. On the whole, if this island were not troubled with great thunders and lightnings, hurricanes and earthquakes; and if the air was not at once violently hot, damp, and extremely unwholesome in most parts, the fertility and beauty of this country would make it as desirable a situation for pleasure as it is for the profits, which, in spite of these disadvantages, draw hither such a number of people*. The quantity of fertile land in Jamaica is computed at 4,500,000 acres, of which 1,600,000 only are patented, and not above 350,000 employed in any sort of culture.”

I met with scarce any particular descriptions of Barbadoes; the last quoted author is silent in the points in question.

“It contains about 100,000 acres, and from the immensity of the produce, is most of it probably cultivated. The climate is very hot, especially for eight months; but not so excessive as in the same latitude on the continent of America, by reason of the sea-breezes blowing all the year round. The rains fall when the sun is vertical. This excessive moisture and heat is the reason that their trees and plants grow to such a height. It is mostly a level country, with some small hills covered with wood. No English grain is sown here; and only the Indian or Guinea-corn is cultivated by the poor. Their flower they have from Britain. They have potatoes, yams, &c. planted all the year †.”

The climate of Antega is hotter than that of Barbadoes, and very subject to hurricanes; the soil is light and sandy, but fertile to a very high degree: much of it is overgrown with wood. It has no rivulets or springs; but the inhabitants save a sufficiency in ponds and basins. St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, are all the same, except in respect of a want of water. Barbuda, the property of the Codrington family, is low land, but very fertile, and applied intirely to the purposes of common husbandry, or raising the necessaries of life, which the inhabitants

* Page 62.

† *Geographical Dictionary*, 2 vols. folio. 1769. Art. *Barbadoes*.

sell to the other islands. It abounds much with various kinds of cattle, maize, and pease; besides the common tropical fruits. A particular description of common husbandry in the West Indies, such as is practised in this island, would be equally entertaining and instructive, but no author has given it: nevertheless, it ought to be the first foundation of new plantations; and by being too much neglected at first, frequently involves planters in numerous difficulties. Let the staple be ever so profitable, the first step in its culture should be commencing common farmer.

The islands ceded by the last treaty of peace are next to be considered; and herein I have a very valuable guide, whose accounts are collected, with uncommon industry, from a great number of authors. "The air of Dominica," says that writer, "except in some places that are marshy and overgrown with wood, is generally reputed wholesome; as a proof of which, the first Europeans who visited it report, that it was at that time very populous, and that the inhabitants were the tallest, best shaped, and at the same time the most robust, active, and warlike of all the Caribbee Indians. The face of the country is rough and mountainous, more especially towards the sea-side; but within land there are many rich and fine vallies, and some large and fair plains. The declivities of the hills are commonly gentle, so as to facilitate their cultivation; and the soil almost every where deep black mould, and thence very highly commended for its fertility by the first Spanish, English, and French, who have had occasion and opportunity to examine it, and upon whose concurrent testimonies therefore we may safely rely. It is excellently well watered by at least thirty rivers; some, and particularly one of which, is very large, and navigable for several miles; the rest very commodious for all the purposes of planting *."

"In St. Vincent the warmth of the climate is so tempered by sea-breezes, that it is looked upon as very healthy and agreeable; and on the eminences, which are very numerous, the air is rather cool. The soil is wonderfully fertile, though the country is hilly, and in some places mountainous. But amongst the former there are very pleasant vallies, and at the bottom of the latter some spacious and luxuriant plains. No island of the same extent is better watered with streams and rivulets; but there are hardly any marshes, and no standing waters, in the isle. Besides wild sugar-canes, it abounds with corn, rice, and all sorts of ground provisions †."

* *Candid and impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade*, 8vo. 1763. by Dr. Campbell, p. 79.

† *Ibid.* p. 90.

“The climate of Tobago, though it lies only eleven degrees and ten minutes north from the equator, is not near so hot as might be expected; the force of the sun’s rays being tempered by the coolness of the sea-breeze. When it was first inhabited it was thought unhealthy, but as soon as it was a little cleared and cultivated, it was found to be equally pleasant and wholesome. There is likewise another circumstance which may serve to recommend this climate, and that is, the island’s being out of the track of the hurricanes to which our own islands and those of the French are exposed, and from which their plantations and shipping suffer frequently very severely. There are many rising grounds over all the island, but it cannot be properly stiled mountainous, except perhaps in the north-west extremity, and even there they are far from rugged or impassable. The soil is very finely diversified, being in some places light and sandy, in others mixed with gravel and small flints; but in general it is a deep, rich, black mould.—Hardly any country can be better watered than this is; but there are very few or no morasses or marshes, or any lakes, pools, or collections of standing waters, which of course must render it more healthy, and all parts of it alike habitable; and from the happy disposition of the running streams and numerous springs, almost every where habitable with the like convenience. All ground provisions are produced here in the utmost abundance, as well as in the highest perfection*.”

“The situation of Granada leaves us no room to doubt that the climate is very warm, which, however, the French writers assure us is very much moderated by the regular returns of the sea-breeze, by which the air is rendered cool and pleasant. We may from the same authority assert, that it is wholesome; for though strangers especially are still liable to what is called the Granada fever, yet this is at present far from being so terrible as it formerly was, proves very rarely mortal, and, as it chiefly proceeds from the humidity of the air, occasioned by the thickness of the woods, it will very probably be intirely removed, whenever the country is brought into a thorough state of cultivation; and this we may with the more boldness predict, as the same thing has constantly happened in our own and in the French islands. Besides, the climate has some, and those too very peculiar advantages. The *seasons*, as they are stiled in the West Indies, are remarkably regular; the blast is not hitherto known. The inhabitants are not liable to many diseases that are epidemic in Martinico and Guadeloupe; and, which is the happiest circumstance of all, it lies out of the track of the hurricanes; which, with respect to the safety of the settlements on shore, and the security of navigation, is almost an inestimable

* Page 111.

benefit.

benefit.—There are some very high mountains, but the number is small, and the eminencies scattered through it are in general rather hills, gentle in their ascent, of no great height, fertile, and very capable of cultivation. But, exclusive of these, there are on both sides the island large tracts of level ground, very fit for improvement; the soil being almost every where deep, rich, mellow, and fertile in the highest degree, so as to be equal in all respects, if not superior, to that of any of the islands in the West Indies, if the concurrent testimonies both of French and British planters may be relied upon. It is perfectly well watered by many streams of different sizes. All the different kinds of ground-provisions, which are so requisite to the subsistence of West India plantations, are here in great quantities, and some kinds of grain ripen very kindly in this, which are either not raised at all, or are raised with difficulty in other islands.

“Among the Grenadines are five islands, larger than the rest, Cariouacon, l’Isle de l’Union, Moskito, Bequia, and Cannouan. Cariouacon is represented by the French, who have visited it, as one of the finest and most fruitful spots in America; the soil remarkably fertile, and from its being pervaded by the sea-breeze, the climate equally wholesome and pleasant. Cannouan, Union, and Moskito, are allowed to be pleasant, wholesome, and extremely fruitful. The soil of the Bequia is equal, if not superior, to the rest; but it has little fresh water, and is much infested with venomous reptiles*.”

We have in America, besides what I have already described, “two clusters of islands,” says the author of the *European Settlements*, “the Bermudas or Summer Islands, at a vast distance from the continent, in latitude 31, and the Bahama islands. The former are famous for the serenity of the air, and the beauty and richness of the vegetable productions; but the soil could never boast of an extraordinary fertility. The Bahamas are very fertile, differing little from the soil of Carolina; the climate is such as will produce any thing, and it is never reached by any frosts †.”

Thus have we examined the agriculture of all the British colonies from Nova Scotia almost to the line; that is, their climate and products: as to the practice of their common husbandry, we are very ignorant of it, and consequently know not what improvements it may be capable of. Our settlements to the north of the southern parts of New England, are so exceedingly cold, that even the necessaries of life are at present raised in them with difficulty. The southern parts of New England, New York, New

* Page 171—194.

† Vol. ii. p. 282.

Jersey, and Pennsylvania, appear to enjoy a very wholesome climate, and to produce in the utmost plenty all kinds of provisions, and other things necessary for the maintenance and well-being of a numerous people. In a word, they nearly resemble their mother-country in the plenty of corn and cattle; the two articles on which they find it more profitable to depend than on any other. Our middle colonies, Maryland and Virginia, are likewise very healthy, and very fertile in all the above-mentioned necessaries, but being at the same time warm enough for the production of a staple commodity, they attended wholly to that, while their fields would bear it, and depended upon their northern neighbours for necessaries; but their soil being exhausted (of which more hereafter) by their staple, they have lately changed their conduct, and cultivated more corn than they want themselves. Our southern colonies, the Carolinas and Georgia, consist particularly of two parts, a maritime, flat, and marshy, and back, hilly, and dry part. The former is very unwholesome, but fruitful in rice and other productions; the latter is exceedingly pleasant, wholesome, and fertile in all productions suitable to the heat of the climate. Some corn is raised by the inhabitants, and they have plenty of cattle: we may conclude the country very proper for common husbandry; but that the culture of rice is more profitable. As to our new acquisition, Florida, it appears to be more wholesome than the maritime parts of Carolina; and there is some reason to expect it will prove fertile in rice, and some few other productions; but from the description of the country, there is little reason to believe a common husbandry can or will flourish there. With respect to the island-colonies in the West Indies, their climate is universally exceeding hot, and in general unwholesome, with variations in the degrees according to peculiar circumstances; but the cultivable soil appears in all to be of a most fertile nature, and to produce a great plenty of those species of provisions which are adapted to the climate; indeed in such plenty, that numerous inhabitants might (as they certainly once did) totally depend on their own soil; but the culture of staple commodities has been so much more profitable, that all our islands except Barbuda give the greatest attention to them. And there is reason to suppose, that this general practice, occasioning a great demand for the necessaries of life, is what has rendered common husbandry so profitable in that island; a case which I conclude of course, as the inhabitants would certainly cultivate a staple, if they had reason to believe it much more profitable than their common agriculture. The Bahama and Bermudas islands seem to want none of the necessaries of life, with the advantage of an exceeding healthy and pleasant air. — This general view has taken up much of our room, but it was highly necessary for all the future enquiries concerning our colonies, which are many and important, and depend, in

in a good measure, upon this; since whatever benefits we receive from our old settlements, or expect to receive from our new ones, they must result in no trifling degree from the articles-climate, soil, and necessaries of life; since however general an attention may be given to a profitable staple, yet no one can imagine that any colony is to depend upon others for daily bread, and the means of existing. The soil must be *able* to yield a *full* plenty, although but a part of the people's subsistence is drawn from it. If we view our most advantageous settlements, this truth will clearly appear.

Manufactures.

As these papers are designed to contain a collection of *facts* rather than a train of *arguments*, I shall not here inquire into the means possessed by the colonies of establishing manufactures, (a point much debated of late) but first give such minutes of their manufactures as I can meet with, scattered through several books and tracts which have been written on the subject of America; such at least as are to be the most depended upon, and afterwards inquire into the state of their labour, and the ease or difficulty with which such manufactures or future ones have been, or may be, established. I should, however, premise, that the materials for such an inquiry are extremely scanty, insomuch that I do not know of one chapter, section, or part of any treatise whatever, that treats singly of this subject.

The woollen manufactures of the middle and northern colonies are very considerable, and in a much more flourishing condition than was imagined a few years ago. "Their pastures," says an author I have often quoted, "will not maintain large cattle, and are only fit to feed sheep and goats, on which they must subsist as people do in the like soil and climate in all parts of the world. *Their wool is likewise better than the English,* at least in the southern colonies. It is of the same kind with the Spanish wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the same management. Sheep likewise maintain themselves in these southern colonies throughout the whole year, without cost or trouble. Thus, by the step which the colonies have lately taken to raise all the sheep they can, they will soon have plenty of wool. With this *they have already made cloth worth twelve shillings a yard,* which is as good as any that is made of English wool. Some of their wool has been sent to England, where it sold for the price of the best; although this was from a common tobacco-plantation, where no care had been taken of it since
America

America has been settled *.” One would apprehend, however, from this passage, that these manufactures were in the southern colonies, but we shall find, by and by that these have none: if their wool is the best, it is the more northern settlements that buy and manufacture it. It is well known that the most valuable of our exports to America is that of our woollen manufactures; but it appears plain enough, that this branch is like to decrease daily from rival ones in our colonies.

Another writer, though he asserts the wool of *New England* is not so good as that of Britain, yet speaks thus of their manufacturing it. “They manufacture a great deal of it very successfully. I have seen cloths made there, which were of as close and firm a contexture, though not so fine, as our best drabs; they were thick, and as far as I could judge, superior for the ordinary wear of country people, to any thing we make in England †.” In another place he says, “they have enough of it for their own cloathing ‡.” This account was wrote years ago; therefore, by this time, we may conclude they export large quantities.

With respect to linen, it is the same; for there is a very large linen manufacture at Boston, and another in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, carried on by Scotch and Irish workmen, and supported by the principal merchants of those cities.

They make large quantities, and of a very good kind. Their principal settlement is in a town, which, in compliment to them, is called *London-derry* §.

There are likewise considerable manufactures of hats in *New England* and in *New York*, which were rose to such a flourishing state near twenty years ago, as to be fold over the rest of the colonies §. What therefore are they at present?

* *Present State*, p. 142.

† *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 166.

‡ *Ibid.* 174.

§ *Propositions for improving Manufactures*, &c. p. 18.

§ *Ibid.* p. 175. and *Propositions for improving Manufactures*, p. 18. See likewise the following extracts from a newspaper in this case, it is a very good authority. — The assembly of Boston having, in their meeting of the 28th of October 1767, taken into consideration a petition of a number of the inhabitants, “That some effectual means might be agreed on to promote industry, oeconomy and manufactures;” they came to the following resolutions: that whereas the excessive use of foreign superfluities is the chief cause of the present distressed state of that town, as it is thereby drained of its money; they therefore voted, that the said town would take all prudent and legal measures to lessen the use of superfluities; among which loaf-sugar, cordage, anchors, coaches, chaises, and many other articles, most of them imported from England, are mentioned; that new manufactures shall be set up in their stead, particularly of glass and paper; that the town will, by all prudent means, encourage such manufactures;

In Pennsylvania it is the same. Many years ago they manufactured almost all their cloathing, linen, woollen, &c.* The middle colonies are much freer from manufactures in the opinion of all, and indeed must be, according to reason; and yet even Virginia exports *some* linen to Carolina †. But the author of the *European Settlements* says they have none to mention. "The colonies grow," says another writer, "many hundred tons of hemp and flax, but manufacture it all ‡." So long ago as 1732, we find in the report of the lords of trade to the legislature, concerning the state of the colonies, "The surveyor-general of his majesty's woods writes, that they have in New England *six furnaces and nineteen forges for making of iron*; and that great quantities of hats are made in this pro-

factures; that they will not use any gloves at funerals, unless manufactured in the country; and that an instrument be handed about for subscription for that purpose.

At the same meeting two persons undertook to supply the inhabitants with a sufficient quantity of starch and Scotch snuff, manufactured in the province, at the prime cost of, and of as good a quality as, that imported from England. The paper-manufacturers gave assurances of their being able to furnish the province with a sufficient quantity of paper. Thirty thousand yards of cloth, it was said, had been manufactured in one small country town only of that province: upwards of 40,000 pair of women's shoes made in one year in Lynn, of equal goodness with those imported from abroad. Calimanco and other stuffs manufactured in the province, it is thought will in a few years be made there in sufficient quantity for the use of the inhabitants; and an herb, called Labrador, has been lately found out, which begins already to take place of green and bohea tea, is of a salutary nature, and a more agreeable flavour.

We are assured from good authority, that many of the ladies of this town have said, that in the list of articles not to be purchased, tea ought by no means to have been omitted; and that they are resolved to omit the use of it for the future.

In a large circle of ladies in Boston town, it was unanimously agreed to lay aside the use of ribands, &c. for which there has been so great a resort to milliners in times past. It is hoped that this resolution will be followed by others of the sex throughout the province.

We must, after all our efforts, depend greatly upon the female sex for the introduction of œconomy among us: and it is assured, that their utmost aid will not be wanting. [These accounts are taken from the BOSTON GAZETTE, on the top of which is printed in italics, *Save your Money, and you will save your Country!*]

12. Letters from Quebec inform, that the new manufactures there are in a very flourishing condition, particularly their cast iron ware; great quantities of which they export to the southern colonies.

13. This week a number of artificers in the steel, copper, and cast iron branches, have been engaged, on great encouragement, to embark for New England.

* *European Settlements*, p. 206. Douglas's *North Americ.* vol. ii. p. 332.

† *Description of South Carolina*, 1761. p. 45.

‡ *Present State*, p. 145.

vince; likewise that great quantities are exported to Spain, Italy, and the West Indies.

From these slight sketches of the American manufactures, (which are the chief of those I can meet with that are to be the least depended upon) it appears, that our northern colonies, or in other words, those which in the preceding review of their husbandry were found most to resemble the mother-country in raising little besides the necessaries of life, carry on more manufactures than all the rest put together. Very important reflections will be from hence suggested, when I come to consider the article of staple commodities, but at present let me remark, that south of New York no manufactures are mentioned except some linen in Virginia. Indeed in the Carolinas they have none, nor ever had, except once a little negro-cloth, and that lasted no longer than the very low price of their staple, *rice*, and is now heard of no more. And as to the West Indies, it is well known by all, that their necessaries, even down to the minutest article in the dress of a negro, are all imported from the mother-country.

When we come to speak of the exportations to the continental colonies we shall find the amount very small, compared with the necessaries of 2,286,000 people. The author of the *European Settlements* asserts the cloathing of a negro to be about forty shillings a year; if so, the cloathing of the inhabitants of the continent, whites and blacks, men, women, and children, upon an average, cannot be less than thirty shillings each; there is much greater reason to believe it more. This article alone amounts to 3,00,000; and even cloathing is not perhaps of so great an amount as all other articles of Britain's exports, such as implements, furniture, luxuries, merchandize, &c. &c. and yet, without taking any of these into the account, we find her total exports to North America fall short a million and a half of the amount of the cloathing alone; and including all that North America re-exports again, a proof amounts to demonstration that the manufactures they import from Britain bear no comparison with what they fabricate themselves; and if the share of the southern colonies be deducted, as they have scarce any manufactures, we shall find that the northern colonies may possibly be worse than none in the consumption of British products; re-exporting what they import, with a considerable addition of their own manufactures, or at least exporting of their own necessaries more than to the amount of their consumption of British superfluities. I do not venture this as an assertion, but the case certainly carries that aspect. — A writer, who takes up the pen absolutely

* *Roderick's Deduction*, vol. ii. p. 344.

† See *Interest of G. Britain*, &c.

in their favour asserts that they do not purchase a *sixth* part of their necessities from Britain*.—The whites in the West Indies take off of British manufactures above 40 *l.* a head: such is the difference between colonies abounding in manufactures, or having none!—But of this more hereafter.

But it is asserted by several writers in an argumentative manner, that the colonies *cannot* manufacture to any amount, upon account of the dearth of labour and cheapness of land, and therefore treat all ideas of their becoming a manufacturing people as idle dreams and unjust suspicions. But let us in the first place remember, that it may be thought an affront to a common understanding; to reason about the probability of *facts*, after they are *known*. Thus I have already shewn from various authorities, none of which have been formerly disputed, that our northern colonies not only have a few manufactures, but are really become a manufacturing people: the extract I inserted from the Boston Gazette sufficiently proves this, and likewise shews what the inhabitants of that city think of the impossibility of becoming such. Would they strive to have to compensate impossibilities? They have plainly effected the point, and are now driving full speed for the entire completion of their scheme, the manufacturing all those superfluities and luxuries which they have hitherto taken from the mother country: so that their exportation to the other colonies (and to those of other nations also) of necessaries must and will daily increase, while their importation even of superfluities from Britain will dwindle to nothing. This is the case with the greatest and most populous of all our colonies, who are thus become in reality a mother country (at least in all the properties of one) ready to send forth new colonies, instead of remaining a colony of Great Britain!

But let us hear upon what those writers ground their arguments, who assert that the colonies *cannot* have manufactures to a large amount. The chief of them handles the subject in the following manner: after speaking of the increase of their people, he goes on: "But notwithstanding that increase, so vast is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully; and till it is fully settled, labour will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade but goes among those new settlers and sets up for himself, &c. Hence labour is now cheaper now in Pennsylvania than it was thirty years ago, though to many thousand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland. The danger therefore of these colonies inter-

* *Present State*, p. 160.

setting with their mother country, in trades that depend on labour, manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the attention of Great Britain. 'Tis an ill-grounded opinion, that by the labour of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Britain. The labour of slaves can never be so cheap here as the labour of working men is in Britain; and one may compute it. Interest of money is in the colonies from six to ten per cent. Slaves, one with another, cost 30 £ sterling per head; reckon then the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk on his life, his cloathing and diet, expences in his sickness and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, (neglect is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence) expence of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time; almost every slave being from the nature of slavery a thief; and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will see that labour is much cheaper there than it ever can be by negroes here. Why then will Americans purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labour, while hired men are continually leaving their masters (often in the midst of their business) and setting up for themselves.*

In order to reconcile these reasonings with the facts which are already proved, it is necessary to distinguish between the northern and the southern colonies; by the northern I mean those to the north of Maryland. In the review I took of their agriculture it appeared, that the inhabitants of the northern ones subsisted themselves upon common husbandry; and, as very inconsiderable profit results from that when the farms are small, consequently they will yield the less products for the purchase of manufactures. The great argument of this gentleman is, that even a labourer, or workman in a manufacture, will presently set up a farm for himself, as land is so easily had; This farm now must be upon a very small scale, if it is formed out of a workman's savings, and so soon as the writer represents it; the possessor of it must therefore find no inconsiderable difficulty in procuring out of the sale of his surplus a sufficient sum for the purchase of manufactures; hence results the manufacturing all that is possible in his own family. Many years ago, Douglas tells us, the back-settlers in Pennsylvania manufactured nine-tenths of what they wore. But they not only manufacture as much as possible, but can scarce afford to purchase even tools to cultivate their lands. A parallel must not be drawn between a little farmer in England and a little planter in one of these

* Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, peopling of Countries, &c. 1751. annexed to *The Interest of Great Britain, considered*, 8vo, 1769. p. 52.

colonies; because the former has a sure and quick sale for his products, which is by no means the case with the *back-settlers* in the colonies; nor are the products of the latter near so valuable as those of the former.

In truth, the difficulties of forming a new plantation are so great, that I cannot conceive the ease truly stated by the above quoted writer. A new planter, or more properly speaking, farmer, has his land to clear, a house and offices to build, stock of all kinds to purchase, implements and furniture, a year's provision, cloathing, &c. Let his farm be ever so small, all these articles will amount to a considerable sum; and especially as builders of all kinds (a species of manufacturers) are according to our author so very dear to hire. A farm in England will be much easier hired and stocked than all these circumstances got over in the colonies; and yet we do not find that the ease of hiring land in England is any prejudice to our manufactures. I beg leave to recommend the idea of the expence and difficulty of settling a little plantation in the colonies, where the land is so overrun with wood; and let any person of common sense judge, whether it will prove so trifling as to prevent the establishment of manufactures. One very material circumstance is, the indifference of the soil and the superior difficulty of clearing it, compared with the southern colonies. In a warm climate, a fruitful soil, and the trees thinly scattered, the ease would be different; and accordingly the *fall* is different; for in such we find no manufactures; but to the northward *many*.

Take a view of the cities, towns, sailors, &c. &c. of the northern and southern colonies; and the difference will be yet more striking. There is not one of our settlements, says an author I have often quoted "which can be compared, in the abundance of people, the number of considerable and trading towns, and the manufactures that are carried on in them, to New England: the most populous and flourishing parts of the mother-country hardly make a better appearance." Boston many years ago contained, according to the same account, at least 20,000 inhabitants; New York above 12,000; Philadelphia 13,000. Whereas pass the line to the southward, and you will find no towns at all that deserve mentioning. These cities at present must be much more populous; the trade carried on by them is very considerable; it would be anticipating my subject to enter

It is well known that new settlements make no other use of timber but to destroy it as fast as they can; which indeed is necessary to clear the land for corn and grass. *Present State*, p. 242.

Account of the European Settlements, vol. ii. p. 173.

† *Ibid.* p. 190.

§ *Ibid.* p. 204.

into particulars, but the fact is well known that their commerce is prodigiously extensive, and that they employ a vast number of seamen.

Now if land was so very easily settled, and labour so very dear, I would ask the writer I am answering, how these facts come to be so? If the case was as he states it, such towns could not have been formed, such a trade could not have been raised; the formation of both would be to the full as difficult as of manufactures; for towns are inhabited, as well as ships navigated, by what may be called surplus hands, or in other words, those which culture spares; and it is by the same that manufactures are carried on. To the southward, where land is much easier planted, and yields more valuable productions, we find neither towns, trade, nor manufactures. In whatever light therefore we view this point, facts on every side prove directly contrary to our American Author's argument.

As to the point of manufactures being carried on by negroes, he is perfectly right; but here again he proves nothing, for the colonies which rival our own manufactures are not those which use negroes, they have not even of late any among them; and here I cannot avoid quoting a passage from a modern author, on the effects of slavery on manufactures. "I do not pretend to advance, as a confirmation of this doctrine, that the establishment of slavery in our colonies in America was made with a view to promote agriculture, and to curb manufactures in the new world; because I did not know much of the sentiments of politicians at that time; but if it be true that slavery has the effect of advancing agriculture, and other laborious operations, which are of a simple nature, and at the same time of discouraging invention and ingenuity, and if the mother-country has occasion for the produce of the first, in order to provide or to employ those which are wanted at home in the prosecution of the latter, then I must conclude that slavery has been very luckily, if not politically established in the colonies; and therefore, if any colony, where slavery is not common, shall ever begin to rival the industry of the mother-country, a very good way of frustrating the attempt will be to encourage the intro-

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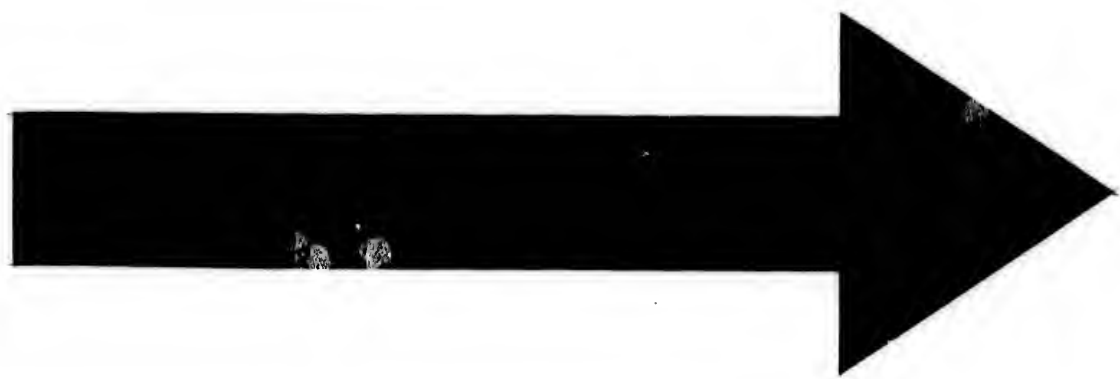
of slaves into such colonies without any restrictions; and allow it to work its natural effect.

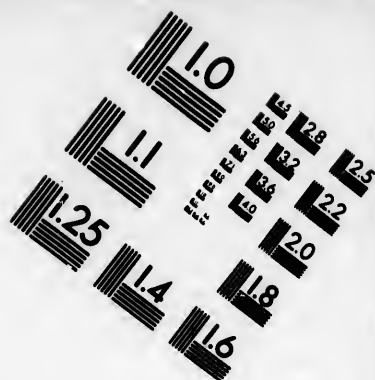
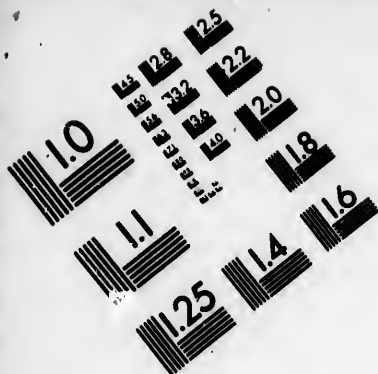
Dr. Franklin is not however the only writer who has formed the combination of *land cheap, labour dear*; another speaks thus of it: "It would certainly be more profitable to the colonies themselves to make staple commodities, than to make manufactures; they are the produce of lands that are both cheap and in plenty in our colonies, whereas manufactures are the produce of labour, that is both scarce and dear in them; and require many hands and improvements to carry them on to any advantage; all which they are without, and thereby spend their time upon manufactures to little or no purpose, as we may see by the experience of all." All which, as we have seen from facts, is totally wrong. The number of their (the colonies) inhabitants, says another, though near three millions, is small in proportion to the extent of continent they possess. Lands are consequently cheap and labour dear.

A fourth writer enters more particularly into the point of labour his sentiments are as follows. I give the quotation at length, because notwithstanding his writing so particularly in favour of the colonies in general, he asserts labour to be *cheap* among them, and deduces it from the very reason which the preceding quotations give for its being *dear*; the cheapness of land. There are 600,000 labourers in North America, who make by all their employments 1,500,000 $\text{\$}$ a year, which is but 50 $\text{\$}$ a head per annum; and not two-pence a day. In the tobacco colonies they make more by their agriculture than in any others; and although they are, or have been all employed in it, yet 800,000 people make but about 300,000 $\text{\$}$ a year by their tobacco, which is but 7 $\text{\$}$ 6d a head per annum; and not above 18 or 20 $\text{\$}$ including all the other branches of their agriculture. The labourers, who are about a fifth or sixth part, make about 30 $\text{\$}$ a head per annum; or 3 $\text{\$}$ at most, which is but two pence a day; and that appears to be the value of labour on plantations in North America. They who estimate the price of labour in the colonies by the day, do not know what their labour is; and much less the value of it. There is no such thing as day-labourers on plantations; and it is inconsistent with the design of them to admit of any. Day-labourers are only to be found in populous and well-improved countries, where they have a variety of employments which afford them a daily subsistence.

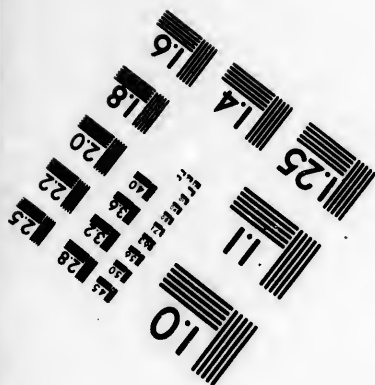
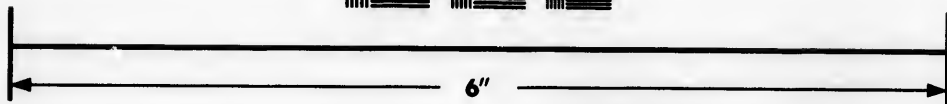
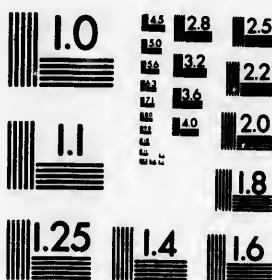
Dr. James Stewart's *Political Inquiry*, vol. i. p. 169.
 & *Constitution in America*, By Dr. Mitchell, 8vo. 1757. Preface, p. 26.
 & *American Dissertations* (for an abstr. Prize Medal given by a London Merchant) p. 70.
 & *Regulations of the Colonies*, p. 61.

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but as nothing will do that without manufactures, they who would estimate the price of labour in the colonies by the day, must of course admit of manufactures. But on plantations every one is employed by the year, in order to make a *crop*, which lasts for a twelvemonth. Now the wages of such labourers are four or five pounds a year for men, and two for women, who are the chief manufacturers: this brings the price of labour on a medium to 3 *l.* a year, which is but two-pence a day, for every day in the year. — The *deariness* of day-labour (*here he appears to mean those that are literally speaking hired by the day*) in the colonies proceeds from two causes: first, the labourers who are thus employed by the year, in order to make a crop of staple commodities for Britain, and their provisions with it, may lose their whole crop by neglecting it for a few days, and cannot spare a day's work without losing ten times as much as it is worth; and perhaps their whole year's subsistence, which is the true cause of the deariness of day-labour in the plantations: secondly, if there are any common labourers to be found, who are not engaged by the year, as there seldom are, they cannot find employment for above a few days in a month perhaps; and, for that reason, they must have as much for two or three days work, as will maintain them for as many weeks; but at the year's end they have not perhaps earned two-pence a day, for all the wages they may get, which is generally a shilling a day, meaning always *sterling cash*. Thus the day-labourers of the colonies, if there are any, are only the vagrants, and not the labourers of the country; who stroll from place to place without house or home, are clothed in rags and have not bare necessaries, notwithstanding the supposed high price of their labour. — Among other things it is alleged, that the colonies cannot make manufactures on account of the deariness of labour; when *two-thirds or three-fourths of the people are clothed with manufactures of their own making*; which are so far from being dear, that they cost little or nothing but industry, as we know by experience. They make them for their own use; and as these are so much better than what are made for sale, it is an inducement for every one almost to make them, as we have found with many others by experience. And if labour is now dear, manufactures will make it cheap, by affording constant and daily employment for labourers, and supplying them with cloathing at a cheaper rate than they can have it from Britain; which now comes dear to the poor in America, by passing through so many hands before the consumers get it, and thereby enhances the price of the labour. The price of labour is always in proportion to the necessaries of life, which *their plenty of land renders cheap, and consequently labour*; but here, where lands are so scarce, and the necessaries of life so dear, *both labour and manufactures are much dearer than in the colonies*; when they are once acquainted with the way of making them. For these reasons we may

may be assured, that the colonies must have manufactures and a trade in them, when they grow populous, &c. Remarks upon this passage are needless, the reader doubtless will reckon it (when he considers the quarter from which it comes) absolutely decisive; and to prove at once, not only the greatest amount of the manufactures carried on in the northern colonies, but likewise fully to overturn the pretence (in them) of *land, cheap labour dear*.

Thus, from a general view of the climate, population, agriculture, and manufactures of the British settlements in America, these few conclusions may be drawn.

I. That the number of their people are about two millions and a half.

II. That the northern colonies (those north of Maryland) in respect of climate, soil, agriculture and manufactures, possess most of the requisites of an independent people; differing very little in the effects of these circumstances from Britain.

III. That the middle colonies (Maryland and Virginia) in respect of agriculture, resemble of late years the northern; in respect of manufactures they possess a few, but those of no great amount; in respect of climate and soil they are excellent, as admitting a culture different from that of Britain.

IV. That the southern colonies (the rest of the continental ones, and the West India Islands) in respect of all the above-named particulars, are absolutely in a different walk from Britain, being entirely employed in raising gross commodities for her; Florida excepted, which is yet unknown.

Professor Smith, p. 202. I must however remark, that I quote this passage in preference to others, because it enters principally into the subject, and because it contains the clear opinion of the author, for who would imagine the same book to contain the following? "However necessary manufactures are to the colonies in their present situation, yet agriculture would turn to much more account. *Manufactures are the result of labour, which is less scarce and dear among them; but capital is more scarce, and the produce of land, which is more abundant in them.*" p. 162. From a multitude of passages of the sort, but the usage is derived from the great similarity of manner, phrase, and sentiment; from the number of repetitions, both of expression and idea, &c. &c. I am persuaded the same author wrote them both. They both contain much useful knowledge, much contempt of all who pretend to know anything of the matter, and yet some dogmatical assertions. I should likewise observe, that the translation of *De Præm. Histor. of Louisiana* appears to be the work of the same pen.

S E C T. II.

Of their Staple Commodities.

THE great benefit resulting from colonies is the cultivation of staple commodities different from those of the mother-country; that, instead of being obliged to purchase them of foreigners at the expence possibly of treasure, they may be had from settlements; in exchange for manufactures. The truth of no position can be clearer than this; and yet many writers who allow it, harangue greatly in the praise of the benefits this nation receives from colonies which have no staples at all. The reader doubtless remarked in the preceding review of the agriculture of the British settlements on the continent of North America, that several of them abounded so much with the *necessaries of life*, and so little with articles of culture more profitable, that they resembled a mother-country more than a colony. This is for want of staple commodities. But as this term of *staples* must be frequently used in the ensuing pages, I shall explain the sense in which I mean to have it understood. — By staple commodities in the present case I understand, *unmanufactured products of the soil, different from those of the mother-country; and in quantity and value sufficient to exchange for all or most of the necessaries of life.* A few instances will fully explain this. Wool, if it be different from that of the mother-country, is, to the amount of her demand, a staple. Fisheries are no staples, because not the products of the *soil*; for the same reason no articles of trade are staples: no commodity is to be called by that name that is not, *in conjunction with others, sufficient for the purchase of necessaries.* Thus a colony might produce corn, cattle, fish, &c. &c. and a small quantity of silk: the latter is not therefore to be termed a staple, because too inconsiderable in quantity. But if, instead of corn, cattle, and fish, we substitute tobacco, cotton and hemp, silk will then, however small the quantity, be a staple, as forming with the rest the sufficient amount. This definition may be open to some objections, but I apprehend they are less considerable than those which attend the use of terms in various senses: a bad definition well adhered to is better than no precision at all. — As the southern settlements are in respect of staples infinitely the most valuable, and as instances of their example will be useful in considering the northern ones, I shall reverse the method I have hitherto followed of advancing from north to south, and begin with the islands, proceeding northwards. For the sake of clearness, I shall divide this section into two parts; in the **FIRST** I shall treat of those colonies which have staples; *first* of such as are already established,

and

and *secondly* of such additional ones as have been proposed for them by various writers. The SECOND will comprehend those colonies which have none; and therein I shall examine the state of such commodities as have been by some improperly called their staples.

The colonies which possess staple commodities are the West India islands, — the southern continental ones, comprehending Georgia and the Carolinas, (as to Florida, it being yet unsettled, the conjectures concerning it will be examined at last) — and the middle continental ones, comprehending Virginia and Maryland.

The West India Islands.

The staple productions of these immensely valuable colonies are, 1. sugar, 2. cotton, 3. pimento, 4. wood for cabinet makers, 5. sundry articles.

Of Sugar.

This plant, which has made such a prodigious figure in the commerce of the modern world, is of too much importance to be passed slightly over; and yet to give a full account of it would be but to repeat what is to be met with in a thousand common books: I shall therefore dwell no farther on the natural history of it, than those particulars of the soil and culture it requires, which are necessary to be fully examined and known, before we can venture even a conjecture on the possible extension of so profitable a culture; and even these particulars I shall touch on with as much brevity as is consistent with the design of these papers.

The sugar cane is a smooth jointed reed, of a shining greenish colour; which, as the plant approaches to maturity, changes by degrees into a yellow. Their size varies greatly according to the soil, season, and other circumstances; the most usual height is from four to seven or eight feet: In some soils they never exceed two or three feet; in others they rise to nine, ten, or more. The thickness of the middling sized ones is about an inch; some of the small ones are little more than half an inch thick; the largest three or four inches. The distance between the joints or knots is no less various, but those which have them farthest apart are esteemed the best. This useful reed abounds with a juice extremely rich, sweet, and agreeable*. I mention these circumstances, as tending much to prove that a soil of extraordinary fertility must be necessary for so luxuriant a

* See an ingenious treatise, entitled, *The Art of making Sugar*, 4to. 1742. p. 2.

vegetable to be well filled with juice; and in all such cases an accurate cultivation is highly requisite.

But, as necessary as a proper soil certainly is to produce rich canes, yet they are cultivated on various ones, from a very rich black mould to even a light sand. They are produced in the greatest perfection in light, spongy, deep soils, which lie exposed to the sun during the whole time of his shining, and have just decent enough to carry off the rain water *. From which it is apparent, that an exceeding hot climate is absolutely necessary to the growth of this plant: Now a burning sun exerted constantly upon a light soil, would render it possibly barren, if great rains did not fall to keep some moisture in it. The rains in the West Indies are prodigious; we may therefore conclude, that if a soil is very light, and exposed to as hot a sun as our islands, that equal moisture is necessary for the production of sugar. But although we speak of a light spongy soil, we are not therefore to suppose it poor; on the contrary it has great fertility in it, if compared with parallel ones in European climates. Poor grounds require to be well manured with dung, which is to be spread over them, and the lands covered with the trash. The latter is here of good service, preventing the over-vehement action of the sun from exhaling the moisture of the dung, which is necessary to impregnate the soil.

In shallow worn-out grounds, where the roots of the plant soon reach the gravel or stones, the canes prove small and full of knots; nevertheless, in moist seasons, they are found to be of exceeding good quality: their juice, though in no great quantity, is extremely rich. The Portuguese in Brazil, and the Spaniards in New Spain, plant their sugar canes in the poorer soils only, or such as are exhausted and become too poor for producing tobacco *. But conclusions are not to be absolutely drawn from their example to the practice of our colonies, because various circumstances may form an essential difference. Their rich soils may not be so proper for the cane as ours: Tobacco too may be a more profitable culture; these points would make a total difference between the respective choice of soils.

Low marshy lands which lie nearly on a level with the sea, afford long, large, weighty canes, which have a very beautiful appearance, but are generally of a bad quality. Strong red earths produce fine long, large canes; which, if cut in the dry season, and when perfectly ripe, afford a tolerably rich juice, and in large quantity. The muscovado prepared from this juice, is of a good grain, bears carriage well, yields an excellent white sugar, and does not lose so much in the refining as many other

* *Art of making Sugar*, p. 4.

forts*. Labat relates, that he has frequently found the muscovado, made from canes produced in this kind of soil, to afford little less than half its weight of pure white sugar; but observes, that if the canes are not kept very clean from weeds, or if cut before they are perfectly ripe, it proves exceedingly difficult to clarify the juice †.

Very rich soils (such generally are those which have been just cleared from the wood) produce abundance of tall beautiful canes, whose juice is in large quantity, but not without great difficulty reducible into a good sugar. Nevertheless, by a method of management somewhat different from the common, canes may be raised in this kind of soil of a most excellent quality. And thus, naturally yielding a *large quantity*, and, by proper management, of a *good quality*, this soil is certainly the best. When therefore we read in authors, that the best lands are not the *strongest*; we may be assured they either do not mean the *richest*, or those which are most fertile; or speak upon a supposition that the planter does not vary his management on account of the fertility of his soil. And as *fresh* soils are so advantageous in our islands, there certainly must be some variations in the nature of the earth, or the methods of treating it, or some other reason for the Portuguese and Spaniards preferring an exhausted soil.

The ground designed for the sugar cane must be well cleared from weeds; particularly that most destructive climbing kind of weeds called *withs*, a species of the *liane*, which twist round the canes and kill them: these ought, if possible, to be intirely extirpated and carried off, as the least piece left upon the ground soon shoots up and multiplies very fast. The roots of trees, especially if the wood is of such a kind as is apt to send up suckers, should be either got up or burnt, or scorched, so as to dry up their moisture, and prevent them from shooting. As to the roots of other kind of wood, it is not absolutely necessary to take this trouble. Some of the French planters lay out their grounds into a number of squares of an hundred yards of each side, leaving vacant spaces betwixt them about eighteen feet wide, for the passage of carts, &c. These spaces the planters call intervals. In Jamaica, where much the same practice is followed, fifteen feet are held sufficient for these intervals. The usual size of the cane-piece is from ten to twenty acres.—This method of laying out the ground, besides the ornament which a plantation receives from it, is accompanied with some considerable advantages. The carts are easily admitted near all the canes;—fires, when accidental or designed (burning the rubbish) are prevented from spreading;—Nor is the ground lost,

* *Art of making Sugar*, p. 4.

† Labat.

for many useful vegetables, such as pease, potatoes, yams, &c. &c. are planted in them, and other sorts that are fit to be taken up before the canes are ripe*.

The manner of planting them is as follows: Some time after the land has been stirred, a number of trenches are made in the ground, from fifteen to eighteen inches long, which is the length of the pieces of cane which are cut with design to plant: Their most convenient depth is four or five inches in moist weather, and in great droughts seven or eight: In each of these trenches two of the cuttings are placed, in such a manner that the end of one may stand about three inches out of the earth, at one extremity of the trench, whilst that of the other does the same at the other extremity; after which the trenches are filled up with the earth that was taken out of them. The time most proper for this work is the middle of the rainy season.—The trenches are sometimes made promiscuously, sometimes in rows; the distance between them and between the plants in each row, in good lands, three feet; in poor soils, two †. In about ten or twelve days the plants are high enough to weed ‡; which is done very carefully, and is repeated at proper intervals two or three times, or oftener, till the canes have grown so large as to keep down the weeds. At the age of five or six months they are weeded again for the last time ||. At the age of sixteen months, or thereabouts, they are fit to be cut, though they may remain a few months after without prejudice §, in some cases with advantage ¶.

But before we proceed farther, it may not be amiss to make a few remarks upon their culture. The whole process is performed by negroes, with hoes; and, upon that plan, the disposition of the plantation into squares, as above-mentioned, is judicious. But I apprehend a little reflection will point out a more advantageous method of cultivation. Why cannot the grounds be prepared with ploughs? The expence would, beyond all doubt, be reduced greatly; and the plough will command as various depths as the hoe, and even stir the ground as superficially, if that is wanted. But as rich *deep* soils are the best for the cane, there is great reason to believe that deep tillage would be infinitely the most advantageous wherever the staple would admit it. Then, I should apprehend, that a disposition of the field into oblong squares would be much better than

* *Art of making Sugar*, p. 7.

† *Account*, &c. p. 6.

‡ *Account of European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 100.

|| *Art of making Sugar*, p. 8.

§ *Account of European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 100.—*Lebot*.

¶ *Art of making Sugar*, p. 8.

perfect squares; and particularly for this reason, horse-hoeing upon the principles of the new husbandry in Europe might be substituted for the common hoeing, and certainly would be performed for a tenth of the expence, and very probably would be found more efficacious: but, for this purpose, the canes must either be planted by a line in regular rows, or in a furrow struck with a plough, which would be equally straight and much cheaper. The cultivation which is required between the plants in the rows, must be performed with hand-hoes; but as to all between the rows, and even earthing the plants up, if requisite, a horse-hoe would do it in any manner that can be effected by hand ones, even to the mere paring off the weeds; but would occasionally cut much deeper than any man could strike a hand-hoe. There is no reason to believe that the common horse-hoeing of ploughing from and to the rows alternate would not have very fine effects upon the canes. As they are so long in coming to maturity, the plantation is generally divided into three parts; one fallow, and two occupied with canes; so that a crop may be had every year. This part of the practice should likewise be changed, and another principle of the new husbandry adopted; which would be, to have the intervals so wide as to double the quantity of land in a plantation, by which means the same tillage that is bestowed upon the growing crop would likewise prepare the ground for the ensuing one: the crop would, in all probability, be much greater than common, and the expences much reduced. The cost of the negroes on a sugar plantation is a prodigious weighty expence, and the charge of keeping up their number, an annual drain from the planter's pocket: by introducing this new culture, much the greater half of this expence would be cut off. I need not enlarge upon the benefits resulting from such a deduction.—But whatever arguments were urged against it, none can be given for not making the experiment. Many planters in our islands are too rich to fear the chance of losing by a small trial: why therefore will they not make it? That indolence, and idea of walking in beaten tracks, which is so prevalent in all concerned in the culture of the earth, indeed peculiarly so, are the only circumstances to which we can refer for an answer. But to proceed.

The canes are cut with hand-bills, and carried in bundles to the mill, which is now generally a wind mill; it turns three great cylinders or rollers, plated with iron, set perpendicularly, and cogged so as to be all moved by the middle one. Between these the canes are bruised to pieces, and the juice runs through an hole into a vat, which is placed under the rollers to receive it; from hence it is carried through a pipe into a great reservoir, in which however, for fear of turning sour, it is not suffered to rest long; but is conveyed out of that by other pipes into the boiling house.

house, where it is received by a large cauldron; here it remains until the scum, which constantly arises during the boiling, is all taken off; from this it is passed successively into five or six more boilers, gradually diminishing in their size, and treated in the same manner. In the last of these it becomes of a very thick clammy consistence*. They then ferment it with lime-water, and subside it with a piece of butter, after which it is placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates, and becomes ready to be put in pots: it is strained through these, the molasses running off into a receptacle made to receive it, and from that rum is made. I have inserted these particulars, as they tend to display a material circumstance, the great expences of forming a sugar plantation. Indeed, in sketching the expence, I am under a very great want of materials; for, strange as it may appear, I can find scarce any thing but imperfect particulars, or mere general assertions. The last quoted author states the whole expence of a plantation of any consequence, exclusive of the purchase of the land, at 5000*l.*; but this is so indefinite, that we can conclude nothing from it.

The buildings alone form a very considerable amount. 1. The sugar-mill, with its iron cylinders, and the vat which is lined with sheet-lead †. 2. The cistern, or reservoir. 3. The boiling-house, built of brick or stone; five coppers, (the lowest number used) require one of thirty-five feet wide in the clear, and fifty in length, containing five coppers; the largest generally four feet in diameter, and three in height; the others, lessened by degrees to the last, which is only twenty inches in diameter and eighteen in depth ‡. Besides these, this house must contain troughs, which the rough sugar is set to cool in before it is barrellled, and moulds, into which other sugars are to be put as taken from the last boiler; likewise a cistern, almost the length of the house, five or six feet deep, well paved and lined. This cistern is covered with joists, laid about six inches diameter from each other; their use is for setting the barrels or pots of muscovado on, for the molasses to drain from into the cistern. 4. The curing house, for receiving clayed sugars, one hundred feet long and

* *Account of European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 100.

† *Art of making Sugar*, p. 10.

‡ I should remark, that my authority here is Lebat. Whether the coppers are larger at present I know not, but from a passage in the *European Settlements*, one would suppose them infinitely so. Having conducted the sugar to the last copper, and raised the fermentation, he says, "to prevent it from running over, a bit of butter, no larger than a nut, is thrown in, upon which the fury of the fermentation immediately subsides; a vessel of two or three hundred gallons requires no greater force to quiet it;" from which possibly the reader may conclude the the last copper is sometimes of that size; and if so, the preceding ones must be prodigiously larger than those quoted above from Lebat. These difficulties result from our own writers not being particular in their accounts.

twenty-eight broad, containing two stories; at one end of it a copper or two, mounted for clarifying the fine sugars, &c. at the other end a shed, for tempering the clay; likewise a covered way to it. 5. The stove, twelve feet square in the clear, divided in height into six stages; it contains an iron stove thirty inches long, twenty-four high, twenty-two wide; and the iron two thick: this for drying the sugar is kept red hot eight days and nights. 6. The still-house, near the boiling-house, for the molasses, scummings of the coppers, and other refuse matters to be diluted with water, and set a fermenting in; generally in large casks, iron hooped; it is then conveyed into the still or copper, set in a proper furnace*.

These six buildings, without mentioning other absolutely necessary ones, such as the habitation, &c. must cost an immense sum erecting and furnishing; for we are to remember, that they are built peculiarly strong, for two reasons; first, that they may not be liable to take fire, all having such fiery furnaces in them; and, secondly, to be as secure as possible against hurricanes, which sometimes whirl away the strongest as they would a feather. The perpetual repairs of such consuming furnaces are likewise very considerable; the coppers are soon worn out, and are for ever new hanging. It is idle to give guesses where there is so little authority; but I should not apprehend these buildings, with a middling dwelling house, and a smaller for an overseer, could be completed under 5000 *l.* From which circumstance I cannot but suppose, that they have methods of reducing these expences, by making fewer buildings do, or a large fortune would be necessary to take a small plantation; but how far such oeconomy is carried, we have no accounts, nor what is the *lowest* sum of money necessary for buildings. I do not think I am above the truth in my supposition, as the mill alone was calculated in 1689 to cost 500 *l.* † And as the coppers, ladles, skimmers, gudgeons, cases, capooles, (whatever they are) &c. on a middling sugar-work, cost 500 *l.* more ‡. One writer says expressly the expence of buildings and utensils is from 3 to 8000 *l.* ||

In respect to the amount of negroes to a given number of acres, their expences, and proportion of land to the above-mentioned buildings, &c. &c. I can find very few accounts that are the least satisfactory; such particulars, however, as are to be gleaned up from the writers most to be

* *Art of making Sugar*, p. 23. 26. 31.

† *The Groans of the Plantations*, 4to, 1689.

‡ *Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Importance of Sugar-Colonies*, 8vo. 1745, p. 19.

|| *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 3.

depended on, are as follows: Large plantations are generally under the care of a manager, or chief overseer, who has commonly a salary of an hundred and fifty pounds a year, with overseers under him in proportion to the greatness of the plantation; one to about thirty negroes, and at the rate of about forty pounds. Such plantations too have a surgeon at a fixed salary, employed to take care of the negroes which belong to it; but the course which is the least troublesome to the owner of the estate is, to let the land, with all the works, and the stock of cattle and slaves, to a tenant, who gives security for the payment of the rent, and the keeping up repairs and the stock. The estate is generally estimated to such a tenant at half the neat produce of the best ears. Such tenants, if industrious and frugal men, soon make good estates for themselves*. — One hundred negroes formerly required six annually to be bought for keeping up the number, and two wind-mills were likewise requisite for one hundred acres, planted every year †. As there are no material reasons to suppose these points changed, we may allot fifty years to a set of buildings; but whether there is a set to each mill, is very doubtful; in all probability not, as the proportion may be preserved much cheaper by building off a somewhat larger scale, and having the coppers, cisterns, stove, &c. &c. of proportionably larger sizes.

The negroes cost, out of the ship, 30 *l.* a head; but afterwards, when instructed in their business, are much more valuable; the loss of one is reckoned at 40 or 50 *l.* for a skilful sugar-boiler even 100 *l.* has been given ‡.

As to the profits of a sugar plantation, the public knows as little of them as of the expences, but they must certainly be very great, as so many estates are constantly made in the West Indies. "It is computed," says a modern writer, "that when things are well managed, the rum and molasses pay the charge of the plantation, and that the sugars are clear gain." And in another place, he says, "The slaves pay 10 or 12 *l.* a head, clear profit by their labour ||." "The yield of spirits," says another, "where all the molasses and refuse matters are applied to this use, is between sixty and seventy gallons to every hoghead of sugar. In Barbadoes, where the mill and boilers are frequently washed, and sometimes a quantity of what they call *rotten canes*, ground on purpose for

* *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 104.

† *Greens of the Plantations*, 1689, p. 18.

‡ Postlethwaye's *Dictionary of Trade*, vol. ii. Art. *British America*.

|| *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 103. 126.

fermentation, seventy-five gallons or more are obtained. In St. Christophers, and some other places, where the greatest part of the scums are given to the cattle, and the sugar discharges but little molasses, the yield of rum upon the hoghead of sugar is scarce thirty gallons *. A third makes the quantity of rum to a hoghead fifty gallons †, which appears to be near the medium.

Before I dismiss this part of my subject, I must remark, that the points of knowledge much wanting at present, in relation to the culture of sugar, are, minutes of the number of hogheads of sugar produced from a given number of acres and the price; the number of puncheons of rum; the expences of all kinds, particularly those of rent of land, manure, culture, wear and tear, grinding, boiling, &c. the consumption of British manufactures caused by a given number of acres; the number of slaves: if these and other particulars were registered for a few years, in various islands, infinitely more determinate knowledge would be the result than the public at present enjoys; and the vast importance of every acre of cultivated land in that part of the world would appear in a very strong light. But I am able at present to meet with none of these particulars; even the laborious Mr. Postlethwayte, with all the minuteness of two vast folios, compiled from, I suppose, such numbers of authors, never touches on these particulars.

Cotton.

Cotton forms the next staple commodity of the West India islands, and is exported from thence in much larger quantities than from the continent, yet the culture and other particulars relative to it are scarce mentioned by the authors which I have before me; and as it is by no means safe to reason by analogy from the continent of North America to the islands, I shall reserve the few particulars I have concerning it till I come to speak of the staples of the former.

Pimento,

Or allspice, which is produced in larger quantities in Jamaica than in any of our islands, is a berry gathered from a tree which grows spontaneously, and generally upon the mountains.

Timber.

Woods for the use of cabinet-makers are in very great plenty in many islands, but especially in Jamaica and Tobago. In the former much

* *Art of making Sugar*, p. 34.

† *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, p. 15.

mahogany is found; a timber, of which there is in this country a prodigious consumption; and which consequently makes a considerable article of commerce. But it was formerly much commoner in that island than at present: while it could be had in the low lands, and brought to market at an easy rate, it furnished a very considerable branch of the exports of that island. "It thrives," says Dr. Brown, "in moist soils, and varies both its grain and texture with each; that which grows among the rocks is smaller, but very hard and weighty, of a close grain, and beautifully shaded; while the produce of the lower and richer lands is observed to be more light and porous, of a paler colour and open grain, and that of mixed soils to hold a medium between both. The wood is generally hard, takes a fine polish, and is found to answer better than any other sort in all kinds of cabinet ware: it is now universally esteemed, and sells at a good price; but it is pity that it is not cultivated in the more convenient waste lands of that island. It is a very strong timber, and answers very well in beams, joists, planks, boards, and shingles, and has been frequently put to those uses in Jamaica in former times*."

In Tobago, not only mahogany, but a great variety of other beautiful as well as useful timbers are found in vast plenty. A modern writer very justly remarks, that they should not be absolutely left to the mercy of the first planters. His sentiment, as it has great propriety, I shall give in his own words. "As this island, in the state it now is, abounds with a vast variety of different sorts of timber, all of them allowed to be excellent in their respective kinds, it may perhaps deserve some consideration in the first settling it, whether proper officers might not be appointed to secure all the advantages that may be drawn from this circumstance to the public. It is by no means intended, that the first planters should be deprived of the necessary use of all kinds of timber for buildings and utensils, but that this should be cut in a proper method, and with discretion; and the rather, because nothing has been more loudly exclaimed against by the sensible men in all the other islands, than the undistinguishing and destructive havoc made amongst the woods, without any regard to the general interest, or the least respect paid to that of posterity. By such a method, the country may be properly and regularly cleared and opened; and as, from the nature of the soil and climate, vegetation is extremely quick, a succession of useful trees may be constantly maintained. By this means valuable cargoes will be furnished of fine woods for the use of joiners, cabinet-makers and turners; the necessary materials for dying cloth, silk, linen, obtained in the highest perfection; and a vast

* Brown's *Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, folio, 1756.

variety of gums, balsams, and other costly and efficacious medicines, may be procured in their genuine and most perfect state. By this precaution very large sums, which we now pay to foreigners, will be saved to the nation, the improvement of our manufactures facilitated, and the exportation of these bulky commodities prove a great benefit to our navigation.

Besides these articles of produce, our West India islands possess sundry less important articles, upon which it would be too tedious to dwell separately, such as fustic, red wood, guaiacum, sarsaparilla, cassia, tamarind, ginger, aloes, cacao, the cochineal plant, (but know not the management) sweet meats; and lastly, coffee, an article which might be of immense importance, as it is in the French islands, but is strangely neglected in ours: Jamaica, however, sends home in some years above two hundred casks of it.

Let us in the next place examine the quantity of these staples produced in our islands, as they will best prove the importance of the West India commerce. But as accounts of their produce are somewhat various, the surest, though not the most entertaining way, will be, to review these before we pretend to determine the fact. — To begin with Jamaica, the largest of our islands:

Dr. Brown † makes the quantity of sugar exported annually, at a medium of four years, ending in December 1751, to be about 476,338 † Ct. net or short weight: this, at 15 Ct. to the hoghead, is — — — 31,755 hnds. hog heads.
And if we add the island consumption, which is 4,300

36,055

Another writer says, the export in 1753 was 20,315 hogheads, some vastly large, even to a ton weight, which he calculates at 424,725 †. † which at 15 †. a hoghead, makes — — — 28,315
Consumption as before, — — — 4,300

32,615

A third † makes the product, at 15 Ct. each, — — — 32,000.
But he allows only 1000 hogheads for North America and their own consumption, which is beyond all doubt too low.

* Dr. Campbell's *Considerations on the Sugar Trade*, p. 129.

† *Natural and Civil History*, 1756.

‡ *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 72.

§ *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, 1745. p. 14.

Mr.

Mr. Postlethwayte quotes authors without naming them, *hog sheads.*
 who make the product 20,000,000 lb. this is at 15 Ct. 11,985
 But the same writer in another place, quotes other authors
 without naming them, who assert the quantity to be
 100,000 weight; but as he elsewhere speaks of 2 Ct. I
 shall deduct a 5th, 80,000

And, strange as it may appear, in the same page gives credit
 to both accounts.

A fifth writer makes it 50,000

Medium of these accounts, 48,515

The value of these at 15^l. per hoghead, £. 727,925

Other Products.

Rum, 65 gallons to each hoghead of sugar; at 2s. 9d. per
 gallon, £. 433,591

Cotton, 1253 bags by one account,
 2000 by another;

1626 medium, at
 10^l. 15^s. per bag, 17,479

Coffee, 220 casks, 2,342

Pimento, 438,000 lb., 15,632

Mahogany, 17,857

Sundries, as logwood, nicarago, braziletto, fustic, lignum-
 vitæ, cocoa, ginger canella or winter's bark, peruvian
 bark, ballams, indigo, aloes, hides, staves, dry goods,
 and bullion sometimes exported from thence, whose value
 is not so easily computed, 32,142

Total, 1,246,868

^a Dictionary, Art. Antilles.

^b Article Sugar.

^c Importance of the Sugar Colonies, 1760.

^d Dr. Campbell's Considerations, p. 27. I take this price to avoid the charge of exaggeration.
 Dr. Brown makes the price in the island to be 16^l.

^e Art of making Sugar, p. 34.

^f Brown's Jamaica.

^g A considerable part of their molasses is exported undistilled to New England; but the
 whole should certainly be charged to the account of Jamaica.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ European Settlements, vol. ii, p. 73.

^k In fixing this price, as well as that of rum, I am forced to have recourse to Dr. Brown,
 who gives a total in Jamaica currency; from which, by reducing many bags to one, &c. and
 proportioning the price, I find as above.

^l Brown's Jamaica.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o The author of the Examination of the Commercial Principles, 1762, p. 92. values Jamaica
 at 1,100,000 *l*. Perhaps the medium may be nearer the truth.

Barbadoes.

A writer I have frequently quoted makes the produce of Barbadoes *hog heads.*

Dr. Campbell calculates it at but	25,000
Mr. Pofflethwayte, according to his usual custom of quoting writers without naming them, gives us the produce in 1736, in hogheads of 13 Ct. 22,760, which at 15 Ct. makes	16,000
	19,800

The medium	20,266
Value at 15 l.	£. 303,990
Rum, 75 gallons to the hoghead, at 2 s. 9 d.	203,992

Sundry articles, such as cotton, indigo, ginger, sweet meats, aloes, cassia, &c. &c. of which it is well known they export upon the whole large quantities, I shall venture to lay them at 30,000 l. which is much under the proportion of Jamaica to the number of hogheads of sugar, as mahogany and pimento are not near so plentiful,

	30,000
Total,	£. 537,982

Antigua.

Mr. Pofflethwayte makes the produce	16,000
Another writer,	15,000
Medium,	15,500

Value at 15 l.	£. 232,500
Rum at 30 gallons per hoghead, and at 2 s. 9 d. per gallon,	69,933
Sundry articles I calculate at but 10,000 l. as this island is not proportionably fertile in them with Barbadoes,	10,000

306,433

* *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 89.
 * *Article British America.*
 * *Article British America.*
 * *Art of making Sugar*, p. 33.

* *Considerations*, p. 27.
 * *Art of making Sugar*, p. 34.
 * *Importance of Sugar Colonies.*

St. Christophers.

	<i>hog sheads.</i>
Mr. Pofflethwayte,	10,000
The author of the <i>Importance</i> , &c. agrees in this number.	
Value at 15 l.	£. 150,000
Rum at 30 gallons per hoghead †, and at 2 s. 9 d. per gallon,	41,250
In respect of the sundry articles of produce, this island is very fertile; I shall calculate them at	7,000
	Total, 198,250

Nevis.

	<i>hog sheads.</i>
Mr. Pofflethwayte †,	16,000
The <i>Importance of the Sugar Colonies</i> makes the quantity	6,000
Another writer † says this island has 10,000 negroes, and St. Christophers 20,000; now, if the sugar is proportioned to the number of slaves, which is very probable, Nevis produces.	5,000
The medium,	9,000
Value at 15 l.	£. 135,000
Rum, 30 gallons per hoghead §, and at 2 s. 9 d. per gallon,	37,125
Sundry articles I calculate,	3,000
	Total, 175,125

Montserrat.

	<i>hog sheads.</i>
The author of the <i>Importance</i> , &c. makes the produce	2,000
The proportion of the negroes, taken as before,	5,000
Medium,	35,000
Value at 15 l.	£. 52,500
Rum, 30 gallons per hoghead, at 2 s. 9 d. as before,	14,437
Sundry articles, suppose	2,000
	Total, £. 68,937

* *Art of making Sugar.*† *Art. Sugar.*‡ *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 92.§ *Art of making Sugar*, p. 34.

As to the islands ceded by the peace of 1763, their produce is yet unknown, but they can scarcely be brought into culture enough yet to yield any quantities of sugar. In all probability, however, the export of mahogany from them is not inconsiderable, from the fall of the price in England within these two years, which cannot well be ascribed to any other cause.

The totals of the preceding articles are as follow:

Sugar.	Hhds.	Value.
Jamaica, ———	48,515	£.727,825
Barbadoes, ———	20,266	303,990
Antigua, ———	15,500	232,500
St. Christophers, ———	10,000	150,000
Nevis, ———	9,000	175,125
Montserrat, ———	3,500	52,500
	106,781	1,644,940

Before I proceed with the remaining articles, it is necessary to take notice of some accounts of the total quantity of our sugar in those authors who do not give the particulars.

Mr. Anderson * says, it is thought our islands produce 85,000 hogheads, at 12 Ct. which, says he, is 1,200,000 Ct. but that is a mistake, it is only 1,020,000, and at 15. Ct. *hog sheads.*
makes _____ 68,000

Dr. Campbell † makes the quantity consumed by us in Europe 80,000 hogheads, to which we must add the consumption of America. The author of the *Present State* ‡ makes that of the continental colonies 30,000 hogheads: the islands themselves probably consume 5000 §: this account therefore will be _____ 115,000

* *Historical Deduction of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 351.

† *Considerations*, &c. p. 30.

‡ Page 272.

§ To Jamaica was charged 4300 hogheads; but that account, though taken from another writer, appearing to me very large, and totally out of proportion to the consumption of the northern colonies, I think it the safer way to charge the whole at no more than 5000. But if this should be somewhat too low, yet the excess in the other will help in the general total to throw it upon a medium near the truth.

The author of the *Present State* * makes the whole 124,000, exclusive of the islands themselves; say therefore 127,000. Another writer † states the importation to Great Britain at 70,000, at 12 Ct. that is, at 15 Ct. 56,000; to which add the colonies: but as he wrote in 1745, their consumption probably was not above 20,000, in all — 76,000

Account drawn from several writers; as above,	—	106,781
General medium,	—	98,156
Value at 15 l.	—	£. 1,472,340

Rum.

Jamaica,	—	£. 433,591
Barbadoes,	—	203,992
Antigua,	—	63,933
St. Christophers,	—	41,250
Nevis,	—	37,125
Montserrat,	—	14,437
		794,328 †

Sundries.

Jamaica §,	—	£. 85,452
Barbadoes,	—	30,000
Antigua,	—	10,000
St. Christophers,	—	7,000
Nevis,	—	3,000
Montserrat,	—	2,000
		137,452

Total products, ————— **2,104,120**

A modern author || gives us from the custom-house entries the imports from the West Indies to England in 1758, a year subject to the losses of war, they amount to ——— **1,834,036**

* Page 272.

† Letter to a Member of Parliament, p. 11.

‡ A strong confirmation of this amount is an assertion of the author of the *Present State*, p. 272. that the quantity is about 70,000 hogheads, at 10 l. made in the islands, besides the exported molasses.

§ *Examination of the Commercial Principles*, p. 27.

|| It is very plain, to England alone, as he copies the exports from the *Interest of Great Britain*, p. 57. (which expressly excludes Scotland and Ireland) and, to make the account complete, adds the imports.

	Brought over	1,834,036
North America consumes 30,000 hogheads of sugar,	—	450,000
Ditto, in rum and melasses *	—	470,000
		<hr/>
Let us allow for Scotland, &c.	—	£. 2,754,036
		245,964
		<hr/>
Total, according to this account,	—	3,000,000
The first made it,	—	2,404,120
		<hr/>
Medium	—	£. 2,702,060

As I have in every article taken the medium of all the accounts I could procure, that did not appear plain copies from each other, I cannot apprehend any thing here is exaggerated a single shilling; but a word or two is necessary as to charging all the rum to the account of the islands. I cannot see any difference between exporting a part of their melasses unmanufactured to New England, there to be distilled, or distilling it themselves: it is in both cases equally the product of the islands: all the trade, consumption, exchanges, remittances to Britain, &c. &c. in consequence of these melasses exportation are all occasioned by products of the sugar cane: And as I am not here stating the *profits* of the islands: but their *produce*, no deductions are to be made from the above total upon account of the New-England distilleries, no more than upon account of the African negroes, or the British manufactures; these articles cannot be gained, so as to state exactly the *profit*; nor is it of half the consequence of the *produce* if they could, as that is the foundation of so many fabricks-raised throughout our whole dominions: and especially as the islands *could*, with the utmost ease, distil *all* their melasses, whereas New England could scarcely subsist without them.

The number of whites in all these islands, according to the author of the *European Settlements*, does not exceed 74,000; now the above produce divided amongst them makes 32 *l.* 9 *s.* per head, a vast amount! The same writer makes the blacks 240,000; the total of whites and blacks therefore is 314,000. The above sum divided amongst these gives 8 *l.* 12 *s.* 1 *d.* per head: a vast sum for the average of men, women and children!

In St. Christophers, says Mr. Postlethwayte, there are not above 24,000 acres that can be applied to any sort of culture

* *Present State.*

	Brought over	24,000
Nevis I calculate in proportion to St. Christophers; if the pro-		
duce of fugar of that island comes off 24,000, that of Nevis		
will proceed from	_____	21,600
Antigua, by the same rule,	_____	37,200
Montserrat, ditto,	_____	8,400
Barbadoes, ditto,	_____	48,480
Jamaica, ditto,	_____	115,200
Total cultivated acres,	_____	254,880

The total product divided amongst these makes per acre 10 *l.* 12 *s.* and, if fallow years were deducted, the product per acre would be so much greater; and this besides all they raise for their own and negroes food, or, in other words, is *exported* produce.

As to the extensive and various benefits resulting to Britain from this prodigious product, it would be anticipating succeeding sections to examine them here.

THE SOUTHERN CONTINENTAL COLONIES.

The staples of the southern continental colonies, or those of North and South Carolina and Georgia, are, 1. rice, 2. indigo, 3. cotton, 4. skins, 5. naval stores, 6. timber, 7. silk, 8. sundry articles.

Rice.

The maritime parts of our southern continental colonies, contain a vast quantity of that species of land which is called *swamps*: They differ somewhat from the European marshes in producing timber, especially cypress trees: others produce canes. The water stands in them of various depths; but if it is in a very large quantity the draining will be too expensive; from six inches to two feet and an half are the profitable ones, but a good sound bottom is necessary. These swamps they drain, cultivate and sow, and must always have it in their power to flood at any time; as the culture of the rice requires it. The very intelligent author of the *Description of South Carolina*, gives the following account of the soil, culture and produce. "The best land for rice is a wet, deep, miry soil; such as is generally to be found in cypress swamps, or a black greasy mould with a clay foundation; but the very best (*worst* I should apprehend is meant) lands may be meliorated by laying them under water at proper seasons.— Good crops are produced even the first year, when the surface of the earth appears in some degree covered with the trunks and branches

branches of trees. The proper months for sowing rice are March, April, and May: the method is to plant it in trenches or rows made with a hoe, about three inches deep; the land must be kept pretty clear from weeds; and at the latter end of August, or the beginning of September, it will be fit to be reaped. — Rice is not the worse for being a little green when cut; they let it remain on the stubble till dry, which will be in about two or three days, if the weather be favourable, and then they house or put it in large stacks, afterwards it is threshed with a flail, and then winnowed, which was formerly a very tedious operation, but it is now performed with great ease by a very simple machine, a wind fan, but lately used here, and a prodigious improvement. The next part of the process is grinding, which is done in small mills made of wood, of about two feet in diameter; it is then winnowed again, and afterwards put into a mortar made of wood, sufficient to contain from half a bushel to a bushel, where it is beat with a pebble, of a size suitable to the mortar, and to the strength of the person who is to pound it: this is done to free the rice from a thick skin, and is the most laborious part of the work. It is then sifted from the flour and dust made by the pounding, and afterwards by a wire sieve, called a market sieve, it is separated from the broken and small rice; which fits it for the barrels in which it is carried to market. — They reckon 30 slaves a proper number for a rice plantation, and to be tended with one overseer: These, in favourable seasons, and on good land, will produce a surprizing quantity of rice; but that I may not be blamed by those, who being induced to come here upon such favourable accounts, and may not reap so great a harvest, and that I may not mislead any person whatever, I chuse rather to mention the common computation, throughout the province, communibus annis; which is, that each good working hand, employed in a rice-plantation, makes four barrels and an half of rice, each barrel weighing four or five hundred pounds weight neat; besides a sufficient quantity of provisions of all kinds, for the slaves, horses, cattle, and poultry of the plantation, for the year ensuing. — Rice last year (he wrote in 1761) bore a good price, being, at a medium, about 2 *l.* 5 *s.* of our currency, per hundred weight; and all this year it hath been 2 *l.* 15 *s.* and 3 *l.*; though not many years ago, it was sold at such low prices, as 10 or 12 *s.* per hundred *”

The same writer quotes from an account in 1710 a few other particulars. “ Rice is sowed in furrows about 18 inches distance; a peck usually sows an acre, which yields seldom less than 30 bushels, or more than 60 bushels; but generally between these two, according as the land is better or worse. Thriving best in low moist lands, it inclines people to

improve that sort of ground, which being planted a few years with rice and then laid fallow, turns to the best pasture*." A third writer says, "Where the soil and climate is proper for rice, there is no grain in the world yields so much profit to a planter †."

The proportion of South Carolina currency to sterling is as 7 to 1. The above-mentioned price therefore of 3*l.* per cwt. is nearly 8*s.* 7*d.* per cwt. and as there are 4 cwt. in a barrel, it is 1*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* per barrel: and the slaves making four and a half, amounts, each slave, to 7*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* and as there remains time besides this work, for raising provisions, &c. for the whole plantation for a year, the product of rice appears to be clear profit: and if indigo is planted at the same time, we shall find in the next article, that the profit is yet greater per head. Thirty negroes, at the common price at present, and of late years, 30*l.* come to 900*l.* the interest of which sum, at 5 per cent. is 45*l.* the profit on them at 7*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* each, is 231*l.* 15*s.* which is a very considerable return from so small a sum. As to the loss of negroes, nothing can fairly be deducted, as Carolina exports a few negroes, instead of importing them, which shews, that their increase exceeds their losses.

Indigo.

"Indigo is a dye made from a plant of the same name, says the author of the *Account of the European Settlements*, which probably was so called from India, where it was first cultivated, and from whence we had for a considerable time the whole of what we consumed in Europe. This plant is very like the fern when grown, and when young hardly distinguishable from lucerne-grass. They cultivate three sorts in Carolina, which demand the same variety of soils. First, the French, or Hispaniola Indigo, which striking a long tap root, will only flourish in a deep, rich soil †; and therefore, though an excellent sort, it is not much cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which are generally sandy. The second sort, which is the false Guatemala or true Bahama, bears the winter better than the first; is a more tall and vigorous plant, is raised in greater quantities from the same compass of ground, is content with the worst soils in the country, and is therefore more cultivated than the first sort, though inferior in the quality of its dye. The third sort is the wild indigo, which

* Page 70.

† Stork's *Florida*, p. 66.

‡ The fact may, and seems from various authors to be so, but not from the length of the tap root, since we see sainfoin with a prodigious long one thrives as well, and with common management better, on poor shallow soils than on rich ones.

is indigenous here. This, as it is a native of the country, answers the purposes of the planter best of all, with regard to the hardness of the plant, the easiness of the culture, and the quantity of the produce *.

The sort cultivated in the sugar islands, is said by another writer †, to require a high loose soil, tolerably rich. It is an annual plant; but the wild sort is perennial; its stalk dies every year, but it shoots up again next spring: the indigo made from it is as good as the other, and it will grow on every indifferent land, provided it be dry and loose. The dry and loose lands, which they make choice of for the cultivation of this plant, is what they call their *uplands*, that is land which lies above the level of the sea, or any of the contiguous creeks or rivers; it is for the most part a thirsty, sandy gravel, with here and there a thin covering of hazel mould ‡. A modern § author is greatly mistaken therefore in saying, that indigo requires the *best and richest, and moist* lands.

For planting indigo, they generally first break the land up with a plough, and afterwards work it fine with hand-hoes ¶. The time of

* Vol. ii. p. 248. † *Description of South Carolina*, p. 9. ‡ *Museum Rusticum*.
 § *Present State*, p. 148. The passage is as follows: I insert it to show the various accounts we have of the same thing, and how much attention is necessary to glean up the truth among them. "Indigo thrives very indifferently, either in the soil or the climate (he is speaking of our southern colonies). Indigo is one of those rank weeds like tobacco, which not only exhaust the substance of the earth, but require the very best and richest lands, and such as have a natural moisture in them; whereas the lands in our southern colonies are extremely poor and sandy, and have a barren *driness* in them, which renders them very unfit to produce such a crop as this, to any manner of advantage. This is planted by the French on the fresh wood lands of St. Domingo, which are too rich and moist even for sugar, and is intended to exhaust their luxuriant fertility, as we do with tobacco, in order to render them fit for that and other crops. They likewise cut it every six weeks, or eight times in a year, and for two years together; whereas, in Carolina, it is cut but thrice; and as the land has not substance and moisture to make it shoot after cutting, and the summers are too short, the third cutting is but of little value, as even the second is in Virginia. Neither does the soil or climate seem to be fit to yield that rich juice, which makes this dye in any plenty or perfection. The French and Spaniards make great quantities, worth eight and ten shillings a pound, when the little we make in Carolina is not, upon an average, worth above two shillings, and a great deal has been sold for a shilling, and less. This is therefore far from being so rich and valuable a commodity in North America as many imagine, although it is of great service in the rice colonies, and helps them to keep up their plantations, by making a small quantity of indigo with their rice; and on some few spots of better lands it turns to more account." p. 149. This proves nothing more, than the superiority of the French and Spanish indigo, not that that of Carolina is not a very valuable staple; and as to the particulars of soil and climate, it respects but one sort at most. The success with which the wild species is cultivated, we find recorded on much better authority than this author's.— Vide the *Description of South Carolina*.

¶ *Museum Rusticum*, vol. vi. p. 387.

planting.

planting is generally after the first rains succeeding the vernal equinox; the seed is sowed in small straight trenches, about eighteen or twenty inches asunder; when it is at its height, it is generally eighteen inches tall; the land must be weeded every day, and the plants cleaned from worms, and the plantations attended with the greatest care and diligence.

An acre of good land may produce about 80 lb. of indigo, and one slave may manage two acres and upwards, and raise provisions besides, and have all the winter months to saw lumber, and be otherwise employed in; but as much of the land hitherto used for indigo is improper, I am persuaded, that not above * 30 lb. of good indigo per acre can be expected from the land at present cultivated †.

The manufacturing it requires attention and care, but is by no means very difficult nor expensive; for the whole apparatus, besides a pump, consists only of vats and tubs of cypress wood ‡, common and cheap in this country. There is perhaps no branch of manufacture in which so large profits may be made upon so moderate a fund, as that of indigo; and there is no country in which this manufacture can be carried on to such advantage as in Carolina, where the climate is healthy, provisions plentiful and cheap, and every thing necessary for that business had with the greatest ease §. And it is very worthy of remark, how conveniently and profitably, as to the charge of labour, both indigo and rice may be managed by the same persons; for the labour attending indigo being over in the summer months, those who were employed in it may afterwards manufacture rice in the ensuing part of the year, when it becomes most laborious; and after doing all this, they will have some time to spare for sawing lumber, and making hoghead and other staves, to supply the sugar colonies ¶.

The price of indigo in Carolina having been 2 s. 6 d. per lb. of late years, 30 lb. amounts to 3 l. 15 s. the product of an acre; and as a slave can manage above two, the product of the labour of each on the plant may be called 8 l. which is 5 s. 6 d. more than at making rice; but this is upon land plainly of an inferior kind. I shall by and by extend these

* As this writer (the author of the *Description*) had undoubted opportunities of information, we must conclude the quantities mentioned by other writers, over-rated. The *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 250. says, the medium produce is 50 lb. The *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 122. the produce of rich well managed land is 500 lb. Possibly he means on the Mississippi, where the soil is wonderfully fertile.

† *Description*, p. 9.

‡ *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 250.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Description*, p. 10.

calculations, when I have come to speak of the expences and profit of a plantation in this country.

Cotton.

This plant is of three kinds: one creeps on the earth like a vine; the second is like a bushy dwarf tree; and the third is as tall as an oak: all three, after producing beautiful flowers, are loaded with a fruit as large as a walnut, whose outward coat is entirely black; when fully ripe, it opens, and discovers a down extremely white, which is the cotton. They separate the seeds from it by a mill, and then* it is ready to spin. The mill used in Jamaica for this purpose (and I suppose the same is in use in Carolina) is a long square frame, consisting of four beams, about four feet high, joined together by eight cross pieces, four above and four below; two long spindles channelled, which cross the frame, and turn round contrary ways by means of some truddles, on which the workman puts his feet, and of two handles on the sides. Before the frame is a moveable board eight inches broad, and as long as the mill, placed over against the spindles. On this board, the workman who sits before it, puts the cotton in a pannier placed at his left hand, to spread it to the right on the spindles, when he puts them in motion. The space between the spindles being wide enough to give passage to the cotton, which they draw in turning round, but not to admit the seeds, separates them; the cotton falling into a bag that hangs under the mill, and the seed falling to the ground between the workman's legs. To direct the cotton into the bag, there is a board under the spindles like that above them, inclining towards it. A good workman will cleanse from 55 to 60 pounds in a day †. I have inserted this account to shew, that the whole apparatus is of very trifling expence, otherwise the name of a *mill* might have carried an idea of a very costly machine. The cotton shrub is that which is chiefly cultivated.

As to the soil which best suits this vegetable one modern writer says, it is known to thrive best in a light sandy soil, and the pine barrens are fit for it ‡: Another says, old tobacco grounds are the best lands for it ||. From whence we may conclude, that it does not require a rich soil. It certainly thrives very well in these colonies.

* Pofflethwayte's *Dist.* Art. COTTON. † Id. *Ibid.*

‡ Stork's *Florida*, p. 57. || *Present State*, p. 148.

Skins.

These are staples of great consequence in the southern colonies; they consist chiefly of deer, beaver, and calf-skins: further is not necessary to be added upon this article, as no culture, and very little management, has any thing to do with it.

Naval Stores.

These consist chiefly of pitch, tar, and turpentine; masts, &c. The three first, and rosin, are all the produce of the pine-tree. The turpentine is drawn simply from incisions made in the tree; they are made from as great an height as a man can reach with an hatchet; these incisions meet at the bottom of the tree, in a point where they pour their contents into a vessel placed to receive them. There is nothing further in this process: But tar requires a more considerable apparatus, and greater trouble. They prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the center; from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end, the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. Upon the floor is built up a large pile of pine wood, split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, leaving only a small aperture at the top, where the fire is first kindled. When the fire begins to burn, they cover this opening likewise, to confine the fire from flaming out, and to leave only a sufficient heat to force the tar downwards to the floor. They temper the heat as they please, by running a stick into the wall of clay, and giving it air. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles set in furnaces, or burning it in round clay holes made in the earth*. Oil of turpentine is obtained by the distillation of turpentine. Rosin is the residuum or remainder of such turpentine, after the oil is distilled from it†. In the clearing of their grounds, they lay aside all trees fit for masts, bolt-sprits, and booms, of which they export what they do not use, and likewise oars, &c. &c.

Timber.

Besides the several articles of timber used in naval stores, these colonies export considerable quantities of what they call lumber, which is cedar, cypress, pine, oak, walnut, &c. &c. cut into a variety of goods, as boards, planks, posts, shingles, staves, hoops, hogheads, &c. &c. the sale of which

* *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 254.

† *Description of South Carolina*, p. 71.

is of great consequence to them, as the clearing their lands is thereby made an article of profit. But it is much to be regretted, that they have not sawing mills erected among them, which would infinitely increase this branch of their exports.

Silk.

This article must not be forgot, although it is not yet carried to an hundredth degree of the perfection which it would admit.

It is necessary first to remark, that mulberry trees, both white and red, are indigenous over all the southern, and even middle parts of this continent. Throughout the colonies of which I am at present treating, they are every where found in the greatest plenty, unless where destroyed with the rest of the wood; but they thrive so vigorously, that plantations of them, of any extent, may easily be made; and it is well known they are fit to feed the worms when six years old: though the silk produced from trees of from six to twelve years growth is not so good as that which others yield of eighteen or twenty years of age*; the difference, however, is of but little consequence in a country where millions of old trees are spontaneous. The climate of the back parts of these southern colonies is warmer than either France or Italy, and yet much more temperate than the southern parts of the latter, and consequently better adapted to the business; for it has been remarked, that in France they make but seven or eight pounds of silk from the worms hatched from an ounce of eggs. In Brescia in Italy, eight, nine, or ten pounds; but in Calabria eleven or twelve pounds †.

Abundance of inconveniencies and expences attend the making silk in Europe, from which the inhabitants of these colonies are totally exempt. In many parts of France they hatch the worms in buildings erected on purpose, (which are necessary in such climates for hatching large quantities) and warmed by stoves and flues. In Italy the peasants pay the landowners half the quantity they make for the leaves of the mulberry trees: which expence, and the having no rooms for the use but the common ones of their cottages, are great burthens upon their industry. But in our colonies it is very different; timber there is in such plenty, and so easily converted into boards, posts, &c. from the nature of it, that there is no such thing to be seen as such mean cottages as are universal in Europe. A little planter here can afford as convenient a house and offices as

* See M. Plomban's *Memoir upon the Silk-Worm*, 8vo.

† AUGUSTINO SALLO *Venti Giornate dall' Agricoltura*, 4to. 1559.

a gentleman in England with five hundred pounds a year; consequently the expence of rooms on purpose for the worms is very trifling.

The attendance, labour, and trouble are likewise inconsiderable. A modern writer remarks this with great justness. "When it can be shewed," says he, "that two or three mulberry trees, or a proportional number of small ones will feed a sufficient number of worms to make a pound of silk; that the stand which holds these worms will not take up a yard-space in a room; that one person skilled in reeling can, with the help of a boy to turn the reel, wind off two or three pounds of silk in a day; that one pound of this silk will make five yards of padufoy; that the whole time from the hatching of the eggs to the reeling of the silk, amounts to no more than six weeks; that a small part of each day is sufficient for the proper attendance; and that, besides all this, it can be done with much less trouble than is generally undergone: these things I say being considered, the managing of the silk-worm will appear in a more inviting light, and be looked upon as an entertainment neither unpleasing nor unprofitable*."

"The production of silk," says another writer, "will but little interfere with the other labours of a planter. A man and his son, or a servant, may, without much trouble, gather leaves sufficient for as many worms as he can keep. His wife and daughter, or a servant maid, may feed and attend the worms †." "Every inhabitant of a colony," says another, "men, women, and children, might make at least a pound of silk per annum, which is 20 s. and would employ them but six weeks ‡." The same writer makes an observation, which is worthy of attention. "There are three different sorts of mulberry trees in North America, and a native silk-worm, which spins its cocoons upon these and other trees, which are as large, and weigh as much as twenty of the common, and the silk is much stronger. This would afford a material for a manufacture different from any that is known."

"The culture of indigo, tobacco, and cotton," says Du Pratz, "may be easily carried on without any interruption to the making of silk, as any one of these is no manner of hindrance to the other. In the first place, the work about these three plants does not come on till after the worms have spun their silk: in the second place, the feeding and cleaning the

* Pullin's *Culture of Silk*, 8vo. 1758.

† *Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, 8vo. 1741.

‡ *Present State*, p. 269.

silkworm requires no great degree of strength; and thus the care employed about them interrupts no other sort of work, either as to time, or as to the persons employed therein. It suffices for this operation to have a person who knows how to feed and clean the worms. Young negroes of both sexes might assist this person, little skill sufficing for this purpose. The eldest of the young negroes when taught, might shift the worms and lay the leaves; the other young negroes gather and fetch them: and all this labour, which does not take up the whole day, lasts only for about six weeks. It appears therefore, that the profit made of the silk is an additional benefit, so much the more profitable as it diverts not the workmen from their ordinary tasks. If it is to be objected, that buildings are requisite to make silk to advantage: I answer; buildings for the purpose cost very little in a country where wood may be had for taking: I add further, that these buildings may be made and daubed with mud *by any persons about the family*; and besides, may serve for hanging tobacco in two months after the silkworms are gone*.”

The advantages which these colonies enjoy for the culture of silk have by no means been improved as they ought, but we may hope to see better things in future. We are told, that a considerable increase has of late been made in the growth of silk in Carolina and Georgia; and that at Purisburg † is become the staple commodity of the place ‡.” And another writer informs us, that silk is become so great an improvement in Carolina, that some families make forty or fifty pounds in a year, without neglecting their plantations the least; and that they find the negro children of great use in it ||. It would be useless to enlarge here upon the infinite consequence to Britain of extending this staple, which is apparently so well adapted to the country. I shall in another place endeavour to point out the most probable means of effecting it.

“ In the year 1757,” says another writer, “ 1052 *lb.* of raw silk balls were received at the filature in Georgia, and the next year produced no

* *History of Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 325.

† Called so from one colonel Purry, a native of Switzerland, who wrote a treatise, intitled, *A Method for determining the best Climate on Earth*, 8vo. 1744. he fixes it about 32 or 33 degrees latitude; and, consistently with his idea, founded Purisburgh in latitude 32, about forty years ago.

‡ Stork's *Florida*, 1766, p. 58.

|| Postlethwayte's *Dictionary*, Art. *British America*.

less than 7040 *lb.* thereof: And in 1759 there was received at Savannah, the capital of Georgia, considerably above 10,000 *lb.* although the season was not favourable*."

Sundry Articles.

Amongst many other products, fruits are of some consequence; oranges thrive very finely there, and are exported to the amount of 2 or 300,000 annually. Sassafras is produced in tolerable plenty. Bees and myrtle-wax are very plentiful: the latter is the produce of a plant called the myrtle-wax shrub. The process of making the wax is very simple: they bruise the berries, boil them in water, and skim the wax off, which is naturally of a bright green colour, but may be bleached like bees-wax; and on account of its hardness is well adapted for candles in hot countries †. They are however brittle, insomuch that they break instantly to pieces; not only by falling, but if they are handled roughly. A very sensible writer proposes as a remedy for this defect, that a certain quantity of goats suet be dissolved and incorporated with the melted wax ‡, which in all probability would have the desired effect.

These are the principal staple commodities of the southern continental colonies. Having laid this little sketch before the reader, I shall in the next place endeavour to discover the expences of forming a plantation in them for the cultivation of products, which are palpably of such great importance to Britain; and try, at the same time, if some tolerably clear idea cannot be gained of the profit or income resulting from such plantation. I introduce this calculation here, because the staples are of more consequence than most which remain yet to be spoken of; and because there is a much greater plenty of good land yet to settle than in the more northerly colonies. Such an inquiry as this will not be useless; for there are many people in these kingdoms, as well as abroad, who are deterred from settling in the colonies on account of the uncertainty of the expence. People who possess enough to live happily in a colony, but whose poverty in the mother-country not allowing a way of living, and *appearance*, equal perhaps to better, but past times; or to an unfortunate education superior to their substance, fall into courses which are sure to end fatally in what manner soever they are accelerated: No community suffers any

* Anderson's *Deduction*, vol. ii. p. 413.

† Stork's *Florida*, p. 48. But for a more accurate manner, see Du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 1758, tom. ii. p. 37.

‡ *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 128.

loss, but on the contrary a considerable benefit in *such* retiring to more plentiful climes.—I shall form a supposition, that the plantation is settled by a person from Britain or Ireland, and include the expences of freight. But as my materials for this sketch are of no great extent, I must make use of some private intelligence which I gained on this head, where my public information falls short. I had it on very good authority.

Let us suppose that a man, his wife, and two children, leave Britain to settle in Carolina; what is the lowest sum necessary for the undertaking? I shall suppose them to take one man, and one maid servant. Their expences of freight and provisions will, one with another, be 10*l.* each.

In our new colony of East Florida the expence of the survey and fees of 1500 acres, is 20*l.* For want of particular information, I must imagine it is the same in Carolina.

To purchase a negro or two, or even three, as soon as a settler arrives in the province, the price will be 5*l.* extraordinary. To buy them out of the ship, they are 30*l.* per head.

The expence of converting a part of the timber on the grant of land into a convenient comfortable, house of three small rooms on a floor, (by way of beginning) is 25*l.*

Furniture is a very indefinite article, but 50*l.* should be allowed for it. The expence of those articles which have a peculiar reference to the climate is 10*l.* in all 60*l.*

The first year's provisions (or housekeeping) for servants amounts to 6*l.* per head. As to negroes, they are frequently fed intirely upon Indian corn, of which twelve bushels and a half maintain them the whole year, without other food*. The price is 2*s.* per bushel; consequently the year's food of each is 1*l.* 5*s.* The charge of their cloathing, 2*l.* per annum †. The planter, his wife, and children, I calculate at 40*l.*

The wages of servants carried from Britain are just what they can be got for; the common calculation is 10*l.* a year each.

The implements of culture and clearing the land, such as axes, saws, pick-axes, spades, hoes, &c. &c. are reckoned at 4*l.* per labouring hand.

* *Present State*, p. 35.

† *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 105.

Plantations are generally chosen either upon the banks of navigable rivers, or so near them, that every planter possesses a boat, which is absolutely necessary: The cost is 10*l.* Large plantations have sloops belonging to them, of from ten to thirty, or forty and fifty tons burthen.

In the settling any plantation contingent expences will happen, which were either unforeseen, or the amount too uncertain to calculate. In some estimates I have seen, for plantations of ten labouring hands, these have amounted to 50*l.* which is 5*l.* per head, which I shall adopt.

As to cattle, the number which I have seen minuted in one or two estimates for 1500 acres was, five horses, ten cows, five oxen, and twenty hogs: the horses at 3*l.* the cows at 1*l.* the hogs at 5*s.* but these prices, I have been informed, are now too high.

These articles thrown together will appear as under.

Freight and expences on the voyage of the planter, his family, and two servants,	_____	_____	_____	£. 60
Survey and fees of 1500 acres,	_____	_____	_____	20
One negro, and cloathing,	_____	_____	_____	37
House,	_____	_____	_____	25
Furniture,	_____	_____	_____	60
First year's expences.				
	The family,	£. 40		
	Two servants,	12		
	One negro,	1 5		
		_____		53 5
Wages of two servants	_____	_____	_____	20
Implements,	_____	_____	_____	8
A boat,	_____	_____	_____	10
Cattle,	_____	_____	_____	40
Contingencies,	_____	_____	_____	20

				353 5
Annual expence.				
Wages,	_____	_____	_____	£. 20
Negro cloaths,	_____	_____	_____	2
Wear and tear,	_____	_____	_____	4
Cloathing the planter and family,	_____	_____	_____	40

				66
				Before

Before I proceed to give any sketch of the returns from such a plantation I should observe, the first year is employed in clearing what may be called a home stall; that is, a garden; and such a quantity of land as the labouring hands kept by the planter are able annually to cultivate. — Nor should I forget a distinction often made use of in the preceding sheets between the maritime and back parts of these colonies; the first are fruitful, but unwholesome, the latter much more fruitful, and exceedingly wholesome. The best land is likewise all taken up in the former, but vast and fertile tracts remain uncultivated in the latter. For these reasons, I shall suppose the planter to choose his grant in the back parts.

I have already quoted indisputable authority for asserting the product of rice per working hand to be 7*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* and of indigo on bad land, 8*l.* and on good, 20*l.** and in both cases workmen to have time to spare for raising all necessaries for the planter's family, themselves, and the cattle, &c. and likewise for sawing some lumber in the winter months. In addition to this I should add, on the private information hitherto used, that the clear profit of every hand employed on rice, indigo, or Indian corn, is 20*l.* and on cotton, 25*l.* It was likewise added, that on hemp it was 25*l.* which account of Indigo agrees exactly with the other; but that of rice is much more; from whence probably we may conjecture, that the rice is reckoned only for a part of the year, especially as the author mentions the great profit of cultivating both at a time. — It is further to be remarked, that as the back parts of these colonies do not by any means abound with near the quantities of swamps or rice-grounds as the maritime parts, (and therein indeed consists in a good measure the superior healthiness of them) we should not take the culture of rice into the account, as the planter may not have it in his power to fix upon a spot which, at the same time that it is high, dry, and healthy, contains likewise a share of swamp.

Here therefore are three products to cultivate, indigo, Indian corn, and cotton, besides fundry smaller articles. Let us throw Indian corn out of the question as an *article of sale*, and suppose the profit per head of others to be 20*l.* upon a medium. The fundry articles are of no inconsiderable consequence. Silk by all means ought to be attended to immediately; the expences are nothing, the hazard consequently not to be named; his wife, children, and maid, may therein be the chief agents: instructions for the management should be gained directly: and, considering the great ease of the process, we may, without the imputation of the least exaggeration,

* See page 296. — 80*lb.* at 2*s.* 6*d.*

suppose the family to make one pound per head the second year, or seven pounds, and afterwards to increase the quantity considerably. Pitch, tar, and turpentine, he makes as he clears his ground. Lumber I do not bring into the account the second year, as he may probably apply it to enlarging his house.

Expences as before minuted,	_____	_____	£. 66
Supposing the planter works himself, he has	_____	_____	
three hands, at 20 l.	_____	_____	£. 60
Seven pounds of silk,	_____	_____	7
Sundries,	_____	_____	0
			<hr/>
			67

Hence we find, that with this capital the planter must work as hard as his servants, or he must not spend 40 l. a year in cloaths, or 10 l. wages for a maid. These articles, however, are not consistent with a *working* planter: 350 l. we find therefore to be the lowest sum that a man with a wife and two children and two servants can leave Britain to settle in those colonies upon.

If another negro is substituted instead of the man-servant, the account will stand thus:

Former total,	_____	_____	£. 353 5
Deduct freight, &c.	£. 10	_____	
Wages,	10	_____	
Board,	6	_____	
			<hr/>
			26 0
			<hr/>
			325 5
Add cost, board, and cloathing,	_____	_____	38 5
			<hr/>
			£. 363 10
Annual expence as before,	_____	_____	£. 66
Deduct wages,	_____	_____	10
			<hr/>
			56
Add negro cloathing,	_____	_____	2
			<hr/>
			58

If

If the maid is deducted, the first amount will be £. 327 5

The annual expence,	56
Ditto, if no servant,	48

If the planter is single, or has only a wife, or such other variations, the proportion may easily be found.

To form another case; suppose the planter possessed of 500*l.* what will then be his situation in these respects? According to the former prices, nearly such a sum will be divided in the following manner:

Freight, &c. as before,	£. 60
Survey and fees, ditto,	20
One negro,	120
Four ditto,	35
House,	35
Furniture,	60
Housekeeping a year,	58 5
Wages,	20
Boat,	10
Implements,	24
Cattle,	40
Contingencies,	30
Cloathing five negroes,	10

522 5

Annual expence.

Wages,	£. 20
Negroes cloathing,	10
Wear and tear,	12

42

Profit on six hands,	£. 120
Eleven pounds of silk,	11

131

Expences,	42
-----------	----

Remains clear, exclusive of pitch, lumber, &c. &c.	89
--	----

Profit on capital, 18 per cent. besides house-rent and house-keeping.

Thirdly; suppose the planter's fortune about 750*l.* his account will then stand thus:

Freight, of his family, maid, and two men-servants,		£. 70
Survey and fees,		20
One negro,		35
Nine ditto,		270
House,		40
Furniture,		60
Boat,		10
Housekeeping,		70 10
Wages,		30
Implements,		44
Cattle,		40
Cloathing ten negroes,		30
Contingencies,		68
		<hr/>
		769 10
Annual expence.		
Wages,	£. 30	
Cloathing negroes,	20	
Wear and tear,	22	
	<hr/>	
	72	
Profit on twelve hands,		£. 240
Seventeen pounds of silk,		17
		<hr/>
		257
Expences,		78
		<hr/>
Remains clear,		185
Profit on capital, 25 per cent.		

Fourthly; if we suppose the sum employed in forming a plantation to be 1000*l.* the application will be as follows:

Freight, &c. of the planter, his family, two maids, and two men servants,		£. 80
Survey and fees,		20
One negro,		35
		<hr/>
	Carried over,	135
		Thirteen

				Brought over	13
Thirteen negroes,	-	-	-	-	39
Boat,	-	-	-	-	10
House,	-	-	-	-	60
Furniture,	-	-	-	-	80
Housekeeping,	-	-	-	-	82 10
Wages,	-	-	-	-	40
Implements,	-	-	-	-	64
Cattle,	-	-	-	-	40
Cloathing fourteen negroes,	-	-	-	-	28
Contingencies,	-	-	-	-	80
					<hr/>
					100 10
					<hr/>
Annual expence:					
Wages,	£.	40			
Cloathing negroes,		28			
Wear and tear,		32			
		<hr/>			
		100			
Profit on sixteen hands,	-	-	-	-	£. 320
Twenty-two pounds of silk,	-	-	-	-	22
					<hr/>
					342
Expences,	-	-	-	-	100
					<hr/>
Remains clear,	-	-	-	-	242
Profit on capital 24 per cent.					

Were I not apprehensive of growing too tedious, I should extend these sketches much farther, as they tend to set in a clear light a point hitherto but little known. I must however make a few remarks, the better to obviate the objections to which these calculations are open. In the first place, it will be observed, that I have made no allowances for loss of stock, either slaves or cattle: the latter are too inconsiderable to deserve a particular mention; as to the former, it should not be forgot, that our southern continental colonies are in the general so healthy, that they stand in no need of a recruit of negro stock; but, on the contrary, supply the increase of their own demand, and sell some besides to the sugar colonies. Now, the back parts of the country being so much more healthy than the maritime ones, there would be less probability of a loss than in the whole country at large; insomuch that the pitch, tar, turpentine, lumber, wax, and other productions not specified, and which all plantations yield in very

very large quantities, besides the stated profit per head on the working people, would, I am persuaded, be greatly more than sufficient either to counterbalance the loss by death, in purchasing fresh slaves, or to provide by degrees wives for the men, when the stock would be *profitable* in the increase rather than subject to any losses. The article of silk is likewise much under-rated. Mr. Postlethwayte tells us, that many families make forty or fifty pounds in these colonies; and in the preceding pages I have shewn from various authors, that a single person may, with great ease, make many pounds, and reel two or three in a day: and if we consider the prodigious plenty of mulberry trees in the back country, we may easily conceive that an allowance of even ten pounds of silk per head would not be in the least exaggerated, if industry, care, and attention, were the conductors of the planter's family.

We see by these estimates, that a sum of money, very small, compared with what European trades require, will settle a whole family in this healthy and plentiful climate. What can a man do with 500*l.* in Britain, if unfortunately he has not been bred up to some low business, and the money ready placed in it to the best advantage? When a man is settled at home in a way of industry, his leaving his country would be a public loss: but view unsettled people who possess from 400 to 1000*l.* or thereabouts, and know not what to do with it.—Such people are by no means uncommon; at home they are mere idle consumers of the industry of others till their fortunes are gone, and then——no loss accrues from such settling in colonies.—Can any comparison be made between an unsettled person living at home upon the interest of 1000*l.* and possibly burdened with a wife and family; and the same person in Carolina, upon such a plantation as I have sketched last? In one situation he is but a degree above starving; in the other, he lives opulently; enjoys all the conveniences of life, and lays by a considerable annual sum for the future maintenance of his family.

Families are no burden but in countries where commerce, luxury, and a scarcity of land cause high prices. In these southern parts of America, which, at a certain distance from the sea, are undoubtedly the finest countries in the world, nature almost spontaneously maintains the people that plant themselves there. The working hands, besides raising most profitable staples to the amount of 20*l.* per head, fully maintain the whole plantation in necessaries, and yet have some months in winter to spare: the planter need but take a walk with his gun, to return loaded with a vast variety of game of the most delicious kinds: he need but row out with his net to return with the utmost plenty of fish, equally pleasing to the

the palate, and nutritious to the constitution. Every hedge presents him with fruits of a flavour unknown in England. Need we a more pregnant proof than their fattening their hogs with the finest peaches in the universe? And all these advantages in a climate which, though it shews a change of seasons, yet is equally removed from the disagreeable severity of sharp frosts, and the relaxing heats of a burning sun; in a word, in climates so favourable to cultivation, that no winter-provision or fodder is ever necessary for cattle, green food being always in plenty.—Having ventured these few strictures on the settling of plantations in these colonies, I shall proceed to lay before the reader the quantities of the above-mentioned, and other staples annually exported from them, with what exactness the scantiness of materials will allow me.

Exports from the port of Charles Town in South Carolina, from November 1747, to November 1748*.

Species.	Commodities.	Quantities.	Rates in sterl. money.			Amount in sterl. money.	
			l.	s.	d.		
<i>Corn and grain.</i>							
Rice,		55,000 barrels,	0	6	5 per 100 lb.	£. 88,600.	
Indian corn,		39,308 bushels,	0	1	5 per bushel,	2789.	
Barley*,		15 casks,	0	14	3 cask,	10.	
<i>Roots and fruits,</i>							
Oranges*,		296,000 in n ^o	0	17	1 per 1000 lb.	251.	
Pease,		6,107 bushels,	0	1	5 bushel,	432.	
Potatoes*,		700 bush.	0	0	8 bushel,	23.	
Onions*,		{ 10 Casks,	0	14	3 cask,	7.	
		{ 200 Ropes,	0	0	4 rope,	3.	
<i>Cattle, beef, &c.</i>							
Live stock,	{	Bullocks*,	28 in n ^o	1	11	5 bullock,	44.
		Hogs*,	158	0	8	6 hog,	63.
		Sundries*,					357.
Beef,		1,764 barrels,	0	18	6 barrel,	1631.	
Pork,		3,114 ditto,	1	8	6 ditto,	4436.	
Bacon, about.*		2,200 lb.	0	0	4 lb.	36.	
Butter*,		130 casks,	1	2	10 cask,	148.	

* This table is taken from the *Description*, p. 50. which is in Carolina currency; but I have reduced it, with no inconsiderable trouble, to sterling, only leaving out the fractions of a penny, which, however, are reserved in the total. These tables are of no use in their currency, the difference between that and sterling being so great.

Naval:

Commodities.		Rates in			Amount in
<i>Species.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	sterl. money.			sterl. money.
<i>Naval stores.</i>					
Pitch,	5,521 barrels,	l.	s.	d.	
		0	6	5	per barrel, £. 1771
Tar, { Common,	2,784 ditto,	0	5	0	ditto, 696
	{ Green,	0	7	1	ditto, 103
Turpentine,	2,397 ditto,	0	7	1	ditto, 847
Rosin *,	97 ditto,	0	7	1	ditto, 34
Mafts *,	9 in n ^o	2	2	10	each, 19
Boltsprits *,	8 in n ^o	0	17	1	each, 7
Booms,	6 ditto,	1	8	6	each, 8
Oars *,	50 pair,	0	2	10	pair, 5
<i>Vegetable produce of of other sorts.</i>					
Indigo,	134,118 lb.	0	2	6	lb. 16,764
Pot ashes,	3 barrels,	2	17	1	barrel, 8
Oil of turpentine *,	59 jars,	1	8	6	jar, 13
	17 barrels,	2	2	10	barrel, 15
Cotton, wool *,	7 bags,	3	11	5	bag, 25
Sassafras *,	22 tons,	2	2	10	ton, 67
<i>Lumber *.</i>					
Boards,	61,448 feet,	5	14	3	per 1000, 349
Cedar boards,	8,189 ditto,	0	17	1	per 100, 70
Cedar plank,	1,331 ditto,	0	1	5	foot, 92
— posts,	52 ditto,	0	1	5	ditto, 3
Cypress boards,	21,000 ditto,	5	14	3	per 1000, 111
Ditto,	979 boards,	0	1	9	each, 84
Heading,	13,975	5	14	3	per 1000, 79
Ditto,	127,652 feet,	4	5	8	per 1000, 546
Ditto, pine,	148,143 feet of boards,	5	14	3	per 1000, 840
Ditto,	1,293 boards,	0	0	10	each, 53
Ditto, plank,	22 in n ^o ,	0	2	1	each, 2
Bay wood plank,	98 ditto,	0	8	6	ditto, 41
Scantling,	2,000 feet,	0	10	0	per 100, 10
Shingles,	635,170 in n ^o	0	11	5	per 1000, 364
Staves,	132,567 ditto,	4	5	8	ditto, 567
Timber,	4,000 feet,	0	14	3	per 100, 28
Ditto,	9 pieces,	0	5	8	each, 2
Walnut,	739 feet,	1	14	3	per 100, 13
Ditto,	66 pieces,	0	2	10	each, 10

Commodities,

Commodities.	Quantities.	Rates in sterl. money.	Amount in sterl. money.
Hogheads,	80 in n ^o ,	£. 0 8 6 ditto,	£. 34
Tierces,	43 ditto,	0 7 1 ditto,	16
Hoops,	3,000 ditto,	1 14 3 per 1000,	5
Cans,	800 ditto,	0 5 8 per 100,	2
Pumps,	1 set,	— — —	3

Animal produce of other sorts.

Skins,	{ Beaver *,	200 lb.	0 4 3 per lb.	42
	{ Calve *,	141 in no,	0 5 8 each,	40
	{ Deer,	720 hogheads,	50 0 0 each,	36,000
Tallow *,	81 barrels,	1 8 6 barrel,	115	
Hogs-lard *,	{ 25 jars,	0 17 1 jar,	20	
	{ 26 casks,	2 0 0 cask,	52	
Raw silk,	8 boxes,	28 11 5 box,	229	
Wax *,	{ Bees,	1000 lb.	0 0 8 lb.	33
	{ Myrtle,	700 lb.	0 0 8 lb.	22

Manufactures.

Leather tanned *,	10,356 lb.	0 5 0 lb.	2,589
Soap *,	7 boxes,	1 8 6 box,	10
Candles *,	34 ditto,	2 2 10 ditto,	73
Bricks *,	7,000 in n ^o	0 14 3 per 1000,	5
Total amount,	— — —	— — —	£. 161,361

Total amount, exclusive of the articles marked with a *, 85,700

Recapitulation.

Skins,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{16511}{100000}$	of the whole.
Rice,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{123}{100000}$	of ditto.
Indigo,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1142}{100000}$	of ditto.
Naval stores,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{779}{100000}$	of ditto.
Lumber,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1009}{100000}$	of ditto.
Corn,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1122}{100000}$	of ditto.
Corn, provisions, and live stock,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{9979}{100000}$	of ditto.
Silk,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1109}{100000}$	of ditto.
Sundry articles,	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1109}{100000}$	of ditto.

I very much regret the not being able to lay before the reader as distinct a table of later years; however, I shall add what particulars I can glean up.

Exports from Charles Town in 1754*, containing the articles not marked in the preceding table with a *, which were so distinguished, and thrown into a total by themselves, for the sake of a comparison with the following.

Commodities.	Price.	Amount.
Rice, 104,682 bar. at	£. 1 15 0 † per bar.	£. 183,193
Indigo, 216,924 lb.	0 2 6 lb.	27,115
Deer skins, 460 hogheads,	50 0 0 each,	23,000
Pitch, 5,869 barrels,	0 6 5 barrel,	3,881
Tar, 2,945 ditto,	0 15 0 ditto,	736
Turpentine, 759 ditto,	0 7 1 ditto,	266
Beef, 416 ditto,	0 18 6 ditto,	384
Pork, 1,560 ditto,	1 8 6 ditto,	2,223
Indian corn, 16,428 bush.	0 2 0 † bush.	1,642
Pease, 9,162 ditto.	1 5 6 ditto,	328
Shingles, 1,114,000 in n ^o .	0 11 5 per 1000,	632
Staves, 206,000 in n ^o .	4 15 8 ditto,	880
Total,		£. 242,529
Ditto of these articles in 1748,		857,000
1754 superior to 1748 by		156,899
Supposing the other articles increased in the same proportion, they will amount to		146,890

303,789

In 1747 †, indigo amounted to 500,000 lb.
 For which increase we must add £. 35,384
 Total 1757, without reckoning any other increase than that of indigo, 339,131

But if one article in three years adds above-30,000 l. to the export, the reader will doubtless allow the greatest probability, that all the rest, including the grand staple, rice, will make this sum up 360,000

Deduct $\frac{1}{3}$ for corn, cattle, &c. not properly staples; this being the proportion of 1748, the total of every article being that year inserted, above 24,000

Total of staple commodities 1757, 336,000

* This is taken from *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 259. But as there are no prices affixed, I have added the former ones, except in particulars which I knew to be raised.

† *Description of Carolina*, p. 8, 9.

‡ *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 262.

The

The number of souls in South Carolina in 1761 was 64,000, whites and blacks †, supposing them 60,000 in 1757, this export of staples will amount to 5 l. 10 s. a head; and this for the whole country, the export of one port being only reckoned, the whole amount in corn, &c. and staples, is 5 l. 12 s. 6 d.

Exported in ten months, 1761, from Charles Town.

Commodities.	Price.	Amount.
Rice, 100,000 barrels,	£ 1 15 0 per barrel,	£ 1,750,000
Pitch, 6,376 ditto,	0 6 5 ditto,	2,043
Tar, 931 ditto,	0 5 0 ditto,	232
Turpentine, 4,808 ditto,	0 7 1 ditto,	1,702
Oranges, 161,000 in n ^o ,	0 17 1 per 1000,	137
Ditto, 141 barrels,*		
Pork and beef, 1,149 barrels,	0 1 23 a barrel,	1,894
Bacon, 13 barrels,*		
Indigo, 399,366 lb.	0 2 6 lb.	49,920
Deer skins, 422 hogheads,	50 0 0 hogs.	21,100
331 bundles*		
300 loose*		
Tanned leather, 5,869 sides,*		
Pease and corn, 11,126 bushels,	0 2 5 bush.	784
Bees wax, 6,721 lb.	0 0 8 lb.	224
Staves, 236,850 in n ^o ,	4 5 8 per 1000,	1,014
Boards, &c. 466,186 feet,	5 14 0 per 1000,	2,657
Hoops, 29,600 in n ^o ,	1 14 3 per 1000,	50
Besides many other articles §.		

£. 256,767

Add one-sixth for the other two months,

42,794

299,561

The sundry articles in the first table of exportation omitted in this came to 6310 l. Now, if those articles were increased in the same proportion with the rest, they would have amounted to about

12,000

Total 1761,

|| 311,561

By

* Description, p. 30.

† Of these I know not the prices.

‡ Medium.

§ Anderson's Deduction of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 424.

¶ Upon this total I should, in confirmation, remark, that the Commercial Principles, p. 66. says, "the export of Carolina to Britain was, in 1761, 206,534 l. Now, if we consider the vast quantity

By this account, the export of Charles Town in 1761 is about 48,000 *l.* less than the calculation of it in 1754: but this circumstance, instead of invalidating the former state, confirms it. This year South Carolina was dreadfully harassed by an Indian war, the mention of which is, I apprehend, sufficient not only to account for this decrease, but also for the failure of an *increase*; which there is the greatest reason to believe would have regularly been enjoyed, had not the war prevented it. The irregular manner in which the Indians carry on a war, which is all by surprize, and cutting off the miserable inhabitants of detached dwellings, is a thousand times more fatal to *planting* than a regular war. A vast number of settlements are at once deserted, consequently a proportionable decrease of exported produce. What the export of Charles Town has been since, I have no sufficient authority to insert; but there can be no doubt of its being greatly increased, as the peace has been since concluded, and all the Indian affairs settled. If we consider these circumstances, and reflect that the inhabitants of our northern colonies have for many years been in the greatest want of fresh lands, petitioning in vain for them in their own settlements, and therefore probably removed to the southern ones: If we likewise consider, that the above tables contain the export of only one port, whereas that of Winyaw, Port Royal, &c. &c. is not inconsiderable. When we duly reflect upon these points, I apprehend the reader will not think it the least exaggeration to calculate the increase, to the year 1767, in the same proportion as from 1748 to 1757. I cannot, upon the most attentive reflection, suppose it so little, for the reasons above-mentioned; but if it amounts to no more, the total was in 1767 calculated from the low year 1761, 505,000 *l.* a vast produce for a province which in 1761 contained only 25,000 whites, and 39,000 blacks.

As to North Carolina and Georgia, I have very few materials to calculate their export from; respecting the latter, indeed scarce any: such, however, as they are, I shall proceed to insert them.

Exported from all the ports of North Carolina in 1753.

Commodities.	Prices.	Amount.
Tar,	61,528 barrels, £. 5 0 barrel,	£. 15,382
Pitch,	12,055 ditto, 0 6 5 ditto,	4,178
Turpentine,	10,429 ditto, 0 7 1 ditto,	3,651

Carry over, 23,211

quantity of their rice sent to the south of Cape Finistere, and the export of lumber, &c. to the West Indies, it will plainly appear, that the above total is rather under than over the truth. And yet it is curious to remark how much per head this partial export amounts to of the whole colony, divided amongst 64,000 souls (the number in 1761); it makes 3*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* each. Staves,

Commodities.		Brought over	Price.	Amount.
Staves,	762,330 in n ^o ,	£. 4	5 8 per 1000,	3,262
Shingles,	2,500,000 ditto,	0	11 5 ditto,	1,126
Lumber,	2,000,647 feet,	5	14 0 ditto,	11,400
Corn,	61,580 bushels,	0	1 5 bushel,	4,360
Peas,	10,000 ditto,	0	1 5 ditto,	708
Pork and beef,	3,300 barrels,	1	13 0 barrel,	5,445
Tobacco,	100 hoghead,	6	5 0 hoghead *,	750
Tanned leather,	1,000 cwt.	28	0 0 cwt.	28,000

78,563.

Besides, says my author †, 30,000 deer skins, a very considerable quantity of rice, bees wax, tallow, candles, bacon, lard, cotton; a vast quantity of squared timber of walnut and cedar, and hoops and headings of all sorts. Of late they raise indigo. They likewise export no inconsiderable quantity of beaver, racoon, otter, fox, minx, and wild catskins, &c. &c. &c.

Now, as rice and indigo, I apprehend, are produced in greater proportional quantities in South Carolina than in this province, let us set them aside, and suppose the other articles to bear the same proportion to these inserted, as they do to the same articles in the export of Charles Town.

These articles in the export amount to - £. 15,855

Those of which the quantity in North Carolina is not specified, amount, in the Charles Town export, to - - - - - 2,750

Or near a sixth; which of 78,563, is - - - - - 13,093

Add, on account of rice, indigo, silk, &c. being deducted, all of which they raise; and likewise on account of their proportion of the above-specified articles necessarily being much larger, as they are employed so much less upon rice, 8,344

£. 100,000

There are many reasons, which would be too tedious to mention, for supposing this sum *much* under the whole export of North Carolina in that year; but it is a misfortune that these capital interests of this nation.

* For the price, see *Importance of the British Plantations*, 1731. The hoghead, he says, is 600 lb. at 2½ d.

† *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 260.

are no better known. Such a scarcity of authentic materials to compile such a work as this from, makes it too often necessary to have recourse to conjecture. As to the increase of this colony's exports since 1753, I have no method of conjecturing it, but by supposing it the same as in South Carolina. Let me remark, however, that from the accounts we have had in the public papers, copied from the American ones, there is great reason to believe the increase of this settlement much more rapid than that of the other; for mention was particularly made of one district in which the inhabitants were increased in a few years from four hundred to four thousand, with an observation that many other parts of the colony were peopling equally fast. Now, the increase of South Carolina in ten years, from 1748 to 1757 inclusive, was that of doubling her export, and one-fourth over. According to this proportion, North Carolina in 1767 exported to the amount of _____ £. 287,000
 South Carolina in the same year, _____ 505,000

Total exports of the two Carolinas in 1767, _____ 792,000

Supposing the proportions of each article of export the same as before, from which they probably varied but little, or if they did, rather in favour of the staples than other articles;

Lumber will then be	_____	£. 16,500	
Corn, live-stock, provisions, &c.	_____	52,800	
		_____	69,300
Total export to Europe,	_____	_____	£. 722,700

As to Georgia, I have no minutes to lay before the reader that have any satisfactory authenticity in them, or that I can confirm by comparison with the preceding accounts; but if we consider the climate, and even superior advantages in some respects which it enjoys over the Carolinas, and remember that a large part of it carries on the production of raw silk in a very spirited manner, even to its being the staple of Pensburg, we shall readily conceive that colony to be of great importance, and to export staples to a considerable amount.

The Tobacco Colonies.

The grand staple of these countries, Virginia and Maryland, is, 1. tobacco; besides which they export, 2. naval stores, 3. lumber.

Tobacco.

Tobacco.

“ This plant, says a modern writer I have often quoted *, is aboriginal in America, and of very ancient use, though neither so generally cultivated, nor so well manufactured, as it has been since the coming of the Europeans. When at its just height, it is as tall as an ordinary sized man; the stalk is straight, hairy and clammy; the leaves alternate, of a faded yellowish green, and towards the lower part of the plant of a great size. The seeds of tobacco are first sown in beds, from whence they are transplanted, the first rainy weather, into a ground disposed into little hillocks like an hop garden. In a month’s time from their transplantation they become a foot high; they then top them, and prune off the lower leaves, and with great attention clean them from weeds and worms twice a week: in about six weeks after they attain to their full growth, and they begin then to turn brownish. By these marks they judge the tobacco to be ripe. They cut down the plants as fast as they ripen, heap them up, and let them lie a night to sweat: the next day they carry them to the tobacco house, which is built to admit as much air as is consistent with keeping out rain, where they are hung separately to dry for four or five weeks: then they take them down in moist weather, for else they will crumble to dust. After this they are laid upon sticks, and covered up close to sweat for a week or two longer; the servants strip and sort them, the top being the best, the bottom the worst tobacco; then they make them up in hog-heads, or form them into rolls. Wet seasons must be carefully laid hold on for all this work, else the tobacco will not be sufficiently pliable.”

There are a great variety of kinds, as distinguished by the planters when growing; such as long-green, thick-joint, brazil, lazy, shoe-strings, &c. But all the tobacco in the country, when brought to the warehouse, comes under one, of two denominations, viz. *Aranokoe* and *Sweet-scented*. The latter is distinguished by its stem and flavour, is most valued, and grows in greatest plenty in the lower parts of Virginia, viz. James river, and York river; and begins now to be planted also on Rapanhannock and the south side of Potomack. The *Aranokoe* denominated by an Indian name, is generally planted upon Cheesepeak Bay, and the back settlements on all the rivers †. It is strong and hot in the mouth, but sells very well in the markets of Holland, Germany, and the north ‡.

The sale of this commodity in the colonies being very different from that of any other, I shall add a short sketch of the manner in which the

* *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 213. Mr. Postlethwayte is more diffuse, but not so clear.

† *Mair’s Commerce of the Tobacco Colonies*. See his *Book Keeping Methodized*, p. 332.

‡ *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 214.

business is performed. There are factors who have their constant residence in the colonies, and whose sole profession is to do business for merchants as they are employed. Their commission is stated at 10 per cent. on all sales and returns, and to them ships with slaves are generally consigned. But though this be the case, yet the British merchants who carry on the tobacco trade, find it their interest to employ factors or supercargoes of their own, who go over to Virginia or Maryland, and usually settle for some years in the country. Their wages are commonly by the year, with bed, board and necessary charges, as their employers and they can agree. These carry with them, and are supplied from time to time by their employers, with large quantities of all kinds of European and Indian goods, which they expose to sale in shops or houses, which, in the country, go under the name of *stores*. The merchants or store-keepers, generally sell their goods on trust or time; and receive payment not in cash, but in tobacco, as the planters can get it ready. Before a merchant open store in this retail way, it is his interest to have it well provided with all sorts of commodities proper for cloathing and family use; and the greater variety he has, the better; for wherever planters find they can be best suited and served, thither they commonly resort, and there dispose of their tobacco.

The purchasing of tobacco is now, by an inspection-law, made easy and safe both to the planter and merchant. This law took place in Virginia in the year 1730, but in Maryland not till 1748. The planter, by virtue of this, may go to any place and sell his tobacco, without carrying a sample of it along with him; and the merchant may buy it though lying 100 miles, or at any distance from his store, and yet be morally sure both with respect to quality and quantity. For this purpose, upon all the rivers and bays of Virginia and Maryland, at the distance of about 12 or 14 miles from one another, are erected warehouses, to which all the tobacco in the country must be brought, and there lodged, before the planters can offer it to sale: and inspectors are appointed to examine all the tobacco brought in, receive such as is good and merchantable, condemn and burn what appears damaged or insufficient. The greatest part of the tobacco is put up, or prized into hogheads, by the planters themselves, before it is carried to the warehouses. Each hoghead, by act of assembly, must be 950 lb. neat, or upwards: some of them weigh 14 cwt. nay even 18 cwt. and the heavier they are the merchants like them the better; because 4 hogheads, whatsoever their weight be, are esteemed a tun, and pay the same freight*. The inspectors give notes of

* *Mair*, p. 333. &c. from whom I have transcribed this account of the sale of tobacco, has some other curious particulars too tedious to insert, but which are worthy of notice by all concerned in the trade.

receipt for the tobacco, and the merchants take them in payment for their goods, passing current indeed over the whole colonies: a most admirable invention, which operates so greatly, that in Virginia they have no paper currency.

Before I quit this article I should remark, that tobacco being a most luxuriant rank vegetable, requires a rich deep soil: none exceeds fresh wood lands; but it is agreed on all hands, that it soon exhausts the soil of its fertility, and cannot be raised to profit on a poor one: hence the necessity of the planters spreading themselves over a vast tract of country, to have plenty of fresh soil for their staple, and to maintain large herds of cattle, for the making of dung to manure those fields, whose vigor is exhausted. It is this necessity of enjoying great quantities of land, that has reduced their profit on tobacco of late years much under what it formerly was, insomuch that we are told by a modern writer, who certainly had the means of good information, that their fields do not produce a third part, acre for acre, of what they used to do. That formerly they made 3 and 4 hogheads a share, that is for every labourer, where they cannot now make one*. If this is the case, there is a great decline indeed; for tobacco being worth to the planters about 5*l.* per hoghead †, one per head will by no means pay the charges of cultivation, consequently there must be other more profitable articles planted, or the cultivator be ruined. I but touch upon this point of their decline at present, that the reader may not be surpris'd at finding their export less in proportion to their numbers, than that of the colonies already treated of. When I come to speak of the *defects* in our colonies, I shall enter more particularly into it.

Naval Stores.

These, besides the articles of pitch, tar, turpentine, &c. (the manufacture of which is exactly the same as in the southern colonies) consist of hemp, flax, and iron; but as I can no where meet with any specified quantities, they being mentioned only in general as articles of produce, and as it appears that our colonies in general do not produce near enough for their own consumption, (of which more hereafter) I shall not enter into a particular enquiry upon these heads in this place; but refer them to the chapter of the defects of our colonies, as matters of infinite consequence, hitherto not pursued with that vigor so requisite to the publick good, where I shall inquire into the state and expediency of their production for exportation.

* *Present State*, p. 140.

† *Mair*, p. 332.

Lumber.

These colonies have, in common with all the rest, a trade to the West Indies in planks, boards, staves, hogheads, &c. &c. Tobacco employing them in the summer, it is to be supposed of course (though no author I have met with gives a detail of their management) that they keep their slaves in winter at sawing lumber, in the same manner as the planters in the southern colonies.

I proceed now to the quantity of their exports—that is of their tobacco; for, as to the two last articles, I can find no minutes of them; and authors are not agreed in the former. Mr. Postlethwayte makes it 66,000 hogheads*. Mr. Mair, 80,000 †. Another writer also, 80,000 †. A fourth, 65,000 §. A fifth, 62,000 ||. A sixth, 45,000 ¶. A seventh, 90,000 **. The general medium of these is 69,700, which I shall call 70,000 hogheads. The value is calculated at 5*l.* per hoghead ††, consequently the amount of the grand staple is 350,000*l.* A collateral authority, which greatly authenticates this medium, is the amount of the British imports from these two colonies in the year 1761, which was in value 357,228*l.* †† and is likewise a proof, that their exportation to Britain, exclusive of tobacco, is extremely trifling; for although it may not be precisely neither more nor less than about 7000*l.* yet the coincidence of the above to tals is a strong presumption that the variation is not considerable. As to the proportion between this export of tobacco and the number of the people: The latter according to the author of the *Present State* §§ is 800,000; but then as he makes the total of our settlements 3,000,000, and there appeared from several other accounts reason to calculate them at no more than 2,200,000, I shall adopt nothing more than his *proportion*, which is assigning the tobacco colonies better than one third of the total, which of 2,200,000 is 730,000; call it therefore 750,000 souls, and there is no great danger of exceeding on either side: 350,000*l.* divided amongst the number, is 9*s.* 4*d.* each. If we take the 357,000*l.* it will amount to no more than 9*s.* 6*d.*

* *Dictionary*, 1766, Art. *Tobacco*.† *Book-Keeping*, 1757, p. 332.‡ *European Settlements*, 1758, vol. ii. p. 216.§ Mr. Heathcote's *Letter*, 1762, p. 21.|| Anderson's *Deduction*, 1748, vol. ii. p. 387. quoted.¶ *Ibid.* 40,000,000*lb.* which at 900, is about 45,000.** *Present State*, 1767, p. 177.†† *Mair*, p. 332.‡‡ *Examination of the Commercial Principles*, 1762, p. 66.

§§ P. 176.

These

These circumstances call for some observations which ought to be very material. It evidently appears that the produce of these colonies exported to Britain; and which includes their grand staple tobacco, is by no means sufficient to find them in even necessary manufactures. It is true their export to the West Indies and elsewhere is not included; but then if we consider, that these colonies have been settled longer than any on the continent, consequently lumber and naval stores must have decreased proportionably, and that tobacco takes up (to use an expression of divers authors who have written concerning them) *all* their time and attention; if we reflect on these points we shall be sensible, that their export of those staples cannot, in proportion to the total, or to their numbers of people, be near so considerable as in Carolina; and yet there naval stores are but 1-46 and lumber 1-48 of their export; and that in a situation so much nearer to the West Indies, and consequently the freight so much lighter. Indeed Virginia and Maryland are so populous, and their plantations of tobacco so extended, that it is impossible their export of these articles can nearly equal that of Carolina; for on the least removal of the settlers to clear lands not situated *absolutely* upon the rivers, instead of converting the timber to those purposes, it is well known, they burn it all, as the cheapest method of getting rid of it: from whence it necessarily results, that the more populous the country grows, when once the banks of the great rivers are cleared, the less proportionate quantity of these articles is exported. But notwithstanding all this, let us suppose these exports to bear the same proportion as in Carolina.

Sundry exports to Britain,	—	—	£. 357,228
Naval Stores, 1-46	—	—	770
Lumber, 1-48	—	—	740
			<hr/>
			£. 358,738

This amount is but 9 s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head; and if it could be strained even yet further, we should find the division would leave but a trifle to each person. In the West India islands the exported staples amounted to 8 l. 12 s. 1 d. per head, and those of Carolina, 5 l. 10 s.; which, considering they include men, women, and children, are great sums, and highly sufficient for the purchase of all necessaries. Does not this sufficiently prove, if we had no other authority, that these colonies have either some other exports besides those of staple commodities, or possess manufactures of

their own, nearly to the amount of their consumption? In my review of the *agriculture* of the colonies, it appeared that these settlements were getting into the business of common farming; much of their land being worn out with tobacco; and that they even exported large quantities of corn: 50 or 60 ship loads were mentioned by the author of *The Present State*, as the export of one year. But neither that quantity, nor any other, which it is probable they can have exported *regularly*, (considering that corn and provisions are exported by all of them in some degree, the sugar islands alone excepted) would be sufficient to yield the inhabitants imported manufactures; consequently we must suppose their own to be more considerable than has hitherto appeared in any of our publick accounts. Virginia's exporting some linen to Carolina was a suspicious circumstance, as exporting a commodity generally implies a previous satisfaction of the home consumption; but yet, as the general idea was contrary, the fact was not then so much insisted upon as the above state of their exported staples gives reason at present to imagine it ought to be. As to their exportation of corn, it is indeed somewhat better for Britain than manufacturing to the same amount, and not greatly, for her own staple ~~is corn~~, the production of which for exportation in the colonies, is only rivaling herself, and at the same time employs those people who ought to be raising those commodities which Britain purchases of foreigners, or could sell to them. But as the consequences of this state of the tobacco colonies will be further treated of when I come to speak of the *defects of the colonies*, I insert here little more than a narrative of the facts.

at non-ferre

ma-1-1000

The Northern Colonies.

Under this title I comprehend Pennsylvania, New-York, New Jersey, New England, Nova Scotia, and Canada. As to their staples, they consist of lumber, naval stores, ship-building, pot-ashes, iron, and copper; or, in other words, they have none but what are secondary ones to the colonies, to the south of them; all of which enjoy some particular article of cultivation, which employs their people during the summer months, and leaves them the winter to attend to these matters, which to the northward are all they have. And consequently the bulk of the inhabitants are nothing more than common farmers, cultivating the necessaries of life. It is however a very great misfortune, that we have not as accurate accounts published of the particular exportations of these provinces as the worthy governor of South Carolina has furnished of his. We should then be able to determine with the utmost exactness their state in respect of staple productions. As to the quantities of the above exported, I cannot find any

any accounts which are the least satisfactory ; but the following sketch of their total export to Britain is of importance.

In 1761, New England exported thither	—	£.25,985
New-York,	—	21,684
Pensylvania,	—	22,404
Nova Scotia,	—	18
Canada,	—	14,015

In this account New Jersey is omitted, but I add $\frac{7}{8}$ of New-York for it, that being the proportion of their inhabitants,	—	14,456
		<u>£. 98,562</u>

Now the inhabitants of the continental colonies having been found to amount to about 2,200,000 souls, and those of the tobacco ones to 750,000; and South Carolina in 1757 having 60,000, and her produce being 336,000 *l.* supposing her people increased in proportion with her produce, and the same in North Carolina, these two provinces in 1767 contained 129,000 people; and that no objections may lie against the number left for the northern colonies, I shall suppose Georgia to make this number up 150,000. The total of these will be 900,000, consequently there remains 1,100,000 for the northern ones. I am sensible that this calculation is partly founded upon supposition; but the variation from the truth I am confident is not very great, and that rather to the lessening than increasing the inhabitants of the northern colonies. The specified exports, divided among 1,100,000 people, amounts to 1 *s.* 9 *d.* each.

The reader will not, of course, be so much surpris'd at the trifling amount of this export relative to the general necessities of a people, as he doubtless recollects the number and extent of the manufactures of the principal of these provinces: the existence of which would be as much proved (were proofs wanting) by the deficiency of staples, as by the most authentic catalogue of every fabrick in them. It is true they export much lumber, &c. to the West Indies, and perhaps some ships are built for Europe, not included in the above export. Supposing these articles very considerable, even more so than they can possibly be, yet the addition per head from them will scarcely amount to any thing worth adding; for the three principal of

* *Examination of the Commercial Principles*, p. 47. 66.

them are so well peopled and extensive that their lumber must be much decreased, of which there cannot be a stronger proof than the necessity more than one of their towns are under of being supplied even with *fire-wood* from a distance by sea; which is a circumstance that totally precludes from their neighbourhood all ideas of lumber. If we call the division 2 s. 6 d. a head, I am confident these articles will be much more than allowed for.

But they have a source of wealth more considerable than any hitherto mentioned; not a *staple*, indeed, and therefore belongs not to this section, but I must not omit speaking of it even here; it is their trade, including their fisheries. It is well known that the people of Pennsylvania, New-York, and New England, particularly the latter, and Nova Scotia, in a less degree, carry on a vast fishery, which proves the foundation of that great trade carried on from Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia. The inhabitants of the first have been called the *Carriers*, the *Dutch* of America. This trade (of which more hereafter) must add a little to the above export, and but a little; and even that little must consist chiefly of commodities belonging to other colonies, and which of course ought to be charged to their account. Trade and fisheries may give these people *money*, but no *staples*; and let me add that the latter, in the possession of colonists, are of ten times the importance to a mother-country of the former. Money is the result of trade, which ought all to be at home: staples, the product of lands, must be exchanged for manufactures. A trading city like Boston may have wealth poured in from every quarter, and yet the inhabitants of the country be totally clothed with their own manufactures: but the very production of staples is a proof that they are more profitable than manufactures — The fact is a proof of this: those colonies which are the richest are not therefore the most valuable; the preceding review shews that to depend upon staple productions.

It appears upon the whole, that the staple productions of our colonies decrease in value in proportion to their distance from the sun. In the West Indies, which are the hottest of all, they make to the amount of 8 l. 12 s. 1 d. per head. In the southern continental ones, to the amount of 5 l. 10 s. In the central ones, to the amount of 9 s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the northern settlements, to that of 2 s. 6 d. This scale surely suggests a most important lesson — to avoid colonizing in northern latitudes! Eighteen pounds, the export of Nova Scotia, after several years settlement, after the utmost attention from the government, after a million sterling of the publick money being expended upon it, is an example one would think sufficient to deter the boldest projector! But if our colonies to the north

produce such trifling staples, those to the south, on the contrary, are immensely valuable—indeed of such infinite importance to this nation, that *general expressions* of the benefit of our settlements should never be indulged; let providoes ever come of—

Those to the South.

We have found in the preceding enquiries into the manufactures and staples of our colonies, that those which most abound with the former have the fewest of the latter: and this is a necessary consequence, for nothing but such products as bear a large price in Europe will yield a return from thence of the necessary manufactures, and much less of superfluous ones. But if a colony is situated in a climate which denies such productions, or from a want of due attention in the mother-country they are not improved or suffered to decline, does it therefore follow, that the inhabitants of such province are to go without cloaths, furniture and tools? By no means; wherever there are people they will most assuredly enjoy those necessaries: if they raise nothing from their soil will purchase them in exchange, they will certainly make them themselves. And if they are a populous flourishing people, they will find very little difficulty in the attempt. Indeed, it is not properly speaking an *attempt*, but the regular course of things; a concatenation of causes and effects which take place imperceptibly. And in proportion as they grow more and more populous, their manufactures will increase *beyond the proportion* of the people, until they come to work for exportation. It is ever to be remarked, that a people *cannot FULLY* supply themselves with any commodity, without more than doing it—some exportation must take place, or the home consumption will not be regularly satisfied.

It likewise appears from the preceding sheets, contrary to the ideas of several modern writers, that it is very possible for cultivation alone to supply a people with *all* the necessaries of life, without any assistance from *trade* or *manufactures*; and that under the disadvantage of exporting the raw material, and importing the manufacture by a long and expensive voyage, under the subjection of duties, and consequently under complicated charges. The inhabitants of the West India islands and the southern continental colonies wear not a rag of their own manufacturing; drive not a nail of their own forging; eat not out of a platter or a cup of their own making; nay, the former produce not even bread to eat; and if that was the case with all the rest, provided Britain could regularly supply their deficiency, (which under a certain system of policy she undoubtedly might) it would be so much the better for her—so entirely do these colonies depend upon the mother-country for all manufactures &
and

and all from possessing beneficial staples. Of such vast consequence is it to the country, to plant new colonies or extend our old ones, only in climates which will allow of such capital advantages!

Tobacco, in this preceding scale, does not appear of any thing like the consequence of the other staples; but this results only from the vast increase of the number of people employed in it. Not many years ago, those colonies most undoubtedly had *no* manufactures, nor did they want them; but when their fields were worn out, and their people doubly and trebly increased, they could not raise that proportion per head which was requisite for purchasing necessaries; for instead of their staple increasing like their numbers, it is well known to have been at a stand for many years. Thus the deficiency so apparent in the export of these colonies, is merely owing to the increase of population in them not being attended with an increase of profitable land. This must be the case, for as they make better and cheaper tobacco there than the European plantations can, they would certainly have increased their culture with their numbers had proper lands been plentiful. Hence came their spreading themselves into the territories claimed by the French, and occasioning thereby the late war, which they would never have done could they have procured land nearer the sea: from these circumstances we may conclude, that tobacco is a proper staple for a British colony, how slight a figure soever it may make in the export per head of these colonies. Indeed, there can be no doubt of its being a better staple than rice; because, in the first place, it will bear a considerable duty, and in the next, rice is but another name for corn, which in certain circumstances, and in a certain extent, might interfere with the staple of Britain, though there appears not the least prospect of this at present.—I should extend these reflections, were it not for an opportunity to add more general remarks, when I attempt to state the benefits resulting from our colonies.

S E C T. III.

Of the Benefits resulting to Britain from their Settlement.

THE advantages which this nation reaps from the planting of colonies, are of such a diffused and extensive nature, that it is impossible, with any tolerable clearness, to sum them up under one general head; for which reason I shall divide them into three, and consider them respectively to be

1. Wealth,
2. Power, and
3. Population.

The

The Wealth resulting from colonies ought certainly to arise from the cultivation of staple commodities, that is from the production of those articles which a mother-country must purchase of foreigners, if her own settlements did not yield them; or of such as she can sell to them. The difference between purchasing a commodity of a foreign country, or of a colony, is immense: in the first case, it is paid for probably with cash; but in the latter, manufactures are exchanged for it; that is, the labour of our poor, who otherwise might be idle, and consequently a dead weight upon the community. What a prodigious difference there is between paying to the French a million sterling for sugars, or exchanging a million's worth of our manufactures for the same commodity with our own colonists; for not only the mere amount of the sugar is saved, but likewise all the profits upon the cultivation, &c. &c. which afterwards comes home in a fresh and accumulated demand for more labour.

But the case is very different, if the wealth arises differently. A colony may be extremely flourishing and rich from an extended commerce and profitable fisheries: her riches thus acquired add so much, it is true, to the general national stock, but then the same addition might, and probably would have been made, had no such colony existed; the only variation is, that the mother-country would have enjoyed it instead of the colony. Such acquired wealth is nothing more than a division of it. Such colonists never did nor ever can send home any such commodity as will pay for manufactures; for had such existed, they would never have turned fishermen and merchants.—From this state of the question, results the proper method of examining the wealth accruing to Britain from her colonies, which can only be in proportion to the amount of their exported staples.

The amount of the West India exports appear to be £. 2,701,060

Those of the southern continental colonies to Europe *, 722,700

Those of the tobacco colonies, 357,228

Those of the northern settlements, 98,562

Total exported staples, £. 3,880,550

That

* Here I should remark, that I have charged the whole West India export both to Europe and North America, but left out all the exports from North America to the West Indies, and for this reason: had the latter been inserted, the amount in this *general view*, which respects Britain *alone*, it would have been charged twice; for the mother-country cannot export manufactures, upon the whole, to the amount of the *exchange* between those respective colonies, but only to the amount of those staples, which either *are* exported to Europe, or *might be*

That is, the islands,	_____	2,702,060
The continent,	_____	1,178,490

Upon the latter sum, I should remark that the author of the *Present State* p. 279, &c. offers more reasons than one for supposing the truth pretty well preserved; as will appear by the following passage. "To form a right judgment concerning the state of the colonies, we should in the first place consider the produce of their agriculture in enumerated commodities; which, with all their other products sent to Britain, are well known, both from the accounts of the custom-house, merchants, and planters; all which have been carefully examined for many years past; and from these it appears, that the value of all their enumerated commodities is but 767,000 *l.* per annum: even the highest computation does not bring it to 800,000 *l.* meaning in net proceeds to the planters. Their value has indeed always been computed at 600,000 *l.* till within these few years past; but every one who is acquainted with the colonies may see, that their enumerated commodities are the chief part of their produce: every thing they make indeed is for remittances to Britain, in order to purchase their necessaries, and to pay their debts; whence we may be very certain, that their non-enumerated commodities sold in other countries are not equal in value to the enumerated which are sent to Britain. Accordingly, the first are computed at 700,000 *l.* a year at most; and, if we were to enter into particulars, no one could well make them amount to that sum. Thus the produce of all the colonies in North America amounts at most to 1,500,000 *l.* above what they consume among themselves."—Now, if the reader adds to the above 1,178,490 *l.* their export to the West Indies, &c. he will not find it far short of 1,500,000 *l.* and this author observes a little further, that it cannot exceed 1,400,000 *l.* So that we may safely conclude the variation from truth in the above account, if any, is but trifling.

such as all West Indian products. Jamaica, we will suppose, sends to New England 100,000 *l.* in sugar and rum, and receives in return lumber and food to the amount of not above 20,000 *l.* How is the deficiency to be made up? certainly by manufactures; whether imported first from Britain, or made there, it is not to the present purpose to enquire. Let these proportions be varied in whatever manner they may, there will yet be a vast balance due from North America to the West Indies, if only the product of the soil is reckoned. And from hence results the proof, that all the exports of the islands must be inserted in the above state, as they, wherever sent, are evidently the means of such a demand subsisting for British manufactures; but, at the same time, that proportion of North American exports, which is balanced by imports from the islands, should not be reckoned, as the amount would then in the total be charged twice; and especially as they could not be transported to Britain in exchange for manufactures, were they not sent to the islands—which is the very contrary with the products of the latter, though not demanded by the continent. If the 30,000 hogheads of sugar consumed in North America were not in demand, Britain would purchase them with manufactures, and re-export them to other European nations, receiving cash in return.

Let

Let us in the next place inquire how this amount coincides with the exportation of British commodities to the colonies: And first, with the West Indies.

By the custom-house accounts, the exportations from Britain thither in the year 1758* were - - - £. 877,571

To this sum we must add the amount of the negroes imported, as they are purchased with British manufactures: they amount in the islands to 15,000 annually †, and cost the planters 30 £. † each, - - - 450,000

Total - - - - - 1,327,571

Their exported staples, - - - - - 2,709,060

Their imports from Britain, - - - - - 1,327,571

Difference, - - - - - £. 1,374,489

For this prodigious deficiency we must turn our eyes to the continent, since no other way can it be any thing near balanced; premising first, that a considerable sum should be deducted from it on account of the residence of West Indians in Britain, who spend large estates there. If this amounts to 174,489 £, it is a vast sum: I do not mean to state it precisely, or to limit it to that sum, but am only forming a supposition, for the sake of carrying on the account in a clearer manner. Supposing this, there will then remain 1,200,000 £. to be accounted for. Let us now turn to the continental colonies.

By the custom-house accounts, from the year 1756 to 1764 inclusive, the exportations thither from Britain were at a medium ‡ - - - - - £. 2,033,571

7000 Negroes, at 30 £. - - - - - 210,000

Total - - - - - £. 2,243,571

Export of staples to Europe, - - - - - 1,178,490

Deficiency of staples, - - - - - 1,065,081

* *Commercial Principles*, p. 27: † *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 124. 129.

‡ I am sensible that 30 £. of manufactures are not exported for every negro; but, as I am stating the general account of the colonies' disbursements, it is necessary to insert the price out of the ship. The article of freight however, which is a part of it, is infinitely valuable.

§ *Present State of Great Britain and North America*, p. 280.

It is extremely plain from this double account, that the excess of staples in the first, must remedy, in some measure at least, the deficiency of them in the second. In the preceding pages it appeared, that a considerable part of the West Indian staples were exported to North America, to the amount even of 920,000 *l.* As it is well known they pay the surplus of their cash to Britain, they can make good this sum by no means hitherto mentioned, but by the exchange of lumber and provisions, which are both infinitely too trivial to balance such an account.—Nothing therefore remains (not to speak at present of *their own manufactures*) but their trade in a part of those they receive from Britain. In short, nothing can be clearer, than the certainty of the northern colonies making good to vast a demand upon them from the islands, by re-exporting to them a large share of the manufactures they take from Britain, and for the consumption of which they have hitherto had the credit.

It may be said, how can it answer to them to export our manufactures under such an accumulated charge? But the same query is equally applicable to all re-exportations from our continental colonies; and yet we know, by authentic papers, that such a re-exportation is carried on by them all: even South Carolina, which has such a very trifling share of commerce, re-exports many British manufactures, as may be seen in the list inserted in the *Description* I have so often quoted. These facts overrule all argumentative reasoning; their cause must be referred to the courses of trade, to occasional cheapness of freight, and many unknown circumstances, which may make such re-exportation answer as well in many cases to the re-exporter as to the original exporter.

But if we consider, that a vast portion of the manufactures exported from Britain to North America go to the northern colonies, viz. those of Pennsylvania, New England, &c. whose exported staples are so very trifling, it naturally occurs to us, how they are paid for. Thus the staple export of Pennsylvania is 22,404 *l.* and yet her importations from Britain were 201,666 *l.* in the year 1752 †. But let it not be imagined, that because she imported, she therefore consumed them. The opulent and trading city of Philadelphia is in that province, from whence no doubt a considerable share of such imports were re-exported; and it is beyond all doubt the same with the cities of Boston and New York.

Here it may possibly be objected, that the northern colonies are greatly in debt to Britain, and the excess of their imports so accounted for. But

† *Commercial Principles*, p. 98.

in answer to this we should remember, in the first place, that the plea of these debts has generally been supposed to be much exaggerated. The people who were the loudest in proclaiming them were most undoubtedly much interested in the argument they urged; consequently so much credit should not be given them as in other cases. In the next place, the accounts of these debts which have been laid before the publick are extremely contradictory. I know but one author of any note that has examined them, and he exhibits an account which cannot be supported. He says, that the colonies owe to Britain the sum of 5,000,000 *l.** and yet but five pages before he states the annual balance against them at above a million, without adding that they paid off any part of that balance: if they did not, their debt instead of five must be nearer fifty millions; which shews that they certainly did discharge a large part of it: if so, what part of it? This is a secret: all that transpires is an assertion of their being in debt 5,000,000 *l.* which is nothing more than one assertion to support another, with proof for neither. — However, supposing the debt 5,000,000 *l.* and the balance so very regular as this writer represents it, that sum must be many years in accumulating to such an amount. Quere, If they were not in debt 60, 50, 40, 30 years ago? And how much? All the ideas of the trade that can be gathered from this author are totally consistent with such a regular debt; and another †, who wrote several years ago, and whose materials are 20 or 30 years old, says it expressly of the people of Virginia, who *have a staple*; whereas the northern colonies *have none*. From which circumstances we may conclude, that this debt, if so large, is of very long standing, and has been increased very gradually.

Of the 920,000 *l.* imported into North America from the islands, Lumber and provisions can pay but a small share, since a considerable quantity of the latter goes from the mother-country. If 145,081 *l.* is supposed to discharge it, it is a very large allowance; there will then, upon the whole account, remain 1,200,000 *l.* paid by the northern colonies in the manner above-mentioned.

Now, as the total of exports from the mother-country is in both states brought to account, the balance must be struck among themselves; that is, most undoubtedly, must be answered by the northern colonies: or in other words, the amount of their dealings with the islands rises to 1,200,000 *l.* Lumber and provisions, as I said before, will by no means answer such a sum; it must therefore undoubtedly be made up by exporting manufactures thither, and by their *trade* and *fisheries*, all which are well known to be very considerable; and in truth so they had need, to pay

* *Present State*, p. 284.

† *European Settlements*, vol. ii.

such a balance, and leave sufficient profits to render the northern colonies such flourishing commercial states. In whatever manner the point is considered, it will be more and more evident, that this is the only way of accounting for the difference between the exported manufactures of Britain and the exported staples of the sugar islands, the southern-continental, and the tobacco colonies.

I have entered into this particular examination of *who are the consumers of exported manufactures*, that some determinate knowledge might be gained of the value of our respective colonies; and the result is very clearly as follows:

The produce of West Indian exported staples,	---	£. 2,702,060
Expended by absentees in Britain,	-----	174,489
<hr/>		
Consumption of manufactures, &c. in the West Indies,	---	2,527,571
Lumber and provisions from North America,	-----	145,081
<hr/>		
West Indian consumption of British manufactures,	---	2,382,490
Exportation to all America, and of British commodities, including negroes,	-----	3,571,365
Deduct the West Indian consumption,	-----	2,382,490
<hr/>		
Remaining British manufactures for North America,	---	1,188,875
Exported staples of the southern-continental, and tobacco colonies,	-----	1,079,928
<hr/>		
Remains for all the northern colonies,	---	108,947
Their export to Britain,	-----	98,562
<hr/>		
Balance,	-----	10,385
<hr/>		
Consumption of British manufactures in the West Indies,	---	2,382,490
Export of ditto there,	£. 877,571	
Negroes,	450,000	
<hr/>		
		1,327,571
<hr/>		
The West Indies are therefore supplied by North America with manufactures to the amount of	---	1,054,919
If to this we add the lumber, &c.	-----	145,081
<hr/>		
The total is the amount, as before, of the dealings between the northern colonies and the islands,	-----	1,200,000

By this account we find, in the first place, that the debt of the continent does not exceed 10,385*l.* per annum and consequently utterly improbable ever to have amounted by trade to any thing like 3,000,000*l.* In the next it is equally apparent, that the northern colonies manufacture to an immense amount: if the balance between them and the West Indies is not paid in manufactures totally, it must in a good part, and the remainder be supplied by *trade, fisheries, &c.* that is by every thing but what it ought to be, *viz.* staples.—But it is here necessary to remark further, that in the accounts of West India produce, nothing is inserted but commodities raised there; whereas it is well known they procure vast quantities of bullion by their intercourse with the Spanish colonies, which accounts for what they annually send over to Britain. This ought all to be added in the preceding account to their staples. The amount is unknown; but doubtless it would more than take all the remainder of British exports, after balancing the account with the islands, the southern continent, and the tobacco colonies; that is, leave no export to the northern ones. From all which circumstances it is yet more evident that the northern colonies cannot consume many, if any, British manufactures.

But here it will, doubtless, be said, How is that possible, when the progress of manufactures from the workman in Britain to the very consumer in these colonies is actually traced every day?—To this I answer, That their consumption of some of our manufactures and East India goods (which they cannot make at home) is undoubted; but when I asserted, that they consumed none, or very few, of our manufactures, I plainly meant, that after the British export had satisfied the demands which we know *must* exist, because the goods are *paid* for, there will be nothing remaining for these northern colonies.—Their real consumption is palpably accounted for thus: instead of re-exporting the whole of their import, they keep at home sufficient for their use, and export of *their own* fabricks an equal amount. There is nothing difficult to be comprehended in this, since the operation is very simple, and there are a thousand reasons for determining the fact to be such.

To extend these reflections somewhat further, let us inquire what is the probable consumption of manufactures by a given number of people in America. Upon this point the author of the *Present State* writes as follows: “To supply the colonies with *necessaries* from Britain, not to mention *many other* articles, would require at least 3*l.* a head, as appears from many particular estimates*.” But as we know the export to America

* Page 284.

contains a vast quantity of *superfluities*, we may be certain their consumption much exceeds that sum. Indeed there is no possibility that it should be sufficient for cloaths, furniture, utensils, tools, and a long train of et ceteras, which all civilized mankind must consume. The exports of South Carolina appeared to be 5 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* a head: Now, as no negroes are imported into that province, or at least very few, and some exported, that sum must either be returned in manufactures or cash; and as we know it is not the latter, we may safely determine it to be the former.

From this sum we must deduct a trifle for some wheat and flour imported from the northward: if we reckon this to reduce it to 5 *l.* 10 *s.* it will be a large allowance. As to West Indian commodities, the import to all the continent is 920,000 *l.* but then a very considerable share of it is sold to the Indians, and more of it consumed in the fishery, by people not reckoned in the numbers in our colonies; some is likewise sent to the coast of Africa: If we suppose their consumption to amount to 850,000 *l.* it is as much as it can do; which, divided amongst 2,200,000 people, is just 8 *s.* a head. This reduces the consumption to 5 *l.* 2 *s.* but I shall call it, for brevity, and to obviate accidental objections, 5 *l.* a sum which I do not think ill agrees with the above-quoted author's calculation of 3 *l.* for a partial consumption; but whether it agrees or not with that sum, it does not appear ill founded, but, on the contrary, to depend for its truth upon very important *facts*.

I cannot see any reason for supposing the consumption of people in Carolina to be greater than the medium of the whole, but, on the contrary, several for imagining it to be less. There is scarce any trade in that province; whereas the commerce and shipping of the northern ones are very considerable, and consequently occasion a vast naval consumption, of which no share comes into this calculation; and as that commerce brings in much wealth, it naturally causes a proportionate consumption in all enriched by it; and these articles must appear very important, if we reflect on the trade of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and yield no trifling reasons for not deducting further from the above-mentioned sum of 5 *l.*

Two millions two hundred thousand people, consuming each to the amount of 5 *l.* come in the whole to 11,000,000 *l.*

The

The account therefore stands thus :

North America consumption in general, ———	£. 11,000,000
Ditto of British commodities and negroes *, ———	1,888,875
Amount of their own manufactures consumed by themselves, 9,111,125	
Their export of ditto to the West Indies was found to be 1,054,919	
Total of their manufactures, ———	10,166,044

If to this sum the reader adds the amount of their exported staples, he will find it in the whole to rise to about 300,000*l.* more than the above-supposed consumption, which is a confirmation that it was not exaggerated; their manufactures and staples forming their whole income.

From these several views of the state of our colonies, in respect to the import and consumption of manufactures, the following observations naturally occur.—That from a colony's importing large quantities of British goods, it does not therefore follow such is a beneficial one. This is strongly verified by the imports of Pennsylvania amounting in some years to above 200,000*l.* and those of New England may be six times as much, whereas all the northern colonies together cannot consume much above the amount of 100,000*l.* Whatever ideas therefore are entertained of the beneficial influence of the colonies upon the manufactures and trade of Britain, a distinction ought constantly to be made between, 1. the islands; 2. the southern colonies; 3. the tobacco ones; and, 4. the northern. The first evidently add immensely to the wealth of the mother-country; the second, though inferior to the first, are yet of vast consequence; the third are of some † importance; the fourth of very little, but probably of much detriment.—As this is the case, let an undistinguishing praise never attend them; nor be it ever imagined, that justice is done to this country by him, who, for a single moment, ranks the northern with the southern colonies. I should not be thus particular, had we not found in a multiplicity of writers a vast number of such unmeaning and general exclamations of the benefit of our colonies, without the least distinction between those who *import* our commodities, and they who *consume* them; a difference, one would have thought, sufficient to strike the most inattentive observer!

* See before, p. 354.

† I am here speaking of national general wealth, not revenue. It may be said, the revenue from tobacco should be taken into the account in this scale; if so, that from the islands' products should be the same, which I shall in another place shew to be more considerable than the other: the *comparison* is therefore just.

And here let me remind the reader, that this state of manufactures in the northern colonies is perfectly consistent with the review of them which was given under the article *manufactures*, where it appeared from all the accounts published, that the northern colonies possessed a *vast number*; the tobacco settlements *some*, but the southern *ones* none. And accordingly we found those conclusions to agree perfectly with their staple productions, the only means of purchasing them; for these were in value directly in proportion to their manufactures: the fewer of the latter the more of the former. Lastly, we compared their total consumption with their import, and from thence find a manifest confirmation of the preceding methods of discovering the same truth. So that to assert a colony's possessing staples sufficient to employ her people, is the same thing as saying she has no manufactures of her own, but consumes those of her mother-country. It is intirely unnecessary to look into their imports: nothing we find is so deceiving as these; but the former rule is, and must be, infallible.

Of such infinite consequence to Britain is the production of staples in her colonies, that were all the people of the northern settlements, and all of the tobacco ones, (except those actually employed in raising tobacco) now spread over those parts of our territories to the southward and westward, and consequently employed in the same manner as the few are which do inhabit them; Britain, in such a case, would export to the amount of above nine millions sterling more in manufactures, &c. than she does at present, without reckoning the infinite increase in public revenue, freight, and seamen, which would accrue. To enlarge upon the advantages of such a change, would be impertinence itself.

It appears from the preceding accounts that, in respect of consumption of British commodities, every soul in the West Indies is worth better than sixty-eight in the northern colonies, eighteen in the tobacco, and rather better than one and a half in the southern ones. Likewise, that every one in the latter is worth forty-four in the northern, and eleven and a half in the tobacco settlements*. Also, that every one in the tobacco colonies is worth three and three-fourths in the northern ones.

Without extending the comparison further, it may be observed, that our colonies (in the proportions above-given) are of infinite consequence to this nation; for the wealth resulting from the exportation of 3,571,365 *l.*

* I do not forget the benefits resulting to the public revenue from tobacco, but I am here speaking only of the consumption of British commodities.

in British commodities, the largest part of which are our own manufactures, is of the most truly valuable kind, and will be found hereafter to bear a prodigious proportion to what we gain by all other branches of our commerce. The exportation of manufactures is one of the most beneficial articles of trade; for it is the exportation of the labour of our poor which enables them to maintain themselves, instead of being a dead and heavy weight upon the rest of the community. And at the same time that such general benefits result from the exportation of our goods, parallel ones attend the articles imported; for they consist of such as we either resell to foreigners with profit, or such as we must buy of them with cash, if we did not exchange our manufactures for them with our colonies:—a difference which is immense; and the benefits accruing from both too great and extensive to be accurately determined. — Such general remarks as these, however, are to be found in many other writers, and for that reason they shall be short; but I know none who have deduced them from the same facts which I have attempted to state and explain.

Having thus examined the article of manufactures exported, and their profit, I shall now add a slight sketch of the remaining circumstances which are to be brought to account before the whole benefit to the *wealth* of Britain from the colonies will clearly appear. These consist of freight, duties, and the re-exportation of a part of the colony staples.

A modern writer * calculates the duties upon 31,000 hogheads of sugar, and the rum imported proportioned to it to be 161,375: adopting this proportion, the duties upon 98,156 hogheads, &c. will be

98,156 hogheads, &c. will be	£. 514,000
Mr. Ashley computes the freight of 70,000 hogheads at 12 Ct. to Europe, to be 170,000 <i>l.</i> if so, that of 68,156 will amount to †	206,902
30,000 to North America, suppose at 2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>	67,500
150,000 hogheads of rum and melasses ‡ to North America at 2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>	337,500
10,000 hogheads of rum to Britain at 2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>l.</i>	25,000
<hr/>	
Total of sugar colonies ,	£. 1,150,902

* Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Importance of the Sugar Colonies, p. 15. The author calculates the duties in 1745 to have been 421,657 *l.* upon a much smaller number of hogheads.

† This article, I believe, is much undercharged, as it does not amount to 5 *l.* per ton, and it is 6 *l.* from Charles Town in Carolina.

‡ Present State, p. 272.

|| The re-exportation is too trifling to insert.

Or 3*l.* 13*s.* per head on the inhabitants of those islands, and, exclusive of the freight and duty, of more than 100,000*l.* in sundry other commodities.

In 1748, when the products of Carolina amounted to 161,000*l.* the freight to Europe came to 50,000*l.* Taking the same proportion, the freight at present of the two Carolinas, and reckoning nothing for Georgia, will be 250,000*l.* as the products are 792,000*l.* ———— £. 250,000

Freight of 70,000 hogheads of tobacco, 30,000 tons of shipping $\frac{1}{2}$, at 5*l.* 10*s.* || ———— 165,000

Mr. Postlethwayte § calculates the produce of the duties on this article to bring in £. 165,000

Account quoted by Anderson ¶ 138,541

Medium, ———— 151,770

Mr. Postlethwayte makes the re-exportation $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole,

Mr. Anderson $\frac{1}{5}$ of it; the medium is just $\frac{1}{4}$, or 52,500 hogheads, at 3*l.* profit, ———— 157,500

Total of tobacco colonies **, ———— £. 474,270

Recapitulation.

Islands.

Staples,	—————	£. 2,702,060
Duties,	—————	514,000
Freight,	—————	636,902
		<u>3,852,962</u>

12*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* per head.

Southern Colonies.

Staples,	—————	722,700
Freight,	—————	250,000
		<u>972,700</u>

Carried forward, 4,825,662

† *Description of South Carolina*, p. 42.

|| I deduct 10*s.* from the freight from Carolina, as it is a somewhat shorter run to Virginia and Maryland.

§ *Dictionary, Art. Tobacco.* ¶ *Deduction of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 387.

** As to the northern colonies' 98,000*l.* there is nothing to reckon but the freight, which would make so poor a figure that it is better omitted; besides, not knowing how many tons, it is difficult to calculate it.

Tobacco Colonies,		
Brought over,		4,825,662
Staples,	357,228	
Freight,	165,000	
Duties,	151,779	
Re-exportation,	157,500	
		<u>831,498</u>
Total of these colonies,		5,657,160
Add the northern colonies,		98,562
Total benefit resulting in wealth to Britain from all her colonies,		<u>5,755,722</u>

The reader will not imagine that near **SIX MILLIONS** in sterling cash comes into the kingdom upon this account:—an old adage is a sufficient answer to such an expectation, that you cannot eat your cake and have your cake.—If you consume your commodities at home, you certainly cannot sell them. But the nation is undoubtedly profited to this amount; because, if these productions were not thus gained, they would nevertheless be consumed; only purchased of foreigners, instead of our own people: in which case, the prices would be higher, and the duties paid to a French instead of a British government. This kingdom therefore is certainly as much benefited by them (supposing the consumption in all cases would be the same) as if the whole amount was to come in cash.

I leave it to the reader to imagine what a vast number of our people in all trades and occupations are maintained by this most highly beneficial article of colonies. Without adopting the common-place, but mistaken assertions, that every one in them maintains six at home*; assertions which, like most that are copied at random, are hazarded without the least distinction between the northern and the southern colonies. We may however determine, that the above sum of more than five millions gives bread to a prodigious number of our people; in all probability to above a million, which is just the difference of having that number of industrious poor, who maintain themselves, or of idle vagabonds, who are a pest and burden to society. The wealth therefore accruing to us from our southern and middle colonies is of the most valuable kind, and proves in the clearest manner, that no care and attention can be too great in their favour, in extending their culture of staples, since every shilling they *so* raise must inevitably be laid out in the purchase of manufactures.

* *Cont. in America*, 8vo. 1757, Pref. p. 20.

Power.

The benefits resulting to Britain from her colonies in this respect are extremely evident; for whatever increases the real and permanent wealth of a state, increases in the same proportion its power. But were the one to follow only in consequence of the other, this would be but an idle distinction, without a difference. The addition which the colonies make to the power of the mother-country consists in the number of her seamen they employ, which is very considerable.

The accounts I have met with of their number are very confused, various, and contradictory; but by giving some attention to the partial representations of this point, and supplying deficiencies by moderate comparisons, we may possibly come pretty near the truth. In examining what former writers have given upon this subject, and making proper allowances for the increase that has happened in some of our colonies' exports, I shall at first keep intirely clear of their own trade, navigation and fisheries, as a material distinction is to be made between the seamen so employed and those maintained by the immediate communication with Britain: the latter must be inquired into first, and then some strictures shall be given upon the former.—And first, with respect to the sugar islands.

68,156 hogheads sent to Europe are	51,117 tons
For rum, and fundry articles, we may	5,000
certainly add	—————

56,117

Now, I find the proportion of seamen to tonnage employed in the West Indian and Carolina trades is 100 men to 1000 tons*: the above tonnage employs therefore in bringing the sugars to Europe,

That is, every fifty-five persons in the islands employs one seaman. ————— 5,600 men.

N. B. The trading voyages taken to Africa in the way thither, with some other circumstances, it is very clear must add something to this number; but as such are not easily calculated, no notice is taken of them, no more than of the ships which sail outwards freighted thither, but not loaded there inwards.

Carried forward, 5600

* See *Description of South Carolina*, p. 41. and *Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men*, 8vo. 1760. p. 33.

Brought over, 5600 men.

The exported staples of South Carolina to Europe, when her products amounted to 161,000 *l.* employed 770 seamen; consequently, productions to the value of 792,000 *l.* must employ, 3,700

Every 34 persons employ 1 seaman. This superiority over the West Indies must be owing to rice being a much more bulky commodity in proportion to its value than sugar, and pitch and tar infinitely so.

Tobacco employs 30,000 tons of shipping; that is of men 3,000

Every 250 persons employ 1 seaman.

Seamen employed in carrying the productions of the sugar, southern continental, and tobacco colonies to Europe, 12,300

Total 03,000 tons; upon an average of 300, the number of ships is 433 sail.

Before I quit this part of the subject, a word or two should be added upon the apparent disproportion between tobacco and rice, &c. in the employment of seamen. Throughout the whole course of the preceding comparisons, the low estimation of tobacco results entirely from the populousness of those colonies. That commodity is as proper a staple as any in the world for a British colony; and in this article of employing sailors is doubtless equal to any that can be named: all which would appear extremely evident, if it was possible to insert the proportion of the total inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland that are employed upon tobacco alone: the high value of this staple would then be indubitable. But those provinces, instead of being totally employed on its culture, have of late years grown so very populous, and tobacco land so very scarce, that probably not a tenth part of the people are planters. The product of what they make is 350,000 *l.*; now, if their income per head, and their staple in cash be calculated at 5 *l.* 10 *s.* as in the rice colonies, the number will be 63,000 employed on it, or just $\frac{1}{10}$ of their total; $\frac{1}{10}$ of them are therefore farmers, husbandmen, manufacturers, &c. who we may be very certain would cultivate tobacco if they could: But more of these defects in their proper place. Thus much is inserted here, to shew that the low figure these colonies make on a comparison with the rest is totally owing to their populousness, but not in the least degree to their staple, being, in that respect only, inferior to their southern neighbours.

It is necessary to enlarge very little upon the great consequence to this country of an employment for 12,300 seamen belonging to our own ports, extending

expending their wages amongst their countrymen, and always ready upon any call of the state to defend that nation they constantly enrich. The great advantages likewise of building, rigging, victualling, repairing, &c. of above 400 sail of large ships is immense, and altogether form a system of importance to Britain that ranks very high with any other.

As to the navigation of the colonies themselves, it was necessary, as I observed before, to consider it by itself, for many reasons which will appear by and by. It is very difficult from the materials I possess at present to calculate its amount; for some of the writers of the northern colonies give in some respects different accounts to those which are current in Britain: however, I must have recourse to such as I can command, and from them extract the truth as near as possible.

A late author tells us, that the British plantations maintain 45,000 seamen, and employ near 2000 sail of ships*. Now, as we have found the number which Britain possesses to be about 12,000, consequently their own amount to 33,000 seamen. A North American writer likewise calculates the ships at 2000 †. According to these accounts, each ship's complement is about 22 men, and each ship upon an average 225 tons burthen, by the rule above laid down; which number of men is not probably more per 100 tons than the truth, (although many of the voyages are but short) as the great numbers employed in the fishery are included. That these accounts are not exaggerated, there is some reason to believe, from an assertion of another writer, who, speaking of the consequences of the regulations of the colonies in 1763, says, that 20,000 seamen and fishermen were turned out of employment there ‡. Now, if 20,000 men were at once out of employment, the total in as well as out cannot be less than 33,000; especially as the fisheries were not affected. And if we come to remark the sentiments of various writers upon particular branches of their trade, there will be more reasons, equally strong, for supposing this total not far from the reality. Gee, who wrote about 40 years ago, says, the vessels belonging to New England alone, employed in the fishery and coasting trade, (without including that to Europe) amounted to 800 §. So prodigiously as they have increased since, the reader will easily believe them to be much more

* *Contest in America*, Pref. p. 7.

† *Four Dissertations on the Union between Great Britain and her Colonies*, p. 17.

‡ *Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies*, 1764, p. 26.

§ *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, 12mo, 1738, p. 106.

numerous of late years, and yet that number, at 22 men each, employed 17,600 seamen. To double the number would bring it much nearer the truth at present.—The fishery of the colonies, says another *, is already much greater than that of Britain: the fishery of New England alone amounts to 255,000 *l.* a year, which is equal to the amount of the British fishery. And yet New York and Philadelphia, with many other places to the northward, have large shares of this fishery; so that the whole must make a very great amount.

Without turning to more authorities (although a multitude might be produced) for proving a point which seems so strongly to prove itself, there will not be any danger, according to these several accounts, in determining the navigation of the colonies to employ 33,000 seamen; but last any objections unseen should arise, I shall call the number only 30,000.

It may possibly be expected, that I should enlarge upon the vast consequences of such a number of seamen to a maritime power; and especially after what one of the best of the North American writers has observed with a degree of rapture: “In another century, the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side the water. What an accession of power to the British empire *by sea* as well as by land! What increase of trade and navigation! What numbers of ships and seamen! We have been here but little more than 100 years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war (1750) united, was greater, both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in Queen Elizabeth’s time †.” What therefore must they have been in the last war!—But notwithstanding all this I am very far from placing to the account of Britain, one jot of all these fine doings. And very clear I am, that the employment of the 12,000 seamen first mentioned is of twenty times the consequence to this country of all the 30,000 kept by the colonies themselves.

The more this subject is inquired into, the more evidently and clearly will it appear, that the production of staple commodities is the *only* business proper for colonies: whatever else they go upon, it is absolutely impossible that they should by any employment whatever make up for the want of the one really necessary. For want of this capital foundation of a colony, our northern settlements we have found are full of farmers, manufacturers, merchants, fishermen, and seamen;—but no planters. This is precisely the case with Britain herself; consequently a rivalry between

* *Present State*, p. 327.

† *The interest of Great Britain considered*. Annexed to this, is Dr. Franklin’s *Observations on the Increase of Mankind*, p. 56.

them must inevitably take place. This in the article of fisheries we find fully taken place; for the northern colonies have nearly beat us out of the Newfoundland fishery, that great nursery of seamen! infomuch, that the share of New England alone exceeds that of Britain. Can any one think from hence, that the *trade and navigation* of our colonies are worth one groat to this nation?

There is not one branch of commerce carried on by these trading settlements but might just as well be in the hands of the inhabitants of this kingdom, the supplying the sugar islands with lumber alone excepted, and that we have already seen is an absolute trifle. Thus the trading part of the colonies rob this nation of the invaluable treasure of 30,000 seamen, and all the profits of their employment; or in other words, the northern colonies, who contribute nothing either to our riches or our power, deprive us of more than twice the amount of all the navigation we enjoy in consequence of the sugar islands, the southern continental, and tobacco settlements! The freight of the staples of those sets of colonies bring us in upwards of a million sterling*; that is, the navigation of 12,000 seamen: according to which proportion, we lose by the rivalry of the northern colonies, in this single article, TWO MILLIONS, AND AN HALF sterling!

The hackneyed argument which has been copied from writer to writer, that let the colonies get what they will, it all centers in Britain, will doubtless here be extended; and they will say, if the northern colonies get so much money, that money to them is the same as staples to the southern ones, and equally laid out in merchandize with Britain. But facts prove the very contrary: the consumption of British commodities in them I have shewed, cannot be more than to the amount of 108,000 *l.* They export thither in staples to the amount of 98,000 *l.*; now one of their warmest advocates above quoted asserts the fisheries of New England *alone* to be 255,000 *l.* According to this reasoning, they would purchase of us only for these two articles to the amount or 353,000 *l.* which being more than three times over false, sufficiently proves that they may acquire riches without expending them with Britain.

No one who has inquired the least into the state of the colonies, can be ignorant that these northern commercial ones carry on a very considerable illicit trade. A late writer says, it amounted to a third of their actual imports †. Now, under the title of their imports is included *all* they receive from Britain and the West Indies, or in value to upwards of 917,000; a vast

* 1,051,902 *l.*

† *Considerations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom*, 4to. 1766, p. 75.

fum!

sum! and must in the nature of things be nearly so much taken out of the pockets of their mother-country. Another writer lets us somewhat more into their illicit trade.—“The colonies to the northward (of the tobacco ones) have very little direct trade with Great Britain; I mean they have nothing with which they can repay us for the commodities they draw from hence: They only trade with England circuitously; either through the West Indies, which is to us the most advantageous part of their trade; or through foreign European countries, which, however necessary, is a dangerous and suspicious channel. Our English ships meet others with the same commodities at the same markets; and if these markets happen to be overstocked, we interfere with, and consequently hurt each other. But, what is still more material, there is much reason to suspect, that no small part of the benefit of our North American trade is, by this means, *lost to the mother-country, and passes to foreigners, and sometimes to enemies.* These northern provinces are, in effect, not subject to the act of navigation; because they do not trade in any of the commodities enumerated in that act. They are therefore neither obliged directly to bring their goods to England, nor, when they have carried them to other countries, are they necessitated to take England in their way home. Whereas all the colonies which produce any of the enumerated commodities, under whatever relaxations, are always subject to one or other of these regulations. For instance, ships from Boston may carry fish, corn, and provisions to France or Italy, and return again directly to Boston, loaded with foreign commodities, subject to no other check than what must be considered as none, that of a custom-house officer in their own colony*.”—Such a circuitous commerce as this easily resolves a thousand difficulties, which may have appeared in the course of the preceding inquiries. It is a very ready outlet for any sums, however large, which they may gain by their trade and their fisheries; and fully explains the manner how they may have much money to spend, and yet lay none of it out with us. As to the point of their really being rich, or at least in good circumstances, it is impossible it should be otherwise: a people that possess the necessaries of life in so great a degree, have so many manufactures, and a trade that employs 30,000 seamen cannot be poor; but the fact is equally striking, that Britain supplies them with scarce any thing.—But further, it will appear from other authorities, that their illicit trade is of yet greater extent. Notwithstanding the length of the quotation, I shall here, as the point is

* *An Examination of the commercial Principles*, p. 64. These ships, however, carry out something else besides corn and fish; for the Governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1733, writes word to the Lords of Trade, that *vast quantities* of hats are exported from thence to Spain and Portugal: thus they carry out their own manufactures to *cramp our market*, and bring home French goods to *enlarge that of our enemies!*

of great importance, transcribes the general account of their illicit commerce given by Mr. Postlethwayte in his *Dictionary of Trade, Art, French America*.

“ Soon after the peace of Utrecht, a pernicious commerce began to shew itself, between the British northern colonies and the French sugar colonies, which began with bartering the lumber of the former for French sugar and melasses. The French, who before that time had no vent for their melasses, and could make no better use of it than to give it to their hogs and horses, soon found the way (after they became acquainted with the northern traders) of distilling it into rum, which their new correspondents were as ready to take off their hands, as they had before been to take off their sugar and melasses; and from hence they derived a new mine of profit unknown to them before, and transferred to themselves the benefit of a trade, which it was the chief design of these laws (the navigation acts of Charles II.) to preserve to Great Britain alone.

“ This being made appear to parliament, a further provision was made for putting a stop to this manifest subversion of the fundamental maxims of the British policy for preserving her commercial interests, by an act in the 6th year of the reign of George II. intituled, An act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, whereby such high duties were laid on all foreign sugars, rum, and melasses, to be imported into any of his majesty's colonies in America, as it was thought were equal to, and would answer all the ends of a prohibition.

“ But experience has shewn that all these laws are too weak to answer the purposes for which they are designed, and that some more effectual remedies might be found to keep the British traders in North America within bounds; if Great Britain resolves to preserve her right of controuling the trade of her own subjects in that part of the world, and turning it into such channels only as her wisdom shall direct, and think most conducive to the interests of the whole community; for it can be made appear beyond contradiction, notwithstanding all the laws that have hitherto been made,

“ I. That a settled course of traffick has been carried on for several years by many of his majesty's subjects in North America, to the ports of Marseilles and Toulon, in which their ships have gone directly thither, laden with pitch, tar, train-oil, timber-trees and planks, for building ships; spars, staves, log wood, beaver, martins, deer, and elk skins, furs, and naval stores;

stores; and have returned back again, without ever touching in Great Britain, with goods of the manufacture and growth of France and other foreign nations.

“ II. That they have carried on the like trade with Holland.

“ III. That, notwithstanding the act made in the 6th year of his present majesty's reign, the British northern colonies serve themselves chiefly with foreign sugar, rum, and melasses, without paying the duties imposed by that act, and sometimes import them in vessels owned by foreigners; and that this trade is now carried to such a height, that vessels have been purchased for, and fixed in this commerce only, and constantly and regularly employed in trading backwards and forwards between the foreign sugar colonies and British colonies in North America; and in order to facilitate it, they have settled correspondents and factors in the French islands, and the French have done the like in our colonies in North America.

“ IV. That this trade is not only connived at, but cherished and encouraged by the foreigners, with whom it is carried on, who well know how much it tends to enrich their own colonies and impoverish ours.

“ Some of the ill consequences arising from this trade to Britain are,

“ I. It will deeply affect the manufactures and products of Great Britain, and in a much greater degree than is felt at present, if it be not timely stopped; cause a great declension in the trade of the kingdom, and not only deprive the nation of a profit to which they have a natural right, but many persons now employed in these manufactures will be brought to want the means of subsistence.

“ II. The number of English shipping, and consequently of sailors, will decrease in proportion as this trade increases, which saps the very foundation of the naval power of the kingdom.— The design of the act 15 Charles II. forbidding the importation of any commodities or manufactures of Europe into the king's plantations in America, was intended to make a double voyage necessary, where these colonies used any commodities of the growth and manufactures of Europe, but British: for if they could not be shipped in Great Britain, they must be first brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence. But if the northern colonies

colonies should be allowed to carry them directly from the places where they grow or are manufactured, not only those benefits will be lost to the nation, but likewise the profits arising to the importers; the duties retained by the crown, where the whole is not drawn back, the warehouse rent, commissions, and many other incidental profits not necessary to be enumerated.

“III. If a stop is put to the progress of this trade, it will lessen the dependence of these colonies upon their mother-country, and in time produce such connection or interests between them and foreigners, as will by degrees alienate them from Great Britain.”

This view of the trade of these northern colonies evidently shews us, that their commerce and navigation is not only so much taken out of the scale of Britain, but also a considerable weight thrown into that of France and other foreign nations. Whenever therefore the ships and employment of seamen of these settlements are boasted of, it surely appears sufficiently clear, that such boasts prove diametrically contrary to the design of them; or *against* those colonies, instead of *for* them.

I shall conclude this inquiry with the remarks of one of the greatest political writers this country has produced; one who saw clearly near a century ago the effect upon our fisheries and trade which these northern settlements had begun to manifest, and threatened to produce. “If it is the interest of all trading nations,” says he, “principally to encourage navigation, and to promote especially those trades which employ most shipping, than which nothing is more true, nor more regarded by the wise Dutch; then certainly it is the interest of England to discountenance and abate the number of planters at Newfoundland, for if they should increase, it would in a few years happen to us, in relation to that country, as it has to the fishery at New England, *which many years since was managed by English ships from the western ports; but as plantations there increased, fell to be the sole employment of people settled there, and nothing of the trade left the poor old Englishman but the liberty of carrying now and then by courtesy and purchase, a ship-load of fish to Bilboa, when their own New England shipping are better employed, or not at leisure to do it.* This kingdom being an island, it is our interest, as well for our preservation as our profit, not only to have many seamen, but to have them as much as may be within call in time of danger. Now, the fishing ships going out in March, and returning home for England in the month of September early, and there being employed in that trade two hundred and fifty ships, which might carry about ten thousand seamen*,” fishermen, and

* Their ships were not then near so large as at present.

shoremen

shoremen, as they usually call the younger persons who were never before at sea. I appeal to the reader, whether such a yearly return of seamen, abiding at home with us all the winter, and spending their money here, which they got in their summer fishery, were not a great access of wealth and power to this kingdom, and a ready supply for his majesty's navy upon all emergencies."—He then proceeds to a particular assertion relative to New England, as follows:—"That New England is the most prejudicial plantation to this kingdom. I am now to write of a people whose frugality, industry, and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institution *promise to them long life, with a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power*: and although no man ought to envy that virtue and wisdom in others, which themselves either can or will not practise, but rather to commend and admire it, yet I think it is the duty of every good man primarily to respect the welfare of his native country: and therefore, though I may offend some, whom I would not willingly displease, I cannot omit, in the progress of this discourse, to take notice of some particulars wherein Old England suffers diminution by the growth of those colonies settled in New England." (And then, after some very sensible observations on the productions of our colonies, he proceeds:) "The people of New England, by virtue of their primitive charters, being not so strictly tied to the observation of the laws of this kingdom, do sometimes assume the liberty of trading contrary to the act of navigation, by reason of which many of our American commodities, *especially tobacco*, and some sugar, are transported in New England shipping directly into Spain, and other foreign countries, without being landed in England, or paying any duty to his majesty, which is not only a loss to the king, and a prejudice to the navigation of Old England, but also a total exclusion of the old English merchant from the vent of those commodities in those ports where the New English vessels trade; because there being no custom on those commodities in New England, and a great custom paid upon them in Old England, it must necessarily follow, that the New English merchant will be able to afford his commodity much cheaper at the market than the Old English merchant; and those that can sell cheapest will infallibly engross the whole trade sooner or later.—Of all the American plantations, his majesty has none so apt for the building of shipping as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of that natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries; and, in my poor opinion, THERE IS NOTHING MORE PREJUDICIAL, AND IN PROSPECT MORE DANGEROUS TO ANY OTHER KINGDOM, THAN THE INCREASE OF SHIPPING IN HER COLONIES, PLANTATIONS, OR PROVINCES.*"

* Sir Josiah Child's *Discourse on Trade*, p. 225. &c.

This latter opinion is of very great and material consequence, and deserves in this age six times the attention it did in the preceding one, as in all probability the navigation of the northern colonies is six times increased. We find that this celebrated politician, who lived so many years ago, was far enough from looking with an eye of approbation upon their extended trade and fisheries; is it not therefore very strange that so many writers of this age should have given into such general and undistinguishing praise of colonies, and indulged such vain and mistaken ideas of the consequence of their navigation and sailors! Objects by no means of our commendation, but of our just jealousy. Nor can any maxim in the political interests of this country be clearer than the undoubted *mischiefs* we have suffered from these northern colonies? so very far are they from being advantageous to the kingdom! If the following circumstances relative to the *power* of this country are considered, these evils will not be thought ideal.

- I. They have beat us nearly out of the Newfoundland fishery.
- II. They employ a great number of seamen in carrying their own products, and the staples of the southern colonies, directly to European markets, and return home loaded with foreign manufactures, &c.
- III. They have been of great benefit to the French sugar colonies, and much assisted in raising them to the formidable state they are in at present.
- IV. They deprive this nation of the regular employment of thirty thousand seamen, the very freight occasioned by whom amounts to two millions and an half sterling.

Population.

The benefits resulting to Britain from her colonies in respect of population is a point that has been disputed at large, like most others concerning them, without any distinction between those to the northward and the others, which in all respects are so materially different. The sentiments of writers, however, have been various; many condemning the plantations as depopulating the kingdom, and others again asserting, that we are more populous than we otherwise should be, on their account.

Of the first opinion I give the reader the following account in the words of an ancient author. I should not fix upon it in preference to others, had it not been quoted seemingly with approbation by a very ingenious

nous writer of the present age. "It was a query," says the latter, "proposed to this nation in the reign of king James I. whether our colonies had not dispeopled us visibly, and thrown a damp upon the culture of the earth? England began its plantations near an hundred years after Spain, and consequently the effects thereof are not yet so visible as in the other kingdom. But our inhabitants are sensibly wasted already, and it has a very ill effect upon our tillage and husbandry in all the southern parts of the island;—so that as the *trade* of England *grows* by the plantations, the *lands* of England *fall*, the gentry and nobility sink, and the *security* and strength of the kingdom abateth †."

Without insisting upon the mistakes there are in these sentiments, particularly the great advance of the *rental*, as well as the *value*, of lands at present, compared with them before our plantations and trade were one-tenth of what they are now, I shall pass on to a more modern writer.

"Our American colonies," says M. de Bougainvilliers, "have contributed not a little to diminish the number of our citizens. When it is said, that our plantations have augmented our commerce an hundred and fifty millions, it has been always believed that their utility was demonstrated: but it is clear, that this commerce has diminished our political power, because it has been formed at the expence of our population. One considerable branch of it is founded in the formation of these establishments. An exact account of all the subjects who have perished by a premature death, without leaving any posterity in France, since we have laboured to people America, would fright our ministers. There can be no doubt but such an account would break the charm which has hitherto prevented our kings from opening their eyes. But one reflection will suffice.—No person can be ignorant that the air, the climate, the country, the quality of the food to which mankind are accustomed from their birth, form with them a second nature, and to which the first is totally subordinate. Experience demonstrates every day, that the difference of climate between the south and the north of France abridges the life of those who change their residence: how much stronger therefore must the ravages in our population be in establishments formed in those new worlds always unhealthy, where the seasons are the reverse of ours, and where it is necessary that nature should totally change her system!—If the government would take an account of the subjects migrated into America, they would find that sixty out of one hundred perished on their

* *Essay on Husbandry*, p. 116.

† *Heylin's Cosmography*, p. 941.

arrival. How can it be supposed that the plantation of canes can indemnify the state for such breaches in its population? The advantages of the commerce of our colonies are in some respects ideal, but the loss of people is undoubted. This commerce has not contributed to augment the mass of our riches, because most of the states of Europe, to whom we can sell our American commodities, have their colonies as well as we. We are obliged therefore to consume them ourselves, which renders the greatest part of this commerce null of itself. The only real advantage which it has politically procured to the state is, the sustaining a little the unfortunate remains of our expiring marine. As to all the rest, the consequences resulting are very bad for us. I must, however, add, that in supplying our colonies continually with twenty thousand inhabitants only, it results that our general population in Europe diminishes every age by at least five hundred thousand citizens, lost, without return, to the monarchy; that is to say, (things remaining as at present) after the revolution of a certain period of time, America will have intirely dispeopled France †."

Let us now see what is advanced by the defenders of the contrary opinion, among whom Sir Josiah Child † claims the first place. — "I do not agree," says he, "that our people in England are in any considerable measure abated by reason of our foreign plantations, but propose to prove the contrary. I am of opinion, that we had immediately before the late plague many more people in England than we had before the inhabiting of Virginia, New England, Barbadoes, and the rest of our American plantations. This I know is a controverted point, and do believe that where there is one man of my mind, there may be a thousand of the contrary; but I hope, when the following grounds of my opinion have been thoroughly examined, there will not be so many dissenters.

"That very many people now go, and have gone, from this kingdom, almost every year for these sixty years past, and have and do settle in our foreign plantations, is most certain. But the first question will be, Whether, if England had no foreign plantations for those people to be transported unto, they could or would have staid and lived at home with us?

"I am of opinion they neither would nor could.

"To resolve this question, we must consider what kind of people they were, and are, that have and do transport themselves to our foreign plantations.

† *Les Interets de la France mal entendus*, tom. i. p. 327.

‡ *Discourse of Trade*, p. 192.

“New England, as every one knows, was originally inhabited, and has since successively been replenished by a sort of people called Puritans; who could not conform to the ecclesiastical law of England, but being wearied with church censures and persecutions, were forced to quit their fathers' land, to find out new habitations, as many of them did in Germany and Holland, as well as in New England; and had there not been a New England found for some of them, Germany and Holland probably had received the rest; but Old England, to be sure, had lost them all.

“Virginia and Barbadoes were first peopled by a sort of loose vagrant people, vicious, and destitute of means to live at home, (being either unfit for labour, or such as could find none to employ themselves about, or had so misbehaved themselves by whoring, thieving, or other debauchery, that none would set them on work) which merchants and masters of ships, by their agents or spirits, as they were called, gathered up about the streets of London, and other places, cloathed, and transported, to be employed upon plantations; and these, I say, were such, as had there been no English foreign plantation in the world, could probably never have lived at home to do service to their country, but must have come to be hanged or starved, or died untimely of some of those miserable diseases that proceed from want and vice; or else have sold themselves for soldiers to be knocked on the head, or starved in the quarrels of our neighbours, as many thousands of our brave Englishmen were in the Low Countries, as also in the wars of Germany, France, and Sweden, &c. or else, if they could, by begging, or otherwise, arrive to the stock of 2*s.* 6*d.* to waite them over to Holland, become servants to the Dutch, who refuse none.” (After proceeding to mention the great numbers driven away by the civil wars, he goes on.) “Now, if, from the premises, it be duly considered, what kind of persons those have been, by whom our plantations have at all times been replenished, I suppose it will appear, that such they have been, and under such circumstances, that if his majesty had no foreign plantations to which they might have resorted, England, however, must have lost them.

“Such as our employment is for people, so many will our people be; and if we should imagine we have in England employment but for one hundred people, and we have born and bred amongst us one hundred and fifty people; I say, the fifty must away from us, or starve, or be hanged, to prevent it, whether we had any foreign plantations or not. If by reason of the accommodation of living in our foreign plantations we have evacuated more of our people than we should have done, if we had no such plantation; and if that evacuation be grown to an excess, (which I be-

lieve it never did barely on the account of our plantations) that decrease would procure its own remedy; for much want of people would procure greater and greater wages, and if our laws gave encouragement, would procure us a supply of people, without the charge of breeding them, as the Dutch are, and always have been, supplied in their greatest extremities.

“ Objection. But it may be said, Is not the facility of being transported into the plantations, together with the enticing methods customarily used to persuade people to go thither, and the encouragement of living there with a people that speak our own language, strong motives to draw our people from us; and do they not draw more from us than otherwise would leave us to go into foreign countries, where they understand not the language?

“ Answer. 1. It is much more difficult to get a passage to Holland than it is to our plantations. 2. Many of those that go to our plantations, if they could not go thither, would, and must go, into foreign countries, though it were ten times more difficult to get thither than it is; or else, which is worse, as has been said, would adventure to be hanged, to prevent begging or starving, as too many have done.

“ I do acknowledge that the facility of getting to the plantations may cause some more to leave us than would do, if they had none but foreign countries for refuge: but then, if it be considered, that our plantations spending mostly our English manufactures, and those of all sorts almost imaginable, in egregious quantities, and employing near two-thirds of all our English shipping, do therein give a constant sustenance to many two hundred thousand persons here at home: Then, I must needs conclude, upon the whole matter, that we have not the fewer but the more people in England by reason of our English plantations in America.

“ Objection. But it may be said, Is not this referring and arguing against sense and experience? Does not all the world see, that the many noble kingdoms of Spain in Europe are almost depopulated and ruined by reason of their people's flocking over to the West Indies? And do not all other nations diminish in people, after they become possessed of foreign plantations?

“ Answer. 1. I answer, with submission to better judgments, that in my opinion, contending for uniformity in religion has contributed ten times more to the depopulating of Spain than all the American plantations? What was it, but that which caused the expulsion of so many thousand Moors,

Moors, who had built and inhabited most of the chief cities and towns in Andalusia, Granada, Arragon, and other parts? What was it, but that and the inquisition, that has and does expel such vast numbers of rich jews, with their families and estates, into Germany, Italy, Turkey, Holland, and England? What was it, but that which caused those vast and long wars between that king and the Low Countries, and the effusion of so much Spanish blood and treasure, and the final loss of the Seven Provinces, which we now see so prodigious rich and full of people, while Spain is empty and poor, and Flanders thin and weak, in continual fear of being made a prey to their neighbours.

“ 2. I answer; we must warily distinguish between country and country; for though plantations may have drained Spain of people, it does not follow that they have or will drain England or Holland; because, where liberty and property are not so well preserved, and where interest of money is permitted to go at 12 per cent. there can be no considerable manufacturing; and no more of tillage and grazing than as we proverbially say, will keep life and soul together; and where there is little manufacturing, and as little husbandry of lands, the profit of plantations, the greatest part of them, will not redound to the mother-kingdom, but to other countries, wherein there are more manufactures and more productions from the earth. From hence it follows, plantations thus managed prove drains of the people from their mother-kingdom; whereas in plantations belonging to mother-kingdoms, or countries where liberty and property is better preserved, and interest of money restrained to a low rate, the consequence is, that every person sent abroad with the negroes and utensils he is constrained to employ, or that are employed with him, it being customary in most of our islands in America upon every plantation, to employ eight or ten blacks for one white servant; I say, in this case, we may reckon, that for provisions, clothes, and household goods, seamen, and all others employed about materials for building, fitting, and victualling of ships; every Englishman in Barbadoes or Jamaica creates employment for four men at home.”

Such was the opinion of a great politician near a century ago, and in the following passage we find it is likewise the sentiment of a very celebrated one of the present age; from whence we may suppose, that *time* has wrought no changes in this respect.

“ The old objection, which from an appearance of truth had some degree of weight before this subject was thoroughly understood, that people going to our plantations weakened the mother-country, is now,
from

from our better acquaintance with the subject, incontestibly obviated. For those who go thither, do it either from a principle of necessity, or with a view to their making their fortunes. In the first case they could not, and in the second, they would not stay at home. So that when we consider attentively the consequences of their going thither with respect to Britain, instead of looking upon such people as lost, we ought to consider them as preserved to this country, which, but for our plantations, they would not have been. For surely the case is much better with respect to this nation, in regard more especially to the inhabitants of the northern part of this island, who repair now in such numbers to our colonies, than when they were scattered through Russia, and even throughout Asia as mechanics; supplied Sweden, France, and Holland, with soldiers, or stocked the wide kingdom of Poland with pedlars. Besides, such of these people as answer their ends, and having been so happy after that as to survive, generally return hither, which from other countries they seldom did or could, and therefore no just or well grounded fear of depopulation from this cause can possibly arise.

In the next place, this mode of visiting our most distant territories is so far from thinning the mother-country of inhabitants, that it is one, and indeed the principal means of making us populous, by providing such a vast variety of methods for the commodious subsistence by labour and industry in this country, as before we had these plantations were utterly unknown, and which are also continually increasing, as the commerce with our colonies is increased. Upon this very principle it may be truly affirmed, that as the plantations preserve the skill and labour of those who go thither from being lost to their country, as they would be if they went any where else; so by furnishing a great variety of new employments, and different means of subsistence, they take away much of the necessity, and many of those temptations to going abroad that there were, and which, as has been observed, actually operated to this purpose in former times; and for the same reason that London is always full of people, and Holland is better inhabited than other countries, that is, because there are more means of living in this city than in other parts of Britain, and in that province than through the rest of Europe; therefore, the support given by the commerce of the colonies keeps more people in, and attracts more people to Britain than otherwise we should have, or indeed without those helps could be able to maintain *."

To have given my sentiments on this point, after the subject had been treated in so capital a manner, I thought much less to the reader's satisfac-

* Dr. Campbell's *Considerations on the Sugar Trade*, p. 28.

tion than inserting those of such distinguished writers; for I must always think, that a quotation, however long, which connects a subject, and throws the whole into a complete point of view, is better than re-composing the sentiments of others, for the sake of avoiding long extracts. I have but one short remark to add, which is, that both these writers, however penetrating, speak only in generals. Their expressions are, *the colonies*, or *the plantations*, without specifying any distinction between those which possess staples and those which have none; or, in other words, between those which are beneficial to us, and those which are prejudicial. From the preceding review of our settlements it appears; that the northern colonies are very prejudicial to this kingdom, particularly in becoming its *rivals* in manufactures, trade, fishery, and navigation. Now, admitting we should certainly lose those subjects who migrate thither, had we no colonies for them to go to, which is a clear fact, yet there is surely a very great difference between their increasing the numbers and riches of a people that are our rivals, and those of others from whom we have nothing to fear. The mechanics of Asia, and the pedlars of Poland, are of no injury to us in trade. But if this difference exists, as it most assuredly does, there must be ten thousand times a greater between migrations to the prejudicial and the beneficial colonies; for in the first they add to the evils we already suffer, but in the latter they are attended with all those excellent consequences so well described in the above quotations *.

The distinction, therefore, between our colonies, which I have so often urged, hold as strong in this instance as in all the rest, and their general force will be not a little evident, if we throw the substance of what has appeared relative to these three points of Britain's wealth, power, and population, as affected by her colonies, into the following plain conclusions:

I. That the sugar colonies add to the wealth of this nation annually 3,852,962*l.* or 12*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* per head; for their inhabitants employ 5,600 of our seamen, or 1 to every 55 of their people, and increase the population of the kingdom by a variety of means.

II. That the southern-continental colonies increase the wealth of this nation annually 972,700*l.* or 7*l.* 10*s.* per head; for their inhabitants

* Hence results a necessity of regulating the migrations; for nine-tenths of those who go to America, go to those northern colonies. "In some years," says a late writer, "more people have transported themselves into Pennsylvania than into all the other settlements together." *European Settlements*, vol. ii p. 205. It is highly necessary absolutely to prohibit one single person going thither. Whoever leaves the kingdom should be made to settle where they may be beneficial to it.

employ

employ 3,700 of our seamen, or 1 to every 34 of their people, and increase the population of the kingdom by various methods.

III. That the tobacco colonies add to the wealth of this nation annually 831,498 *l.* or 1 *l.* 2 *s.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* per head; for their inhabitants employ 3000 of our seamen, or 1 to every 250 of their people, and increase the population of the kingdom by divers means.

IV. That the northern colonies, and such parts of the tobacco ones as are not employed on the culture of their staples, consume manufactures, not British, to the amount of 10,166,044 *l.*—That the northern colonies are highly prejudicial to the wealth and power of Britain, in beating her out of a part of her European trade, and much of her American commerce and fishery; in depriving her of the employment of 30,000 seamen, and 2,500,000 *l.* in freights; and lastly, that they are injurious to her population.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Defects in their Establishments, and the Means of remedying them.

THE defects in our colonies are of two kinds, 1. those which result from their climate, situation, &c. and, 2. those proceeding from a mistaken policy in Britain, or the want of a vigorous execution of a beneficial one.

The first have been in a good measure explained in the preceding review of them; but for the sake of perspicuity, I shall sum them up in this place.—It appears that the original and grand evil attending them was, the settlement of so considerable a part in a climate incapable of yielding the commodities wanting in Britain. There are many who will doubtless accuse me of *prejudice* against the northern colonies, but it will be very unjustly; I have no prejudice against the *people*, but a strong one against their *climate* and *country*; and readily allow, that the inhabitants are not at all to blame for any (or at least but few) of the evils mentioned in the last section. If a European nation will be so impolitic as to permit, and even encourage colonies in a climate like their own, which can yield them none of those articles of commerce and consumption which they purchase of foreigners, they surely cannot, in an after-age, complain of the consequences. After suffering, and even assisting the peopling of the northern colonies, was it to be supposed that they were to go naked, because

cause they could not afford to buy cloathing from Britain? Or to go without food, because they could not buy implements of her to till the ground? Or to live in unfurnished houses, because they had not wherewithal to purchase furniture of the mother-country? Such suppositions would have been strangely idle. Was it any more to be wondered at, that finding shoals of marketable fish in their very harbours, they should catch and sell them? and feeling the importance of their situation for trade, and the seamen their fishery maintained, that they should enter into commerce as much as they were able? For many years after their settlement, it was impossible they should have any manufactures worth speaking of; their fishery and trade were therefore all they had to purchase them with, and very great folly, methinks, it had been in them to have shut their eyes to the only light they had to guide them.

Necessity, however, increased their manufactures by degrees, and they were attended with an equal increase in their trade and fishery, until at last they could do without the assistance of Britain in the one, and rival her in the others. But are they therefore to blame? By no means. These have been the natural consequences of their first settlements; and though in some instances they may have carried their *opposition* to the mother-country to an unjustifiable length, yet the little attention they met with from home in increasing the few staples they had, makes us not much surprized at their resentment; and especially, while the chain of natural consequences operated so strongly in throwing them into such a system of rivalry.

It is impossible that the manufactures of a colony should rise to the supplying the home-consumption and stop there, while such country possesses a foreign trade. Exportation *must* ensue: but when that is the case, whatever precautions a mother-country may take to guard against danger, yet the creation of that danger must undoubtedly have been in herself.

But what shall we say to a system of politics, directly contrary to these plain facts, taking place several ages after the effects of *such* colonies were not only conjectured, explained, and writ upon by various authors, but after the commercial and manufacturing part of the nation must *feel* the consequences of them; nay, after every man of common sense in the kingdom must have seen, and considered the difference between tobacco and sugar, or corn and fish;—And after all this, what are we to think of expending above a million sterling in planting yet more to the north than any of the rest! a colony, which many years after that expence exported only to the amount of 18 l. 6 s. 3 d.—Such was the

export of Nova Scotia in the year 1761. If in another century or two this kingdom was to feel as many evils from the Nova Scotians as we have done from the New Englanders, &c. upon whom should the blame lie? The inhabitants, for taking the readiest means of maintaining themselves; or Britain, for planting them*!

As the first and original defect in our northern colonies is the result of the climate, a defect of such prodigious consequence as to be attended with, and cause an hundred others; and as this is so very manifest, there is the less occasion for enlarging upon it. I shall therefore proceed to explain, as well as I am able, those which (exclusive of the climate) are the result of Britain's policy; by which I mean such as might have been prevented, after the first grand mistake was made.

I. These northern colonies, long after their disadvantageous nature was known, were continually increased by fresh migrations from Europe; which, as I before observed, ought totally to have been prevented, and such migrations have been encouraged only to the beneficial colonies.

II. Notwithstanding these settlements were found to be so infinitely inferior in the staple productions of cultivation to the more southerly ones, yet the country, by means of due encouragement, might have supplied Britain with timber, copper, and iron, and other naval stores, and perhaps with hemp and flax. But long experience proved, that none of these would be transported to Europe without great encouragement. The very great importance of being supplied from America with these, (of which more hereafter) ought to have occasioned such vigorous encouragement as would have effected the point, whereas the encouragement given to some of these articles was weak, and ill-judged, and others were not encouraged at all.

III. The great defect in the tobacco colonies, and which has occasioned the decline of those valuable settlements in comparison to their population is, the want of fresh land for their staple. This they were deprived of by the encroachments of the French before the last war; and, since the peace, by the bounds fixed to the colonies by the proclamation of October 7, 1763.

* Say some of my readers, if these northern colonies are so prejudicial, how came the French, a political people, to take such pains to seize and settle Cape Breton? I answer; the French acted thereon with the utmost prudence, for they settled in Cape Breton, that is, built Louisburg as a place of strength and security; a protection to their European fishery; they did not colonize or plant the island: nor did ever Louisburgh rival St. Maloes. The difference therefore between the conduct of the two nations is very great.

IV. The

IV. The aforesaid proclamation, in straitening the bounds of the colonies, threw vast numbers in the northern ones, as well as in the tobacco ones, into manufactures, fisheries, trade, &c. who would have left those colonies, and become the planters of staple commodities in fertile lands, had such been provided for them, of which there is enough in our dominions in North America, but from which that proclamation totally excludes them.

V. Even in the southern-continental, and likewise in the tobacco colonies, the inhabitants might make several other staples, besides what they at present employ themselves upon, to the great profit of Britain; but, for want of due encouragement, such improvements do not take place. And even the sugar colonies themselves are by no means cultivated in so complete a manner as they might be; many improvements have been proposed for them, but none executed.

VI. Since the late war, Britain laid the trade of the colonies under some very strict regulations, which certainly cut off many inlets by which they formerly received much Spanish and Portuguese coin. The principle upon which such regulations were formed, of securing to the mother-country alone all matters of commerce, I have already attempted to prove just and necessary; but it was a very great omission at the same time not to give the people, who had before been employed in trade, proper methods of maintaining themselves without it. This was omitted, and the natural consequence was, an immediate and great increase of their manufactures. At the same time, to circumscribe their trade, and keep them from settling and planting the fertile lands unoccupied, that would produce staples, and which they even petitioned for, was absolutely driving them, whether they would or not, to manufactures. The consequential increase is well known.

VII. It has long been a very great defect in the conduct of Britain, to leave the Bahama and Summer Islands, which are universally allowed to be very fertile spots, the first in all tropical productions, and the last admirably adapted to vines, in such an uncultivated state; and especially at a time when those productions bear such a price in Britain, and her rivals are so superior to her in the possession of West Indian territory.

The first of these defects requires no explanation; but the second must not be passed over without examining a little into the repeated assertions, that the northern colonies actually could supply Britain with all the iron, timber, &c. that she imports from the Baltick; because, if the fact is im-

practicable, it is very improper to rank the want of its being executed among the defects in British policy.

Timber, it is agreed by all parties, (as indeed the fact is indisputable) is produced in all these northern colonies in the utmost plenty and perfection. Of all the objections that have been made to procuring it from thence, not one has denied the existence or the quality of it; they have objected only to the expence of freight. But I am at present enquiring only into the quality of these proposed staples; as to the means of being supplied with them, I shall touch upon them hereafter. Deals, plank, squared pieces, &c. &c. it is universally allowed, are in every respect equal, and in many superior, to any produced in Russia, Sweden, or Norway; and the variety of sorts much greater.

With respect to iron, the case has been different; for it has been strongly contested, that the quality of the American iron is not equal to that of the Swedish. It should, however, be remarked, that this plea has been chiefly used by very interested men, such as the proprietors of English iron-works, who, fearing that if the business was to get into a regular course with America, the price of their iron might sink, (which, by the bye, would be a great *public benefit*); they determined, at all events, to oppose the scheme; and accordingly, in 1749, when the point was debated in both houses of parliament, they presented numerous petitions against a bill to encourage it; urging, that the American iron was by no means equal to the Swedish*. However, as their own interest was so nearly concerned, much dependance should not be placed in their allegations; and especially, as several very fair trials had before determined the point against them. In the year 1735 it was tried in all the king's yards, and found to be equal to the best Swedish iron †, as appears by the report of the officers of those yards. Even in the debate above-mentioned, the advocates for the colonies made good their pretensions, and brought so many proofs of the excellence of their iron, that, in spite of a very warm opposition, a bill passed for the encouragement of the importation, which, like most other bills of the same sort, was attended with no effect ‡.

* Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. xxi. p. 411. † *Officers Report*, July, 1735.

‡ Tindal, in his account of the debate, says, that even this bill would not have passed had not the court been out of humour with the Swedes; for that former attempts of the same nature had come to nothing, because discountenanced by the ministry, in tenderness to foreigners. The historian was right enough in the fact, but it ought to have been stained with the blackest colours of history. What! discourage our own plantations, and, in the consequence, our manufactures, our trade, our navigation, in tenderness to a people who favour us in no individual instance, but taking 30,000*l.* in cash from us annually! In tenderness to them! shame on a historian, that could with so much *sang froid* mention such a fact!

The

The constant experience of the colonies in some of their own manufactures ever since has proved the goodness of their iron; but in others they have neglected their own metal for want of abilities to carry on the works. The fact therefore, of their iron being of a quality proper to substitute in the place of all the Swedish, is, in the opinions of the most disinterested and best judges, indubitable*.

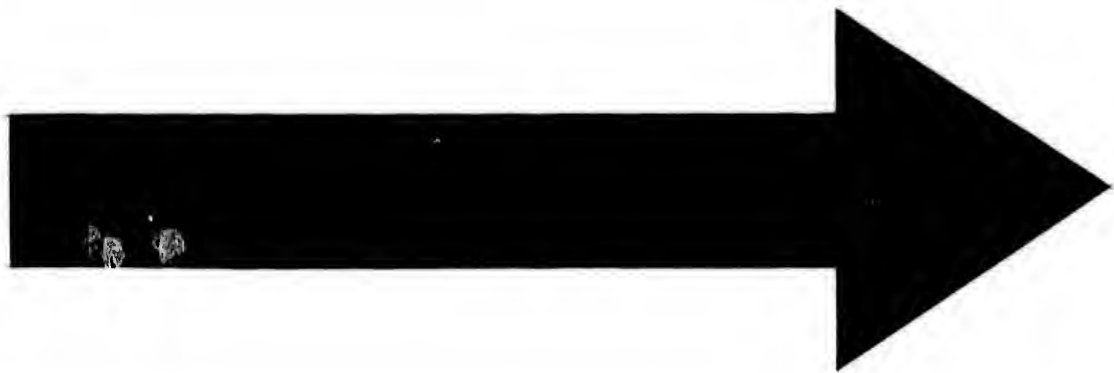
Hemp and flax are more doubtful points; not the goodness of such as they produce, but the practicability of their raising sufficient quantities. A late author † strongly insists, that the lands of New England and New York are by no means strong and rich enough for those exhausting plants. "The proper soil for them," says he, "is such as a *white oak swamp*, which has a *firm sandy bottom*, or the low grounds upon the sides of a swamp or brook, but not in them. Upon these they grow some that is very good, but it is not so much as they require for their own use, nor can we expect those countries to produce much more. They are obliged to import great quantities of hemp, and pay a double freight for it from Russia and from England, instead of making it to supply the nation. Thus the present bounty on hemp and flax will only serve as the late one did, to set the colonies about growing these commodities, in order to manufacture them, instead of supplying the nation with them. They have made many hundred tons, but have been obliged to manufacture it all; it is not a sample or two; it is not a bounty that they want, but a proper soil and climate, such as those upon the Mississippi and Ohio. They lately had a bounty of 12 *l.* a ton granted for hemp sent to Britain by the province of New York, which expired without any effect; and after the bounty was granted in queen Anne's time, people were sent to New England to induce that colony to plant it, which they have never been able to do, as it exhausts both their corn-land and manure, they tell us ‡."

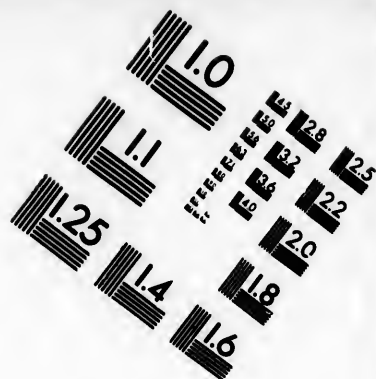
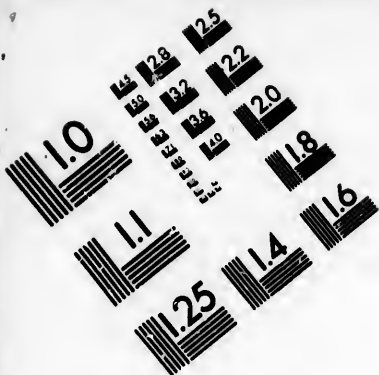
These circumstances certainly seem very strong, and give us great reason to think that flax and hemp will never be staples in either New England or New York; and still less that it will be produced further north, notwithstanding another writer asserting, that there are many thousand acres of as rich a marle as any in the universe ten or fifteen feet

* *Reasons for encouraging the Importation of Iron in Bars from his Majesty's Plantations in America*, folio, 1749.

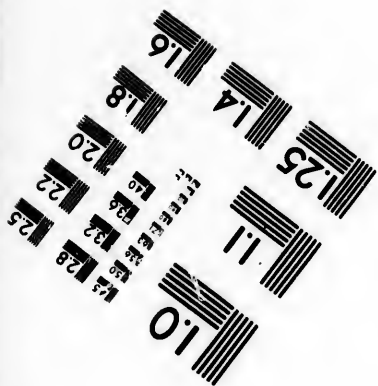
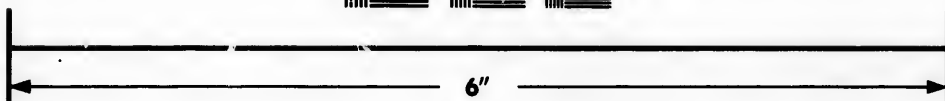
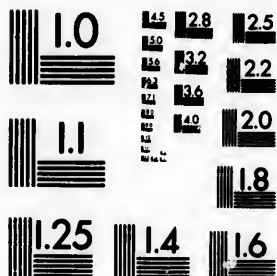
† *Present State*, p. 145.

‡ *Present State*, p. 145. Hemp requires such very strong land to produce it, that it would consume all our dung to raise it in any great quantities; so that we should not be able to raise bread-corn; therefore, how inviting soever the trade is, and how great soever the encouragements have been, both from home and by our own governments, we have not as yet engaged in that affair. *Elliot's Essays on Field-Husbandry in New England*, vol. i. p. 15-





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deep upon the isthmus between Fort Beaufejour and Bey Vert; nor is his scheme of cultivating it upon the River St. Lawrence more likely*.

But there appears no reason why it should not be produced in quantities in Pennsylvania, which lies much to the southward of any of them, and which already produces some quantities of flax-seed. The author of the *Present State* asserts, that the lands in Virginia and Maryland are too much exhausted with tobacco; but this is not the case with Pennsylvania, where likewise there can be no fear of a want of corn, as they produce large quantities for exportation. I only hint this as a point which is yet unknown; the same reasons which are urged against its culture more northward not being applicable to it here. However, whether it is produced in these northern provinces at all or not, is not of such consequence as it would be had we no other where it may most undoubtedly.

Of copper, we are told†, there is a very rich mine in New Jersey, and I know no writer that has contradicted the assertion. With due encouragement it might certainly be made to turn to very great account to this nation; but without, it might as well never have been opened.

As to masts, yards, boltsprits, pitch, and tar, &c. &c. and even complete ships, it is very well known that these colonies produce the first in great abundance, and of an uncommon goodness, and build a large number of the latter. As to the use of these, more hereafter.

Potashes met with some encouragement from the government: but as if there was a fatality upon all their attempts of encouragement, the very commodity was not known, for which a reward of 3000 l. was given for the art to make! The reason why potash was so long before it could be made to turn to any account was, their not knowing what it was, but took it to be only a common salt of ashes made by lixivation, and that both in Britain and the plantations. This appears from the government having given a reward of 3000 l. for making such a common lixivial salt, that is made by every chemist's apprentice, and even by the common country people in England, both for the chemists and those who make it into *pearl ash*, by calcining it again. But the commodity that is wanted by the name of potash in Britain is made with much less labour and expence than any of these lixivial salts, and at the same time contains the whole substance of the ashes, instead of nothing but the little substance

* Mr. Austin's *Letter in Museum Rusticum*, vol. iv. p. 108.

† *European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 188.

that

that is in them; while it bears a greater price in Britain; by which means there is not less perhaps than a thousand per cent. difference in the profits of making right potash, and this fact of ashes that the government purchased the art of making*.

From different managements, however, this point at last was brought at least to a certainty, that the colonies *could* supply us with it; for a few years ago, the potashes exported by these northern colonies amounted to upwards of 30,000 *h*†.

I now come to the *third* defect, that of the want of fresh land in our tobacco colonies, from the peculiar policy of the mother-country in hemming their inhabitants within even straiter bounds than was offered by the incroachments of the French themselves. As I have more than once heard this assertion controverted, it is necessary to bestow a few pages upon the proving it. This, *clearing the way*, if I may be allowed the expression, is rather tedious, but highly necessary, for these several defects must be not only pointed out, but explained, before the reader can possibly comprehend the expediency and practicability of the remedies I shall hereafter propose.

“A field; planted with tobacco, and then with Indian corn,” says a late writer, “is as bare as a sandy desert, and hardly produces a blade of grass, although it has much more manure laid upon it than any thing that grows. It is for this reason that most of our tobacco plantations are broke up; the people have been obliged to quit them many years ago, after all their charges and improvements upon them, and to retire to the mountains, where they find some fresh lands fit to produce that commodity, which are the support of the tobacco trade; but these will in a short time be worn out as the rest have been, and when that happens, there must be an end of the tobacco trade, without a supply of fresh lands fit to produce that exhausting weed, as well as to maintain cattle to manure them, with convenient ports and inland navigation to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity ‡.” In another place, he says, — “To live by planting, as it is called, or by the making of their present staple commodities for Britain, it is found from daily experience in the tobacco colonies, where they have hitherto subsisted in that manner, that a planter should have forty or fifty acres of land for every labourer: where they are reduced to less, they are soon obliged to leave off that manner of living.

* *Contest in America*, Pref. p. 22.

† *Present State*, p. 151.

That quantity of land is required not only to produce their staple commodities and to supply their subsistence lands, so they were out but to afford a large range for their stock, which should in a manner sustain themselves, while the people bestow their time and labour upon their staple commodities for Britain; other wise they cannot live by them. But it appears from a particular inquiry into the number of people and quantity of land; that in many of these colonies they have but ten or twelve acres a head, in others not above twenty; and not a sufficient quantity in any of them to live merely by making tobacco. And further on, "The lands are so exhausted, that they do not produce above a third part of what they used to do. Formerly they made goodly hogheads of them, that is for every six acres, what they cannot now make one from. That this great want of fresh lands is an insupportable grievance, plain from the following passage written in the beginning of the late act: "A tobacco-planter in Virginia and Maryland, who is a land in general are much better than in any part of North America, reckons he should have fifty acres of land for every person, and especially such what they are confined to labor, they either leave off making tobacco, or at all how this people have done in a great measure in the lower parts of those colonies to make the necessaries of life, provisions, and cloathing; or are obliged to remove to and beyond the Apalachean mountains, where they may have plenty of good and fresh lands, as a great part of the poor people in the tobacco colonies have been obliged to do of late: If they are confined then within the Apalachean mountains, as they must be by the French encroachments upon the Ohio, they will soon be forced to leave off making such plenty of tobacco as they have done, or any other such cheap commodity for Britain."†

I shall forbear to extend these authorities further, because I think them short; but, as one assertion was evidently advanced above ten years ago, and upon a quite different occasion from the other. It was urged, to show the great consequence of the back country to the production of tobacco and other staples, that the nation might not be ignorant of the importance of the country usurped by the French; and the same plea was urged again upon the proclamation of October 7th 1763, which restrained all our planters to the sources of the rivers falling into the Atlantic Ocean; that is, to yet narrower bounds than those encroachments of the French even pretended. Such circumstances amount to a proof; but if they were totally wanting, there are others sufficient to convince the least considerate.

* Present State, p. 136.

† Contest in America, pref. p. 32. 1757.

It is very well known, that planting tobacco upon lands sufficiently fertile, or in other words, *fresh*, is much the most profitable employment the people of Virginia and Maryland have: for which reason they have all continued to plant it as long as their lands would yield it, and some even to loss; nor were they drove to change it for corn and common farming, until they must either adopt the latter, or be ruined by their tobacco. This is sufficiently evident, from their fields producing a third less than formerly. Now, the quantity of tobacco they produced has been for near thirty years, as appears by the custom-house entries, nearly at a stand; that is, it has increased by no means in proportion to the increase of the number of people*. In the year 1748, they were judged to produce as much as at present†; whereas the people must be near double. In the preceding sketch it appears, that their tobacco does not amount to above 9 s. 6½ d. per-head of the whole people, whereas those totally employed on so good a staple earn 5 l. a head; from whence it is clear, that nine-tenths of the people are employed on something else, which is proof enough that they cannot plant tobacco, that being the first object of them all. If these circumstances are duly considered, they will surely be allowed a convincing proof, that the assertions in the above passages are not only true, but that it is impossible in the present state of things that they should be false.

The real fact in this false policy of Britain is this: She was above ten years ago so well convinced of the importance of those back countries for the cultivation of staple commodities, that she entered into a war to secure her right to them. That war, and the succeeding peace, confirmed her right, and even put them absolutely into her hands. What is the consequence of this? Doubtless you will say, the tobacco planters had then land enough, and the staple increased to the great emolument of the nation. — No such matter; the country was no sooner in their power than out comes the before-mentioned proclamation, that no soul shall go near it; and all governors are required to prevent any settlements in it. The consequences of such infatuation I have sketched; they continue to operate, and will operate, till the people in the tobacco colonies manufacture even for exportation.

This measure, however, like most others, that it is possible to name, met with an advocate who defends them, (or it may possibly be thought

* In 1733 the produce was 75,000 hogheads. See Lacy's *Observations on the Nature of the Tobacco Trade*, folio, 1733.

† Anderson's *Deduction*, vol. ii. p. 387.

only hints at a defence) in the following words:—"The reader will observe, and possibly with some surprize, that in this distribution (he has been specifying the new governments, those of East and West Florida, and Canada, laid down by the proclamation) much the longest, and perhaps the most valuable part of our conquest does not fall into any of these governments; that the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the whole course of the Ohio, and the Ouabatche, and almost all that tract of Louisiana, which lies on the hither side of the Mississippi, are none of them comprehended in this distribution. The government of West Florida extends in no part above half a degree from the sea.—Many reasons may be assigned for this apparent omission. A consideration of the Indians was, we presume, the principal, because it might have given a sensible alarm to that people, if they had seen us formally cantoning out their whole country into regular establishments. It was in this idea that the royal proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, strictly forbids any purchase of settlements beyond the limits of the three above-mentioned governments, or any extension of our old colonies beyond the heads of the rivers which fall from the westward into the Atlantic Ocean; reserving expressly all the territory behind these as an hunting ground for the Indians. The crown, however, retains its right of making purchases and agreements with the Indians. This restraint is founded on reason and equity; but we cannot help observing, that the necessity of such a restraint seems to detract somewhat from the force of those arguments which have been used to prove the value of our acquisitions on this continent. About the beginning of the war a map of the middle settlements was published, (*Dr. Mitchell's*) in which these back countries were for the first time laid down with exactness. A pamphlet accompanied the map by the same author, (*The Conquest in America*) who seemed perfectly well acquainted with that part of the world. In this pamphlet it was asserted, that notwithstanding the vast extent of territory which even then we possessed in North America, the nature of the country was such, that useful land began to be scarce, and that our settlements must shortly be checked and limited by this circumstance. The great expediency, almost the absolute necessity of a further extent of our territories there, was urged upon this principle; and many schemes of trade and manufacture were grounded upon it. It is visible, that the execution of these schemes must be for a while at least suspended. However, it is not improbable that particular interests, and, at that particular time, an intention likewise in favour of the national interest, may have persuaded these writers to represent the scarcity of improveable land on the hither side of the mountains to be much greater than in reality it is.*"

* *Annual Register*, 1763, p. 29.

SECT. IV.

POLITICAL ESSAYS

In the first place, as to this writer's remark on the consideration of the Indians, that this was not the inducement for such a policy, is very clear, from other parts of our conduct to them at that very time. The government of West Florida was established with an intention of colonization in one of the tracts of the country mentioned by this writer, the tract on the hither-side of the Mississippi, or on land as much belonging to the Indians as that more to the northward, only it extends no further from the sea than to be one of the worst of the most unwholesome barren spots in the universe; for a proof of which, see all the French and other writers who have described it, but the same writers, and all others agree, that as soon as the country grows hilly it becomes as fine as one as any in the world; of which more hereafter. But it may be said that West Florida was in possession of the French, and not of the Indians; — so was the country northwards, as any one may see by looking into Du Pratz, who shews that they found the western part so almost barren, that all, except the town of New Orleans, removed to the high country, where their principal plantations were; therefore, this argument proves as much against one as the other. If West Florida was colonized at all for political motives relative to the sea-coast, it ought certainly to have been upon the plan of the French, to have had a port on the sea, but all the plantations in the back country on the river, which

But this was not the only point in which the attention to the Indians was merely imaginary; for although the planters were kept from settling behind the mountains, yet a chain of forts was preserved through the heart of the whole country, and forts much more than defenceless plantations move the jealousy of the Indians; a proof of which this author himself furnishes me with; and it is a passage that totally contradicts the former one I inserted before. "The Indians were alarmed when they considered the situation of the places of strength we had acquired by conquest and by treaty in their country. We possessed a chain of forts upon the south of Lake Erie, which secured all the communications with the Ohio and the Mississippi. We possessed the Detroit, which secured the communication of higher and lower America. We had drawn a chain of forts round the best hunting country they had left." Now, I should desire to know wherein we could more have offended the Indians by *cutting out their country into regular establishments*, or could have drawn on us a severer war than ensued upon the alarm they took at our forts; the severest Indian war we ever experienced! Much less jealousy would

* Du Pratz' *Hist. Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 52. Du Mont. *Mem. de la Louisiana*, vol. ii. p. 80. Charlevoix *Hist. N. France*, vol. vi. p. 263. Heirera, Dec. III. l. 8. c. 8.

they have taken in settling our colonies, silently have extended themselves. Instead of which, we preserve the forts at a great expence to ourselves, to irritate them as much as if *establishments* had attended them, which would have been of such infinite national importance. *half the end of this paper's* sentiment does not contradict the other. I know not what can

But supposing it had given umbrage to the Indians, were we in the name of common sense to give up the most valuable interests of the nation to oblige a set of barbarians, whose only delight is that of cutting the throats of our people! To cheat and delude them of their land, & freely acknowledge the lands (being *their own*) to infinitely, but what objections are the crown's purchasing fairly and honourably (and not like truck and trade) the trade of a country required. All their complaints and dissatisfactions have arose from being tricked in bartering, never against fair purchases, — they are ever ready to sell land to the fair purchaser, and never quarrel with such for having bought it.

But, says he, particular interests may have induced writers to misrepresent the want of land. Whatever particular interests might have to do in the case, is of little consequence, as I have proved from undoubted facts, that the general interests of the kingdom required the fresh lands in the tobacco trade declining in proportion to the people from a want of them. Whatever therefore private interest may suggest or endeavour to display, the point is so extremely clear with respect to the public, that to prove it nothing of the sort is requisite.

But, he goes on, many schemes of trade and manufacture were grounded upon the fresh lands which must be suspended. As to schemes, they are invidiously termed, there were none. Dr. Mitchell only set forth the decline of the tobacco and other staple trades, assigned and proved the reason to be a want of fresh land, and pointed out the remedy, but built no schemes upon it. But supposing he had, as there was room for many of them, beneficial undertakings (his kingdom had ever experienced, what does the writer mean by being *suspended*? He does not tell us. It will therefore supply the omission. The suspension has been that of an increase in the plantation of tobacco, at the very time when the increasing numbers of the people required a quadruple increase of their staple. It has been that of the export of British commodities. It has drove the people of the colonies, who every day grew more numerous, with fewer means of support from their land, into manufactures. And this writer will possibly agree, that when once their supernumeraries are

are become manufacturers, it will require more than British policy to convert them into planters. The great defect in the conduct of this kingdom respecting her colonies is, the want of introducing and promoting new staples, and this particularly in the tobacco colonies, and those to the southward.

Silks are much cultivated in Georgia, and some made in Carolina; but I have had no accounts of the production of any in the tobacco colonies, although they being the most populous of the southern ones, and wanting staples upon the decline of their great one, show the way to Mulberry trees are spontaneous, and in the greatest plenty over the whole country, and the climate can be better adapted to the silk worm than theirs. The 750,000 people in them might make, with the utmost care, 3,000,000 lb. which would sell for a million sterling, which is three times as much as all their tobacco produces: And I have in another place shewn, that such a production would interfere scarce at all with the cultivation of their tobacco, or any other vegetable they might raise, but when once they were a little experienced in the business, more than three times that quantity might be produced.

Wine and raisins might likewise be raised in all these southern colonies to the full supply of all Europe, if a vent could be found for them, and of a quality as good as any that Europe already produces; and yet the legislature has never given any attention to this very important point. As many kinds of vines grow naturally in these colonies, it is surprizing that we have so long neglected the attempting to supply ourselves with wine from thence. This commodity could never interfere with the produce of the mother country, and is brought to perfection, as there is the greatest reason to expect, considering the different climates of our colonies, would be a direct rivalship of one of the main branches of the commerce of the French, and hurt them more than the loss of many battles. A modern French writer computes that by the sale of their wines to foreigners, they gain a million sterling annually, which is more than our colonies gain by their tobacco and rice together. The Virginia planters ought to be excited by their personal interest to attend to the cultivation of vines, for the demand for their staple commodity may soon be lessened, if the French succeed in their attempts to supply themselves wholly with tobacco of the growth of the southern provinces of France. Our colonies for these few years past have had the offer of a premium for cultivating the vines, from the laudable Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce; but when we consider the greatness and importance

ance of the object, it would seem to merit rather the consideration of parliament than of a private society.*

It is however very justly observed by the author of the *Present State* †, that we must not expect to get wines from vineyards planted in any of the maritime parts of these colonies, which are all low and marshy, whereas the vine delights only in high, dry, and stony soils. But in the back parts of them they would thrive incomparably. And in another place he says, that even in New England, he has known wine made which was much better than New England rum, and reckoned in Britain to be as good as Lisbon ‡. If that is the case, surely Pennsylvania in the back parts might produce good wine? In another passage, he explains the subject yet more. "It was to supply the nation with silk and wine that our colonies were first settled, and no part of the world is perhaps more fit for the purpose, after the woods are cleared. Although the soil and climate are very singular with regard to other productions, yet mulberry trees and vines, are as it were natural to them. That whole continent is covered over with both as far north as Montreal and Annapolis in Nova Scotia. We have seen fifteen different sorts of native grapes there, the like of which growing wild are certainly not to be found in any part of the world. The ordinary sorts of these in Virginia yield a wine so like the common Bourdeaux wine, that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other; and from another sort some wine has been made, which was compared by good judges both here and there to the best that is drank. Other sorts yield wine exactly like the Lisbon. But instead of these they have transplanted grapes from the hills of Normandy to the maritime parts of Virginia and Carolina, where no one could expect them to thrive nigh so well as they do. They ripen there in the beginning and middle of August, when no one can expect to make good wine; although they yield a very good wine for present drinking. But this is the most improper for their climate of any grape that grows; neither is it the true Burgundy grape, for which they got it §." Another writer says, he has drank a red wine of the growth of South Carolina, little inferior to Burgundy ||.

Cotton is another article which is produced in no part of the world in greater perfection than in the southern colonies: by the agreement of all writers, how much soever they differ as to other points respecting our

* *Reflections on the Domestic Policy proper to be observed on the Conclusion of a Peace*, 8vo. p. 63.

p. 78.

† Page 209.

‡ P. 274.

§ *Ibid.* p. 269.

|| *Stork's Account of Florida*, p. 66.

colonies, yet in this they all allow the cotton shrub to thrive excellently, and yield a cotton equal if not superior to any from the Levant. Nevertheless, with a degree of that supineness with which every thing concerning this continent has been conducted, we have not this day supplied our own demand, but depend upon the crop of the Levant for so necessary an article of many of our manufactures; and are drove in some years to great streights when that crop fails †, add to this also the difference between taking it of a people with whom we no longer trade to advantage, or of our colony in exchange for our manufactures.

Cochineal is likewise one of the most important articles of our imports; and it is well known from all the accounts we have had of the southern parts of our colonies, that the opuntia, or prickly pear shrub, thrives spontaneously in them ‡.

We have had no direct accounts that madder has been produced in any of our colonies, but that any quantities might be produced in them no one can doubt, who considers their soil and climate.

Tea there is likewise no doubt, but might be raised in the southern settlements to profit; as the plant is said § to be there already; the inhabitants could not well cultivate a more beneficial staple.

All these articles and many others might, with the assistance of proper attention from the government, be raised in our colonies to the infinite advantage of this kingdom; but hitherto as I before observed, they have been very little attended to, and of those which have attracted the notice of the legislature, I know none except pitch and tar, that have by such means been brought near to perfection.

Even in the West India islands, the power of cultivation is very far from being extended to any thing like the breadth of soil it might be. Out of four millions of acres in Jamaica, not 300,000 are cultivated at all; and vast tracts of land in that island might be applied to various articles of culture besides sugar; articles which do not require so many concurring circumstances united in one spot as a sugar work. If poor

* See particularly *Present State*, p. 146. *Description of South Carolina*, p. 52. *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 141. *Posslethwayte's Dictionary*, Art. Cotton and British America.

† *Examination of the Commercial Principles*, Sec. p. 39. *Museum Rusticum*, vol. i. p. 444. vol. ii. p. 117.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 224.

§ *Consulations on the Sugar Trade*, p. 223.

people were sufficiently encouraged to settle in the inland parts, necessity would oblige them to raise cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, cloves, allspice, the drying woods and other things which require no vast labour; are not so burthenfome in carriage, and which have all a sufficient demand at home to encourage people who do not look to great and sudden fortunes; and thus we bring all these, especially the cotton from abroad, we might encourage the raising more of it by some moderate premium. The same necessity too would oblige them to try experiments on cochineal, and various other things, which we don't now think of, and which the climate would not refuse. By degrees, and with good management, they would improve in the culture of many of these articles in which they are now defective; the careful would grow tolerably rich, and considerable works of many valuable commodities, as cocoa, cochineal, and even indigo, may be attempted with small capitals. Excepting the labour, I don't know that any of these require above two or three hundred pounds to begin with. So that whilst the great stocks, and the lands convenient to navigation are employed in sugars, the small capitals, and the inland might be employed in the less expensive, though not less useful articles I have mentioned: every part would flourish; and agriculture would have its share with the other improvements; so that the great number might be subsisted at less expence than the few are now maintained. All this, I am confident, could be effected for twenty thousand pounds, or less, properly laid out; and the island by this means be rendered in a few years three times more beneficial to us, than it is at present. But unfortunately such important matters do not meet with that attention they so greatly require.

But a point of vastly greater consequence than these, is the due improvement of those acquisitions we made by the last peace in the West Indies, viz. the islands of Tobago, Granada, and St. Vincent, and that particularly in the culture of nutmeg. The practicability of raising them there is undubitably proved by Dr. Campbell; but hitherto no attempts have been made under the auspices of the government; and individuals are totally unequal to carrying such a point into execution; very slight disappointments presently wearying out their patience, and small losses being so severely felt by them. I shall insert the Doctor's reasoning. The true nutmeg tree the Dutch, who of all nations could not in that respect be deceived, affirm to have found in Tobago. It is true they say, it is a wild nutmeg, that the *tree* is less florid, and the taste of the nut itself more pungent, though larger and fairer to the eye, than the spice of

the same kind brought by them from the East Indies. The *cinnamomum* grows likewise in this island, though the bark is said to have a taste of cloves as well as cinnamon*. It is said to grow in some of the other West India islands. And general Codrington had once an intention to try how much it might be improved by a regular cultivation in his island of Barbuda. It is universally allowed, that the best of what is called the wild cinnamon-tree in Tobago is beyond comparison the best in all the West Indies, and even in its present state may be made an article of great value. The bark, when cured with care, differs from that in the East Indies by being spongy and more acrid while it is fresh, and when it has been kept for some time, it loses that pungency, and acquires the flavour of cloves. This is precisely the spice which the Portuguese call *cruva de maranthon*; the French, *canelle grosse*; and the Italians, *canella garofanata*. There is a very considerable sale of this at Lisbon, Paris, and over all Italy. This kind of spice is drawn chiefly from Brazil, and the Portuguese believe that their cinnamon trees were originally brought from Ceylon while it was in their possession; but that through the alteration of soil and climate, they are degenerated into this sort of spice; and this may very probably be true. However, from their size and number, it seems to admit of no doubt, that the cinnamon trees actually growing in Tobago are the natural production of that island; and the point with us is, to know what improvements may be made with respect to these. It may seem a little new, but we hope to render it highly probable, that the sole difference in cinnamon arises from culture. In the first place, it is allowed, both by the Dutch and the Portuguese, that there are no less than ten different kinds in the island of Ceylon; which is the clearest evidence that this tree is every where subject to variation from the circumstances of soil and exposition. It is, secondly, allowed, that even the best, finest, and first sort of cinnamon tree does not preserve its high qualities beyond seventeen, eighteen, or at most twenty years. The reason assigned for this by the Dutch is, that the *Pampira*, as the tree grows older, rises in such quantities, as to penetrate the bark, and thereby alter its flavour; which accounts very well for the different state of the Brazil and Tobago cinnamon, as the trees must be at least five times their proper age. It is, thirdly, allowed, that the finest and sweetest cinnamon grows upon young trees planted in vallies near the sea-side, naturally covered with white sand, where they are perfectly unshaded, and exposed to the hottest sun; that at five years old they begin to bark the branches; and that the tree continues to produce fine flavoured cinnamon for the number of years already mentioned. They then cut it down to the root, from whence, in

* *Considerations on the Sugar Trade*, p. 115.

a year, or two, it sprouts again, and in five, or six, begins to bark the young plants. What then is there to hinder our attempting the cultivation of cinnamon, which Nature seems to have produced in as much perfection in Tobago as in Ceylon? In the second place, we have mentioned that the *nutmeg*, as well as the *simamon* tree, is a native of this isle, and is likewise observed to be defective and inferior in its kind to the same sort of spice in, or at least as it is brought to us from, the East Indies. We can not doubt of the fact; that is, of the nutmeg's growing here; because we find it asserted in a book addressed to Mr. de Beveren, then governor of Tobago. A man who had invented a falsehood would hardly have had the boldness to repeat it, not only to a respectable person, but to the person in the world who must have the clearest knowledge of its being a falsehood. The nutmeg tree that naturally grows in this island is, in all probability, as true, and may, by due care and pains, be rendered as valuable a nutmeg as those that grow any where else; for the fact really is, that wherever there are nutmegs, there are wild nutmegs; or, as some style them, mountain nutmegs; which are longer and larger, but much inferior in the flavour to the true nutmeg, and are very liable to be worm-eaten. The point is, to know how these defects may be remedied: or, in other words, wherein the difference consists between the wild, tasteless, and useless nutmeg, and that which is true, aromatic, and of course a valuable spice. (He then gives an account of the culture of nutmegs in the *Banda Islands*, and proceeds.) From this succinct account of the nature and method of cultivating this valuable spice, it will certainly appear that it may be very well worth the trouble and expence of making the experiment, (a small nutmeg plantation in the above-mentioned isle does not contain above a rood of land, and the large ones not more than an acre) whether by the same method the wild nutmeg tree, as it is called in Tobago, may not be reclaimed and improved, so as gradually to acquire all the virtue and odour of the true spice. There may, no doubt, many difficulties occur, both in the cultivation and in the curing; but the vigour, the sagacity, the indefatigable diligence of British planters, will, very probably, overcome all these.* I should proceed to transcribe his answers, which are extremely sensible, to all objections to the proposal that can be made, but the extract I have already given is grown to as great a length as any extract, from a work not voluminous, ought; I shall therefore refer the reader to the original, remarking, that a fairer opportunity of enriching this nation, as well as individuals, could never have offered, than the present

* *Considerations, &c.* p. 130, &c.

session of these islands give us, in respect to the cultivation of the species, for which we pay the Dutch such immense annual sums of money! But as to the diligence of British planters effecting such a work, they will effect it in the same manner they did the making of pitch and tar;—that is, not at all, till the legislature takes the affair in hand:—Not that a bounty is sufficient;—but of the means of producing such an end, something more must be said in another place. I am at present only speaking of defects, and it is a great one, that this experiment has not yet been made. We

I come now to mention the *sixth* defect above specified, that of regulating the trade of the colonies, without, at the same time, providing employments for the hands thrown out of business thereby. The first measure politically executed was good, but without the second it was worse than none; for the consequence, as I before observed, was, throwing a vast number of people into manufactures. All therefore that is requisite to be said on this head is, that such regulations should have been attended with the remedying all the preceding defects, which would necessarily have found plenty of beneficial employment for such hands rendered idle.

The *seventh* defect, that of leaving the Bahama and Summer Islands in their uncultivated state, is as strange and unpolitical a one as any that could be conceived; because all the expence of colonies is already borne by the nation in civil establishments in them, without any of the good effects. The high rocky soil of the Summer Isles, it has been observed, is excellently adapted to the culture of vines; and the inhabitants, though cheerful and industrious, are unable to consume any British manufactures, for want of the means of buying them; but if vines were introduced among them, the case would be greatly altered, and a most advantageous staple gained to the mother-country.

The Bahamas are much more considerable. All accounts that we have had of them render their great fertility beyond a doubt; and the extraordinary flavour of their pine apples, and other spontaneous fruits, which far exceed any others in that part of the world, added to their climate, which is excessively favourable, and never reached by the least frosts, leave upon the whole, little doubt, but that sugar and all other West Indian commodities might be produced in them in great perfection. But, notwithstanding this, we have settled only Providence, which is not comparable to many others, and not planted an acre even of that with any thing but mere necessaries for the use of the few inhabitants. Some of the others

are said to be an hundred and fifty miles long, and thirty, forty, and even fifty broad: But the truth is they are not half discovered, some which are known, are quite uncultivated and uninhabited, though blessed with as fruitful and luxuriant a soil as any in the world, as appears plainly by the richness and fragrancy of the spontaneous growths. By many accounts, even the famous Indian itself does not exceed some of these beautiful islands, which yet we have left for many delarts, and employed ourselves in plant ng such wretched countries as Nova Scotia, where the people are in danger of being frozen to death for nine months of the year and can scarcely produce bread to eat the other three!

This review of the defects in our colonies, arising both from climate and a want of policy, I am sensible is by no means complete (I much wish it was); but the candid reader will, it is hoped, excuse deficiencies that are much more trifling than the points inserted: I must likewise be allowed to remark, that in those circumstances relative to our own policy, I have, with the most rigid impartiality, spoke with an eye to measures alone. Some regulations are touched upon of no long date; but the reader may believe me, when I religiously assure him, that I am totally ignorant, under the auspices or direction of what minister, ministry, or men, such regulations were formed; nor is it, indeed, to be wondered; that a person who gives his attention to measures alone, should be unable to recollect the dates of all the ministerial changes that have happened in this country within these last five years.—But to return.

In sketching the means of remedying, as far as possible, these several defects, I shall begin with the most important point of all, which would be attended with the most beneficial consequences imaginable.

I. Extend the Boundaries of West Florida, on the Mississippi, and settle a new Colony on the Ohio.

Under this head it is, in the first place, necessary to give the reader an idea of the fertile tracts of land on these rivers; and that the more especially, as I know of no clear and satisfactory account of them yet published distinctly, nor any where to be met with, without seeking through several volumes for it; for which reasons I shall extract from the most authentic descriptions, a succinct account as the foundation of the ensuing reasoning.

We will begin with the southward country upon the Mississippi, and proceed northward. The colony of West Florida extends from the sea coast of the gulph of Mexico northwards to the 31st degree of latitude;

tude; that, viz. of prairie, near, far as the low country continues; for, about a quarter of a degree further, upon the river, is Manchac, where the highlands begin*. From the sea coast thither, the whole country is either a marsh, or sand, so white as to be pernicious to the eye, and is absolutely barren; and, in unwholesome spots, the sink of the earth. But after you get to Manchac, the scene is totally different; and from thence to the Ohio, and up that river, far above Fort Pitt, the lands are between two and two feet higher than the Mississippi in its greatest floods.

The soil on these high lands is very good; it is a black light mould about three feet deep on the hills or rising grounds. This upper earth lies upon a reddish clay, very strong and stiff; the lowest places between these hills are of the same nature, but there the black earth is between five and six feet deep. The grass, growing in the hollows, is of the best of its kind. All these high lands are generally meadows, and forests of tall trees, with grapes up to the knee. The tall forests are all hickory, or all oak, and many walnut trees. "Which spontaneous productions, says another writer, are ever a sign of good lands in the southern parts of North America. These high lands likewise produce mulberry-trees, native indigo, tobacco and cotton. The indigo yields more than in the French islands. "Without desiring, says another writer, the tobacco which is made in other countries, we may affirm that which grows in the country of the Natchez is even preferable to that of Virginia or St. Domingo." And a third, equally well acquainted with this country, says, "The French in Louisiana made two or three crops upon the same ground as easily as we made one. Even rice thrives to great profit there; without being planted in a marsh or swamp. Vines are so common, for 500 leagues up the Mississippi, and on the Ohio, that whatever way you walk, you cannot proceed one hundred steps without meeting with one. Lastly, even the very sides of the hills are covered with canes, which in our colonies only grow in the deepest and richest swamps. Consistent with these accounts, is the report of the people sent from Virginia to view

* Du Pratz, *Hist. Louis.* vol. i. p. 262.

† *Ib.* p. 25, and the authors quoted before.

‡ It is a planter who resided sixteen years in the country, that speaks in matters respecting the soil and its productions: in our colonies we have very little such authority. § P. 262, &c. ¶ *Present State*, p. 198. || *Ib.* p. 333.

** M. Du Mont, who resided some time in Louisiana, *Mém. de Louis.* &c.

†† Editor of the translation of Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 353. Likewise, *Essai sur les intérêts du commerce maritime*, par M. du Haye, 1754. And Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*: Appendix, p. 26.

‡ Du Pratz, vol. ii. p. 6. §§ *Ib.* p. 12. || *Present State*, p. 248.

these countries in 1749 who asserted they saw more good land on the Mississippi and Ohio than was in all our colonies. I have just run through these circumstances to shew the reader, by way of contrast, the country we have colonized with that we have not; and characterized the one from the same authority as the other. The country, as far as the bounds of West Florida extend, is one of the vilest and most unwholesome in the world, in which circumstance the concurrent testimony of all our officers quartered there, perfectly agrees. But almost as soon as you leave that colony, you enter one of the finest and healthiest in the universe, and precisely such as we want.

Now the remedy, which I would in this case humbly propose, is an exceeding plain one; only to extend the bounds of the colony of West Florida, to the high rich lands above-mentioned. Nor would this be even settling any country but what the French had begun to settle before; for a full proof of which, see Du Pratz. The spot whereon the French fort, Rosalia, was built, is the properest situation for a great settlement on the Mississippi, as ships may come up thither with the greatest ease. As to the extent of West Florida it might run up the Mississippi as far as the end of the 33d degree of north latitude, and eastward two degrees of longitude from its western boundaries; and by taking in so large a country, the expence of establishment would be no more than is now annually paid for the present West Florida; and there would be plenty of country left nevertheless for the Indians; but that tract, as it could not all be near wanting for many years, need not at first be purchased of the Indians (where I mean the French had not bought before; for far to the north of West Florida they had, and consequently our right to it by the peace took place) but by degrees, as the settlements extend.

The tract of country on the Ohio is, in every respect, as excellent as that which we have described; for, if we attend to the accounts of our own people who have traversed it, still better. A part of this country, lying on the back of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, was what our colonists wanted so much to possess before the last war, for cultivating tobacco, hemp, silk, and flax in; and we cannot suppose that would have

§ "It is a wretched country. (*un pays perdu*;) says Charlevoix, and a more barren land, on a flat and bleak sea coast—the last place on earth where one would expect to meet with any mortal, and above all with Christians." *Hist. N. France*; tom. vi. p. 263. *Present State*, p. 195.

¶ *Du Pratz*, vol. i. p. 43.

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been the case, if it had not been more proper for these staples than their lands at home. Such are the tracts of country confirmed to Britain by the peace of 1763, but which, by the most unaccountable policy, she has chosen to make no use of, at the very time when she wants them to the utmost necessity. Now the proceeding which is at present requisite to prevent the ill effects that are arising in our colonies, is to extend West Florida in the manner I have proposed, and immediately to establish a new colony on the Ohio, on the back of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Tobacco, hemp, iron, and such bulky staples would be sent from thence down the Ohio and Mississippi, at a very small expence. Even fifty per centum less than is now paid to a sea port from Buckingham, Charlotte, Augusta, Bedford, Halifax, Botetourt, and Pittsylvania counties in Virginia, and Cumberland, Bedford, Northampton, and Berks counties in Pennsylvania. Beef and pork* would be sent from the new colony to West Florida, and from thence to East Florida, Jamaica, &c. much cheaper, sooner, and in better order than has ever been done from New York, New Jersey, or Philadelphia; and in case of a future Spanish or French war, the Floridas could be immediately succoured by the Ohio colony, or a great and speedy aid could be afforded from thence for the reduction of New Orleans, the Havannah, &c. and as to silk †, flax, and such light and valuable articles, they would be conveyed from the new colony, by a shore and cheap land carriage to Fort Cumberland, and from thence by water, down the river Potomack, to Alexandria. The hemp and iron from Russia are transported by a much longer, more expensive and difficult inland navigation, than that of the Ohio and Mississippi, with the addition of a very considerable land-carriage upon them.

"The Ohio," says a very ingenious writer, "as the winter snows are thawed by the warmth, or rains in the spring, rises in vast floods; in some places exceeding twenty feet in height, but scarce any where overflowing its high and upright banks. These floods continue of some height for at least a month or two, lie

* The island of New Orleans is chiefly supplied with beef by French hunters, who go yearly up the Ohio and kill buffaloes; and large quantities of this beef are salted and sent to St. Domingo. And De Pratz says, that so long ago as the year 1746, 800 thousand weight of flour was, in one winter, sent from the Illinois to New Orleans.

† The managers of the contributions for promoting the culture of silk in Pennsylvania, represented to the General Assembly of that province, in September 1771,

"That they have had the pleasure to find the soil and climate of the province, with the spirit they have raised in the people, so favourable to this new attempt, as to encourage the prosecution to a much greater extent, by which it seems highly probable, the article of raw silk may shortly become a valuable remittance from hence to Great Britain, in payment of the manufactories we receive from our mother-country."

ing guided in the time by the late or early breaking up of the winter. "The stream is *then* too rapid to be stemmed upwards, by sailing or rowing, and too deep for setting; but excellently fitted for large vessels going down; *then* ships of 100 or 200 tons may go from Fort Duquesne (now called Fort Pitt) to sea, with safety. Hence in process of time, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent off to sea with the heavy produce of the country. †

As to the benefits of extending the limits of West Florida, and forming a new colony on the Ohio, very little here is requisite to be inserted upon a point which all the preceding pages so fully explain. In the present state of our old ones, manufactures are every day taking the place of planting; and all for want of such excellent lands as are upon the Mississippi and Ohio. Our tobacco trade is upon the decline, and will soon be annihilated; for the lands in Virginia and Maryland having, for an hundred and fifty years, produced that exhausting vegetable, are worn out, and daily converting into corn-farms, from which no benefit results to Britain. This great want of fresh land in those plantations was felt many years ago; the inhabitants have been doubled since: how much greater, therefore, must that want be now! In the northern colonies, likewise, the inhabitants are drove to manufactures for want of lands to make staple commodities on. We are told, by one who knows their country well, that 200,000 people, bred to the culture of the earth, are there out of employment for want of land, and actually petitioned for the territory of Sagadahoc to settle in; which they would never have thought of, had the least idea of a colony on the Ohio been current.

The proposed settlements on the Mississippi and Ohio would yield hemp and flax sufficient to supply all Europe, nay all the world. "The ships that might be built at Louisiana, says Du Pratz, would never be sufficient to employ all the hemp which might be raised on the Ohio and Mississippi, did the inhabitants cultivate as much of it as they well might *." "The inland parts of America, says another, are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax and silk †." "Such lands as are described on the Mississippi

† Evans, p. 26, 27.

† The late extensive commerce of our merchants and traders down the *Ohio*, proves, that it is, at all seasons, navigable for large boats of fifty or sixty tons burden, and that such boats can easily ascend it, except in the time of freshes, as westerly and south-west winds generally blow up the river; and a very sensible engineer, who, a very few years ago, explored the Ohio and Mississippi, says, That good roads may be made on the high banks of the Ohio; as they are not subject to crumble away.

* *Hist. de Louis.* vol. 1. p. 334.

† *Interest of Great Britain considered*, p. 28.

and Ohio, says a third †, have a natural moisture in them, which is the very soil that both hemp, flax, and indigo delight in; and these are the three first commodities that the nation wants from the colonies. Upon such lands, hemp and flax may be made in quantities, as a staple commodity to send to Britain: whereas, on the poor lands in our colonies and their small plantations, they can only make a little for their own use. The one would be the greatest service, when the other is a prejudice to the nation. The climate likewise is as fit for these commodities. Here they might sow hemp and flax in winter, which is the only proper season for them in any part of North America. This would afford time for making another crop in summer, which should be indigo. Now a crop of indigo, hemp, and flax, would be much more profitable than any thing that America produces, whether on the continent or the islands. Every labourer might cultivate two acres or more in hemp, and one or two in indigo, the produce of which would be worth from 30 to 40*l.* a-year. This would enable them to purchase negroes, and to enlarge the British plantations beyond what they are otherwise capable of. Such plantations would be more profitable than even sugar colonies, and supply the nation with more valuable and necessary articles. A hundred thousand labourers, which might be easily found in all our colonies, would at this rate of 38*l.* a-head, make 2,000,000*l.* a-year; but suppose they make only one half of this, it is as much as all our colonies in North America now produce. By these means, the nation might get the trade both of indigo, hemp, and flax, and supply all Europe with these commodities, as we now do with tobacco; which last these lands are as fit to produce, and in much greater plenty and perfection than any other part of North America. And when our tobacco plantations are worn out, there are no lands to supply their place in all the British dominions but those on the Mississippi and Ohio.

Seeing, therefore, that the proposed enlargement of West Florida, and the establishment of a new colony on the Ohio, are not only so valuable in themselves, but so peculiarly necessary to this nation at this time, I would humbly propose that they be immediately adopted. § And if the whole

† *Propriet State, 248.*

§ If the expence to the kingdom is brought as an argument against such a measure— I answer, the necessity of it is too urgent for any expence to prevent. For want of it the duties upon tobacco alone, to mention no other article, will suffer more in five years than the expence will amount to in fifty. But there is a very easy and rational method of affecting it, without increasing the public expence a shilling; indeed more than one: Nova Scotia costs the nation, to this day, more per annum than the amount of any of the new colonies:

was even to be done at the government's expence, it ought not, considering the great importance of the measure, to be neglected: But no such matter would be necessary; for the numbers of people in those colonies who are in want of fresh land are so great, that the new settlements, and especially that on the Ohio, would speedily be performed. There can be no greater proof of this, than the repeated petitions from all parts of those colonies, for leave to penetrate into the back country; and the many thousand families, who have removed to, and settled on the waters of the Ohio, notwithstanding the proclamation of October 1763.

As to the tobacco culture, it would require no other encouragement than what it before met with in Virginia, &c. that is, a proper inspection-law. The excellence of the land on the Ohio would supply all the rest, and would certainly put down the plantations in Europe, which are the only rivals we have in that trade. These plantations never made it to advantage till ours were worn out, which was the real and only cause of their being undertaken; now, with the fresh and rich lands in these tracts, our planters would make such quantities, and of so excellent a sort, as to ruin their European rivals immediately; of which there can be no doubt, if we consider the progress and nature of this trade. For notwithstanding the present decline of the business—notwithstanding the long freight—notwithstanding the prodigious duty we lay upon it, yet we are able at present to command, as far as our quantity will permit, the trade; what therefore should we do with such lands as these! The plantations in Europe make 100,000 hogheads*, which quantity we might with great ease add to our present export; and when they were once put down, we might raise the price and gain a monopoly of the trade; and the additional 100,000 hogheads would, in value, freight, and duties, be worth a full million sterling. But as hemp and flax would be a new article with most of them, all possible means of extending the culture among them should be taken. Proper encouragement should likewise be given to the planting of vineyards in those lands which seemed best adapted to them, by providing the setts gratis, and people from the wine countries of Europe to instruct them in the management. Reeding silk worms should be encouraged to the utmost in all the settlers, whatever their principal staple might be, as it is a business which in all countries

* Present State, p. 251.

† Ib. p. 252.

tries is carried on without the least prejudice to any other occupations *. By these various means the inhabitants of West Florida and the Ohio colony, enjoying the advantage of such a beneficial climate, and the richest soil in the British dominions, would all be able not only to purchase negroes, and all their necessaries from Britain, but their consumption, per head, would, in all probability, equal that of the sugar colonies, or 8*l*. 1*s*. But if it did not amount to so much, yet it would certainly be superior to the common necessaries of that continent, on an average, which is 5*l*. a-head. The importance of which, to Britain, is very evident. The lowest accounts make our importation of hemp and flax from Russia amount to 300,000*l*. per annum, which 50,000 people in these colonies would provide for us with the greatest ease. Russia likewise sells to other nations to the amount of 700,000*l*. There is no doubt but we might get a considerable share of that trade: And, at the same time, both that and our own consumption, all founded on the sale of British manufactures, instead of being purchased of Russia with bullion.

The consequences of these proceedings are very naturally to be deduced. In the first place, it would give a terrible blow to the manufactures of our present colonies, and be one means of totally counteracting the late determined resolutions to put an end to all imports from Britain; for such new settlement in West Florida and the Ohio colony, would draw away all the people that had either no employment, or but an indifferent one; and it is precisely by such, that the northern colonies are able to carry their manufactures to such lengths: such indeed being the only people in any country by whom manufactures can be carried on. The numerous idle hands at present scattered about these northern colonies—all those farmers who wanted to be planters, and petitioned for fresh lands, and probably no inconsiderable number of those who have employed themselves on manufactures, would quit the country and remove to these fertile tracts. Vast numbers likewise from the tobacco colonies would flock thither; the earnestness with which they have prayed for leave to pass the mountains is a sufficient proof of that; most of those whose plantations were unwillingly turned into farms would remove with their people to these tracts, where they might re-addict themselves to their favourite culture, that of tobacco, and make such superior profits to what they could upon any lands now to be had in either Maryland or Virginia.

There can be no doubt but that above half a million of people would re-

* See more of these articles of silk and wines, when I come to speak of the tobacco colonies.

† Postlethway, Art. Naval Stores.

move from the northern and tobacco colonies to the new settlements; which would be just taking the number immediately or consequentially from manufactures, and setting them about the culture of staple commodities, by which means they would purchase all their necessaries from Britain, probably to as great an amount as the sugar colonies purchase.

Those who were of opinion that the people would not remove in such numbers, do not consider the nature of the planting business in America. Good land is the first and greatest necessary for which every thing is sacrificed, as that alone can provide every thing. If this was not the case, is it possible to suppose the planters would have been so perpetually removing further back into the country in quest of it, even before it was bought of the natives, when they were thereby exposed to the ravages of the Indians? Upon every dispute with them, one of these back settlements is as terrible a situation, in that respect, as any in the world; for they have seldom even a fortress to resort to, nor any security but in falling back again into the thickly peopled country. And yet we find, that notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding such numbers of back-settlers being scattered, and the throats of their families cut, every Indian war, yet such is the force of this necessary of life, fresh land, that they hazard all dangers to get it, and several thousand families have actually settled over the Allegany mountains on the Ohio. — What therefore, might not be expected under a regular establishment, where the people would raise an hundred fold more than in any parts of their old settlements? — Nor is this the only circumstance: such who have been planters, (which on good land is by far the most profitable business in America) become farmers with regret, for, to those who cultivate the earth, nothing is so beneficial, or of such importance, as a *regularity* of price for the commodities raised, which, in America particularly, is very seldom the case with farmers who cultivate the necessaries of life. But the planter, with a proper quantity of good land, raises all the necessaries of food for his whole family at no cost at all; His people are bound to do that besides the crop they make. The common expression is, every slave or labourer makes to much of the staple or crop, and raises his share of provisions, timber, &c. for all the plantation; The staple is therefore not profit, and goes for the purchase alone of manufactures and foreign products. It is evident, therefore, at a glance of the eye, how much more profitable this must be than to depend for these manufactures and foreign products on the sale of the provisions alone, which are always uncertain in their price. And consequently no planter will turn farmer, till he is absolutely obliged; that is, till his land will no longer bear a staple, and he knows not where to get any more that will.

and in a few years will be Nor

Normal manufactures be carried to any amount in a colony till all the good land is settled; unless, indeed, the products are so mean that every family must manufacture nearly all they use. The cultivation of a staple (and all staples are profitable) will always afford much better pay to working hands than manufactures can, which exist only in cheapness of labour; and accordingly, we find they did not arise to any great height in our colonies till the best of the lands were occupied, and the planters in general cramped for want of steel.

I must think this point of such great importance, as to extend probably to the annihilation of manufactures in our colonies. However, without carrying the supposition so far, and without testing our defence against their manufacturing here alone, we may safely determine, that the settlement of the proposed tracts would be of infinite prejudice to all the manufactures of the colonies, and of prodigious benefit to Britain. Of this opinion was the general assembly of Pennsylvania in the year 1752. They observed, "That it should be easy for the poor to obtain lands; and acquire property, may indeed be chargeable with one inconvenience, to wit,--that it keeps up the price of labour, and makes it more difficult for the old settlers to procure working hands; the labourers soon setting up for themselves: and accordingly we find, that although perhaps no less than thirty thousand labourers have been imported into this province within these twenty years, labour continues as dear as ever. In fine, by rendering the means of purchasing lands easy to the poor, the dominions of the crown are strengthened and extended; the British nation secures the benefit of its manufactories, and increases the demand for them; for so long as land can be easily procured for settlements, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, so long will labour continue to be dear in America; and while labour continues dear, we can never rival the artificers, or interfere with the trade of our mother-country." To conclude, it is in the proposed settlement on the Ohio we must first look for hemp and flax; as such great numbers of the old American farmers have removed and settled there; which may, in those fertile tracts, be cultivated in such abundance, as to enable us to undersell all the world, as well as supply our own consumption. It is on those high, dry, and healthy lands, that vineyards will be cultivated to the best advantage, as many of those hills contain quarries of stone, and not in the low unhealthy sea-coasts of our present colonies. To these we should bring the settlers from Europe, or at least suffer none to go north of New York; by which means our numbers

* Votes of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1752.

would increase in those parts, where it is our interest they should increase; and the report of the settlers from the new colony on the Ohio would be a constant drain of people from our unprofitable northern ones, by which means they would, in future times, as well as the present, be prevented from extending their manufactures.*

These are small parts of the benefits which would result to Britain † from settling the tracts of land proposed; and yet, great as they are, they may be completed at a very small expence.

II. Purchase all such Staples as the Northern Colonies can supply; and sell the manufactures of Britain so cheap throughout them, as to ruin all their own Manufactures.

It is well known with what unremitting diligence the inhabitants of the northern colonies have now set about the business of supplying themselves with every thing which they formerly took from Britain; such an increase of those fabrics which serve their home-consumption must inevitably be attended with a parallel one of those which work for exportation: And as this spirit of manufacturing comes at a time when such numbers of their people are without employment, and co-operates with so many other circumstances, it highly behoves the government to take such counter-measures as may effectually prevent the mischiefs threatened to our trade, our navigation, our manufactures, and revenue.

Let us suppose the preceding proposal of extending the limits of West Florida, and planting a new colony on the Ohio, executed; great as their effects would be, yet they would be insufficient to answer all the purposes which our present American affairs require. It before appeared, that the people in the northern and tobacco colonies amounted to 1,100,000. Now, upon the supposition, that the new settlements took off, as I before said, 500,000, and that the northern colonies furnished 350,000 of them,

* Those authors who, from their situation in life, have had the best means of undoubted information, have all, in treating of the colony manufactures, dwelt upon the necessity of not checking their settlements, as the surest method of preventing them. "Let the extent of their settlements, says Governor Pownal, either by policy from home, or invasion of Indians abroad, be confined, the price of labour will much sooner cease to be an objection to manufacturing there, than is commonly apprehended." *Administration of the Colonies*, p. 199. "All the penal and prohibitory laws that ever were thought on, will not be sufficient to prevent manufactures, if our people remain confined within the mountains." *Interest of Great Britain considered*, p. 17.

† Hemp and flax alone cost us 400,000 *l.* a year to Russia.

yet there would remain 750,000, a vastly greater number than the present exportation of their staples can nearly maintain; for 98,000 *l.* would not make a *denar*, instead of amounting, as I before remarked they should do, to *5* *l.* and if their lumber is thrown in, the amount will still be a very trifle. Not, however, that I think it possible, in so very unfavourable a climate, to procure staples that will fully pay for manufactures; the most that can be expected in any of these northern colonies, is to prevent any being made for sale even among themselves: but there will be a vast number of their people who must manufacture all their cloaths, &c. in their own families, and such cannot be prevented; nor is it near so requisite that they should as the rest, which are, properly speaking, *manufactories*.

Now the point here is, what are the commodities which the nation wants and purchases of foreigners for money, that these northern colonies can yield us in exchange for our manufactures? These are iron, deals, potashes, and madder.

* For iron and timber alone, we pay the Baltic *£. 440,000*. Potashes let us call no more than *100,000* *l.* although it amounts to considerably more. Madder, the Dutch supply us with, to the amount of more than *300,000*

This is the amount of our own consumption alone; but if we ever carry the point to supply that, we shall undoubtedly do greatly more. Portugal and the Mediterranean alone consume in iron and imported timber to the amount of above *500,000* *l.* which trade lies more advantageously for our colony produce than for those of any other nation. It would be no improbable supposition to extend the export of these commodities to as much as our own consumption, or in the whole to the amount of *2* *l.* per head for all the inhabitants now in these colonies. Let us however, first consider what is indubitable, and that is our own consumption.

Bounties, we have long found, are much too weak to effect this business; nor is there any wonder that they should be so, for much of the

I do not give this state as exactly accurate; I only take care not to insert too large sums: hereafter I shall consider them more.

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work is done before the bounty is payable: the great article of all, the setting vigorously about the business, receives no immediate aid from them. Besides, it is a measure which has no direct effect upon the colony manufactures, a point which ought certainly to be aimed at, at the same time that we encourage their staples. What I shall therefore venture to propose is, that the government, through the means of a few merchants acquainted with the American trade, that can be tolerably depended upon, should establish factors at Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and a few other ports, for the sale of such cargoes of British manufactures as should be consigned to them; and to consist of such particularly as were most manufactured in the province, with directions immediately and continually to undersell all such colony manufactures. By this means the operation of the succeeding measures, from the number of hands rendered idle, would be so much the easier to be executed.

The ships which carried out such cargoes should be large bulky ones, of eight, nine hundred, and one thousand tons burden, for the sake of bringing large quantities of deals, &c. back, at a less proportionate expence; and, previous to their arrival in America, cargoes of these should be ready for them. The colonists should be engaged to work their iron mines, and get the product ready in bars, &c. and vast quantities of deals and squared timber ready for loading the ships: All which, on the certain and immediate prospect of a sale, would easily be effected; as it is well known they have more than once proved to the legislature, that they could supply all Europe with these articles, had they but the *demand*. These ships so loaded should return to those ports in Britain where the Baltick importation is the greatest, and by means of an additional duty on the east country goods, the merchants in such ports would be necessitated to accept the cargoes, or under the certainty of being undersold by them. By which means, at the same time that we stopped 540,000*l.* from being sent in cash to the Baltick, all the manufactures of Britain would feel a more invigorating life than they ever experienced; the poor would every where be set to work, the rates lowered, and the manufactures of the colonies reduced to nothing.

The article of madder would take up more time, but might indubitably be effected (especially in the rich parts of Pennsylvania) by sending over proper experienced persons to direct them in the choice of their soil, and the culture, and at the same time by supplying them with the plants for nothing. These points, and a ready sale, would soon fully supply us with that necessary article.

To give a bounty payable in Britain upon iron and timber, &c. is doing but little; the colonies have never on that account set about the business; but for the factors there established to receive actual commissions for 5 or 10,000 tons of iron, and 20, 30, or 40,000 tons of timber and potash, and to make such demands of the proper people, informing them that the ships would be ready to load by such a time, and to engage to take annually the whole national demand of them; in such a case, I say, we should see the difference between a proceeding of this sort and the weak effects of such bounties as have been hitherto given. That bounties might be raised to manage the matter, there is no doubt; but then the expence to the nation would be much greater than the method I have sketched, and at the same time other bounties must be given on the importation of British manufactures into the colonies, or the fabricks of the latter would not be put down.

If some delays at first did happen in providing cargoes of these commodities, they probably would not be considerable, and even such would, after the trade had been in this channel a little time, wear away by degrees. The colonists would every day grow more expert in the working their iron mines, and in the preparing their timber; for which latter purpose, sawing mills should be erected in all places where the boards, &c. were demanded*. And when once the least regularity in the commerce was effected, which would chiefly consist in the regularity of the demand, the business would carry itself on without any assistance from the public; a point which the laying proper duties upon the same articles from foreigners would fix for ever.

But there are other articles besides what we take from foreigners which these colonies might supply, and which deserve well to be considered

* Many of our best writers on trade have been sensible of the expediency of supplying ourselves with these articles from America, and the practicability of it likewise. See particularly *Posslethwayte's Dictionary of Commerce*, Art. *Naval Stores*: See, *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 134. says, "Our plantations in America abound with vast quantities of timber, and the navigation from New England, Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland, is not more tedious, nor at a greater distance from us, than the bottom of the Bothnic Gulph, or Peterburg. But those places having been long in trade, and having a constant demand from us for that commodity, they always have great stocks of timber ready squared, and boards lying ready to load a ship of five or six hundred tons in ten or twelve days; but hitherto we have never had stocks lying ready in our plantations, nor any encouragement for building large bulky ships, such as are used by the Danes and Swedes, who sail with a few hands, and at a small charge. What timber we have had hitherto come directly to England has been rather put on board to fill up, when tobacco or other merchandize has not been to be had; and therefore no care has hitherto been taken to make it a regular trade." See also page 196, and *Dissertations on the Union*, p. 66.

whether we should not import from them. I shall particularly mention *wool and ships*.

“The wool of the colonies,” says a writer well acquainted with them, “is better than that of the English; it is of the same kind with the Spanish wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the same management. By the step which the colonies have lately taken to raise all the sheep they can, they will have plenty of wool. With this they have already made cloth worth 12*s.* a yard, which is as good as any that is made of English wool. Some of their wool has been sent to England, where it sold for the price of the best. This may, perhaps, be looked upon as a loss to England; but if she would study to make a right and proper use of her colonies, this might be of more service to her than any one thing they are capable of producing. If the Spaniards succeed in their attempts to manufacture their wool, England may want it from the colonies more than any other commodity, as it is well known, there is not a single piece of fine cloth made in England without Spanish wool*.”

These sentiments are founded in reason, and tend to render Great Britain independent of the effects of that prodigious commercial and manufacturing spirit which is now arose in all Europe. There are many peculiar motives for importing wool from these colonies, with the other articles already specified. It would be a great assistance to our own woollen manufactures, and at the same time have the best effect we could wish upon that of the colonies. No *importations* are more beneficial than raw commodities to be worked into manufactures, and no *exportations* so pernicious to a manufacturing country as that of such raw commodities; for which reason Britain should wish to import wool from these colonies; and were the system of policy I am now sketching thoroughly executed such importation might very easily be effected. Every particular of this system is the link of a chain, and all equally connected: the more iron, timber, potash, and madder, were imported, the more likewise you might have of wool; for the more would the colony woollen manufacture suffer, and consequently the less would be their demand for that commodity, and then the additional demand from Britain, at a time when the British manufactures were poured into every market, would completely give her the command of all the American wool. This importation might be made to extend to a very large sum annually.

As to ships, some, perhaps, may think the benefit resulting from them to the mother-country more equivocal; but, in a certain degree, I should

* *Present State*, p. 142.

apprehend the supply from the colonies highly advantageous. In many cases it might be found advantageous to build men of war there. But leaving them out of the question, let us consider the repeated outcries and complaints that have been made in this kingdom for so many years of the want of timber for ship-building; and that such complaints are not ill grounded, every body agrees. Now, would it not be a very prudent measure to reserve the timber in this island for the use of the navy alone, and depend on America for that for merchantmen? It is by no means advantageous to this country, whose agriculture is of such immense importance, to have any land occupied by wood that is good enough to yield corn, and consequently no more should be raised than is necessary; and supposing it necessary to raise all that is requisite for the royal navy, that is certainly the most: for there is no occasion to extend it to all that is used in merchant-ships. The latter had better all be built in America. Nor would there be any necessity to lose the manufacturing of the hemp with which such ships were rigged, since we might import it raw from the new colonies, and re-export it to the northern colonies, manufactured into sail-cloth, with as little expence as much of the hemp lies under now used by New England, &c.

If Britain builds annually 40,000 tons of shipping, (I am only stating a supposition) this, at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per ton, would alone amount to 140,000 *l.* a year. Nor can I see why the northern colonies should not build for all Europe. The building trade might easily be carried to the underselling all other countries, and especially when the culture of hemp and the working the iron mines are carried to perfection; for then there is no country in the world that will unite all the requisites for building cheap so completely as our colonies in North America; and that at the same time while all the benefit redounds to Britain alone, and without there being the least danger to her from such natural advantages in them. The danger would be great, if we at the same time suffered them to be traders and fishermen; but I laid it down as a rule to proceed upon, that trade, fishing, and manufacturing, were put an entire stop to among them.

Now, the trade of ship-building has not only the advantage of selling timber (a mere drug in America) to great advantage, but of obliging those who bought it, at the same time to purchase some quantity of our hemp and iron. Thus, if we built 100,000 tons of shipping annually for foreigners in our northern colonies, it would make up the former amount 500,000 *l.*; and I am very well persuaded that this might be easily effected. Supplying other nations with shipping cheaper than they have it at present, would be no objection to this plan, since all the benefits they would

reap therefrom are not comparable to those which we should receive from taking their money. Nor do I think, in true politics, it would be the least advisable to refuse French gold for men of war thus built: For we may lay it down as a maxim, that the French will never want as many or more men of war than they can man: experience shews this; so that our enemy will not meet us with a ship the more for our selling them. And most assuredly, we had better take his money than let it be given either to the Swedes or the Genoese*.

At all events, however, at the same time that their iron and timber, &c. was purchased, and our manufacturers sold them, commissions should be given them to build all the ships they were able; the factors should then purchase and load them for Europe, and the vessels be here sold to the best account; but in such a manner as to make it answer better for our merchants to purchase them than build at home; and, as the business increased, vessels, cargoes, and all to be sold in different parts of Europe to whoever would buy them; or, in other words, to undersell all those countries who at present possess these trades.

In short, it is absolutely necessary that this nation (whatever means may be judged best) supply her colonies with manufactures as fully as possible; that is, so completely, that no fabric shall exist in them for sale: And if this point is well considered, its importance will appear clearly to all. For while our trade with most nations is, as we are told, on the decline, while our manufactures decrease, and heavy complaints come from all quarters, America is our only resource; and it is so noble a one, that we want nothing but the resolution to depend on that alone, and yet command more trade, wealth, and seamen than we have ever yet enjoyed. But if we suffer our colonies to supply themselves with manufactures, and even export them to others, we shall in another age make no more of our once flourishing American commerce than we now do of our once capital Levant trade. I know of no means to prevent these evils but such as I am at present sketching; and I return in this manner to the importance of the object, to display the better the necessity of providing staples of some

* When the Earl of O. was at Toulon, a French builder shewed him the Foudroyant just off the stocks. "There, my Lord," said the Frenchman, with no slight hauteur, "has the king of England such a ship?" "I don't know," replied his Lordship, coolly, "but I'll answer for it, he will have." — The Frenchman did not clearly understand him, but he comprehended his meaning better, when he said, "I am glad to see you build such fine ships, for I shall see this among others brought into Portsmouth harbour." — And so it happened, for Lord O. was at Portsmouth when she came in.

sort or other for these populous northern colonies, which must either be so managed or live by manufactures.

I have already remarked, that in their climate, which is not so favourable to the maintenance of the people as the more southerly ones, with respect, I mean, to staples, — That we cannot expect by any means so fully to supply them with manufactures but many families must manufacture part of their consumption; whereas in the southern colonies and sugar islands no one makes so much as a pair of stockings, or a pair of shoes, or any individual article of dress. And as there is, and must be, such a difference, possibly we should deduct 20*s.* a head from the supposed consumption of America in general, which was before found to be, 5*l.* and reckon that we might supply these northern colonies with British commodities to the amount of 4*l.* per head: 750,000 people (I reckon no increase, upon the supposition that the new fertile colonies would constantly drain them to that amount; it ought, however, to be so managed that they *should* do it, whether of themselves or not) at that rate would take off 3,000,000*l.* in goods of various kinds. I shall not deduct any thing upon account of their West India lumber trade, because their share is no great amount, and I think they might export it besides every thing I have sketched: the refuse of their raft trade would do for the West India market.

Let us now inquire how much of these 3,000,000*l.* we could take off them in the above-mentioned staples; and, first, for our own use:

Iron, timber, potash, and madder,	£. 740,000
Ships,	140,000
Wool, we might certainly take of them to the amount of	200,000
	<hr/>
	1,080,000

Before we proceed further, let us take a slight view of the benefits which would result from their supplying us even with this million. As I have supposed the trade and fisheries of these colonies transferred, as in all common policy they ought, to the mother-country, they consequently can have no fund wherewith to purchase necessaries of Britain but the amount of her importations from them, for which reason it ought not to be attempted to supply them with manufactures to a larger amount; for this plain reason, because they could not pay for them: and if we took from them no more than this million's worth of staples, we could attempt no more than underselling their manufactures to the amount of a million's.

lion's worth of our goods: And I should add, that even such a sale of British commodities would be attended with great effects; it would throw such a languor into the remaining two-thirds of their fabrics as would bid very fair for preventing their ever rising again to that pitch which had given umbrage to the mother-country. When once their manufactures were reduced to the mere supply of that part of their own consumption unsatisfied by Britain, they would then dwindle away in a regular proportion to the increase of Britain's importation of staples*.

As to the great importance of paying for 880,000 *l.* worth of the above goods in manufactures, instead of cash sent out of the kingdom, it is too obvious to need enlarging upon.

Now, as to the extending these imports for a foreign trade as well as an home consumption, all these advantages would, in such case, be proportionally extended.

Suppose we sell to Portugal and the Mediterranean iron, naval stores, and timber, to the amount of _____ *l.* 500,000

To other countries, _____ 200,000

Shipping, 100,000 tons, _____ 350,000

Madder and potash, _____ 150,000

l. 1,200,000

By means of taking this amount from the northern colonies, we should supply their demand of necessaries all but the sum of 720,000 *l.* Manufactures to which amount need not be an object of jealousy to the mother-country, in a climate so unfavourable to staples; not, however, that the above exportation might not be increased to that amount: I am confident it might, and that for too many reasons to insert here. But that, or any exportation at all, or even the supplying of our own consumption, depends totally upon the spirit with which the government carried the plan into execution. All the trades of the world are open to those who will sell the cheapest; and in proportion to the expence submitted to in the article of underfelling, to such a degree would the manufactures of the colonies decrease, and Britain's exportation of cash for the above-specified

* The operation of underfelling by an *exchange* of goods is very simple. It is nothing but a transfer of debts. Certain persons in the colonies supply the factors with 100,000 *l.* worth of iron and deals, and the factors supply other persons with the same amount of manufactures; a mere transfer of bills settles this at once. The *underfelling* lies in the price fixed upon the manufactures.

commodities lessen. In respect, however, to her own consumption, she would have double advantage, by means of the power of laying duties on the rival commodities. The vigour of the proceeding should in this, as in all other measures, be proportioned to the benefits in view. The exportation of 1,080,000 *l.* worth of manufactures for those commodities which we at present pay ready money for, every one will surely allow to be an object highly deserving the warmest endeavours to accomplish, and very well worth the expence requisite to effect it.

This expence would not amount to so much as many at first sight may imagine; perhaps it might be found, that the whole difference in a year or two might be made up by additional duties on the same imports from other nations. I see no reason why iron, for one article, should not be delivered in any part of Britain cheaper from our colonies than from Russia, as the American iron mines are in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast, while those of Russia are all in Siberia, at the vast distance of three or four thousand miles from Petersburg. Our American iron wants nothing but being brought to market to drive away that of the Baltick; but if it did not at once produce that effect, duties should be immediately laid, to give it the advantage.—The only expence therefore would be, the difference of the freight of the deals and timber between America and Norway, and the Baltick. This difficulty should be lessened by an additional duty on the latter, and the remainder made up at the expence of the nation, until the colonists were become expert in the trade, and consequently enabled to supply the demand cheaper than at first. All kinds of timber lie much nearer water-carriage there than in the east countries, and are of less value as they grow. The only superiority of the latter is, that which results, as Mr. Gee observed, from having been so long in the trade. The other superiorities of the Americans, aided by an additional duty, would, in all probability, bring the difference of freight to a trifle, since it is Norway alone that is nearer to Britain, the Baltick being almost equally distant, and even much further from the western coasts of Britain. However, the whole expence of the plan would consist in turning this scale, whatever it might amount to, for a few years. There can be little doubt but 50,000 *l.* a year would fully effect it. But if a much larger sum was requisite, it would be in satisfaction to lose the benefits of such a prodigiously advantageous effect, through a principle of false œconomy. For we should not only make a heavy attack upon the manufactures of the colonists, increase our own above a million sterling, and put an end to a trade which drains the nation of its cash, but at the same time prodigiously increase our seamen, and consequently our most important and truly national power.

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But

But it is now time to examine into the force of those objections which this proposal will probably meet with.

I. It may be asserted, that the employment of merchants, factors, &c. might soon degenerate into so many *jobs*, to the vast expence of the nation, but to very little effect in answering the wished-for end.

I readily admit the position, that such a plan *might* be made a job; and likewise, that when once it did become a mere job, all the good of it would be at an end. But then let me ask, Is this an objection to the plan, or to its *possible* execution? Are all measures bad that can be ill executed? I desire to know what parliamentary grants there are that cannot be made a job of? To object to a beneficial measure, because it admits of being badly executed, is just the same as to avoid curing a distemper and re-establishing health, because health may be abused. It is found a very necessary measure for the parliament to grant 200,000 *l.* a year for building and repairing of ships, and large sums frequently for harbours, fortifications, bridges, &c. all which most certainly *may* be made jobs of; whether they *are* or not, it is not my business to inquire. Now, does any man object to such grants, because of such possible evils attending them? By no means. There is no necessity of their being converted into jobs; but if *something* of that nature must, and will insinuate itself into the expending the public money, yet the eye of the people, and the ear of the House, are open to great abuses; and as to smaller ones, they are submitted to as a part of the expence. The objection against so advantageous a measure, because it is possible to abuse it, by being an argument that proves too much, proves nothing.

II. But, say others, the extensive nature of this plan would occasion many more abuses than are common, and the uncertainty of the expence open a multitude of doors to knavery.

The fact is contrary to this assertion; for the government already have in many instances infinitely more complex, uncertain, and extensive measures of expence to conduct than the proposed one would be. The providing for a military expedition; the hiring transports; the providing victuals, forage, bread, &c. &c. much of which is transacted through merchants, is an hundred times more complex and open to abuses than the plan before us.—Such business is carried on in time of war, when of course every department in the state has six times more business than in peace, and all the difficulties to be overcome proportionably greater. And as to the uncertainty of it, the latter vastly exceeds the former; for the

the proposed trade would be as regular as possible, the ports the same, and people dealt with the same. Why cannot the board of trade *contract* for such and such assortments of manufactures, as well as other boards contract for stores, bread, hay, oxen, and what not? Why cannot ships (only of a given burden however) be freighted with the one as well as the other? If a train or an army is to be brought from America, do not the government contract for transports? How much easier to freight back with iron, deals, &c. *But the prices of the commodities.*—These are as plain as the rest of the business. The factor receives a cargo of goods, and his directions are to sell them at the prime cost in the invoice; or at five, ten, fifteen per cent. above it, according to his directions. The iron, deals, potash, madder, wool, &c. returns consigned to different ports, to be sold likewise as per invoice, or as much above it as is thought proper. Is there any thing complex in this? Is the precariousness, openness to abuse, &c. any thing like equal to the services above-recited? and especially transacted in a time of peace without the hazards or extra-expences of war.

III. It would be injuring the merchants.

By no means. The benefits resulting from such a freightage would be vastly greater than any thing they could lose. But they would lose nothing; for when the American cargoes came to be sold, would they not have their profit on them as well as on those from the Baltick? But suppose they did lose by it, whose interests should give way, those of a particular set of merchants, or those of the whole community? I hope it will not be thought an injury to our manufacturers, nor to our sailors: the employment of both would be as twenty to one.

IV. But the Russians, if you did not take your iron and deals of them, as at present, would not let us have their hemp and flax, which we could not do without.

Was such an event to happen (which, however, is wonderfully improbable, in a commodity that is paid for in bullion) it would be the most fortunate circumstance of all. I have supposed throughout the proposal, that at the same time we executed it, the new colonies on the Mississippi and Ohio should be settled; there we might immediately raise all the hemp we wanted; for 500,000 people, who are now in want of employment in our own colonies, and would, as I before observed, settle in those tracts, (for which they have petitioned more than once) would raise us much more hemp than we have occasion for, and give us a trade in it as

well as a consumption. But if the present proposal was executed, and such hemp, through the want of management, (for it could be nothing else) was not produced as we expected, yet such an embargo upon that of Russia, as is here supposed, would at once execute the business, and give us enough of our own. For a proof of which, let us remember the great difficulties this nation was under in 1703 for the want of an immediate supply of pitch and tar for the royal navy, owing to a monopoly the Swedes had made of it, absolutely insisting upon their own price and their own navigation, upon which Dr. Robinson, the envoy, was ordered to remonstrate, which he did, but to no effect: upon which the bounty upon pitch and tar from America was given by the Parliament, the consequence of which was, we have ever since been supplied at *one-third* of the price we used to pay the Swedes, and the amount of the bounty much more than made up by the quantities exported to foreigners*. Now, for want of such impolitic measures in the Swedes before, we had annually paid them a large sum in cash for these commodities; and have done the same to this day to the Russians for hemp and flax, and never vigorously set about cultivating them in the plantations, (indeed we never had such opportunities as since the last peace) because the Russians condescended to take our money as usual; but if they were once to act the part of the Swedes, the consequence would be the same. But it is a most unhappy thing, that this nation will not adopt such necessary measures until absolutely *drove* to it. We shall never *command* hemp and flax until we settle the Mississippi and Ohio; nor ever want them after.

V. The expence would be too great for the nation (so incumbered) to bear; especially as it would all be paid by the public, whereas the benefits would enrich individuals alone.

The reader, doubtless, recollects, that I proposed the execution of this plan to last no longer than till the Americans were become skilful in the business, and the trade settled in the new channel; after which, such duties might be laid on the same goods from the east country as to amount to a prohibition, and enable the trade to America to support itself. Now, suppose the expence did amount to 50, 60, or even 100,000 *l.* a year, and that it was continued for even five years, which is granting more than is necessary, let me appeal to any unprejudiced person, if the benefit of supplying ourselves with such necessary commodities, instead of lying at the mercy of others;—of purchasing them with our manufactures, instead of

* See an account of the whole affair in Postlethwayte, *Art. Naval Stores*, with Dr. Robinson's Letter.

our bullion;—of setting to work a vast multitude of our present unemployed poor;—of increasing greatly the number of our sailors;—of laying the sure foundations of a considerable export in these commodities;—of reducing those manufactures of the colonies, which give such just alarm to this kingdom: Let me, I say, ask, if these are not objects worthy of our money, if such truly national designs would be a benefit to individuals alone? Let those gentlemen, who urge the necessity of such economy, express their ideas of the expences which *are* necessary, and those which *are not*; let us examine the first, and see if the list contains many five hundred thousand pounds as expedient as this.—But it is very common for many to preach against public expences, without explaining what is *necessary*: if that was done, we should find sums creep into the account, against which all their own arguments might be used, with six times the propriety.

III. *Introduce the Culture of Silk and Vines so effectually into the Tobacco Colonies, as to insure the Inhabitants making as much of both as possible.*

The only objection that ever was made to the northern colonies supplying the nation with timber was, the expence of freight on such a bulky commodity;—but in respect to silk and wine, the case is totally different. Even those who have been the warmest against hazarding the least expence in the former case, yet allow that we might certainly be supplied with these rich commodities. It answers greatly to bring silk even from the East Indies; and wines are frequently carried from Madeira to the West Indies, and brought from thence to England. All commodities of luxury will bear great expences: the freight bears by no means such a proportion to their full value as in those of necessity. The freight of silk is a mere nothing, and that of wines not considerable enough to make any difference on that account in the consumption. In these articles therefore, the nation would be at no expences of freight to bring the productions of our colonies upon a par with those of other nations.

That both wines and silk might be produced in the tobacco colonies, I have, I apprehend, already fully proved. There remains therefore at present only to examine into the means of extending their culture. Neither of these articles have (as I recollect) met with any encouragement from the legislature. The excellent Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, has offered some premiums for both
these

these objects, which shew that they think them of great national importance; but they are infinitely too trivial to effect the desired end; nor do I imagine that mere premiums, however considerable, would ever effect it.

The inhabitants of these colonies are very numerous, and not one in forty of them have any more notion of raising a vineyard or feeding silkworms, because of the Society's premiums, than the farmers in Britain have of cultivating madder upon that account. Here and there an ingenious planter may be found who will make attempts, but the number of such is infinitely too small to trust so great an interest of the nation to the chance of working its own way with no other assistance than that of premiums.

It is supposed that foreign vines might be cultivated in these colonies to the greatest advantage. Now, in what manner are planters in these countries to procure sets? And suppose a few spirited men had overcome many difficulties, yet, of what account would one or two vineyards, or mulberry gardens, be to the supplying six or seven hundred thousand people with staples? We may be assured, that all the Society's premiums can do is, to prove the practicability of the affair; but will never be attended with the execution of it; nor would bounties given by the British parliament effect much more.

What I would therefore humbly propose in this case would be, to procure from those parts of Europe, wherein raw silk is made, a considerable number of persons well skilled in the business; such, it is very well known, are easily to be had. Possibly the inhabitants of the Greek islands, &c. would be as proper as any. These people should, at the government's expence, be spread over those colonies purposely to instruct the people in the feeding and management of the worms, and the winding the silk. Where the spontaneous growth of mulberries was insufficient, the planters should be encouraged to propagate more; the worms should at first be given gratis to all; and the foreigners maintained by the government, while they moved about the country instructing the people; and afterwards settled in various parts of these colonies to make silk for themselves. If it was found that many of the planters and others continued obstinate, and would not engage in this business, care should be taken that they should have neighbours who would, that they might not be without examples before their eyes of the vast advantages of the practice. By which means all by degrees would come into a business which they found cost little or nothing, but yielded great returns.

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It is needless to mention any plan of assuring them of a market, silk being a commodity perhaps as marketable in all parts of the world as gold itself. Every pound they made would be immediately 20*s.* in their pocket. And we are assured on very good authority, that a middling family may, if they are skilful, attentive, and industrious, make 40 or 50*lb.* every year.

The peculiar advantage of this profitable business taking up not above five or six weeks in the year, and being no sort of hindrance to the making tobacco, cultivating vines, or the labour of common husbandry, would soon make it universal throughout these colonies. And it is an advantage which attends no other staple whatever.

In respect to vines, the government should act in the same manner;—that is, should supply with sets all that would accept them, whether of such as were imported from foreign countries, or such as it was thought proper to procure from the wild growths of the country. All should be tried; and proper persons, experienced in the culture of vineyards, employed in teaching those who received the plants the nature of their management. Probably the same persons who were carried over on account of silk would do likewise for this purpose; since in most indeed, I believe, in all parts of Europe where silk is made in any quantities, it is by the same people that cultivate vineyards. In those parts of the country where the soil, climate, and exposure promised fairest for success, in case the inhabitants did not readily engage, some should be induced to do it at all events, that fair trials might every where be made. From the accounts before quoted by various authors, there can be no doubt but various wines might be made in these provinces, as good of their sort as any in Europe; and such as would greatly lessen, if not quite put an end to, our importation of foreign wines; and I need not dwell upon the infinite benefits which would result from such an event;—and especially at a time when the trade to Portugal is following so fast our other branches of European commerce; that is, growing worse and worse every day. As the Portuguese decrease in their import of our manufactures, &c. it highly behoves us to lessen our imports of their wines.

It would, however, be absolutely necessary in the conducting of such an undertaking, to take care that the planter, when his wine was made, did not for a moment want a market: For there is in the whole extent of cultivation no damp equal to that of not being able to sell a product when raised. The produce of such vineyards as were inferior to others would

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they were sold for a little less, and the good should be sent to Britain, where they should be sold cheaper than in foreign wine; but I am not clear whether it would be doing them any favour to import them duty free. To render them very cheap would be a certain way of losing the consumption of the better sort of people, who, in all the articles of luxury, prize things pretty much according to their expence. If American wines were very easily to be had, it would never be the fashion to drink them. The most political plan would therefore be, to make not much difference in the price *at first*; but if they were really found (as they undoubtedly would be) equal in goodness to what we import of the same kinds from abroad, then the consumption would be at the command of the government, by means of additional duties laid upon the latter; so that none would fall too much in price, and yet inducements enough in play to tempt the people to drink the growth of the colonies: the consumption of which would, in some measure, depend upon the form: a Burgundy, or a claret, would probably be much sought after—though perhaps, were those wines as cheap as Port they would not be so much in respect; but this is nothing more than conjecture.

It is said that the consumption of wine in the three kingdoms is 1,500,000 l. a year in French claret alone. To calculate the whole consumption of the three kingdoms, in all sorts, at 3,000,000 l. cannot, therefore, be over the truth. Now, supposing only 200,000 l. of this quantity was supplied by the tobacco colonies, it would be a certain consumption of 600,000 l. worth of our manufactures. The people in these colonies appeared to be 750,000, and I before supposed 1,500,000 to leave them, and settle in the tracts of the Mississippi, &c. the remainder would therefore be 600,000, whose consumption of necessary manufactures amounts at the lowest to 3,000,000 l. If they each made 3 lb. of raw silk, and 200,000 l. worth of wine, and 300,000 l. in tobacco, the whole would amount to 3,700,000 l. or something better than 6 l. a head. No extravagant supposition, since it is but 1/3 more than the staples now raised in the rice colonies, and 1/2 less than those of the sugar islands. But, without extending the calculation farther than the amount of their certain consumption, or 1,500,000 l. it would be 2,650,000 l. more than 750,000 persons in these colonies now supply us with, and consequently an additional demand for our manufactures, &c. to that amount: And at the same time, all this people's share of the colony must put an end to at once, which necessarily amounts to this additional sum, either

purchased of their northern neighbours, or made amongst themselves, but chiefly the latter. Such would be totally demolished; for 150,000 people leaving the country to settle elsewhere, and such profitable staples at the same time introduced among the rest, would effectually ruin all the fabrics in the country. And, as to the after-increase of the inhabitants, Britain could reap nothing but advantages from it, while they were employed about such beneficial articles as wine and silk; the latter of which might be extended to any amount, without the least danger of wanting a market. The importance of all which circumstances is too obvious not to be clear; and the expence to the nation too small to require particular answers to the objections which may be made on that account.

IV. Introduce such fresh Staples into the southern-continental and Sugar Colonies, as the Soil and Climate would admit, with profit; extend the Culture of those not yet brought to Perfection.

The new staples which particularly require our attention, are cochineal, tea, and spices; and the old ones, which greatly want a more vigorous culture, are cotton, cocoa and coffee. The possibility of producing cochineal and spices has already been proved, and the probability of tea likewise; but, left to the attention of planters alone, they never will be effected; unless the government interferes, by giving proper encouragement to such undertakings, it is idle to think of such exceedingly beneficial events taking place.

These articles, however, would require but a small expence, and the employment of very few people, compared with the extensive business before sketched, concerning iron and timber. In respect to the execution, it would, in the first place, be necessary to gain as complete a knowledge of the nature and culture of those plants as possible, by such means as the government discovered to be the most likely to succeed. Plants, or seeds of the tea-shrub, in case it was thought not to be already (which, however, there is great reason to believe it is) in South Carolina, might be gained by dexterous management from China; and, in all probability, people with them to direct the cultivation; but neither one nor the other would ever be gained if the East India company had the least to do in the transaction, for reasons obvious enough. The opuntia or cochineal-shrub is found in great plenty in all our islands; the only thing requisite would be to gain the art of properly managing the insects: no difficult matter sure so near the Spanish colonies; and as to spices, there are proofs sufficient of their being already in the islands of Tobago and Granada,

as has been already displayed; so that the grand business would consist in making proper experiments upon materials already in our possession.

The proper method of doing this, would be to engage some intelligent, sensible planters, whose lands secured of the proper kind, to make fair, complete, and repeated trials; the tea, in the back, billy parts of the Carolinas; the spices in Tobago, and the cochineal in Jamaica, &c. The whole expence should not only be borne by the government, but the loss of the land (if it proved a loss) made good. A few acres would be sufficient for all these trials. Half an acre is quantity sufficient for a *spice-park*; all the sorts already found in the islands should be cultivated in a masterly manner, according to given directions, and then it would probably be found that the present inferiority of their produce arises merely from a want of cultivation. If some disappointments did happen, the scheme should nevertheless be continued in full vigour, with such variations from time to time as bid the fairest for removing all difficulties. The same encouragement and attention should be given to cochineal; the success of which cannot be doubted: And in respect to tea, a very small quantity of land, in different plantations, on such soils as bore the nearest affinity to that which in China produces it, would be sufficient for the trials. Many would doubtless be made before the true flavour was gained, even if the plant was procured with the utmost certainty; for there must be an art in the curing which nothing but experience could give, unless a few Chinese were gained to instruct our people.

That such experiments as these are extremely practicable, no one can deny; that success in them would be of vast importance to this kingdom, every body will allow; that the expence of making them would be very trifling, must be apparent to all: What objections then can be made to the undertaking? I flatter myself, none that are well founded. As to the expence, a few hundred pounds would effect it; but if it amounted to a few thousands, it ought nevertheless to be executed: for the benefits resulting from even a partial success, are infinitely great. We purchase all these three articles, and tea especially, with our bullion; we pay an enormous price for them, owing to their being all at present monopolies; whereas, could we produce them in our own settlements, they would be bought with our manufactures, and the culture extend, in matters of such vast value and demand, to any amount we pleased, for the purposes of foreign exportation: Nor would there be the least necessity for the public revenue being by these means hurt; since these commodities from our colonies would bear the present duties as well as what we at present import; and after certain quantities being produced, additional duties laid upon the latter

latter would throw the whole business into our own hands, without injuring the revenue a shilling; besides the great increase it would receive from what we exported to other nations, which would increase to a great height, considering the monstrous price fixed by the Dutch on spices being near sixty times the amount of the price at which they procure them. This is not a proper place to inquire accurately into our importation of these three articles; but the following sketch I am very clear is much under the mark, and reckoned at the prime cost.

Spices,	£. 150,000
Tea,	500,000
† Gochineal,	100,000
	£. 750,000

Now, supposing our consumption of these articles no greater, what a prodigious benefit would it be to the nation to purchase them with her own manufactures and produce, and to bring them home in her own shipping! Add to this the trade we should procure in them with foreigners. If such immense benefits do not prove the necessity of executing these plans, nothing can.

In respect of coffee, cocoa, and cotton, they are all produced in small quantities in our islands, so that to extend their culture, there are no difficulties to be encountered: some cotton is likewise raised in the southern continental colonies.—But we yet depend principally upon the Levant importation, for so necessary an article for our manufactures. Coffee, the French produce in their islands in very large quantities, even to the amount of above 10,000,000 of pounds annually, from which their profit must be immense; and it is well known that the little we raise is equally good with theirs. Our importation of coffee from the Levant and the East Indies is very considerable; one of the company's ships has been known to bring home above 1,000,000 lb. Chocolate is likewise another very great article of our consumption, which our own islands most undoubtedly might yield us; for while the Spaniards had Jamaica, their best and principal cocoa-walks were in that island. Nor can any culture be more profitable than this of cocoa. The produce of a walk being very considerable, and the expense but small: twenty negroes are sufficient to manage a plantation of 50,000 cocoa trees, which may produce, one

* About 4,400,000 lb. at 4 s. per lb. amounts to 880,000 £.

† The Spaniards bring annually above 900,000 lb. of it from their colonies.

year with another, 100,000 *lb.* of nuts; these, at about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per *lb.* the lowest price they are generally ever sold for in America, produce 1,875 *l.* which is 93 *l.* per head employed: Sugar itself does not near equal this. I cannot apprehend that we purchase of foreigners in these articles to a less amount than 250,000 *l.*—And as they are already known in our colonies, nothing is wanting but some encouragement to the extending their culture: Perhaps in this case a small bounty would effect the end without other assistance; and the consequences of supplying ourselves with all such commodities, without letting the industry of foreigners drain us of our specie for them, are too apparent to need any enlargement on.—We therefore find, that, in the preceding articles, this nation purchases of foreigners to the amount of a million sterling, and chiefly pay for in specie those very commodities which her own colonies might so easily yield her in exchange for her manufactures—that is, for the labour of her, at present, unemployed poor; and all this to be so easily effected, only at the expence of a vigorous attention to her interests, and the price of a few thousand pounds!

V. Introduce the Culture of Vines into Bermudas, and plant the Bahamas.

The Bermudas or Summer islands, being already peopled, want nothing but a staple, and none are so proper as vines; but the slight premiums of the society are much too inconsiderable to effect it. I shall not enlarge upon this head, as the conduct requisite for the same business upon the continent would be precisely necessary here.

It has been asserted, and the fact, if at all considered, cannot be doubted, that many people from the northern colonies would settle in these islands if their freight was found by the government, and a small fort built upon each island planted, for the inhabitants security against pirates and sudden invasions of an enemy. And, as there is already a governor and other officers established for all the Bahamas, nothing but a small fortification and garrison upon each island that was planted would be necessary; and they who know the rocky nature of some of their coasts, will easily conceive that the expence of a few small forts would be trifling compared to the very great advantages which would result from the scheme. And when plantations were formed, proper experiments upon various tropical productions should be encouraged, that the most beneficial culture might be the sooner discovered. It is astonishing that some of

* *Histoire Naturelle du Cocoa et du Sucre* 1720, 12mo.

our great nobility have not got grants of islands in this Archipelago, and people, and planted them; the soil and climate would ensure them a noble profit upon such undertakings, which redounds so infinitely to the honour of all those who have the spirit and capacity to execute them.

Let us now draw into one point of view the benefits which would result to Britain from remedying in the manner I have sketched, the defects of the present experiences in her colonies.

In the first place, their manufactures would be put down, and none for sale in a possibility of existing; all they could have would extend no further than what private people might make within their families for their own use.

Their trade and fishery would be transferred to the mother-country, which, by that means, would gain 30,000 seamen, and a million and a half sterling annually in freights.

Britain would receive additional staples from her colonies to the following amount, in exchange for her manufactures, which at present she purchases of other nations and chiefly with specie:

Hemp and flax,	£. 300,000
Iron and timber,	440,000
Potashes,	100,000
Madder,	200,000
Wine,	400,000
Raw silk †,	500,000
Wool,	200,000
Spices,	150,000
Tea,	500,000
Cochineal,	100,000
Cotton, coffee, and chocolate,	250,000
Carry over,	£. 3,140,000

* The consumption supposed 100,000 l. more.
 † This must be under the mark, as we pay Piedmont 200,000 l. and more to the Indies. See Postlethwayte, Art. *Silk* and *Pegu*.

Ditto;

Brought over,	£. 3,140,000
Staples, which would be sold to foreigners.	
Iron, timber and naval stores,	£. 700,000
Shipping *,	350,000
Madder and potash,	150,000
Tobacco, 100,000 hogheads,	500,000
For spices, tea and cochineal, hemp, flax and wine, we may certainly allow	200,000
Raw silk †,	2,500,000
	<u>4,400,000</u>
	£. 7,540,000

The reader doubtless remarks, that the article spices, tea, wine, hemp, &c. is so very low that we could not well fully supply our own consumption, and re-export so little, especially in articles which at present are monopolies.

The shipping is reckoned so low as 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per ton, a price which would certainly underfell all the world.

Silk, which makes so considerable an article, is a commodity of such universal consumption, that if the quantity was double, there could from thence arise no doubts of a sale.

Whatever objections may be made to any particular article or articles, the others should be at the same time examined, when it would be found that what one might be thought to exceed in, in another would bear a proportionate rise.

To this account should be added the duties upon the exported tea, spice, cochineal, and wine, which would all bear them well, and likewise on the tobacco; all which would amount to a very considerable sum.

The difference of importing many of these articles in our own ships, or before in foreign ones, particularly the iron, timber, &c. would amount to near 10,000 † seamen. And it would be calculating the navi-

* To obviate all objections, I have left out of this general account our own shipping.

† The total made was 3,000,000 *l.* See page 408.

‡ In 1747, the tonnage of the Swedish and Danish ships that came to British ports amounted to above 72,000 tons.

gation of the additional exports very low indeed, not to make them amount to 15,000 more. But if only 20,000 were gained in the whole, it would be a most prodigious benefit, and make the whole number up 50,000 additional seamen.

What an immense employment for our manufacturers would result from this system of policy. Were such a demand to exist, and in the regular manner which it certainly would, Britain would soon regain her lost million and a half of inhabitants, which some politicians assert has taken place since the revolution; and at the same time all our poor that *could* work would be employed, our rates prodigiously lessened, and no one in the nation maintained by the public but such as were decrepid, lame, blind, &c. Our vagrants would be seen no more. Employment, which yields maintenance, is the only means of banishing idleness.

The riches of the whole kingdom would increase; consumption would consequently increase, and with it prodigiously the public revenue; which, as I before observed, would likewise receive vast additions from the new duties. In such a situation, can any one doubt that the nation would not be better able to bear a debt of three hundred millions, than she is at present to support one of half the amount!

What immense consequences would attend such a conduct as I have sketched! The gain of 50,000 seamen—freightage to the amount of several millions—a fishery worth near half a million—the exportation of manufactures to the amount of above seven millions:—A prodigious increase of revenue. These are all articles of the utmost importance to her power, her wealth, and her population.

The consumption of manufactures and imports in all the British colonies at 1. a head amounts to	£. 12,500,000
Their present staples,	£. 3,880,550
The preceding additional ones, for our own consumption,	3,140,000
	<hr/> 7,020,550
If the plan was to be extended no further than our own consumption, their manufactures would yet amount to	5,479,450
Exportation,	4,400,000
	<hr/> 1,079,450
Their remaining manufactures, &c.	— — —

I have

I have formed this table to shew, that the preceding propositions are by no means so extravagant as many may suppose them; since we find that the full execution of it would not be sufficient absolutely to stop *all* manufacturing in the colonies:—That is, would not be sufficient to render our northern ones as beneficial to us in that respect as the southern-continental and the islands. As we have two millions and an half of subjects in that part of the world, it surely highly requires our attention to have the supplying them with manufactures totally to ourselves; and especially, when nothing is requisite to effect it but bringing to market such staples as their country will produce. This remaining million worth of manufactures, &c. must be supposed to be the family fabrics of the northern colonies, as I before remarked the impossibility of rendering their climate as beneficial as the southern ones. Indeed they would amount to much more, as the additions would arise in a much greater proportion from the southern settlements than from them. But if the plan was well executed it would be impossible for them to have any for sale; and as to their *home* ones, Britain would have no cause to be jealous of their amount.

S E C T. V.

Of the Continuance and Security of their remaining under the Dominion of Great Britain.

THERE is no point in the modern politics of this country that has been more debated, or that has occasioned a greater contrariety of opinions, than this of the continuance of the colonies under the power of the mother-country. But this difference of sentiment has resulted, in a great measure, from a want of clearly stating the case: if sufficient explanations had been used by those who have declared either on one side of the question or on the other, most of those opinions might have been pretty well reconciled; and yet at first sight nothing appears more contradictory. If the case is examined, it will be found to admit few absolute determinations; as will appear by the consideration of the following circumstances.

If it is laid down as a position, that the colonies will be eternally dependent upon Britain, the supposition must be founded upon reasons, which, when given, will discover certain events or circumstances as principally conducive to such an end, and a change in which might probably be attended with a change in the conclusion; so that the most determinate suppositions are formed upon preconceived premises.—On the other hand,

hand, as it is asserted that the colonies will undoubtedly throw off all allegiance to the mother-country, some period for the event must be fixed, depending either on their own riches, power, or situation, or on the conduct of the mother-country; so that in whatsoever light the most determinate assertions are viewed, yet they must depend, according even to the ideas of those who advance them, upon many circumstances which may either quicken or retard. And that this is the real case, the fact is too obvious to need much insisting on.

It may certainly be asked, Whether a colony, or a chain of colonies, who are very populous, possess a flourishing agriculture, and consequently the necessaries of life; numerous manufactures, an extensive commerce, and a beneficial circulation of internal wealth; it may be asked, I say, whether such a set of colonies are as likely to throw off the obedience to a mother-country, as another set in every respect the reverse? Does not this question answer itself? Is it not very clear, that the first are infinitely nearer independency than the latter? And will not that prospect recede in proportion to the circumstances omitted?

The great pillars and foundations of independency are a numerous people, possessing, through agriculture and manufactures, the necessaries of life. No matter what other circumstances unite, these must be necessary, and with them all can be of no effect. If the people be not numerous, on comparison with the other independent nations of the globe, all other advantages will not do; and even the most numerous people, if they are destitute, from whatever cause, of the necessaries which either agriculture or manufactures yield, must be dependent. If the sugar islands contained ten millions of people, as destitute of necessaries as they are at present, Britain would be as sure of their allegiance as she is at present—provided no power more formidable than herself at sea arose for their protection.

I add the last circumstance particularly, as it is one on which almost all the rest depends. In examining this point of the continuance of our colonies in allegiance to Britain, we must suppose the naval power of this country to continue as it is, for whatever circumstances may be found most favourable, yet they are not of the least value if our naval power did not give us the means of enjoying them. The connection between a mother-country and colonies, between whom the ocean intervenes, lies at the mercy of him who is most powerful on that element. If the Spanish colonies were to throw off the yoke of Spain, would the event depend on Spain? By no means: Britain would have it in her power most

assuredly to prevent the principal from reducing the dependents. I lay it down, therefore, as a maxim, that the dependence of the British colonies on the mother-country can only be made a question, while Britain is superior at sea: the moment she loses that superiority, her colonies can be dependent on her only through the courtesy of others. — I therefore previously suppose her to continue the first maritime power in the universe.

The first dependence of our colonies, as well as all their people, is, to change the terms a little, upon corn worked into bread, and iron wrought into implements; or, in other words, it is upon *necessary* agriculture and *necessary* manufactures; for a people who do not possess these, to think of throwing off the yoke of another who supplies them with them, is an absurd idea. This is precisely the case with our sugar islands. Let us suppose the continental colonies to be as happy in the *necessary* agriculture as they really are, but to be absolutely without manufactures, could they throw off their allegiance to Britain be their numbers what they would? No, certainly; for that is nothing more than supposing they should throw off their allegiance to hoes and spades, and coats and shoes, which is absurd to imagine: can any one imagine that a rebellion can be carried on among a people, when the greatest success must be attended with the loss of half the *necessaries* of life!

Let us suppose this island to be a French colony, that France is the first naval power in the world, and that we have a very flourishing agriculture, but *no* manufactures. We are affronted at the conduct of our masters, rebel, and drive every Frenchman out of the island: What consequences would attend such success, even if we were three times as numerous as our masters? Why, such a rebellion must infallibly wither away of itself, because the interests of the whole people would be at once ruined. The ground even would be untilled for want of implements, and the people become naked for want of cloaths: How can that be, says one, when we possess and work iron mines, and shear several millions of sheep? Because iron and wool unwrought is as useless as stone; and it can never be imagined that a people would submit to all the evils of their want, until individuals, by an apprenticeship to *genius*, discovered the method of working the one into plough-shares, and the other into cloth. The rebellious army and its chiefs, suppose them an hundred thousand if you please, would not only have the force of France to contend with, but that of every individual in their own nation: by taking up arms, they laid, in fact, an interdict upon the use of the earth and water — they would tell the people that they rebelled to free them, that they

they might flarye in freedom. That, this supposition is no extravagant one, is verified in our own sugar illands, and in the southern-continental ones, supposing they had no connection with their northern neighbours. To assert that such people, however numerous, could rebel against Britain, is as much as to say, that they could rebel against their meat and drink.—From hence we may determine, that, as long as our colonies are *totally* free from manufactures, it is *impossible*, in any case whatever, that they should throw off their allegiance; and likewise, that the difficulties, in the way of such an event, are proportioned to the manufactures such colonies possess.

I speak of manufactures here particularly, because they are absolutely necessary to form an independent nation: but the reader certainly supposes that a flourishing commerce and fisheries would, in all cases be of infinite assistance to a people in compassing such an event: And also, that the more military men they had among them, and the instruments and necessaries of war, would all at such a time be of vast importance. Let us now, according to these ideas, take a view of the present state of the British colonies on the continent of North America,

They form a territory which, in respect of agriculture, possesses all the necessaries of life—and that to so complete a degree, as always to have a superfluity ready for the demand of those that want; but never are in want themselves. In every thing respecting food they are perhaps the most independent people in the univertic. As to manufactures, they possess most of those which are real necessaries, being supplied by Britain only to the amount of less than one eleventh part * of their consumption; and as they trade to the West Indies, in manufactures to the extent of above a million sterling, there is great reason to believe that even this eleventh consists of scarce any *necessaries*, as it supposes the amount of their consumption of European imports to be chiefly superfluous manufactures and India goods: and, from the preceding review of them, there arises great reason to believe that this is really the case. So that I very much question whether the consumption of necessary manufactures in these continental-colonies is one-twentieth part supplied by Britain. But as in the preceding sheets I made a regular distinction between the respective colonies on this continent, founded on their production of

* Their consumption, £. 11,000,000
 Their ditto of imports, £. 1,188,000
 negroes, 210,000

978,000

staples, and as I drop that distinction at present, it is necessary to explain the reasons for this conduct.

The southern continental-colonies were found to export staples to an amount sufficient to purchase all their necessaries, and to have no manufactures of their own; for which reason, had they been disjointed from the others, as the sugar islands are, they, of course, would have been taken no notice of in this inquiry; but as they are joined to the others, who possess such an abundance of manufactures as to be able fully to supply them, and are at the same time so much more numerous and powerful, these southern people must be supposed to follow the fortunes of their stronger northern neighbours, as they might do it without inconvenience, relative to the import of necessaries: and if any general prejudice against the mother-country, or other cause acting equally on all, there can be little doubt but these weaker colonies might be induced to join the stronger ones, and especially as the force of the latter might so easily be exerted against them. For these reasons, it is requisite to speak of our continental-colonies under this head in general, and to omit those distinctions which before were so necessary. But if this method was not followed, and the northern ones alone treated of, yet it would in the end be the same thing, for the loss of those of our colonies which possess manufactures, however well inclined the rest might be, would be attended with the loss of all.—If the first succeeded in their rebellion, they would undoubtedly succeed in drawing after them the latter.

The British colonies, therefore, on the continent of North America, are not only independent in respect of agriculture, but very nearly so in that of manufactures, for the supply of a twentieth of their necessary ones is but little removed from independency; and if their present conduct in the determination of fully supplying themselves, and the resolute means taken to effect that end be considered, this twentieth, or whatever other proportion it may be, will, most assuredly, soon dwindle to nothing.

But it is not only in agriculture and manufactures that our colonies are so nearly independent of their mother-country—they possess a flourishing commerce, a very considerable fishery, and upon the whole a navigation, which not long since employed within themselves 30,000 seamen. What their commerce precisely is at present I know not, but it is doubtless very considerable. These are more than possessions of necessity; they are, to colonies, those of superfluity and power. No less a judge than Sir Josiah Child, a century ago, consequently before our settlements had made such strides as at present, declared the danger of colonies possessing trade and navigation:

and

and the remark was founded in true and sound politics. Whatever increases the power of settlements, whose allegiance can be a moment doubted, increases the cause of such doubts, and gives them fresh opportunities to effect the design. Naval power is that which Britain should be most jealous of. While the British colonies possess many hundred ships of their own, navigated by many thousands of sailors, and trading directly from their own ports to those of foreign powers, which is the case with nine-tenths of our American ones, they have a constant intercourse open with those whose best interest may urge them to give such assistance to the designs we are at present supposing, as would be most necessary to the people who harboured them. From whence it results, that trade and navigation, although it be not absolutely necessary to effect a revolt, yet would, undoubtedly, be of admirable use in the conducting it.

The navigation, however, of our American colonies, has been more than once exerted in actual feats of power, in carrying on a war against the enemies of Britain indeed; but the same power might be exerted against her; and, in the case of a revolt, most certainly would. "We have been here," says an American writer, "but little more than one hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war (that of 1744) united, was greater both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in Queen Elizabeth's time *." What therefore must it have been in the late war! Besides such a formidable naval force, they have raised, paid, and armed great armies. During the last war they kept an army of above thirty thousand men on foot. They have founderies of cannon, magazines of war, arsenals, forts, and fortifications; and even victorious generals among their own troops. — They have a standing militia; and constantly have the means of raising and arming a formidable body of forces. Let it not be imagined, that I am drawing a comparison between the power of Britain and her colonies; far from it: I am only touching upon a few concurrent circumstances, which add to the grand ones of an independent agriculture and manufactures. Supposing that the latter are of capital importance to a people about to throw off the dominion of another, the former are likewise of vast consequence to the attempt, and would render the execution much easier than it could be without them.

But perhaps it will be said, If these circumstances concur so strong at present, why do they not throw off the dominion of Britain; — or rather,

* *Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, annexed to the Interests of Great Britain,* p. 56.

why did they not, when they were so exasperated at the act of parliament which taxed them in stamps? To which I answer, That powerful as these several circumstances undoubtedly are, yet the general foundation upon which their operation must be laid, is the number of the people. All I have asserted is, that in all cases an independent agriculture and manufactures are necessary; and the other circumstances of trade, navigation, and military force, by sea and land, of great importance. But it does not from thence result, that these united among a million of people, spread over an immense breadth of country, will enable them to throw off the dominion of such a nation as Britain; or among two — or even three millions of people. All I have attempted to prove is, that these circumstances combined, most undoubtedly may enable our colonies, when arrived at a *certain* degree of population, to become an independent nation. But precisely to fix the degree of populousness, would be absurd; since even the effect of that would and must depend on external circumstances: A union of several, peculiarly favourable to the event, would render the execution easier to three millions of people than it might otherwise be to six. — Thirty thousand seamen, twenty sail of the line, a possibility of collecting twenty thousand veteran troops, a train of artillery, and magazines of military stores, the existence or non-existence of these circumstances would, it is very evident, prodigiously accelerate or retard the execution; and how much likewise would depend upon the situation of Britain at the time! For instance, whether she was in the midst of a successful or an unsuccessful war; — in the midst of a secure peace or a doubtful contest: A certain concatenation of events might give the colonies an opportunity of not only striking the blow, but preventing all future hopes in the mother-country of reversing it. The effect of external circumstances therefore must be great.

Is it in the power of the colonies *at present* to throw off the dominion of Britain? It is impossible to say what unthought-of circumstances might effect; — but in all human probability, to every appearance, Britain would now be able not only to extirpate their trade, their manufactures, their agriculture, but even the very people themselves, if they made such an attempt. But then, the present moment, in relation to all external circumstances, is peculiarly unfavourable to such a design.

But some writers have prophesied their eternal subjection, owing to the variety of interests among them, — the numerous and distinct provinces, governments, charters, and what not; asserting, that these will for ever prevent the possibility of such an union as would be necessary to bring

about

about the event we are at present considering. — These circumstances are, doubtless, favourable to Britain, and might in certain situations prove of some consequence; — but then, in certain others, they might not have the least effect. In any general disgust taken, a similarity of sentiment among them is the consequence, and an union of their hearts would soon be followed by an union of their hands. Could we ever have a stronger proof of this than in the furious opposition the stamp act met with? A few years before the French and their Indians made the most desperate and cruel attacks upon them. The government demonstrated clearly to them all, that the least union of councils and force would extirpate their enemy; and all the attention possible was given to unite them against the enemy; — but nevertheless, they continued broken and disunited; and had it not been for the efforts of Britain herself, the enemy would have ravaged their provinces to the very coast. — “See,” said the advocates of this opinion, “how likely it is that the colonies should ever unite against their mother-country! You cannot unite them against the common enemy!” — Their enemy is destroyed, the peace is made, and then comes an act of parliament to tax them. In a few weeks after they are all in flames; — their opposition is universal; — their determinations general; — a committee of representatives from all the assemblies meets at New York to concert measures of defence against the act. In short, one soul animates them all, from the frozen regions of the north to the burning sands of the south; all firmly united in the most determined resolution to oppose the authority of Britain. Now, this fact proves (or it proves nothing) that, difficult as it might be to unite them against the enemy, who were daily cutting their throats, yet an union against Britain was not only possible, but easily effected. And we may from hence, by analogy, conclude, that in any future time, when other circumstances combine to favour a revolt, this of the union will be the last that is wanting.

But here it may not be amiss to consider the progress of those circumstances which are most favourable to a revolt, according to what at present appears to be the system of British policy with respect to her colonies.

The extension of their settlements is now limited to the heads of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean. I have already proved, I apprehend, as clearly as the case will admit, from the concurrent testimonies of those best acquainted with their state, that these limits are sufficient for very little more than the purposes of common husbandry. Their export of tobacco has long been at a stand, while the number of people in the tobacco colonies are more than doubled. All increase of staples depends at present upon the southern ones, which have and do increase,

and

and will continue it as long as they have a fresh supply of land, by retiring backwards.—The most advantageous part of the country, however, for near two hundred miles from the coast, is taken up, and the mountains will be sooner reached than many people imagine. However, the case of these colonies is not of the importance of the northern and central ones, in the present inquiry, as they are not a tenth-part so populous and powerful. Now, tobacco being the only staple we receive from above 1,850,000 people, and in a situation, from a want of fresh land, which must daily decline, nor imports from them will fall to nothing, in proportion as the people increase. These 1,850,000 will, in 25 years, be 3,700,000, and, long before they will be so numerous, probably in less than ten years (as it begins to be the case at present) tobacco will be much less profitable to cultivate than the *necessaries of life* for supplying such an increasing people; which powerful cause, co-operating with the wearing-out of their rich lands, will reduce their tobacco exports to nothing. So that this numerous people will have nothing to sell in return for European imports but the produce of their trade, and their fisheries. The late regulations made in Britain has greatly reduced the profits of their trade; and supposing they have increased their fishery in proportion, yet both must be infinitely disproportioned to supply them with European commodities; the consequence of which will be, these 1,850,000 increasing every day, must manufacture totally for themselves; and the more their numbers and manufactures increase, the more profitable will it be to raise the necessaries of life: *all* planters then will be converted into common farmers; so that these people will then form a nation of husbandmen, manufacturers, and fishermen: Britain's fishery, and not improbably that of France too, will fall into the hands of those who are so much better situated for it than either. Now, before we extend this supposition further, I should remark, that this situation of these colonies would to Britain (as far as respected them alone) be no better than an actual revolt; for all she would in such a case enjoy more than after the revolt, would be merely their nominal allegiance. And I should also observe, that this is *now* the case with those I have distinguished by the title of the northern colonies;—inasmuch that Nova Scotia, Canada, New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, would be nearly of as much benefit to this country buried in the ocean, as they are at present.

But to proceed with my supposition.—

These colonies will arrive at the state I have supposed, infinitely sooner than their territory will be peopled to the utmost number of inhabitants it will support. Their bounds of the rivers heads will leave them

300,000 square miles of territory, (without reckoning the government of Canada) or 192,000,000 of acres; which, allowing ten acres a head, will maintain 19,200,000 inhabitants. But it will by no means affect my argument, if twenty acres a head are allowed; the number then would be 9,600,000. In five and twenty years, by natural increase, they will be near four millions: and what dependence such a people, possessing all the necessaries of life within themselves, and a considerable trade, fishery, and navigation, will have upon Britain, I leave any one to judge. But this supposition takes in none of the southern colonies: if we come to add their increase, we shall presently find our American subjects growing every day infinitely more numerous, at the very time they are growing more and more independent. Britain herself is supposed to contain between seven and eight millions of people. What number of American subjects, *totally* employed in raising staple commodities for her to manufacture and sell, thereby increasing *her* navigation and power in proportion to *their* population, such a number could retain in subjection, I cannot pretend to conjecture, but am inclined to believe a much greater than we at present conceive. What number, however, possessing all the necessaries of life, and I might add war, she could retain in obedience, is much easier to be conjectured. There can be no great difficulty in supposing, that five or six millions of people so circumstanced might, by making a proper use of opportunities, very easily become *totally* independent. It is but a wild conjecture to fix on any certain number, but I apprehend there is as great a probability of the colonists having the power to revolt *before* that period, as that they will remain subjects to us *after*.

But Britain, it may be said, keeps a standing army of ten thousand men amongst them.—I cannot apprehend this circumstance to be of the least consequence; for if the colonies cannot unite in such a manner as to cut off at one blow that number of troops, so amazingly scattered, they most assuredly cannot unite enough to face the power of Britain. To suppose they cannot demolish a scattered ten, or even twenty thousand men, is, in other words, saying they are not able to throw off their allegiance; but wherever we have supposed them to make the *greater* effort, we are certainly to suppose them able to make the *smaller*.

It is not to be conceived, that Britain will increase her army that is quartered in America in proportion to the increase of the people there, and especially while her own profit will decrease; for that would be adding her expences as her power of supporting them fell away; and we have had a sample of the effects of taxing the colonies to pay troops among them. If the taxes necessary to pay ten thousand men were laid

on them, Heaven knows what might be the consequence; but such an event had much better happen now than hereafter,——while the colonies are not formidable, than when they are exceedingly so.——The effect of such a measure twenty years hence is extremely easy to predict.

But, without limiting events to certain periods, it should be considered, whether Britain is populous and powerful enough to keep in allegiance any number of Americans whatever independent, in respect of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce? Is it to be supposed that we can be secure of the submission of ten or twelve millions of them so circumstanced, and whose communication with her will consist alone in receiving her governors? It is impossible to state exactly the balance of power between Great Britain and North America; but the latter enjoys some peculiar advantages, which are of very great consequence. In case of a rupture between them, it is the interest of all those powers in Europe, whom Britain rivals either in general power, naval dominion, trade, commerce, or manufactures, that the colonies should become independent;——that is, it is the interest of all our neighbours:——consequently, we should not only have the precise power of the rebels to deal with, but the probable assistance they would receive from others, in respect of supplies of military stores, artillery, or whatever else might be most wanting to them; and this in an especial degree, if we were engaged in a war. The most sanguine admirers of the power of this country, will allow, that we *might* have our hands so full at home, as to be able to give but a weak attention to the rebellion of several millions of subjects above a thousand leagues off.

“The center of power,” says governor Pownal, “instead of remaining fixed, as it now is, in Great Britain, will, as the magnitude of power and interest of the colonies increases, be drawn out from the island by the same laws of nature, analogous in all cases, by which the center of gravity of the solar system, now near the surface of the sun, would, by an increase of the quantity of matter in the planets, be drawn out beyond that surface. Knowing therefore the laws of nature, shall we, like true philosophers, follow, where that system leads to form one general system of dominion, by an union of Great Britain and her colonies; fixing, while it may be so fixed, the common center in Great Britain, or shall we, without ever seeing that such center must be formed by an intercommunion of the powers of all the parts which form the dominions of Great Britain, like true modern politicians, and from our own narrow temporary ideas of a local center, labour to keep that center in Great Britain by force against increasing powers, which will finally, by an overbalance, heave that center itself out of its place? Such measures would be almost as wise as

his,

his, who, standing in a scale, should thrust his stick up against the beam to prevent it from descending, while his own weight brought it the faster down *." And another very sensible writer remarks, to the same purpose: "A ship might as well attempt to carry her lading hung at the end of her boltspit, as a government to manage a people widely dispersed, and more numerous towards the extremities than towards the center †."

But it may be said, that these opinions are applicable alone to the increase of people in America, and not to particular modes of Britain's policy respecting them. Dropping Mr. Pownall's idea of a union therefore for the present, let us inquire how far it is probable, that a good policy may prevent the evils already explained.

I have before examined the importance of keeping the inhabitants of colonies absolutely without manufactures; because, as the most essential independency consists in the possession of agriculture and manufactures, and as most, if not all colonies, must possess the first, it is therefore highly requisite to keep them from the latter. We must therefore suppose the plan laid down in the last section vigorously pursued, the present manufactures of the colonies reduced to nothing, and effectual care taken to prevent any fresh ones being set on foot. All their trade, navigation, and fisheries, in the possession of the mother-country, and the people totally employed upon staple commodities.—Notwithstanding all this, the *increase* of the people, it is said, is the same.

True; and they certainly would increase, until they, as in the former case, became independent of Britain. I cannot throw my eye over a map of the world, and look at these islands and North America, and imagine that the utmost force of human politics could *for ever* secure the obedience of the latter to the former. But there is this great and material difference between the systems of good and bad politics.—The consequence of the *last* is, the continuation of loss by two-thirds of our American possessions, and the certainty of losing all in a few years. But by means of the *first*, all are immediately converted to profit; and the continuance of that profit ensured for as long a term as nature herself will allow.—In one case, we reap all the *advantage* that is possible; in the other, submit to greater *losses* than are necessary.

There are many reasons for believing that Britain might, by pursuing an advantageous system, secure, for a very long period, the allegiance of her

* *Administration of the Colonies*, Appen^d. p. 17.

† *Reflections on the Policy proper to be observed*, &c. p. 5.

colonies. The following, among other effects relative to this point, would be the consequence of the plan sketched out in the preceding section.

The people would depend on Britain for those necessaries of life which result from manufactures.

The cultivation of staples would be more profitable to them than any other employment whatever.

The sale of those staples would depend on Britain.

The people would all be spread over an immense country as planters; — none of them collected in towns*.

To which circumstances I shall add, in respect to Britain's further policy,

That she should abide by the boundaries fixed already to the old colonies, that of the rivers heads; and all further settling to be in *new colonies*, wherever they were traced.

That she should keep the inland navigation of the continent, that is, of all the great lakes and navigable rivers, to herself, and not suffer any *sets* of men to navigate them, and thereby communicate from one part of the continent to another.

That she should never suffer any provincial troops or militia to be raised, but reserve intirely to herself the defence of the frontiers.

That she should throw whatever obstacles she could upon all plans of communication from colony to colony, or conveniencies of speedy removals from place to place.

That in proportion as any colony declined in staples, and threatened not to be able to produce a sufficiency of them, the inhabitants should receive such encouragement to leave it, as *more* than to drain its natural increase, unless new staples were discovered for it.

* This point, which is of infinite importance, would pretty fully be occasioned by other parts of the plan. But, to ensure so great a point, no new towns should be suffered, nor even villages; than which nothing could be easier to manage: nor would they be any where necessary but by the magazines of naval stores for loading ships. All possible decrease of numbers in the cities already in being, should be effected. So systematically absurd is it to found towns and cities, as Britain has hitherto constantly done, in all the colonies she has formed.

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A people circumstanced as the North Americans would be, if such a system was fully and completely executed, could not possibly even *think* of withdrawing themselves from the dominion of Britain, until their staples failed them, and they were *drove*, in spite of all laws and prohibitions, to herd together in towns for the purposes of manufacturing those necessaries which their staples would not pay for. No matter what their numbers might be, they would remain subject to the mother-country as long as she could provide them with staples, and that principally would depend upon providing their increase with fresh land. It is true, she would find an end of her territory at last, and then the natural course of things would form towns and manufactures of that increase which she before took off by means of plenty of land. A connection would then arise between town and town, and colony and colony; *numbers* would feel that strength which results from *connection* alone, and the influence of the mother-country would be too weak to oppose the consequences.

That this system would last several ages, there is no doubt; for, until the event above deduced came to pass, Britain's power, her population, her riches, her navigation, her maritime power, would all increase with the increase of the colonies, as long as they demanded their manufactures of her; consequently, the proportion of power between the mother-country and her dependents would not be destroyed in favour of the latter, as long as the causes which occasioned an increase in the one had the same effect on the other. There can be no comparison between the power of Great Britain with 10,000,000 of subjects united, possessing formidable armies, and yet more potent fleets, — and that of 30 or 40,000,000 of people scattered over such an immense continent as North America. I will venture to assert, that five millions of people in our colonies, as they are at present situated, would be more dangerous to Britain than ten times as many situated as I have sketched. But when once (from whatever cause) towns arise, and manufactures are introduced, that people, whose only weakness consisted in the want of connection, would feel that power which policy had kept even from their imagination. — It may be said, How are we to procure staples? — What are we to do with them? &c. &c. All, I pretend to assert, are, the consequences of employing all the Americans upon staples. — If Britain omits to find a market for them, or if she omits to supply manufactures in return, there is an end of that conduct which occasioned those consequences. They, however, who will well consider the articles of *general consumption*, and the *population* which results from *regular employment*, will not, I apprehend, put a conclusion so soon to the above supposition as the want of fresh land.

But the event at last comes, and the colonies can no longer be employed on staples. What will then be done, I do not pretend to foretell; but may I deviate from my subject into a supposition that has but a slight connection with it? The King of Great Britain in that period will be much wanting to himself if he does not determine, at all events, to reign over the most numerous part of his subjects. Let him man his royal navy, and at the head of a gallant army, and those who will follow royalty, transfer the seat of empire to that country, which seems almost peculiarly formed for universal dominion. In such an age, the monarch who reigns over America will figure very differently from him who commands in Britain alone. There would, however, be very little difficulty in supposing the *total* converse of the present case;—America to be the seat of government, and Britain the dependent*.

However,

* There is some amusement at least in reflecting upon the vast consequences which some time or other must infallibly attend the colonizing of America. If we consider the progress of the empires which have hitherto subsisted in the world, we shall find the short duration of their most glorious periods owing to causes which will not operate against that of North America. Those empires were formed by conquest; a great many nations, different in character, language, and ideas, were, by force, jumbled into one heterogeneous power: it is most surprizing that such dissonant parts should hold together so long. But when the band of union, force, was weakened, they returned to their original and natural separation; language and national character formed many sovereignties out of the former connected varieties. This, however, will be very different with North America. The habitable parts of that country, including the dominions of Britain and France, and of Spain, north of latitude 30, contain above 3,500,000 square miles. It would be very idle to remark, that this includes what at present does not belong to our North Americans. If they wanted it, I warrant it would soon be theirs. This extent of territory is much greater than that of any empire that ever existed, as will appear by the following table:

Persian empire under Darius contained	—	—	1,650,000 square miles.
Roman empire in its utmost extent,	—	—	1,610,000
China,	—	—	1,749,000
Great Mogul's,	—	—	1,116,000

The Russian empire, including all Tartary, is larger than any of these. But I might as well throw into the American scale the countries about Hudson's Bay, for the one is as likely to be peopled as the other, whereas all I have taken in will assuredly be so. Besides, North America is actually peopling very fast, which is far enough from being the case with the Russian desarts.—Now, the habitable part of the present British dominions alone in North America contains above 1,200,000 square miles, or almost equal to any of the above. But the whole, as I before observed, is 3,500,000, or more than the Persian and Roman together. In respect therefore to extent, and the means of maintaining numbers of people, it is superior to all.—But then comes the advantage which is decisive of its duration. This immense continent will be peopled by British subjects, whose language and national character will be the same. The few Frenchmen in it, or foreigners imported by us, will be confounded by the general population, and the whole people, physically speaking,

will. So that the seeds of decay, sown in the very formation of the ancient empires, will have

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However, without supposing this to be the case, is it not the business of this country to ward off such a blow, by a series of political management, as long as possible? And as it is easy to foresee what must come at last, to prepare for the event, by not having her whole dependence fixed upon America alone. If she has arose to her present power by means of the possession of colonies, it surely behoves her to provide fresh settlements to succeed the benefits which have resulted from the old ones, that she may not fall into a state of contempt on such a loss of manufactures, trade, and navigation, as must ensue whenever her colonies become independent. But I forbear at present to extend this reflection.

have no existence here. The conquest of South America by such an empire would be no political conduct; but I do not in this respect think it would endanger the national character, because the number of people in that continent is very few in comparison with what the other will soon contain; nor will they increase as long as such rich mines are worked among them; — and likewise, on account of those few not being original nations, bred, if I may so express it, on the soil, (the case with North America) but only the off-sets of Europe budded in the pestiferous mines; — all of whom presently sink into nothing. — However, there is no necessity to extend the supposition so far.

To these advantages we should likewise add others of great importance. The situation of the empire admits of no attacks but those of a yet more powerful one, by sea, which in fact is of none. South America, for a million of reasons, too long to be here inserted, can never, (supposing herself not to fall before the other) by many degrees, be equal in power. And this benefit has never been enjoyed, nor is at present by any empire in the world. Further, the peopling of this vast tract, from a nation renowned in trade, navigation, and naval power, has occasioned all the ideas of the original to be transplanted into the copy; — and having been so long enjoyed, with the amazing and unparalleled situation for commerce between both Europe, Asia, and the great southern continent, and at the same time possessing, above other countries, the means of building, fitting out, and maintaining a great navy; — the inhabitants of this potent empire, so far from being in the least danger from the attacks of any other quarter of the globe, will have it in their power to engross the whole commerce of it, and to reign, not only lords of America, but to possess, in the utmost security, that dominion of sea throughout the world, which their British ancestors enjoyed before them! — None of the ancient empires therefore, nor the present one of China, which sell a prey to a handful of Tartars, can be compared to this of North America, which will as surely exist, as the land is now in being that will once be trod by the first people the world ever knew.

“Il est vrai,” says a French writer, “que la position libre & heureuse de l’Amérique septentrionale, si les colonies Angloises parviennent à ne pas paier le droit de contrôle pourra déranger beaucoup toutes nos combinaisons Européennes. Des pais immenses, fertiles & neufs, dans lesquels il n’y auroit ni impôts ni milices puisqu’il n’y a plus d’invasion à craindre pour elles, mériteroient l’attention la plus serieuse de la parte de tous les gouvernemens; & la politique sera forcée de tourner toutes ses vues du côté de la bien-faisance avec plus d’attention encore qu’elle ne l’a fait. Les états qui feront les plus tard usage de cette remarque se trouveront à coup sur dans l’impossibilité de remédier au mal: car la grandeur des peines ou des servitudes ne fait qu’accroître l’atrocité des mauvaises mœurs; le remède n’est pas là.” *Principes et Observations Oeconomiques*, tom. ii. p. 143.

But

But here it may doubtless be asked, Why not form a union between Great Britain and North America, and by that means prevent the consequences I have sketched from taking place? In answer to which, I do not pretend to offer objections to the plan, because I think it would ensure to a *Briton* the dominion of the country, and probably bring about that revolution which I hinted at before, viz. America being the principal, and Britain the dependent, which may be thought better than the colonies, being totally disjointed from her by throwing off their allegiance; but that it would by any means insure this country the seat of government, I very much question: that point indeed appears to be impossible when the colonies are come to be very numerous and possess manufactures. For it is extremely doubtful, whether such a potent people as I have sketched, would submit to send their representatives to meet those of such a little paltry place as Britain, at the distance of above a thousand miles. So that when Mr. Pownal mentioned the union between them, in analogy to the attractive center of the solar system, he certainly meant that the seat of government should be attracted by the superior gravity, wherever that existed, or else his comparison could not be just.

But, without looking into futurity, if this union did take place, I do not see any effect it would have of itself that was beneficial to Britain: If the plan I before laid was *on that account* to be executed, so far it would be advantageous; but then, all the benefits that resulted from it would equally result from such a system of policy without it. Whatever the government of the colonies is, it is the making of staple commodities alone that can prove advantageous to Britain: no union upon earth, nor any change that did not employ the Americans upon their culture, instead of manufactures, trade, fisheries, &c. would have any effects that we are in want of. And why such a change should be expected more from the union than from our own ideas of the necessity, I cannot discover. Upon what terms such an union was ever thought of I know not, but probably upon those of consolidating the colonists and ourselves into one people; but whether upon such or not, certainly they would enjoy in consequence of it a free trade; and there wants no remarks upon that to prove, that any trade is very contrary to the proper business of colonies and the interest of Britain.

But there remains another circumstance which is not a trifle: Would the colonies accept of an union? Probably they would accept of Britain's sanction to their manufactures and free trade, though I am not clear in that: but they would undoubtedly reject a partial union. It does not

not appear that the last would be of any advantage to Britain; the first would certainly be a prejudice.

Upon the whole, in whatever light this point of the independency of the colonies is viewed, it appears that any conduct in Britain, except that of the employing them on staples alone, in the manner sketched in the preceding section, will be vain and useless:—That no union will make amends for the want of this policy:—That her present system tends immediately to render them independent:—That the longer this system is continued, the less will it be possible ever to retrieve the mistake.

S E C T. VI.

Comparison between the Colonies of Britain, and those of other Countries.

THIS general view of the British colonies would be incomplete if they were not compared with those which other European nations have planted in America; that we may discover to what degree this country has been fortunate in the share she possesses of the American spoil. In this inquiry it will be necessary to consider the respective settlements in two lights; *first*, The present state and advantages now received; and *secondly*, Those of which they are capable, were the policy of the principals such as it ought to be.

The Spanish colonies claim the first attention. The extent of their habitable parts is infinitely greater * than those of the British. How populous they are is not known, but in number of subjects I apprehend they must greatly exceed us.—In population, respecting the extent of country, (which is the most useful population) they are much behind us. In the article of necessary agriculture, there is reason to believe their territory equal to that of Britain; for though they possess many wretched, unwholesome, and barren tracts, especially upon some of their coasts, yet the most of those provinces they have attempted to people are exceedingly fertile in all ground provisions, and those which are not have a regular and plentiful supply from the rest. As to that variation of product between the mother-country and her dependents, which forms the great

* Templeman (who is not, however, always accurate) makes Spanish	} Square miles.	
America to contain		4,697,936
To which we must add Louisiana,		1,080,000
Total,		5,777,936
K k k		utility

utility of colonies, we must consider the wants of Spain before we determine how far her detached dominions are perfect in this respect.

That kingdom is abundantly fertile in all the productions of necessary agriculture: she has plenty of wine, oil, and rich fruits; sugar, tobacco, hemp, flax, and cotton, are likewise cultivated in several of her provinces. She abounds greatly in wool and silk; thus possessing within herself not only the products of Great Britain in much greater perfection, but likewise the most valuable ones which the British colonies yield. At first sight, therefore, Spain wants nothing from her settlements but spices, coffee, chocolate, and drugs, (tea is but little drank there) and they send her only the two last. Hence it is very difficult to assert what is the proper climate for extensive Spanish colonies; since a small spice island might produce all that she wants from any part of the world. It is easier to say what their climate ought not to be;—it certainly ought not to rival (as Spanish America does) the mother-country in any of her productions: Every sugar-work, &c. in New Spain had much better be in her European dominions, as she is in no want for more useful articles of the land they would occupy. So that if we sufficiently consider the state of Old Spain, there will appear abundant reasons for giving the preference in this article of variation of the cultivated products of the earth to the colonies of Britain, who certainly receives from them, in proportion to the number of their people, much more valuable returns of this sort than Spain does from hers.

But the grand product of the Spanish colonies is gold and silver. Of what utility are these to Spain? To enlarge here upon the evil effects which certainly have ensued to that kingdom from the immense riches poured into her from America, would be nothing more than copying what an hundred writers have said already. Those mountains of precious metals most indubitably tended greatly to dispeople Old Spain; and the reason why there has been so great a difference in this respect between the emigrations from Spain and Britain evidently is, that in one case the inducement is so shining, the idea of speedy and immense riches so bewitching, that numbers go who could well maintain themselves at home, exchanging the small profits of industry for the imaginary great ones of idleness; and as the manufactures they consume, when arrived in the Indies, are not of Spanish fabrication, they employ none of those that are left behind. On the contrary, with Britain the case is totally different; none leaves this country to go to the plantations but those who cannot stay at home;—they do not change industry for idleness:—when arrived in America it is necessary to be as industrious as in Britain;—nor do they flock

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flock thither with the idea of gaining sudden fortunes, but merely a regular subsistence, which will never attract such numbers as the other; and besides this, they import great quantities of British manufactures, thereby providing employment for numbers;—and in a free, healthy country, employment is only another word for population.—Hence came the weakness of Spain and the strength of Britain, and both from the same cause—the American settlements.

As to the riches of the Spanish Indies, they certainly are immense; one of the first political writers * of this age, calculates the revenues of the Mexican mines alone, and from undoubted authorities, at 24,000,000 l. which is an astonishing sum, if we consider that all those of Peru, including the capital ones of Potosi, are not taken into the account, which probably are superior. But the accounts of the circulation of such immense sums are very unsatisfactory. We may conclude, that but a small portion of what is obtained from the mines remains in America, as manufactures are there so scarce: the sums transported to the Philippine islands, which are known, are inconsiderable compared to the total; and the following table of Old Spain's importations from all her colonies will shew that a small part of it comes openly to Europe. Mr. Postlethwayte †, from whom I transcribe it, gives the sums in pieces of eight, which I have reduced to sterling at 4 s. 6 d.

<i>Product of Mines.</i>		
In gold,	_____	£. 787,000
In silver,	_____	6,750,000
In precious stones,	_____	254,000
		<hr/> 7,791,000
<i>Articles not produced by Old Spain.</i>		
In Vigonia wool,	_____	11,000
In quinquina,	_____	9,000
In logwood,	_____	13,000
In cochineal,	_____	225,000
In indigo,	_____	45,000
		<hr/> 393,000
<i>Articles produced by Old Spain.</i>		
In sugar, tobacco, and sundry articles,	_____	450,000
In hides,	_____	54,000
		<hr/> 594,000
		<hr/> 8,598,000

* Editor of Harris's *Voyages*, † *Dictionary*, Art. *Peru*.

I am persuaded that this account, from the smallness of the amount, must either be incomplete, (and yet it includes the cargoes of the galleons, flota, and register ships) that of a year remarkably low, or one in time of war; but he does not express when. And yet another modern writer* makes the king's revenue from the Indies but 900,000 *l.* which is bringing the account yet lower.—However, these authorities are not to be so well depended upon as the very judicious editor of the collection of voyages above quoted, who tells us, that the king's fifth of the Mexican mines alone, in 1730, amounted to 2,000,000 *l.*

But all these accounts prove sufficiently, the value which comes to Spain bears no proportion to the total: illicit commerce must take off immense sums, probably much more than the mother-country receives: and thus, of the prodigious riches with which these colonies abound and supply all the world, Spain even receives but a small share; and of what she does receive, retains a still less: for the new world which sends her so much wealth is but a means of paying the debt she owes to the old. Notwithstanding the possession of the Indies she is one of the poorest countries in Europe; so that she has depopulated her own provinces to people American ones, that she may have wealth in reputation, and poverty in reality; that she may have the satisfaction of seeing treasures which she cannot enjoy, and in being the miners of those wiser nations who draw their wealth from the industry of well employed people. Can any colonies which rival the mother-country in cultivated products—and ruin her by spontaneous ones, be compared to those of Britain, which consume above 3,500,000 *l.* worth of her manufactures—and yield her a total benefit to the amount of near SIX MILLIONS?

So much with respect to what these colonies are: what they might be, will be discussed in a few words. The advantages which Britain, by means of a better policy, might receive from hers, I have already stated; the conduct of Spain will admit of yet greater improvements.

Those products which Spain wants, I before observed, were chiefly spices, tea, drugs, and chocolate: the two last her colonies furnish; tea, and most of the spices, are indigenous in the Phillipine islands; so that this country wants nothing but a beneficial system of politics to be supplied with all those commodities she demands, from her own dominions. When her European territory was become so populous as to require the substituting corn and the other necessaries of life in the room of sugar,

* Clarke's *Lectures on the Spanish Nation*, p. 250.

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tobacco, and other products, which she at present receives from America, but ought to cultivate at home, then and not till then will be the time to encourage their cultivation in her colonies.

As to mines, I must suppose that she determines on continuing to work them; if she does not, she had much better abandon all America than keep such immense territories for the sake of the few other products they yield her. "Spain," says one of the most agreeable of the French authors, "has only two methods of recovering from that extreme poverty into which her excessive riches have thrown her; the one is to abandon the over-abundant mines of Peru, and re-assume the tillage of her lands; the other is, to sell in Europe the gold, wrought and manufactured; which she receives in ore from the mines of America." And in another place,—"They count in Spain seven millions of souls; it might maintain six times the number; it wants, therefore, six degrees of happiness, of riches, and of power. Do you believe, if a king of Spain would seriously resolve upon it, that he might not repeople his country *?"—
Not by manufacturing his precious metals.

From whence results the mischief? From Spain's not exchanging her own manufactures for the products of her colonies. Such a plan would be very easily executed. I am apt to believe, that laying open the trade of the Indies to all Spanish ships that were loaded with their own manufactures alone, would at once effect it. But such a regulation, counteracted by bribery and the spirit of monopoly, would be worse than none. That trade is excessively profitable, as appears very plainly from the prodigious prices that are paid by the merchants for licences to send out a register ship. This profit would raise the price of all their own manufactures, and consequently encourage their fabric. High duties should, at the same time, be laid on foreign manufactures, and higher still on the importation of all those commodities from the colonies which the mother-country might produce. A branch of this beneficial system would be the laying open the trade of corn, that the new manufacturers might not be fed by France, Britain, Holland, and other countries, who by exporting food take care never to be hungry. The retaining a large quantity of their own metals would not be the great end of such a system,—the employment and increase of their people would be the most beneficial consequence: keeping the gold and silver at home would be but the effect of this, not the cause. In such a situation, no country in Europe would possess such important resources.—Not founded in the quantity dug

* *Les Profits par M. de Baumelle, p. 152.—203.*

from her mines—but in the demand for the labour of her poor, occasioned by them; for she would have a *certain* market for her manufactures, to the amount of all the riches extracted from her colonies. In this respect, Britain at present is by no means equal to her; but if the scheme of policy, before laid down, was fully executed, it might possibly extend to as great an amount as the circulation of the Spanish colonies; but, however, with this difference, that the commodities she received from them might want a market, but the product of the Spanish mines never could. There would be *some* difficulty in forcing a market for a part of the first, but the latter would every where find one.

The system of exchanging the manufactures and commodities of a mother-country for the gold, silver, and diamonds of colonies, appears so very plain and self-evident, that it may admit of much surprize how any nation could overlook so strait a path, and wander into such a crabbed lane as Spain has floundered through for some centuries past. But when the Spaniards took possession of the American treasures, the general importance of every nation, manufacturing for itself, was by no means so well known as at present. We, at present, have her example to guide our reasoning; she had none by which to frame her conduct: it is therefore no great wonder that the dazzling prospect of immense riches should blind her, and especially when we consider that so great a genius as Sir Walter Raleigh spent as much time, labour, and expence, in hunting for gold in Guiana, as he did for planting tobacco in Virginia.

It may be asked, What would be the consequence to Britain of as rich a mine as that of Potosi being discovered in her colonies? I know not precisely the law of England in respect to the crown's right to all mines of precious metals, or to a certain share in them;—but if a king of Great Britain was to have his fifth like the king of Spain, I may venture to form one supposition, which is, that it would be of very little consequence to the nation what was the result.—However, dropping this idea, it is evident enough, that if Britain was to tread in the steps of Spain, she would experience the same effects. If she was to let her subjects flock from Europe at will, and her American ones to consume any manufactures whatever but her own, in this case her mines would be her ruin;—but if, on the contrary, she laid *proper* obstacles on her *industrious* subjects leaving the realm, and kept the exportation of commodities to her colonies entirely to herself, in such a case, her mines might be of no prejudice to her; they would, as far as such a system of policy extended, be in the nature of staple commodities. But I am not clear that they could even then ever equal the benefits resulting from very beneficial staples that have

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have a quick demand, such as sugar, tobacco, indigo, silk, &c. and for this reason; an hundred thousand pounds worth of the latter would cause a demand of an equal quantity of British goods, but not that sum dug in ore out of the earth; for no more would be so exchanged than the property of those who staid in America: the greatest fortunes would be brought over to Britain in specie, and consumed here, possibly in the superfluities imported from foreigners, but most certainly would not be attended with the same effects as parallel sums gained by a long course of industry.—It must however be allowed that this supposition extends only to an equality of product. If the metals cause a greater demand of manufactures than the staples, so far they are more beneficial.

But it may be asked, Where is the good of keeping such immense treasures at home? Will there not rather result evil from it?—To which I answer, That the *keeping* the treasures is not the aim, but the *means* of keeping them: they cannot be kept without manufacturing to their amount; and it is not the possession of the metal, but of manufacturers constantly employed, that is desirable. However, the example of France proves, that a vast specie is of no ill consequence to an industrious nation: her trade is so advantageous, that were it not for her wars, her subsidies, and her East India company, she would accumulate three-fourths of the specie of Europe: and where would be the difference in this kingdom, of a circulation of four hundred millions in bullion, and three hundred and eighty millions in paper and twenty in bullion? It would be very difficult to hoard *all* received from mines: there are ever causes enough to dissipate superfluous riches, nor are such causes to be considered as evils.

But the advantages which Spain might receive from her colonies are of greater extent yet; the Philippine islands are very valuable possessions, and capable of adding as much to the wealth of the principal as the mines of America: all the rich productions of the East are spontaneous in them, particularly the several Spices: their extent is very large, and much of the soil wonderfully fertile: nothing but industry is wanting to render these islands of immense importance, which would be greatly facilitated by the communication with America.

The colonies of Portugal are those which claim the next attention; but as a particular examination of them would be little more than a mere transcript of what has been already remarked on those of Spain, I shall only observe, that the ill-consequences which have flowed, through a want of policy in the Spaniards, have likewise attended the Portuguese in their American affairs; and that a change in their conduct would be attended

with proportionable good effects. — Considering, however, the territory of Brazil, we may venture to suppose it could never be brought to equal those of Spain. At present the advantages received from it by Portugal are much inferior to the benefits resulting to Britain from her colonies; nor do I apprehend it is in the power of the most political conduct to render those advantages equal to the consequences which would attend a similar improvement in the politics of Britain. — Portugal receives annually 5,000,000 *l.* in gold from Brazil, besides a great amount in precious stones, sugar, tobacco, hides, &c. The royal revenue from that colony is reckoned at 1,000,000 *l.**

The colonies of France are the only ones which remain to be compared with those of Great Britain; and these consist in sugar islands alone. Their importance will best appear from a few plain facts, which are to be met with in the works of several writers who have treated of West Indian affairs. A modern author † says, "That by a calculation made about the year 1749, the exported produce of Hispaniola was 1,200,000 *l.* but that it was much under-rated." And there are many reasons to believe that it was. Another writer ‡ says, "Hispaniola produces more than all the British islands;" if so, the amount is above 2,700,000 *l.* Guadaloupe, we well know, was, in a year, subject to the losses of war, and exclusive of the exports to North America, worth to Britain 600,000 *l.* §; we cannot reckon the whole produce therefore at less than 700,000 *l.* If we suppose Martinico and their smaller islands equal, the total amount will be 4,100,000 *l.* — We are told ¶, on pretty good authority, that the French islands produce 120,000 hogheads annually. I before shewed that the British ones yield 98,000, the value of which, with the rest of their products, amounted to above 2,700,000 *l.* by which proportion the French products of this sort come to above 3,300,000 *l.* To this we must add the amount of other products not raised in the British islands; these, among others, are coffee ¶, cocoa, and indigo. Of the first they raise annually 9,400,000 *lb.* ** which at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* is — — — — — *l.* 700,000
Cocoa, 176,000 *lb.* at 6 *d.* — — — — — *l.* 5,000

Carry forward, — — — — — *l.* 705,000

* *Posseltswayte*, Art. Portugal.

† *Europ. Sett.* vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ *Importance of British Plantations in America.*

§ *Com. Prin.* p. 36.

¶ *Posseltswayte*, Art. French America.

¶ Concerning the coffee trade of France. See *Memoire sur l'origine et usage du caffé*. *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 145, 153, 154. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 429. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. i. p. 658.

** *Com. Prin.* p. 17. The Bourdeaux export is half that of the kingdom, which by the bye is too low. That inserted is two years and a half: I have taken the proportion.

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	Brought forward,	£ 795,660
Indigo, 1,298,000 lb. at 2 s. 6 d.		1,168,000
Annatto, at 200,000 lb. at 3 s. 4 d.		193,000
		2,156,660
Add sugar, &c.		2,510,000
		£ 4,666,660

The coincidence between this sum and the former total is remarkable. Mr. Postlethwayte quotes authors who make the number of negroes imported into the French islands to be 30,000, and in another place he supposes them to be 150,000; which small number, however, he takes; as he expresses it, merely that objections may not be made to his calculation. The medium is 25,000: now if 15,000 negroes, in the British islands, raise commodities to the amount of 2,700,000 l. 25,000 in the French ones yield 4,500,000 l.

The medium of these three different methods of ascertaining the product of the French sugar islands is 4,266,000 l. which sum I think cannot be far from the truth.

All the staples of the British colonies continental and insular were found to amount to

The French sugar islands, superior to all the British colonies by

The freight of the British sugar-island products, or 2,700,000 l. amounted to 636,000 l. consequently those of France come to 1,000,000 l. Product and freight together to 5,266,000 l. that is, within 489,000 l. of the total value of all the British colonies in products, duties and freights; and this without reckoning any of the French duties. If to these circumstances we add the product of their isles of Bourbon and France, which produce, in no inconsiderable plenty, sugar, ebony, cotton, white pepper, gum-benjamin, aloes, tobacco, rice, and many years ago coffee, to the amount of 100,000 l. annually*. These articles, I say, with the amount of the French duties, will, beyond doubt, carry the product of the French colonies much beyond that of the British ones.

This state of the settlements of France gives, I apprehend, a very clear superiority over Great Britain. But it will be yet clearer if we consider,

* Modern Universal History, vol. xi. p. 170.

that these colonies are not in any degree near in a complete state of cultivation, inasmuch that it has been calculated by those who are well acquainted with the West Indies, that where Britain has there one acre of waste land capable of cultivation, the French have above 50,000; and as the products of this land are among the richest in the world, and infinitely superior to those which Britain receives in general from North America, there arises the greatest probability of a vast increase in this most profitable trade, and that without supposing any change in the system of France. Whereas even the preservation of the benefits already enjoyed by Britain, in consequence of her colonies, depends on a total change in her system. Let us add to all this, the absolute security that the French islands can never throw off their allegiance to France; — the contrary of which, it is to be feared, is the case with the British colonies.

The other European settlements are too inconsiderable to require attention.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Expediency of forming New Colonies.

THERE is a too common prejudice to be combated with upon the very mention of such a plan as that of a new colony. It is directly said, are we not plagued enough with colonies, not to want any more? Have we not colonies enough? — Yes, doubtless, too many bad ones; and for that reason we should plant more good ones. If the old settlements of Britain are grown populous out of proportion to the benefits they yield her; if her American trade is at a stand rather than upon the increase; if there is in idea the least danger of her losing their allegiance; if these evils threaten at the very time when the nation most requires (in consequence of her immense drains of treasure, and her debts) an increase of that beneficial traffick she has for so many years enjoyed by their means; surely it behoves her to look a little into futurity, and prepare for the worst of events. All the evils, inconveniencies, and forward conduct Britain has experienced from her subjects in America, should never blind her so much as to put her out of conceit with colonies in general; she has received, and continues to receive, too much benefit from those which were planted in a proper climate, to allow of such unjust and undistinguishing ideas. Every thing that she has met with of that sort came, as I have before attempted to prove, from those which she very unpolitically settled in an improper climate; and the greater the evils which result from such a mistake, the greater the expediency of planting

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planting new colonies to supply the deficiency of such ill-concerted old ones. For it is going back strangely, if our colonies do not increase in value when the necessities are so greatly increased in this nation. Thus, there cannot be a falser argument than to answer the proposers of such plans as this, by referring to the old colonies, with such speeches as, *we have more than we know how to manage already*. Since every thing which proves the force of that truth, proves the expediency of not relying on such unmanageable settlements. And I should likewise observe, that this necessity of extending our views, is great in proportion to the want of policy in Britain. If her present system is continued much longer, her trade, her riches, her navigation, and her power, will sink very low, unless some expedient of this sort is devised and executed, to supply the immense vacancy she will then experience. But let her conduct be ever so just to her old colonies, we have already found, that she can scarcely hope for fully supplying them with manufactures; and even if she did, that the time would at last come, when she must expect a period to their allegiance. I do not, however, venture to assert, that the necessity of planting new colonies would be by any means so great, if she vigorously determined to make the most of her old ones; but her present system appears so very contrary, that there can be no imputation of sketching mere impracticable ideas, in proposing the means of remedying the evils that will arise from such mistaken politics.

It should never be forgotten in all such disquisitions concerning plantations, that Britain does, and will perpetually, *colonize*. The question is not, whether the surplus of her population shall emigrate or stay at home?—but whether they shall go to old and disadvantageous * settlements, or to new and beneficial ones; since to one or the other they certainly will go, or stay in Britain to be hanged or starved.

The prodigious consequence to Great Britain of all tropical productions, and the small, or rather no share she possesses of the European consumption, might alone prove to her the expediency of planting new colonies, which would supply her own consumption, and enable her to acquire a share in that of foreigners. I have in another place proposed the completing the cultivation of our sugar islands; which would be attended with extreme benefits; but their quantity of land is by no means equal to producing one-tenth of what might be exported from this kingdom. But if such improvements do not take place, the necessity of planting new colonies

* I use this term in general, because so much greater a proportion goes to the northern than the southern settlements.

is then twenty times stronger. It is, however, of some consequence to remark the advantages which would result from the execution of such a plan, without connecting it with any other. It has been already proposed, to increase the productions of the British sugar islands; but it does not follow, that a proposition of settling new colonies to cultivate even the same articles, is therefore useless. The experience of the most political nations point out this truth. The Dutch raise much sugar in Surinam, and might raise much more; but that has not prevented them from forming a vast many sugar works in Java, even for European consumption. Their India ships of late years scarce come home without sugar being a part of their cargo. The French raise coffee in the West Indies to a vast amount; but has that hindered them from greatly extending the culture of it in the isles? It is a weak objection to say, that colonies rival one another by such means; which cannot disadvantageously be the case, except in very cheap staples: but the tropical productions are all dear. Britain, in respect of tropical vegetables, can rival none but foreigners; for she has no exportation of them, but, on the contrary, a vast importation in sugar itself. New colonies could not rival the old ones but by selling that commodity cheaper; and if they were able to do that, it sufficiently proves the benefit of them. Our own consumption would be served on easier terms, and we should have some chance of an exportation. — But while Britain has such an enemy as France, so periodically (I may almost say) to contend with, it will be very far from bad politics to have tropical colonies in other parts of the world besides the West Indies, where the French are confessedly so much stronger than she is*.

Nor should we forget the vast difference between planting colonies at a time when every circumstance relating to them is perfectly understood, and in an age before experience could have given that knowledge. We at present see the immense difference between colonies in northern climates and southern ones. Our extended commerce and increase of luxury point out the commodities which colonies ought to yield. Will you plant a tract of land which produces wheat, barley, oats, and wool, or one which yields spices, sugar, and wine?—This knowledge, I say, is, or might be very common at present. And yet, in the name of common sense, must not that very question have been asked in the year 1750? We then possessed the Bahama Islands, and Nova Scotia, — both uncultivated; — the expence of the one already fixed in having a civil establishment; — that of the other to form; — the one extremely fertile in the tropical pro-

* The events of the last war prove nothing against this assertion. Britain's superiority was that of her fleet; — but the islands of the two nations left to themselves, — which would then have fell?

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ductions, the other scarcely yielding the necessaries of life, but peculiarly situated for rivaling us in our Newfoundland fishery. If any person was ignorant of the fact, would it be possible for him to conceive that we chose the latter *?

It would be difficult in any person to prove, that the settling new colonies which produced sugar, coffee, spices, tea, &c. &c. would be of any detriment to Great Britain. Sugar is the only tropical production of which we raise enough to supply even our own consumption. Our importation of all others from foreigners is immense; by which means the balance of many trades is against us, to the great loss of the nation, — and to the considerable increase of foreign navigation and naval power. What an infinite difference is there between emigrations to our old northern colonies, which produce nothing but rivalry, — and to new ones, which yield those commodities that we at present purchase with our specie of foreigners?

But there are other colonies besides those of *planting*, which it is in the power of Britain to form, and which are of immense consequence to any trading and manufacturing nation. They consist in the possession of the coasts of populous islands, inhabited by the people generally denominated, wherever they are found, *Indians*. The Dutch possess most of the coasts of several of the largest islands in the world, such as Borneo, which is three times as large as Great Britain, Java, and others, and which are inhabited by very numerous nations. The consequences of the command of such coasts are immense. A monopoly is gained of all the rich products the inhabitants can produce, which are purchased at very reasonable rates with European manufactures; the consumption of which is taught and extended among them by an hundred means. Nor are Indians in hot countries (the only ones whose productions we want) ever able to make any head against the force and arms of Europeans.

It is not at present suitable to inquire, whether the complaints of the British manufacturers of a decay in their business, is true or not; — but we may suppose them somewhat well founded, from the mere general view of the increasing industry of other nations: that we are underfold in many articles of consequence, appeared clearly enough when I inquired into the

* It may, perhaps, be said, we settled Nova Scotia upon political motives relative to the neighbourhood of the French; but in such case a single fortification was sufficient, with only the expence of a military establishment, and not a *planting* and *fishing* colony, settled at the expence of a million sterling; and even bounties given for fishing: so that this plea cannot be well founded.

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state of our manufactures. Now, as our old markets fall off, is it not necessary to gain new ones? Must not our people decrease, if we do not? And where but in colonies are such markets to be found? Our old settlements, it is true, yet take off large quantities; but in proportion to the increasing benefits of the southern ones, we lose by the increasing rivalship of the northern: So that upon the whole the exportation has been some years at a stand; and I have already attempted to prove, that there is the greatest reason to fear a very considerable decrease, according to the present system of British conduct. In such a situation, can any thing be more expedient than to endeavour to open new markets for our manufactures, where we need not fear either the rivalship of the settlers, or that of foreigners? Markets in which the purchasers can and will pay those prices which will never be gained in Europe.

Such a market, at the distance of a thousand leagues, is much more advantageous than an European one. A large portion of those commodities which Europe takes of us is carried from this island in foreign ships, by which means we lose the freight, the building, fitting out, victualling, &c. of the shipping, and that valuable article, the employment and maintenance of the seamen: All these we fully enjoy in the case of our commodities transported in our own bottoms; and consequently such an exportation is infinitely more valuable than any other. Add to this, that such colonies as I have sketched can only be formed at a vast distance from Britain; and of course all those articles I just mentioned would be tenfold greater than in an exportation to any part of Europe. There is no comparison in the national benefits resulting from a voyage of a ship of five hundred tons to China, or to Portugal, for instance: These benefits increase in direct proportion to the length of the voyage.

I have frequently reflected upon the execution of these ideas, and imagined the objections which would most probably be made to them, but none that ever struck me were of the least real weight. I have already considered that extremely weak one, of our having more old colonies than we know what to do with, and shewn that one of the principal motives for engaging in these undertakings results from that very fact. Those who plume themselves upon a regard to public oeconomy, may object the expence, but in all such cases that is the weakest of all pleas: If the execution would be attended with great advantage, it deserves the expence, and any person of the most ordinary capacity may, by throwing a careless eye over the parliamentary grants, discover that it is the principle of the British government to expend the public money for those purposes which advance the public good. I shall draw no invidious comparisons between

such expences as these, and some to which the nation is very well reconciled.

Others object, that we have trade, commerce, manufactures, and riches enough, and that excess of wealth will be our ruin; that the public is excessively poor, but individuals immensely rich; the very contrary of which ought to be the case. I must allow that I have known such arguments advanced with a wit and liveliness that has pleased, but very far from having convinced me. For supposing the facts, viz. public poverty, and private wealth, what have they to do in reference to each other? Will any one be so hardy as to assert, that the wealth of individuals causes the poverty of the public. From whence come those riches which the public really enjoys? From whence comes the ability of the public to be so very poor? Surely from private wealth. Public riches are but another name for the product of taxes. Upon what are taxes laid? Upon private consumption, that is, upon private wealth. There is only one tax in Britain that is not laid upon consumption, and that is, the land-tax, which is but a fifth of the whole. So that this plea, that we have trade enough and too much riches among individuals, is a very idle one, and nothing but the mere sport of imagination. While we are a trading and a naval power, and burdened with vast debts, trade, navigation, and riches, are essential to our being: and those riches should flow into the pockets of individuals, or they will never come to the coffers of the public. — It would be disgracing the understanding of the reader to go through all the commonplace rubbish that is usually urged in answer to such propositions as these. I know but few arguments against them that are founded even in a *shew* of reason, much less any that are built upon reason itself.

All naval enterprizes, particularly those which relate to the settlement of new colonies, however adventurous and daring, are of high importance to such a maritime power as Britain. It is inconceivable what vigour, alacrity, and spirit, is exerted by private adventurers, who sail in quest of new countries, and new means of growing rich. This country, above all others, should hold such adventures in the highest repute, since the foundation of all the power and consequence she enjoys was laid in the noble spirit of adventure of the two last centuries. Thanks to those gallant, brave, and daring private adventurers, for all the colonies at present in the possession of Britain, and all that advantageous commerce carried on by their means. I am very far, however, from insinuating, that such new colonies as are at present wanted by Britain should be left to take the chance of private discovery and settlement; and for two very material reasons: *first*, they would never be undertaken at all; this age being to- tally

tally deficient in that noble spirit which actuated the Columbuses, the Magellans, the Gamas, the Drakes, and the Cavendishes, of the last age: and, *secondly*, temporary reasons might occasion the settling of improper tracts and countries, which would require the same trouble and expence as the best in the world. A nobleman of very great fortune, and the spirit of the last age, indeed would be a very proper person to undertake and direct such expeditions, under the supposition that the instructions which he gave his people were such as promised public as well as private benefits, and that in relation to only one point, viz. the fixing in hot climates alone. But the countenance and support of the government would in all cases be necessary.

Having ventured these few remarks upon the general expediency of forming new colonies, which I should have extended to a greater minuteness, had I thought the objections which could be made to the plan any other than the common-place notions of the vulgar, *great* and *small*, and founded neither in reason nor experience, I shall now proceed to mention some of those countries in which it would be most advantageous for Britain to settle such colonies.

The first territories I shall presume to name are the islands of Mindanao and Gilolo, in the neighbourhood of the Philippine Islands, both formerly tributary to the Spaniards, but have long ago thrown off their yoke, and have at present no connection with them*. Mindanao contains 39,200 square miles, and Gilolo 10,400 †. The equator crosses the latter, and no part of the former is above 10 deg. north from it. Accordingly, their productions are as rich as possible. A modern author, who is very accurate, and has examined all accounts extant of the Indian islands, says ‡, that they produce all the vegetables found in the other islands of the Archipelago, of St. Lazarus; that is, a vast variety of palm trees, the most excellent cocoas, and the best of cassia; wild cinnamon, nutmegs and cloves §; ebony and sandal wood; with gold in every mountain; but cinnamon in much greater plenty and perfection than in any. As to sugar-canes, they have long thriven so well, that sugar there is at a very low price, and exceedingly good in its kind ||. Lastly, a vast plenty of elephants in Gilolo**. These cir-

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 447.

† *Templeman's Survey*, plate 29.

‡ *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 449—451, &c.

§ *Dampier's Voyages*. See Harris.

|| *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 891.

** *Tour du Monde*, *Gemelli Careri*, p. 5. b. ii. c. 6.

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cumstances I select from many others, as the most important proofs that these islands contain the very richest productions in the world, and such as would greatly repay any nation that had the spirit to secure their coasts; an object which would never have been omitted by the Dutch, had not the Spaniards been driven out by the natives; and, as to the English, they depended upon our want of enterprize; I should, however, add, that the Dutch are dreadfully feared and abhorred in reputation by all the natives, consequently the undertaking would to them be very difficult.

Now, the idea of forming a settlement in these islands is by no means a new one; for Dampier, when at Mindanao, received invitations from the king to settle, and gives many very good reasons to shew the expediency of such a plan*. But as both Mindanao and Gilolo are inhabited by numerous nations of Indians, and as some of those nations are reported to be cruel and revengeful, it would not be advisable *at first* to colonize by way of *planting*, except upon a small scale, but chiefly to gain a good and secure port or two, with proper spots to erect fortifications upon, and enter into trade with the natives; by which means we should secure a sale of great quantities of our own manufactures, in exchange for the richest and most valuable commodities. And when once a good understanding was secured with the natives, and they saw how much preferable our neighbourhood was to that of the Spaniards, or the Dutch, who near their spice islands are yet worse, there can be no doubt but plantations of spices and other valuable plants might be formed in great security. That the trade carried on by such means would be of immense consequence, no one who considers the situation, amidst all the richest countries of the East,

* He says, "Raja Laut, and one of the Sultan's sons, came aboard us, and demanded in Spanish who we were; and being told that we were English, they asked, whether we were come to settle among them, of which they had had some promise before, and were now in hopes to see it effected, and to serve them for a protection against the Dutch, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we considered the matter, it would have been much for our advantage to have done so, considering the commodious situation of the Isle of Mindanao betwixt the Spice Islands; the three isles of Meangis, abounding in spice and cloves, being scarce twenty leagues hence, and the Philippines; neither did we want any thing requisite for such a settlement, being provided with all sorts of artificers, as carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, &c. as also with convenient tools, arms, guns great and small, and ammunition sufficient for such a beginning. And notwithstanding the great distance of this island from England, we needed not have been without hopes of reasonable supplies thence, provided the ships set out the latter end of August, and passing round Terra del Fuego, stretched over towards Mindanao; or else they might coast down the American shore, as far as it was found requisite, and then direct their course to this isle, to avoid the Dutch settlements, and to have the advantage of the east trade wind, after they were passed Terra del Fuego, by which means this voyage might be performed in six or seven, which, passing thither by the Cape of Good Hope, would, at least, require eight or nine months." Dampier's *Voyages*, in Harris's *Collection*, vol. i. p. 106.

and where we at present have neither settlements nor factories, can a moment doubt.

The next countries which are highly deserving of attention, though very little known, are the Liquois Islands, which lie to the north of the Ladrones, situated from the 26th to the 30th deg. of north latitude. They have the islands of Japan on the north, the continent of China on the west, the island of Formosa on the south west, and the ocean, without any known continent, on the east*. They are an Archipelago, consisting of many small islands, with two pretty large ones to the north, sailed from thence the Great Liquois; and also two more considerable than the rest at the southern extremity, which are siled the Lesser Liquois. It is an established maxim with the Japanese, that these are the most fertile countries in the world †. They likewise assert, that the inhabitants reap two harvests of rice in a year; but this, it is presumed, is not their principal reasons for their opinion, since it is the case in countries not highly desirable; witness equinoxial France. — They possess likewise some gold, and rich perfumes. They are esteemed the gayest, happiest, and easiest people on the globe; and this notwithstanding they are subject to at least four, if not five masters. They have a sovereign of their own. They are tributary to a prince of Japan. They make occasional presents to the emperor. They likewise collect an acknowledgment every year as a mark of respect to the Emperor of China ‡. But the Spaniards (as well as other European nations) are unknown to them, although they were in sight of some of their enterprising navigators in the beginning of the sixteenth century. They tell us the inhabitants they saw were white; the women handsome and well dressed, with many ornaments of gold about them. These people had stout vessels, sixty feet long, and of a proportionable breadth; composed of planks five inches thick, and rowed with oars. They told them, that they traded in these vessels to China, and made this voyage in a week. They likewise found other barks, very handsomely made, with two decks. On the upper deck were white people, well dressed, and commodiously accommodated; on the lower deck were blacks, by whom these vessels were rowed §. “It is surprizing,” says the very

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 566. Ramusio *racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. p. 369. Heirera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*. The *Voyage of Francesco de Gualle* in Hackluyte's *Collection*, vol. ii. p. 442.

† *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 566.

‡ *Ibid.* Heirera, chap. 26. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, b. v. chap. 14. sect. 1. Du Bois *Geographie moderne*.

§ Heirera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 17. Galvano's *Discoveries*, translated by Hackluyte.

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ingenious writer *, from whom I extract these accounts, "but the fact is nevertheless true, that we meet with nothing more of this Archipelago; nor are these islands laid down in any of the Spanish maps. It is, however, very probable from hence, that there are many islands to the north, to the north-east, and to the north-west of the Ladrões, very well worth being visited †."

The great characteristic of these people is, their love of tranquillity, and their application to the arts of peace; by which, in the midst of those revolutions that have not only disturbed, but have destroyed, in a greater or a less degree, the nations around them, they have kept themselves in pretty much the same situation in the enjoyment of their own laws and customs, and in the exercise of navigation and commerce. The richness of their soil, and the mildness of their climate, instead of rendering them idle, has prompted them to improve to the utmost the blessings which Nature has bestowed ‡. Their principal manufacture is that of silk, of which they export considerably; mother of pearl and cowrie §.

Between these islands and China lie another cluster, scarcely known to the Europeans, called by our buccaneers the Bashee Islands, which abound with gold, spices, rich gums, and dying drugs §; and inhabited by a most obliging and inoffensive people, who possess some tolerable boats, and carry on a little commerce; but are under subjection to no foreign power ¶. "It appears beyond contradiction," says my author **, "that any nation, blessed with common sense, and at the same time not void of common humanity, might do with these people, who are very numerous, what they pleased. It is easy to apprehend how useful they might be made to those who would barely undertake to encourage and protect their commerce, in consideration of a proportionable tribute, or other services.—Although the property and possession of the Ladrões and Marian Islands belong to the Spaniards, yet all mankind have an equal right to know the situation, history, and circumstances of these islands, and their inhabitants, as well as the advantages that have been drawn, and might be

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 562.

† *Culverii Introd. in Universam Geographiam*, lib. v. cap. 11. *Luyt's Introductio ad Geographiam*, sect. 3. cap. 13. *Du Bois Geographie moderne*, p. 2. chap. 14. art. 5.

‡ *P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon*, vol. i. p. 6. 171. 470.

§ *Heirera*, cap. 26.

¶ *P. Bentii, Tab. Purchas's Pilgrimage*, b. v. chap. 14. sect. 1.

¶ *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

** *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 570.

drawn, from them. And whatever motives they may have had for making so little use of what they do possess, there can be no motives to us to be as silent as they; and if, from the influence of these motives, they should continue for ages to come to act with the same supineness they have done for two centuries past, this will not alter the nature or the reason of things; or detract in any degree from the truth of what we have asserted from the lights of history and experience, much less preclude the rest of the world from examining into the possibility and practicability of finding some means or other for bringing those scattered islands and continents, whatever they may be, lying in the vicinity of these possessions of the Spaniards, into connection and correspondence with other known parts of the globe; and therefore we thought ourselves at full liberty to treat this subject as freely and as copiously as, it appears to us, the advantages which might flow from a better acquaintance with these islands and continents deserved*.

Next we meet with the Archipelago called the New Philippines. Their situation has been very imperfectly laid down, at which we cannot wonder, for the Spaniards have even denied their existence. That, however, is now incontestable. The accounts of their latitude and longitude differ, probably, from the great number of them, or neighbouring islands, little known. Those distinguished by the above name are situated to the south of the Marian islands, between the 10th and 13th degrees of north latitude. The author whom I chiefly follow in these accounts, has given many very satisfactory reasons for supposing them the same which were seen by Magellan, the inhabitants of which met him with canoes loaded with cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, and gold, wrought into many antic forms †. To the south-east of the Marian Isles were other clusters, once named *Islas de Abrosas*, *Mira Comovas*, &c. &c. and the Isle of St. Bartholomew, which lies in latitude 14 degrees north, and 20 degrees east of Guam; it is larger than any of the Marian Islands †. But we have no accounts of their inhabitants or produce, probably because only seen by ships in their passage. To the south-west of the Marians lie others called the Coral Islands, the Archipelago de los

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 587. *Discourse of Lopez Van concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies*, in *Hackluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. Sir W. Monson's *Naval Tracts*. *Atlas Maritimus*, p. 297.

† *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 593. *Ramusic raccolte delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. p. 350. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i. b. ii. chap. 2. p. 37. *Eden's History of Travels*, p. 430.

‡ *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by Hackluyt.

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Reyes, and several others*. When first these islands were discovered, they were very full of people, who had proas of different sizes. "But though," says my author, "we have these and other particulars in our old collections, yet we find no mention of them in modern books, as if it was designed they should retire again from the knowledge of men, and relapse into their original obscurity. If this arises from negligence, it ought to be prevented; if from a point of mistaken policy, we ought, in justice to the rights of mankind, to defeat it †. As we are sincerely persuaded of the great importance of the New Philippines, and look upon them, considered in this light, as a kind of literary introduction to a commercial discovery, in favour either of Spain or some other country, we have treated them accordingly; and though there are some variations in accounts of them, yet, after all allowances made, the great facts, as to the number and nearness of these islands, their abounding in the necessaries of life; their having a multitude of inhabitants; their living under a certain form of government; their having the art of boat-building, and navigation, in some degree of perfection; and their being an ingenious and docile people, are put beyond all manner of doubt. These islands are unquestionably rich and valuable, because they possess almost all the blessings that the indulgence of Nature can bestow. They have a soft and serene climate, not exposed to excessive heat, though in the midst of the torrid zone; and never visited by a blast of cold. Their soil is wonderfully fruitful; and from the conjunction of these they produce all the necessaries of life. Their situation again is so fortunate, that if they wanted the greater part of these blessings, this alone would compensate all their wants; for they lie at an equal distance from all the rich countries in the world, surrounded by the widest and the mildest of all seas, and capable from thence of the safest, the most commodious, and most extensive navigation †. Are these then countries to be desired? Yet neither are these all their advantages; for mark but the number and nature of their inhabitants: the latter shews us that the former must be very great: we know but very little of them, but we know enough to be very sure of this, because we know they are peaceable and prolific. There would be no difficulty in introducing improvements in their conduct of civil life, which would lead them to the discovery of more wants; but, at the same time, would instruct them how they might be supplied. They have already a great fund of industry, which is the genuine source of wealth; and,

* Heirera *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 28.

† *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 595.

† Galvano's *Discoveries* in Hackluyt. *Eden's History of Travails*. Du Bois *Geographie moderne*, p. 701.

with a very little help, would render them a civil, polite, commercial nation, in countries the best adapted to, and probably as well furnished as any with materials for an enlarged commerce. Some relations actually say, they possess both gold and silver. That they have spice too is more than probable, since almost all the countries to the west of them certainly have spices, though the inhabitants, from prudential motives, chuse to conceal them. But whether they have or have not precious metals, or rich spices, they may have many other valuable commodities, of which we, and perhaps they, have not the least knowledge, but which a spirit of commerce would quickly bring to light. We know what prodigious pains the Dutch take to prevent cloves from growing in those islands to which they were given by nature; and with what pains, as well as policy, they have secured the monopoly of mace and nutmegs, as well as with what anxiety they prevent cinnamon from being brought into Europe by any but themselves*. We have already shewn, that notwithstanding all this care and concern, there are both cinnamon and cloves in Mindanao; and it is very certain, that there is still greater plenty in the small islands of Meangis, which either make a part of this Archipelago, or are within a few hours sail of it. We farther know, that the finest nutmegs in the world lie at no great distance from these islands, and yet where they are out of the power of the Dutch†. What then should hinder the transplanting all these rich spices into some or other of these islands? or what should hinder them from growing when transplanted out of islands nearly in the same latitude where they grow by nature? more especially when it is remembered, that the very thing we propose to be done, the Dutch have actually done already, and with the greatest success ‡. For managing such a design, and carrying all the arts of cultivation to the highest perfection, what nation could be wished for more fit than, without the least thought of an attempt of this nature, these people are described to be? What, with less injury or corruption of their old manners, could supply the wants that a higher degree of civility would introduce, better than this project, if carried into execution? — There is no need of arms, of expence, or much trouble, to do all this: so that if the sources of immense wealth are not in these islands, they may be fetched from next door. They may be kept too with the same ease that they are brought. To

* *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. p. 891. *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. vi. p. 173.

† *Gulvano's Discoveries* in Hackluyt. *Dampier's Continuation of the Voyage to New Holland*, chap. iii. *Histoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux*, chap. 18. sect. 3.

‡ *Funnel's Voyage round the World*, chap. 9. *Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois dans toutes les etats Empires du Monde*, p. 145. 147.

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bring all this to pass, there wants only an active spirit, a tolerable degree of contrivance, and a steady perseverance in those who shall attempt it*.

The next countries, which it is here requisite to mention, are sundry considerable islands, which were once discovered by the Spaniards in the same ocean, but south of the line. But I should previously remark, that near two hundred years are elapsed since they have been seen; for notwithstanding the great riches they certainly abound with, and the immense benefits which undoubtedly have resulted from their possession, yet the Spaniards, after one ill-concerted attempt at finding them again, have not only neglected them intirely, but even forbid all further trials; leaving them either to eternal obscurity, or to the fortune of a more active people. The only circumstances known are, that the situation of some of them is in 11 south latitude, 800 leagues west of Lima; others 1500 leagues; others in 6 and 7 south latitude; others 10 south latitude, and longitude 200—210. Some modern writers have supposed all these accounts mere mistakes and variations, but there is much greater reason for supposing them to relate to different islands. Some of them have been called the Isles of Solomon; the Solitary Isles; the Isles las Marquisas, &c. &c. The accounts of them inform us, on very good authority, that of those situated about 9 and 15 south latitude, eleven were discovered of considerable size, viz. about 80 leagues in circumference; one 150. In modern maps the longitude of these isles is, from 150 to 180 west of London; others from 10 to 15, &c. &c. They were all well inhabited by people who had boats and canoes. They abounded with cloves, cinnamon, ginger, and gold, of which the Spaniards carried away in dust to the amount of 40,000 pesos. Other islands were discovered more to the south, in a line from the straits of Magellan to the Moluccas, which abounded in all sorts of provisions and sugar canes. Others were likewise discovered, which possessed great plenty of oranges, lemons, sugar canes, cocoas, pears, melons, hogs, oxen, cows, fowls, pearl, silver, nutmegs, mace, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, silk, and ebony. In a word, the few accounts † we have of these, at present, unknown islands, all agree in the extreme richness of their produce.

A very little attention to the situation alone of these islands will convince us, that they are of the utmost importance to any trading nation. They lie nearly in the center of the vast Pacific Ocean, connecting, as it

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 620. 622. 624, &c.

† Heirera, c. 27. Lopez Vaez, *Voyag. aux Terr. Austr.* tom. i. p. 172. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. lib. 2. Barceus Laet's *America*. *Argensola Hist. de Molucc. Terra Aust.* Cog. p. 227, &c. Dobbs's *Account of Hudson's Bay*, p. 143, 144, 145.

were, America to Asia, and would afford prodigious assistance to such as would touch at them in their passage across that immense sea. They are indeed placed by Nature just where Art would fix them, to facilitate the navigation of so important a part of the world, and forming a grand link in that vast commercial chain, which I shall by and by more particularly explain.

But, besides these very important islands, other countries were discovered in the beginning of the last century, in south latitude 19 and 20, longitude 140 west of London; and more again by Davis in 1659, in latitude 30, and longitude 100; situations very advantageous for forming a line of connection across this prodigious ocean. Likewise in latitude 58 and longitude 80, or thereabouts, a cluster of islands was discovered by Sir Francis Drake. Falkland's Islands, on this side Cape Horn, are well known.

Having thus traced a chain of unsettled islands, which extend through the Pacific Sea, and which are open and free for any nation to possess, I shall, in the next place, attempt more particularly to state the peculiar advantages which would result to Great Britain from forming settlements in such of them as were found, upon examination, the most proper for the purpose.

One great objection to forming colonies in the oriental islands, such as Mindanao and Gilolo, has been, the length of the voyage, which either west or east is longer than any undertaken even by the European East India companies, except that to Canton in China; but where very rich commodities are in question, a long course of experience proves this to be no real objection; but if it was, yet the most political and sensible method of prosecuting such an undertaking would fully remove it: And this leads me to explain the reason of my making mention of such a number of islands as I did in the preceding pages; for it might with some be objected, that so many undertakings, — so many settlements at once to be thought of, would distract the attention of government, and bring the whole to nought. But I apprehend that a little attention to this point will set it in another light.

The great object in view is, the settling a fixed communication with the above-described, and other countries, by the rout of Cape Horn, which would be attended with exceeding great advantages. The voyage to the extremities of these countries, Mindanao for instance, would be two months

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months shorter than by the Cape of Good Hope *. And, by means of such a chain of settlements as I have sketched, all the terrors of so long a run as that from Cape Horn to Mindanao, &c. would be at an end. The run even to the New Philippines extends through above 150 degrees of longitude; but even if no more intermediate islands were discovered than those above laid down, this run would be divided into four parts, and consequently reduced to four voyages, of less length than numbers which are already common in the circle of commerce. There are certainly many objections to the manner of carrying on a trade which requires such extreme long runs without touching at land. The crews of ships must necessarily be very unhealthy, and a considerable number of them generally lost; for provisions of all sorts spoil, and fresh water is difficult to be stowed in sufficient quantities: these circumstances consequently increase the expences of freight; and in case of bad weather or accidents, ships are not well prepared to meet them. All these evils attend the navigation of the Spaniards between Acapulco and Manila, and have ever attended most of the expeditions which this nation has undertaken against the Spaniards in those seas.

But all these inconveniencies would be removed, if those islands before named, or some of them at least, were formed into a regular and connected chain of settlements from Falkland's Isles, or Sir Francis Drake's, to the New Philippines, or Mindanao. By which means this immense navigation would lose all its terrors, and a beneficial commerce be as beneficially carried on. The great point of converting foreign settlements to the good of the mother-country, might be fully and systematically pursued, if such a plan was executed on enlarged principles, and with a spirited activity. This will clearly appear if we reflect a little upon the proper method of reducing these ideas to practice.

A small fortress should be, in the first place, erected either on the Falkland or Drake's Isles, (many advantages would result from one on each) with a colony around it just sufficient for procuring the necessaries of

* See Dampier's *Voyage*, in Harris, vol. i. p. 106, 107. The superior advantages of sailing to the east by Cape Horn, instead of that of Good Hope, did not escape the penetration of a modern author I have often quoted. "If amongst the variety of projects," says he, "formed by those powers that are endeavouring to raise a naval strength, they should ever fall upon a scheme for traversing the South Seas, and entering this way into the Indies, (which is far enough from being improbable) we shall quickly be convinced that the politics of the Spaniards, English, and Dutch, in neglecting and discouraging that rout, are but indifferently founded, and that the profits of an East India trade, carried on this way, would very much surpass those that arise from that which is now in use." *Modern Universal History*, vol. ix. p. 456.

life in plenty for ships that touched. This, or a similar plan, executed on some of the neighbouring coasts, should at all events be the first step in this grand scheme, upon the principle of clearing the way as we advanced, and knowing every step that was to be taken; for, in opening new channels of trade, to be carried on upon such an extensive navigation, uncertainty in the situation of islands, coasts, and ports, would be greatly discouraging. And as some of the preceding named ones are yet very little known, they should be further sought for and examined, as the scheme advanced: for instance, from the settlement in the neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego ships should be dispatched in search of Davis's Land; there would then be an infinitely greater probability of success than by sending them from England; in which case they would, on their arrival in the South Sea, be possibly more fit to put into port than to explore an unknown ocean. In this manner should the expected discoveries be attempted from one to another, until the extremity of that vast ocean was gained. A settlement should be formed, and a small fort erected, as before-mentioned, upon an advantageous harbour in Davis's Land, for the production of provisions and necessaries. From hence I should remark other discoveries should be attempted, more in a line between Drake's Isles and those marked in the maps under the name of Quiros; whether, for instance, land could not be found somewhere near the intersection of lat. 40. and long. 120. If such was to be found it might prove more advantageous to the general design than Davis's Land, in which case the latter might be abandoned. Probably none of the territories south of the latter would be found to abound with any rich commodities, such being the product of hotter climes. It is somewhat dubious if Davis's Land would prove rich, but being in the latitude of the northern parts of Chili, perhaps it might. By the word *rich* I do not mean the producing gold and silver, but tropical fruits. But although nothing more than a fertile soil and healthy climate, with a plenty of necessaries, were procured by these means, the settlements ought nevertheless most certainly to be fixed, as their great importance in forming links of this grand chain of navigation, and facilitating all future discoveries, would thereby be established.

Next comes the islands in lat. 19 and 20. and long. 140. which have not only the same merit as the preceding ones, but the great additional circumstances of their climate, and consequently valuable productions: accordingly we find them very rich in all their vegetable produce, particularly in sugar and spices, &c. These islands are known to be somewhat numerous, for which reason they should be very well examined before settlements were fixed, that the most advantageous might be the first objects of attention, since it requires as much trouble and expence to form

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a colony in a disadvantageous spot as in the most beneficial one. Had the government of England possessed a true knowledge of the use of colonies when America was first settled, the southern parts would not have been neglected for the northern. Hispaniola, Porto Rico, &c. &c. would not have been left unoccupied for the sake of New England, New York, &c. For these reasons the abovementioned islands should be well examined before the first settlement is fixed: a very easy matter when the shipping for the purpose are just *fresh* from Davis's Land.

When once a colony was advantageously settled and duly protected by a garrison, the great number of islands from lat. 6 to 15. and long. 160 to 180. (among which are those so famous ones the isles of Solomon) should from hence be explored. The same plan should be pursued, of examining attentively, before the spot was chosen for a settlement; but, when once it was fixed on, to render it immediately secure by a fortress.

After these, the New Philippines and the Liguois Isles, the Bashees, and lastly the great ones of Mindanao and Gilola: the plan of being well seated in the last settled before the next was undertaken, should, throughout this scheme, be always adhered to. By being secure, I mean to be absolutely certain of situations, to have formed an amicable connection with the natives, and to have ensured at all times such a plenty of necessary provisions, that the shipping might at any time be victualled. These, with a few other circumstances, are always necessary in the place from whence new discoveries are attempted.

Before we proceed, it will not be amiss to bestow a little attention upon the general policy which these various settlements should principally be founded on. It is needless to mention the necessity of chusing prudent and experienced men for the execution of designs, which must either succeed or fail, in proportion to the understanding of those employed. Much likewise depends on fixing upon proper spots to settle: low marshy sea coasts (and especially in hot climates) should every where be avoided; for such are always unwholesome, and seldom fertile in the production of any thing but rice: on the contrary, high, dry, and hilly coasts, are ever extremely healthy, and such are no impeachment to fertility of soil. All the valuable productions we are acquainted with, are raised upon sound good land that is dry; witness sugar, spices, cotton, indigo, coffee, mulberry-trees, vines, &c. &c.; and to these we may add all the necessaries of life, rice only excepted. A tract of such land should therefore always be sought for, lying around a proper spot for a fort; and either upon a secure bay of the sea for shipping, or on some navigable river. If

upon the latter, the higher up (provided the depth of water allows) a spot is fixed on, the more likely it is to find good and healthy land, since the tracts adjoining the mouths of most rivers are low and unwholesome. But if an island was found which bid fair to be of great consequence, the whole coast of which was marshy, it would be most advisable to move up into the country, on the banks of a river that was navigable only for small sloops, rather than fix on an unhealthy coast. For a small armed sloop would at all times command the river, in case of accidents, against myriads of Indian canoes.

When the spot was fixed on, the fortrefs should be immediately erected; that is, put together (for I suppose it to have been framed in Britain) and the cannon destined for it directly mounted; in that situation it would be proof against all attacks from Indians, or such ships as probably would prove hostile. But much greater strength would be requisite; the garrison should for some time be employed in facing it with earth, or whatever materials could be gained that were most proper for the business; if it was situated on a rocky spot, proper workmen should be left to form out works in the rock. Fortresses, strong at least for those seas, should at all events be erected, and such as would not be battered into nothing by the unexpected arrival of an enemy's ship or two.

As soon as military security is gained, providing the necessaries of life come next: but I should premise that all the land used for the fort, or plantations, should be regularly bought of the natives. From all the accounts we have had of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, they have none of them any inhabitants that would not sell any quantity for a little iron, or a few useful tools—not that their ignorance should be made a foundation for public knavery as to give them a penny for what is worth an hundred pounds; but yet, as the real value of their land is the ideal one fixed on by the two parties, a medium should be taken: If they asked ten hatchets, and two or three hoes and spades, they should have ten or a dozen pounds worth of goods given them; but regularly distributed, and in such a manner as to prevent as much as possible quarrels amongst themselves. The bargain should be made with great form and ceremony, marks set up to distinguish the boundaries of the grant, and the terms obeyed by the garrison religiously.

The next business would be (if the season was proper) that of cultivation. All the implements, cattle, stock, &c. of an English farm should be landed from the ships; and, unless the island was very populous, some hogs and sheep, &c. turned wild to breed. It is well known what infi-

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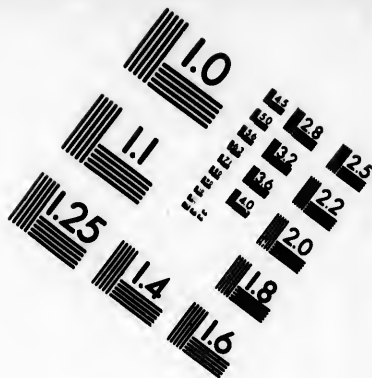
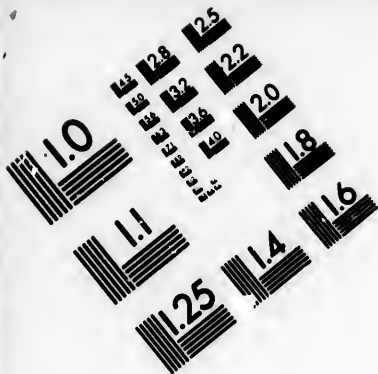
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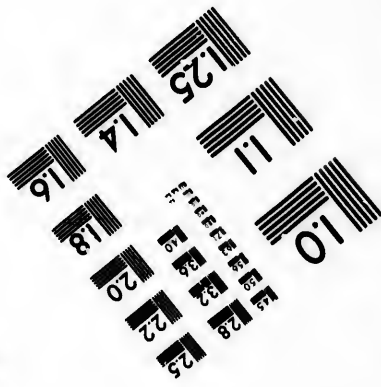
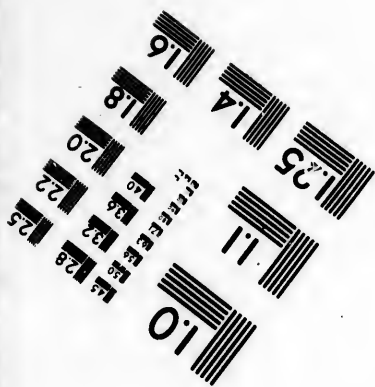
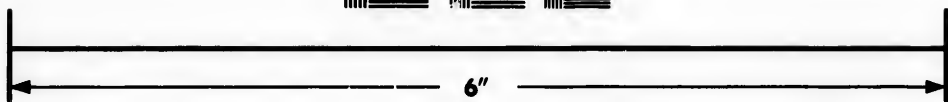
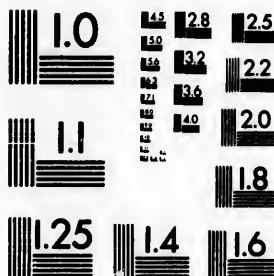
nite benefits have resulted to many nations from the method the Spanish discoverers always had of setting ashore a few hogs wherever they came. —Seed of all kinds should be left for trials; whatever the climate was wheat or maize would insure bread: probably wheat alone, if only high, dry, and sound lands were planted. Maize should never be adopted but from necessity, as it is sufficient to render barren the fertilest tracts; so exhausting is its nature. But whatever rich commodities might be the products of the island, the attention of the garrison and settlers should not, on any account, be drawn off from the certainty of always having a plenty of necessaries: —the cultivation of these should be the first business. When once that independency was gained, then would be the time to examine the spontaneous growths, which would be the surest means of knowing accurately what staples might be cultivated with the greatest profit.

The conduct to the natives would be that part of the business which would require the greatest capacity in those who directed the affairs of the colony. For some time the chief dependence would be on them for necessary provisions: all success would depend on managing them dexterously. The utmost caution should be used to give them no offence: if they were found to be ever so weak and defenceless, it should never be forgot, that they might prove the most dangerous of all enemies. Only prudent and cautious people should be allowed to traffic with them; and that at a certain hour of the day, in the presence of the governor and his principal officers; for which purpose a warehouse might be erected within cannon-shot of the fort, to which the goods to be exchanged should be carried — and all persons punished severely that traded with the natives in any other way; —and those yet more severely that, under any pretence whatsoever, ill-used them in any manner. Strict orders should be given to every one to have great patience with them in all matters, and especially till their language was learned, after which much of the difficulty would lessen: they should be kept out of the fort, but suffered to walk about the plantations at will, to induce them to imitate the methods of culture: all that were willing should be fully instructed in the cultivation of whatever valuable staples their land produced or their climate would allow; and the strongest inducement in the world to engage them to it, would be shewing them the quantity of goods they should receive for certain quantities of such staples in return. The chaplain of the fort should be an honest well-meaning clergyman, who should learn their language as soon as possible, a powerful step towards civilizing them, and extending their wants; consequently their demand for manufactures of all kinds would greatly





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greatly increase, and they would soon find that the only means of procuring them, would be to apply their industry to the raising such commodities as their new neighbours had taught them.

I should here add, that such colonies are of all others the most beneficial; for numerous nations of allies are by such means gained, whose labour is as valuable to the mother-country as that of the most useful subjects. Populous colonies are gained at once without the expence, waste, or time of peopling them: for a small garrison and a few settlers would be sufficient for any island of a moderate size. New markets would be opened for British manufactures, in which there would be no danger of competition, and such purchasers found as could afford to buy them, notwithstanding the *high price of the labour bestowed on them*. Thus, to maintain our own poor at the expence of nations now unthought of, would be a glorious effort of policy; and might undoubtedly be ten times easier effected, and at much less expence than forty schemes which are every day talked of for procuring European markets, in which we are constantly underfold.

Upon some such plan as this I have ventured to sketch, should colonies be traced across the Pacific Ocean, from Cape Horn to Mindanao: But I should remark, that when we came to the New Philippines, the Liqueois Islands, Mindanao or Gifola, or any other countries in the neighbourhood of other European powers, and amongst Indians who may have been met with by Europeans before, greater caution would be requisite; much stronger fortresses, and more powerful garrisons should be built and established; for the prodigiously profitable and flourishing commerce such settlements would raise, might naturally be expected to kindle the envy and jealousy of both the Spaniards and Dutch: the latter especially would dread the loss of their monopoly of spices, a consequence which certainly would ensue; for which reasons the settlements thus formed should be strongly guarded, and frequently visited by ships of war. But if our false friends, the Dutch, did presume to meddle, or for one moment think to act in a manner derogatory to the honour of the British flag, it would be a shameful, a disgraceful, and a wretched conduct, that did not with the utmost spirit resent the injury, and effectually humble that proud company of merchants, who founded their power upon the most bloody massacres, and the cruellest treachery the world ever knew. Their history, from their foundation to this day, proves, that the maxim of the Batavian politics is not to complain of injuries real or imaginary, through the States General, but to fit out some stout ships and take immediate revenge themselves. In case the execution of such a plan as I have sketched, and a consequent but

unjust ill-treatment from the Dutch, which, considering their unremitting diligence to keep the spice trade to themselves, might be expected *wherever* they were attempted to be raised; the only return proper to be made would be either to fit out a stout Squadron and attack them in the East itself, or to seize all their ships we met with, and keep them in pawn for full reparation to the *honour* of the CROWN as well as the *interests* of the SUBJECT. If ever the second act of the tragedy of Amboyna, or any thing tending towards it, comes in play, pray heaven we may not have a *James* upon the throne!—But to return.

When such a chain of settlements was drawn across the Pacific Ocean, a safe and open communication would always exist for British subjects to carry on the trade of these new colonies, which would be one of the richest in the world; the navigation would be rendered easy and sure; and the shipping and seamen of Britain receive an immense increase. But, that all the great purposes to be answered by the execution of these designs might be regularly and systematically brought about, instead of depending on uncertain contingencies, and the wavering resolution of individuals, a regular communication should be kept up from Britain to the most remote of these settlements; a few men of war should every year make the tour of the settled islands, to assist and relieve the garrisons, to examine the state of the fortifications, to rectify what was amiss, and promote the execution of what was found beneficial: they should likewise take under their convoy the ships which carried out the manufactures and commodities for trading with the natives, and which were to return loaded with such products as were the effects of that trade, or of cultivation. Such a regular connection with the mother-country, and appearance of the British flag and force in those remote seas, would give the greatest spirits possible to all that were concerned in the colonies.—Having thus conducted this part of the design so far towards perfection, let us in the next place form a slight idea of the vast consequences which probably would, but undoubtedly might attend it in respect of the great, honourable, and important point—that of DISCOVERIES.

The existence of a great *southern-continent* is now no longer doubted; and that it would in every respect prove highly worthy of being examined (whatever end was proposed, whether colonizing, trading, or the mere acquisition of fresh knowledge, at present unconceived) no one can dispute, notwithstanding the care with which certain nations* represent it

* Especially the Dutch, who have spared no pains to stifle all ideas of the real nature and extent of this undiscovered country. “Yet it has been reported,” say the authors of the

it as totally unworthy of attention. That the extent of it must be immensely great, there are divers reasons to prove*. But the points of land already seen in it prove this without recurring to reason at all. Great tracts have been partly coasted, which extend from the line to south latitude 40: now this is the climate† of the world which abounds with the richest productions; so that those who would persuade us that such countries are of little worth, speak as much in opposition to common sense and reason, as to all the experience of mankind. However, the few accounts we have had of the little that has been discovered, prove sufficiently that these countries abound in products of the richest kinds. Not

to the Universal History, "that notwithstanding the vast importance of these islands (*the spice ones*) there were countries at no great distance from them which deserved some degree of notice, as abounding in gold and precious stones, and not altogether deficient in spices. It is the more requisite to speak of these countries in this place, because, though they were but half discovered by the Portuguese, yet, for all the world knows to the contrary, that discovery has not been so much as prosecuted, much less perfected by the Dutch. On the contrary, we have been given to understand, that some mistake has happened in this business; that these countries are poor, barren, miserable places, and those who inhabit them a race of brutal, stupid, and starving people. This possibly may be so; however, as it has been otherwise reported, and as these countries lie upon the very line that divides the known from the unknown parts of the world, and may be as easily reached by the South Seas as by the Cape of Good Hope; a few particulars from the histories of the Portuguese may not be either unpleasant or unuseful, more especially if the spirit of discovery should at any time hereafter animate the bosoms of our countrymen." (He then proceeds to a slight account of what passed relative these countries while the Portuguese empire in Asia lasted). *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 347.

* "We call by the name of *Terra Australis*," says a modern writer, "all that part of our earth which lies beyond the three southern points of the known world, in Africa, Asia, and America: that is to say, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, the Molucca and Celebes Islands, and Cape Horn, or the Straits of Magellan. This space comprehends eight or ten millions of square leagues, which make above a third part of our globe. In this vast tract it is impossible but there must be to the south of Asia some immense continent to keep our globe in equilibrio during its rotation, by serving as a counterpoise to Northern Asia. Whoever examines the two hemispheres of the globe divided horizontally, that is, by the equator (as they should always be) and not by the meridian, must be struck in observing the weight and in the one hemisphere and so little in the other; especially as he knows that the weight of earth is, to that of sea-water, nearly as five to three." *Terra Australis Cognita*, vol. i. p. 8.

† "As to the wealth and fertility of this continent," says a modern writer, "both reason and experience seem to unite in making it one of the happiest countries in the world. Both de Quiros and Dampier have described it in glowing colours, such as might be thought to flow from the pencil of fancy, if farther experience and the very nature of the thing did not support their assertions. The country called by the former *La Australia del Espritu Santo*, in the latitude of 15° 40' south, he affirms to abound with gold, silver, pearl, mace, nutmegs, and ginger. It is opposite to the country called *Carpentaria*, and from its situation gives the strongest credibility to the warm description of the discoverer. Captain Dampier speaks of the land about Cape St. George and Port Montague in much the same language, but enumerates fewer of the rich commodities; which might probably arise from the super-

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to consider this as a fact already proved, would be the same as denying the best foundations of the knowledge we already possess. But what is most astonishing relative to this unknown but immense continent, is the strange want of curiosity in modern princes. If one of the planets could be explored, how eager would the world be to know its contents—No; I mistake:—so dead is that spirit which distinguished the two last ages, that I question whether a prince now existing would give a groat to examine a planet, or be at the expence of a cock-boat to open a correspondence with the moon. The better philosophers they!—reply some: Experience, however, tells us otherwise; but of that more hereafter.

Those parts of these vast tracts hitherto discovered have been found exceedingly populous. This alone is sufficient to prove, that a trade of the most advantageous kind might be carried on with the inhabitants. The exportation of manufactures, and the employment of ships and seamen, are the great points which the present system of Europe most requires: these would be

facial view he took of the country; whereas Quiros actually resided some time in the parts he describes, and consequently had better opportunities of being acquainted with the produce. Schouten and Tasman likewise take notice of nutmegs and ginger, as well as cocoa-nuts, pifans, &c. which they saw on the coast. It cannot either be supposed that all those writers were mistaken, or that they concurred in a settled plan of deceiving the public and imposing on their readers. The perfect harmony between their reports, and the situation of this continent, the trees on the land, and the fish on the coast, correspond exactly with the trees of those countries, and the fish on those coasts, where these commodities are known to abound within land, strongly intimate a conformity throughout, and take away the least suspicion of their authority and veracity. If the islands of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, abound in precious stones, and other valuable commodities, and the Moluccas in spices; New Guinea, and the regions behind, must, by a parity of reason, be as plentifully endowed by nature. If the island of Madagascar is so fine, and such a country, as all authors speak it; if gold, ivory, and other commodities of great value are common in the southern part of Africa, from Melinda down to the Cape of Good Hope and up again to Cape Gonzalez; here are the same parallels in New Zealand, New Holland, and Carpentaria. If Peru overflows with silver, if all the mountains of Chili are filled with gold, the Brazils with every sort of wealth, this continent enjoys the benefit of the same position; and therefore whoever thoroughly discovers and settles it, will infallibly be possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful, and as capable of improvement as the Moluccas, the Cape of Good Hope, Pera, Chili, or the Brazils, and indeed as any that have hitherto been discovered in any part of the terraqueous globe. If we reflect upon all the circumstances mentioned in the journals we have quoted, the credit of the several authors, their apparent connection, and the impossibility of making forgeries coincide so exactly with reason, with experience, and with each other; we must conclude there is ample evidence of there being a continent and many islands to the south, all rich, fertile, and populous. If a trade to these was opened, the same reason shews that it must be very commodious, and produce as great or greater advantages than those which have resulted from the discovery of America. Is it not therefore astonishing that this powerful and busy nation should never have undertaken to gratify their curiosity, by the fullest conviction of the state of this continent!?" *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 357. 359. *Harris's Collection*, vol. i. *Hist. des Navig. des Terres Austr.* p. 257.

fully answered; for it is impossible to conceive that people inhabiting such climates, and consequently possessing the commodities most valuable in Europe, should not be as eager to exchange their products for ours as we could be: and it is much easier to be conceived than expressed how far this exchange might be carried, or how many millions of people might be supplied with European manufactures, if these vast countries were discovered.

What was the amount of manufacturing for trade before the discovery of America? A mere trifle; sufficient to enrich and employ a few paltry Hanse-towns, a city of Antwerp, or a State of Genoa: but compare the progress made since that event; consider the trade of Europe before and since; think of the exportation of British, Dutch, French, and other manufactures, nine-tenths perhaps of which are consumed in America, or in Africa in consequence of America. What comparison can be drawn between the riches of Britain now and in the time of Queen Elizabeth? and yet if we come to examine the matter, we shall find the superiority of the latter times to the former, to be chiefly owing to the discovery of America. What is the present grand want of Britain? A new demand for manufactures great enough to set at work three millions of idle hands, who are now a burthen upon the three kingdoms. Is such a market to be found in Europe? Those who are so apt to cry out, We have trade enough, and more colonies than we know what to do with—should be asked, Have you any unemployed poor? If you have, you have enough of neither one or the other. What is the use of trade? The enabling your own poor to maintain themselves at the expence of foreigners.

This great continent of the south, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean, are the only places where we can ever hope to find such a market as Britain wants; and an attentive consideration of what is hitherto come to light concerning them, and the probable state of what is not yet known, will convince us that these countries bid exceedingly fair for opening the most advantageous demand for manufactures that Britain has ever yet known.

But is there not likewise the greatest reason to suppose that these immense countries, extending from the Line possibly to the South Pole, must abound with productions of which we can have as little idea, as the Europeans could entertain of those of America before it was discovered? If we throw a careless eye around us, what a new world of commodities, and many of the most useful natures, broke upon us on that event! There are equal reasons, nay superior ones, for supposing these unknown countries

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tries to abound in peculiar productions. A number of commodities are there probably in being, which would open new species of manufactures unthought of, and give bread to millions now unborn.

But without considering these points merely in a commercial light, is it not astonishing that the princes and great men among the maritime powers of Europe, have no more curiosity to become acquainted with the ideas, the manners, the customs, the knowledge, of so considerable a part of the globe? all which are at present as unknown as those of the inhabitants of the Moon. What a wonderful idea is it to think of the arts, the sciences, and the species of human learning, which may reside among these unknown people; and wait only for the active curiosity of some European to extend them in a million of beneficial shapes to the rest of mankind! Wonders, as surprizing as glass, printing, and magnetism itself, may exist there in the womb of obscurity; which, imported to Europe, would open new fields for the minds of mankind to range in. And let me at the same time add, that we are in want of such, to us, unknown spheres of human knowledge. There has, for above a century past, been a kind of languor in the learned world—a total cessation of all great and useful discoveries, which has thrown the warmest pursuers of the arts and sciences into a beaten tract, in which they are contented to relay, in a new manner, what their more spirited ancestors had said before. Nothing gives a greater activity and vigour to the human mind than unthought of and important discoveries; they open new regions of science, and lift the ideas of mankind from the dull rotation of commonplace facts to the glorious sphere of invention: one discovery brings on another; the general circle of knowledge is enlarged, and every art and science receives new improvements. These are noble advantages, but they can never spring from the tame and insipid repose which broods at present over Europe.

But besides the arts and sciences unknown to Europe, which it is possible the inhabitants of these vast countries may be possessed of, nature would certainly present fresh kingdoms to the eyes of the natural philosopher. What new wonders of creation might we not expect to see amongst the beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects, of so considerable a country as extends from the Line to the Pole! What a variety of new vegetables, and probably many of considerable use, would be discovered, to the prodigious advancement of botany! What might not astronomy expect from the view of such an unexplored firmament, and the neighbourhood of what may be called a New Pole! In a word, what a fresh world will be brought to light by that prince who has genius and resolu-

tion enough to execute such a plan as this! This globe presents no opportunity of a prince's enrolling his name among the most famous discoverers, but by determining steadily to penetrate into the recesses of these immense regions, and bring them at once to the light of the world in a scientific systematic manner, if I may be allowed the expressions:—not to send out a scattered ship or two, just to prove the practicability of the scheme, but come home after having done nothing; but to prosecute it vigorously, by taking such measures as should be in no danger of proving ineffectual. There is no presumption in asserting, that the monarch who does this will gain a greater, a better founded, and a more lasting fame than the most renowned conquerors. What myriads of kings have been born to eat, drink, reign, and sleep, and have left the theatre of human actions, without a name equal to that of the meanest American discoverer! How few, whose fame is comparable to that of a Columbus, a Magellan, a Raleigh, a Drake, or a Cavendish!

But let us listen a little to the voice of timidity and sloth, which too often usurp the garb of prudence;—let us hear what those men will advance, who, had they lived in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, had ridiculed the great Columbus for a visionary projector. Let us examine the objections which are most likely to be in general made to this whole plan; and see if they are founded in real prudence and sound policy, or only a set of fashionable arguments equally advanced against all great and new discoveries, and commercial improvements.

I before examined the propriety of asserting that we have colonies enough; and attempted to prove, that the more perplexed the affairs of this country with her old colonies are, the more burthenfome they prove to her, the greater the danger of their becoming less and less beneficial, or the more the difficulties that occur in changing the policy which has occasioned their defects;—by so much the more necessary is it to seek out and plant new ones. But, in addition to such an objection, it may perhaps be asserted, *that supposing it was found prudent to aim at the establishment of a new colony or two; yet, to execute such a plan as I have laid down, would be impracticable, from its extent, which would occasion numerous failings, and much ill-success; and at last defeat the whole intention: But if, on the contrary, success did attend it, the number of fortresses and settlements would be too great to keep up without an immense waste of men and money.*

In answer to this objection, let us in the first place remember, that the distraction which sometimes results from the engaging in many undertakings

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takings at once (a circumstance, however, that seldom attends the operations of able men) would not be a consequence of the preceding plan, because it is expressly proposed to make pretty sure of one settlement first, and use that as the means of proceeding:—every part of the road to be well surveyed (if I may use the expression) and known before it is extended; so that the design would be uniform throughout, and every success but a preparatory step to further attempts; consequently, if any failings or ill-success unexpectedly interrupted the execution, such misfortunes would be speedily known and remedied before a further progress was undertaken; that the great principle of the design might not be forgot, that of forming a *chain of settlements and ports* across the Pacific Ocean. But if a link was broken in the center, and the extremity lengthened before the reparation of it, the conduct would be unpolitical, and more of a piece with the politics of Spain, who possesses a navigation already across this ocean, and might have a *chain* of connection, but neglects it, than similar to what might be expected from a trading power.—The strength of the preceding objection therefore must lie (if any where) in the extent of the settlements after the design was completed.

To this part of it, it is no improper answer to refer to the extent of the Portuguese settlements in the Indies, when they were in the height of their power; that is a vast chain of possessions, settlements, colonies, fortresses, cities, and islands, from the coast of Zanzibar in Africa, along all the coasts of Persia, Indostan, the Peninsula, to China, and even Japan; besides the numerous islands in the Indian Archipelago. The great extent of these possessions did not prevent their wisest governors from fitting out ships to discover the great Southern Continent:—they regularly found that this connected chain of settlements and fortresses, instead of being a burthen upon them was the cause of their power; each link strengthened the other: A great trade was carried on, much shipping and many seamen employed; and while their power lasted in the Indies, their monarchy was more considerable than ever it was before or has been since. Nor did the designs of the Dutch, of raising themselves in the Indies on the spoils of Portugal, succeed from the unwieldy extent of its possessions, but from the avarice and depravity of the Portuguese governors and commanders; and from their raising up so many Indian enemies, who were ready to join the first of their foes. Those who will read the history of the Portuguese empire in the Indies with the least attention, will be sensible of this fact.

The Dutch, whose Indian politics have been so highly magnified, were far enough from thinking that any inconveniencies resulted from *extent of possessions*;

possessions; for they not only built their power upon the ruins of that of the Portuguese, but exceeded them in the number and strength of their cities and fortresses; and as they conducted their affairs much better than their predecessors, they were attended by success, which has now continued uninterrupted above a century and a half.—If these nations, therefore, have found the benefits of acting in this manner, and never experienced any inconveniencies from numerous commercial fortresses and settlements, surely there is great weakness in fancying that we should, who are near three times over a more numerous nation than both the Dutch and Portuguese together. But if this circumstance was not so, yet that of Great Britain's being the first naval potentate in the universe, would more than balance forty weights in the opposite scale, since a paltry fort, wherever situated, under the protection of the British flag, no one will deny to be more secure than large cities under the dominion of nations weaker at sea. The last war is a noble proof of this truth.

The present American possessions of Britain are no impeachment of this reasoning, because they are so populous and *internally* powerful as to be in no want of garrisons and fortresses; in fact, all we have on that continent, maintained by the mother-country, amounts only to a few trifling forts to keep in awe an handful of raggamuffin Indians. Our American colonies therefore support—or, at least, might support themselves.—However, the comparison between the number of settlements and fortresses of the Dutch in the Indies, and those proposed by Britain in the Pacific Ocean, will bear no proportion; for the former have more in one spice island than would be sufficient to extend the proposed chain from Cape Horn to Mindanao: and if discoveries were multiplied in the progress, and settlements formed on the great Southern Continent itself, yet the number of our fortresses need bear no proportion to those which the Dutch, a nation so trifling compared with ourselves, maintain in India. These comparisons shew us, therefore, at least, that this imaginary formidableness of *extent* of settlement is a mere phantom, and no objection to the execution of such commercial plans as would prove so greatly beneficial as these. In a word, the truth is this, if the consequences resulting from the plan are good, it deserves the trouble and expence; if bad, the contrary. The very latitude and population of the countries before sketched are alone sufficient to prove the first:—no circumstances give any reason to suspect the latter.

One very considerable advantage of the superior naval power of Britain, is the ease with which she can connect and support distant settlements. Every nation in the world but her, who is the first maritime power, would,

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on such an occasion as this, be necessitated to build much stronger fortresses and keep larger garrisons on account of such inferiority. If the vast importance of a squadron of men of war, annually visiting these new-formed settlements for a few years, be considered, it will be found that this expence of troops and forts would by no means be so great as at first sight may be imagined. Let us suppose one in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn; a second either on Davis's Land or some island more to the westward; a third and fourth in the other islands south of the line; a fifth in the New Philippines; a sixth in the Liquois; and a seventh in Mindanao.—The Dutch have above twice this number of *strong fortresses* in the *single* island of Ceylon for the sake of ingrossing the *single* commodity of cinnamon. If other discoveries were attempted, and a trade opened with the great Southern Continent, others would be necessary; suppose double the number, they would form very weak foundations to build an argument upon against the propriety of the scheme. The single town of Gibraltar costs the nation twice as much as ten such fortresses in the Pacific Ocean, and not one hundredth part of the benefits result from it. Nor would the drain of men by colonizing be greater: I always suppose the government to have prudence enough to guide the emigrations that are made to any colonies. Emigrations there must and will be whether we have many or no colonies, and abundance of foreigners always at the command of Great Britain to transport wherever she pleases.—We have every day instances of this: the only point therefore is, to determine what colonies shall first be peopled.

The next objection may, I think, be somewhat of the following nature:—*As a principal design of this plan is to procure spice-islands, the Dutch would not only take umbrage at it, but prevent the execution, since it is well known how severely they treat all ships they meet with near their spice-islands, or even attempting to make discoveries on the southern countries. And as the Spaniards have extensive claims in the South Seas, and are very ambitious of keeping the navigation of it to themselves, they likewise would be offended at this conduct.*

If the scheme was a mere chimera, from which no good could result, it would be weak to bring any objections to it: but if, on the contrary, great and noble advantages would probably accrue to this country from its execution, to bring such an objection as this could only move the laudable indignation of every Briton. The Dutch have surely no pretensions or claim to a monopoly of spice a moment longer than the culture of them is neglected by other nations.—They have not formed even pretensions to any one of the islands or countries I before sketched, unless drawing
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the fragment of a map of the southern continent upon the floor of the Stadthouse at Amsterdam, can be call'd a just claim to a country containing ten millions of square leagues, an hundredth part of the coast of which they certainly never saw. It might just as well be asserted, that the Dutch claim all countries under the sun that produce spice. — I should not be greatly surpris'd at such a claim, but exceedingly so, if their neighbours allowed it. — But whatever they claim matters not a great to Britain. — She has too much justice to imitate their conduct in seizing the possessions of other nations, — but she is too considerable to be frightened at the bugbear of such ridiculous claims. These sentiments, however, are in answer to the objection, I cannot believe that the Dutch know their own weakness so little as to think of such usurping pretensions in this age.

The Spanish claims here hinted at are much of the same nature. They have a captain, with a company or two of soldiers, in a paltry fort at Guam. This is their claim to all the islands that may be met with in the course of five or six thousand leagues around it. Such claims deserve nothing but ridicule. But it may be said, that for any thing we know to the contrary, Magellan, or some other Spanish navigator, might, some centuries ago, have seen these countries I speak of, consequently they belong to the King of Spain: — But such absurd ideas are pretty well exploded now a days. Nothing but possession by a colony, a settlement or a fortress, is now allowed to give a right from discovery; even a treaty with the natives to the exclusion of other foreigners is doubtful, but certainly much superior to the mere setting up of a cross. If priority of discovery gives a right, to what does it give a right? To a whole continent. If so, the moment a Spaniard set foot in America, the whole was the King of Spain's from the north pole to the streights of Magellan: we know how well other nations allowed that. Mr. Postlethwayte in his Dictionary talks of the claim we have to California, because Sir Francis Drake was the first discoverer. What absurdity! We made no settlement of any kind whatever; — that is, we left it for those who would, — which the Spaniards have done, and have therefore a right to the country. The Isles of Solomon and the New Philippines were seen by the Spaniards first; but as they did not think them worth settling, because mountains of silver did not at once appear, does it therefore follow that no other nation has a right to settle them? The truth, indeed, is, that all settling of colonies are acts of violence; — the right every where is in the natives; — all other rights are fictitious: they will only bear comparisons with each other; and that certainly is the only one which will bear the least examination, that is, founded on purchase. Let us suppose Magellan,

Magellan, in his voyage, to discover a new island; he goes ashore, plants a cross, and then sails away. After him comes Sir Francis Drake; he goes ashore; make a treaty with the natives, and purchases a certain quantity of land, builds a fort, and leaves a garrison; who has the best right to that island? Surely the latter. But as his right extends no further than his purchase, — others may likewise come and purchase; but if the commodities of such island are rich, that will not be so convenient: — force is then brought in. Whatever succeeds, matters not to the present point; — that possession of a single acre gives a better right than the first discovery. And that, according to the ideas of Europeans, any nation has a right to form settlements in whatever countries are *unpossessed* by others. Spain had a very good right to settle California, notwithstanding England was the first discoverer.

In respect to the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the Spaniards do not themselves know what they first discovered: — their first navigators christened certain islands, which the best Spanish writers now are quite dubious about. — Some assert that Magellan's islands were *here*, others insist that they were *there*. One says he sailed through the Ladrões; — another contradicts it, and asserts it was through the New Philippines. But whether it was one or the other, or neither, matters not a farthing in respect of *right*. They have, what *we* call, a right to what they possess; and if they chuse to extend those possessions, so far as they extend them so far will their right be extended. But to imagine they have an exclusive right to what they do not possess, is as contradictory to the conduct of the world as it is repugnant to common sense. Magellan sailed through the Archipelago of St. Lazarus: — The Spaniards from hence lay an exclusive claim (according to some of their old writers) to eleven thousand islands. They took care to fix upon a number large enough, that it might extend, I suppose, to all that ever were discovered in the Pacific Ocean. But whatever their claims of this sort are, they, by no means, are objections to Britain's executing such a plan as I have sketched; for Spain has neither justice for their foundations, nor power for their support.

Thirdly, It may perhaps be asserted, that the length of the voyage to these parts of the world is too great to establish profitable settlements. This would be an objection of importance, were none but commodities of small value, but great bulk, to be brought home; but is of no effect against the production of spices, cochineal, raw silk, &c. &c. or even sugar; for the first come to Europe now by as long a rout, and a considerable quantity even of the last. Common experience therefore tells us, that no navigation is too long for the transport of valuable commodities. The only

cargoes of all the European East India ships might convince us of this truth; and especially when it is considered (as was before observed) that the navigation to the extremity of the Pacific Ocean may be performed in less time than to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and that by some months. But, on the other hand, what noble benefits result from long voyages! These are the true nurseries for seamen, and breed the hardiest and most valuable; nor is navigation so much obliged to any trade as that which occasions them. They encourage the building and fitting out of ships; they render courage, activity, vigour, and skill, necessary in a number of captains and seamen; and prove, in all these and other respects, of incomparable value to a maritime nation; inasmuch that those branches of commerce, and those settlements which are the support of long voyages, ought, from every sensible people, to receive peculiar attention.—“The notion of sailing by a west course to the East Indies,” says a very penetrating writer, “first entered into the imagination of Columbus; and yet there is great reason to presume, that if he could possibly have made a right calculation, and had understood that 230 degrees of longitude must be traversed in such a course, it would have appeared even to him a matter extremely doubtful, if not utterly impossible. But in a series of years, and that a very short one, since from the first voyage of Columbus to that of Magellan, there scarce intervened thirty, this was conceived, undertaken, and executed; and consequently incomparably greater improvement was made in this art of navigation than in the many hundreds, and even thousands of years preceding. *Of such consequence it is to keep men in action, to excite their faculties, and to inflame their courage by emulation, and to make one discovery a step to another. It was by means like these that THAT SO MUCH WAS DONE IN SO SMALL A TIME; and by the neglect of these means that SO LITTLE HAS BEEN DONE EVER SINCE.*”

It may, lastly, be objected, that the execution of such a plan would clash with the interests of our East India company, for although spices,

“It may be suggested,” says a modern author, “that if the court of Spain was ever so much inclined to encourage a commerce from Spain to the Philippine Islands, it would never come to much, because the length of the voyage would deter private men from trading from the West Indies to the East, and from the East to the West, in their own bottoms. In answer to this, we shall observe, that some private traders in France, in 1735, fitted out four or five ships for the South Seas, where they arrived safely, and after vending their cargo there, sailed from the coast of Peru to China; which is a longer voyage than to the Philippines, performed it successfully in less than four months, and returned from thence into France. *See Nouveau Voyage au Tour du Monde, par L. G. de la Barbinais, tom. ii. p. 251.*” which shews what the hopes of gain will produce, and what may be done where people are sure of being rewarded for the risks they run, and the labours they endure. *Modern Universal History, vol. ix. p. 489.*

† *Modern Universal History, vol. ix. p. 481.*

etc. are not the product of their settlements, yet they have a profit upon the sale of them? nor can any British ship discharge the East India trade without their licence. This objection will not be difficult to answer, if any one will allow that the private interests of a monopoly ought to give way to those of the nation at large; a position which I apprehend none will dispute. It is very grievous to those who wish well to the nation's commerce, to hear the interests of a company, the very existence of which is deemed by many of our best political writers to be injurious to the kingdom, to hear their interests set in competition with the public good, and quoted as objections to its advancement! What other answer can be given to such melancholy objections, but to hope that the legislature will conceive different ideas?

But this is upon the supposition that one must give way to the other. If the East India company is found to be beneficial, the good certainly arises not from any part of the world I have traced in the preceding plan. All the commerce, of whatever kind, carried on by that company, extends not to the 130th degree of east longitude; or, in other words, farther than the coast of China. Let this be made the boundaries of their charter, with the same privileges they now enjoy; but let all to the east of that, or the Pacific Ocean, be open to all the King's subjects. The company would then suffer no other loss than that of their profit on spices; which, if they did suffer, could only be from our raising them in colonies of our own: the one surely ought to give way to the other. But if other India commodities were thus raised, tea for instance, would it not make an infinite difference to Britain between the purchasing them with silver, or with her own manufactures? The exportation of bullion is not the great mischief; it is the want of that of manufactures. The end of trade and commerce of whatever kind is industry; that is, employment for our poor: no matter what the means are which conduce to this end, provided the end is gained.

It is idle to extend objections further; these, I think, are the only ones which carry even an appearance of reason with them: And that it is but an appearance, more arguments might be brought to prove than I have insisted on. But since the plan of settling various islands, &c. in the Pacific Ocean, and opening a trade with the inhabitants of the great southern continent, is not only practicable, but so extremely expedient, let us in the next place consider of what great importance that chain of settlements, which I first sketched, would be towards facilitating any further discoveries to the south. This connected line of ports across that vast ocean would shorten a voyage for new discoveries prodigiously. Ships might

protected from any of the islands in that oblong space described by the 16th and 36th degrees of south latitude, and the 120th and 180th of west longitude, with the utmost ease and safety, to any part of that immense ocean, without having a course of an immoderate length to run. In all probability they would speedily meet with either great islands, or a continent, to the southward. For any thing we know to the contrary, latitude 30 itself may extend over one. But the proper methods would be to sail from the New Philippines, or the Isles of Solomon, to Dampier's Straits, between New Britain and New Guinea, and then to pursue the coast of the latter country, which way soever it ran; to discover whether it joined New Zealand, and follow whatever coast they met with that bore eastward, by which means a map might be drawn of the whole coast at once; and the great encouragement to such an undertaking is the certainty of finding large tracts of country in a tropical climate, where there is no danger of being intercepted by ice or cold. The matter might be reduced to certainty, if some such methods as these were pursued, and that too in a very few months; for the course from the islands above-mentioned can be but trifling. Indeed, the situation of the proposed line of settlements is such as almost to command the Pacific Ocean, at least those parts which are most valuable to a European nation, the central and tropical ones, since they alone can contain countries proper for British colonies.

That this immense ocean is thickly strewed with islands, there can be no doubt. A vast number have already been seen, and although the best charts we have of it contain but few, yet that is far from a proof of the contrary, since numbers are designedly left out of the Spanish charts,

* In treating of this subject, we assumed it as highly likely, that notwithstanding there is so little appearance of it in our common maps, yet, in all probability, the Pacific Ocean might be full of islands; and have also hinted more than once at an hypothesis, that, if admitted, would establish this system. (*Observations Physique et Mathematique de l'Academie*, p. 223.) Discoveries have been made in all directions. There has been no expedition through this ocean of which we have any distinct account, without new islands being discovered. Magellan saw other islands; and the names of the Ladrões and their names, have differed anciently from what they are now accounted. (*G. Battista Ramusio Raccolta delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. I. p. 375.—*Galvano's Discoveries*.—*Huchelyt. Du Bois Geographie Moderne*, p. 2, chap. 14. art. 5.) Sir Francis Drake actually passed through the New Philippines. Subsequent English commanders made other discoveries; and though this is a great deal, we could have shewn much more. Incidentally, and without seeking them, a chain of islands have been discovered to the north almost as high as Japan. (*Heister's Description de las Indes Occidentales*, cap. 28. *Eden's History of Travels*.—*Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts*.) The New Philippines, notwithstanding, is the most striking proof of all, since they render it evident, that what we suppose of the whole is at least true of a part; nor is this proof at all less authentic for its being accidental; for that is a pregnant testimony in favour of another proposition more than once mentioned, that the Spaniards are not so much ignorant of this as indisposed to acknowledge and unwilling to have it discovered. This appears from

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so that there can be little doubt but that every new voyage in those seas would bring us acquainted with new discoveries. Those ships however which were sent purposely for making discoveries, I could wish were otherwise provided than has hitherto been common. The great failing of former expeditions of this nature was always owing to their sailing from Europe by which means they never had time sufficient to prosecute any discovery; they were generally obliged to steer homewards at the most critical moment of their whole voyage. But the vessels being sent from the center of that ocean, would totally obviate this objection. Few ships that have sailed in quest of new countries have been properly loaded;— they should contain a small quantity of every kind of European manufacture, and whatever was most likely to strike the fancies of the natives of the sought-for countries. People of particular caution, and at the same time of penetration, should alone be intrusted with the intercourse between the ship and the Indians. The common sailors are too easily affronted, and are very destitute of that general humanity which is requisite in such unusual occasions. Men well-skilled in the productions of similar climates should be of the crew, that false and shallow accounts of valuable commodities might not be brought, which is too often the case in such expeditions. Two or three skilful botanists would be absolutely necessary to gain a real and well-founded knowledge of any country. Some draughtsmen would be equally necessary for various purposes. An able geographer and mathematician should always be of such parties, that inaccurate charts might not be taken. But instead of all these, and other requisites, the ships which hitherto have sailed in quest of new countries, have only brought home such puzzling contradictory accounts, as to employ the world for a long time after in conjecturing what really were the facts, from the given descriptions. Nor would the additional expence incurred by these means

the extraordinary strictness of their sailing orders, which we have good reason to believe are not casually defective, but intentionally restricted in this particular. (*Galvano, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Lord Anson's Voyages.*) The same thing appears from their charts, but managed with great prudence and address; for all new islands are inserted as soon as discovered, to prevent the surprize of their wishing to conceal them; but then, islands long before discovered are left out; so that the modern charts are not at all fuller than those made two centuries ago. Add to this, that no discoveries whatever tempt this nation to proceed any further, how easily soever that might be done, or with whatever advantageous consequences it might be attended. But to bar the pretensions of any other nation, and to secure their title to islands not yet known; and which perhaps they never will know, they plead an exclusive right from the first discovery by Magellan of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, comprehending, according to their computation, eleven thousand islands. (*See Ramusio's Raccolta, &c. tom. 1. p. 373. Argensola's Conquista de las Islas Molucas, lib. 1. deo. Pexela's Relation Histoire des Isles Mariannees, liv. 1.*) So that how much soever our doctrine may clash with their politics, there is nothing clearer than that they differ not much from us in their opinion.

Modern Universal History, vol. 18. p. 622.

be any considerable matter, and not to be mentioned in comparison with the benefits which would result from them.

I cannot help earnestly wishing, that the SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY may once more arise in this nation: the South Sea alone presents a field for this spirit to range in; — a field, ample as the most daring mind can wish. The heroic courage, and the noble vigour of our forefathers received its birth in the activity which distant adventures must occasion. Spain fell from her envied situation as soon as this invigorating impulse dwindled into the prudence of guarding what was already gained, instead of keeping alive for the same purpose that courage which alone won it. Never did British courage appear in such a glorious light as in the midst of those daring adventures which the spirit of discovery was so fertile in producing. The heroism of later times is not comparable to it. What were the vessels that demolished the Armadas of Spain; — that plundered her American coasts from the line to the pole; — that circumnavigated the world in the face of potent navies? Sloops, Brigs, Schooners, pinnaces, cockboats! A seaman would now ask a ship of an hundred guns to perform that which our Drakes and Cavendishes executed in one of as many tons. — This, however, is no reproach, it is the spirit of the age; and that heroic spirit of the fifteenth century sprung from, and was kept alive by the spirit of discovery.

I shall conclude with a few admirable remarks of a late author, speaking of the discovery of the New Philippines: — “It is, indeed, very singular, that, considering their situation, the number of them, and their lying, as it were, within several circles, one within another, in the very midst of countries possessed by the Spaniards, they should remain for two centuries, in a manner, unknown, or at least unnoticed. It is yet more strange, that after the first intelligence of them, and that too by accident, they should remain upwards of fifty years, in a manner, half discovered. It is certainly very surprizing, that in an age so enlightened as this, an event of this sort should be so little considered or attended to; and that the finding of these islands should be registered amongst the relations of missionaries, the collections of societies destined to the promotion of science, and be, in a manner, wholly slighted by the great world, by geographers, historians, and statesmen: From all of whom, from the nature of things, discoveries of this kind claim more immediate regard*.” This certainly shews, that the noble and heroic spirit which distinguished the fifteenth century, and which was attended with so many illustrious events;

* Le Sprit des Loix, liv. 20. c. 18.

and

and such prodigious advantages to the inhabitants of Europe, however ill managed in some respects, and in all perhaps but too much misapplied, has been gradually evaporating, and is now on the point of being extinguished; and this from the very principle that first excited, and ought ever to keep it alive, a propensity to commerce; which, while we endeavour to monopolize, we cease to extend; and, while we quarrel and dispute about what we have, discourage those discoveries that might employ, enrich, and content us all.—But it will be said, that the views of princes and politicians are very different from the visions of speculative men, who travel only in their closets, make discoveries upon paper, and frame schemes for themselves, and men of a like turn to admire, but which great ministers treat with derision. The truth of this is not to be disputed. But the point to be enquired into is, who are most likely to be in the right? Princes and politicians are great names; persons of science and sagacity are great men. The former are generally occupied about the concerns of their own times; the latter look forward, and endeavour the benefit of posterity. It was not Ferdinand, though honoured with the title of the *Wise*, the *Great*, and the *Catholic*, who discovered the new world, but poor Columbus; who had been treated as a chimerical projector, and whose vast designs had perished in embryo, if Isabella had not enabled him to carry them into execution by pledging her jewels*.

I shall conclude with a few observations upon the progress of the discovery of the new world, which, though it has been treated as a very singular, that, considering the number of nations which have been discovered, and the vast extent of the continent, it is not more than a very small part of the globe. It is yet more singular, that the first discovery of the new world was made by a man who had no other talents than those of a sailor, and who had no other views than to enrich himself by trade. It is yet more singular, that the first discovery of the new world was made by a man who had no other talents than those of a sailor, and who had no other views than to enrich himself by trade. It is yet more singular, that the first discovery of the new world was made by a man who had no other talents than those of a sailor, and who had no other views than to enrich himself by trade.

E S S A Y

* The jewels were valued at 100,000 ducats, and were given to Columbus by Isabella.

ESSAY VI.

Of the Present State of the COMMERCE of GREAT BRITAIN.

THE transition from agriculture, manufactures, and colonies, to commerce, is not abrupt; for the first are the causes, and the latter is the effect. As it would occasion much confusion to examine all the branches of the British commerce in one general view, I shall assign to each a section; first giving a concise state of the trade, and then adding such reflections as are necessary to elucidate the facts. Upon this plan, the following divisions will be necessary:

- I. *British Commerce with the Baltic.*
- II. *With Holland and Germany.*
- III. *With France.*
- IV. *With Portugal.*
- V. *With Spain.*
- VI. *With Italy.*
- VII. *With the Levant.*
- VIII. *The coasting trade.*
- IX. *The inland commerce of Great Britain.*
- X. *The plantation trade.*
- XI. *The British fisheries.*
- XII. *The East India trade.*
- XIII. *The African trade.*
- XIV. *General state of shipping, navigation, tonnage, and seamen.*
- XV. *Of the balance of trade.*
- XVI. *Comparison between the commerce of Great Britain and that of other countries.*
- XVII. *Of the consequences of commerce to the general welfare of the nation; the means of promoting it; and conjectures on its future state.*

S E C T. I.

Of the British Commerce with the Baltic.

THE exports of Great Britain to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, consist of some manufactures, tobacco, tin, and lead. Her imports are timber, iron, copper, hemp, flax, linen cloth, linen yarn, leather, furs, and potash. This trade ought to be considered in two lights; in respect of the balance of the whole, which is paid in cash, and the balance of the exchange of manufactures. It is very well known, that there is a large balance against us in the Baltic trade; but that, although a very disadvantageous circumstance, (for it is always beneficial to pay foreigners with the labour of our poor, that is, with manufactures) is not the only one to be considered in forming an estimation of a branch of commerce. The only manufacture we import is linen cloth, the amount of which is not comparable to the quantity of our own fabrics, which we export; besides the tobacco, which is the same thing, being purchased in America with them. So far therefore this trade is advantageous. And as to our other Baltic imports, they are all raw commodities, to be manufactured here, or at least necessaries; hemp, flax, iron, copper, &c. are both; and timber is of great consequence to us in sparing the consumption of our own growth, which is much more valuable. And if it is considered, that the more timber we raise the less corn we shall produce, it will not be found disadvantageous to import enough, for all common demands from other countries. All these imports, except linen cloth, (which, however, is a very pernicious one, and ought to be prohibited in favour of our Scotch and Irish fabrics of the same kind) occasion a very considerable employment of our own people: — they are the foundation of many very important manufactures; they are of very great consequence to the fitting out of our royal navy; and, lastly, are most of them *necessaries*. These benefits are highly adequate to the evils of exporting our own coin and bullion.

But here it may be said, How are these remarks to be reconciled with my account of this trade elsewhere, in reference to our colonies? The case is very different. I am here stating the trade as it is in itself; to interweave the interests of our colonies would be to confound the subject, and only to repeat what has been said before. This commerce being as beneficial as I have stated it above, is no proof that it would not be more beneficial to purchase the same commodities of our colonists intirely with manufactures. That is too evident to require a repetition; it is impos-

fible

sible to urge the propriety of such a measure too strongly: but as such points were before enlarged upon, I shall take no further notice of them here; nor in any succeeding branch of trade, where the same observations are equally applicable.

In respect to the amount of Great Britain's importations from the Baltic, the following accounts shew the state of the trade, according to our commercial writers:

Iron.

Mr. Postlethwayte * says 23,000 tons; this, at 12 <i>l.</i> per ton, is	£. 276,000
Another † makes it 32,000 tons, which is	384,000
A third ‡, 20,000 tons,	240,000
A fourth §, 17,000 tons from Sweden; and, as the Russia import is one-third ¶, the whole is better than 22,600 tons, or	271,200
A fifth ¶ makes the Swedish import 25,000 tons; the third added, it is 33,300 tons, or	399,600
General medium of these accounts is 27,500 tons, or	314,000

Hemp and Flax.

One account makes this import **	300,000
Another ††,	400,000
A third †††,	500,000
Medium,	400,000

Timber.

Mr. Postlethwayte §§ makes the import	200,000
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* *Dictionary*, Art. *Naval Stores*; in another place, Art. *Iron*, he makes it 350,000*l.*

† *Present State of Great Britain and North America*, p. 126.

‡ *Reasons for encouraging the Importation of Iron from America*, p. 1.

§ *Avantages et Desavantages de la France, et de la G. Bretagne*, p. 134.

¶ *Anderson's Deduction of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 358.

¶ *Propositions for encouraging Manufactures*, &c: p. 122.

** *Present State*, p. 9.

†† *Museum Rusticum*, vol. i. p. 457.

††† *Contest in America*, Pref. p. 34.

§§ *Dictionary*, Art. *Naval Stores*.

As to the other articles of the import, my authorities are silent. These three amount to 914,000; according to which proportions the total must be considerably above a million. The amount of the exports to these countries they have attended as little to, but they will appear from the following state of the balances:

With Russia against Great Britain *, by one account,	£. 256,950
Ditto, by another account †,	400,000
Ditto, by a third ‡,	400,000
Medium,	352,300
With Sweden, by one account §§,	250,000
By another §,	200,000
Medium,	225,000
Denmark and Norway **,	150,000
Total, Sweden, Denmark, Norway,	375,000
Ditto, by another †† account,	390,000
Medium,	382,000
Total balance against Great Britain with the Baltic,	734,300

If we suppose (by these accounts) the imports to be 1,000,000 *l.* then the export of British commodities amounts to 266,000 ††. In

* *Bushing's Geography.*

† *Mair's Book-keeping*, p. 233.

‡ *Anderson's Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 68. Appendix.

§ *Gee's Trade and Navigation*, p. 24.

§ *Anderson, ibid.*

** *Ibid.*

†† *Mair, ibid.* p. 233.

‡‡ The prodigious increase of our Baltic trade within forty or fifty years will be seen by the following state of it in 1716. (See *Boyer's Political State of Great Britain*, quoted by *Anderson*, vol. ii. p. 272.)

Imported into Great Britain, 1716,		
From Denmark and Norway,	£. 73,896	
From the East Country,	103,635	
From Sweden,	136,959	
From Russia,	197,270	
		511,760
Exported from Great Britain,		
To Denmark and Norway,	60,317	
To the East Country,	65,293	
To Sweden,	24,101	
To Russia,	113,154	
		262,865
Balance,		248,895
		By

In addition to these circumstances, it is necessary to remark, that the chief navigation of this commerce is carried on by Danish ships, which will appear clear enough by the following table:

In the year 1747 the Danish ships trading to Great Britain	
amounted to	192
Tonnage,	32,137
Repeated voyages,	144
Tonnage of ditto,	31,931
Total tonnage,	64,068
These cannot well employ less than 5000 seamen.	
Swedish ships in the same year,	62
Repeated voyages,	8
Tonnage of both,	7,963
Ditto, of both Danish and Swedish,	72,031
Total ships,	254

S E C T. II.

Of the British Commerce with Holland and Germany.

THE Dutch and German export consists of every article of our produce and manufacture, besides our Indian and American imports. In return, we take of those countries, spices, linen cloths, linen yarn, wines, kid-skins, whale-fins, battery, madder, toys, lace, &c. &c. I have turned over a considerable number of books and tracts, and can find no accounts of the amount of the exports and imports of this trade. Madder is the only article I have met with particularized.

One asserts the import to be †	£. 180,000
Another ‡,	300,000
A third §,	200,000
Medium,	226,000

Bushing || makes the balance of trade against Great Britain 750,000 l. a year, with only Germany and Flanders; but all accounts, except Mr.

By the East Country I suppose he means the north coast of Germany, but that trade now is gained the by others. Postlethwayte makes the present balance (*introduction to Dictionary*, p. 21.) against Britain to be 1,500,000 l. and yet, according to his own accounts, the imports cannot be above 1,000,000 l. What a contradiction!

• Postlethwayte's *Dictionary*, Art. *Navigation*.

† Miller's *Method of cultivating Madder*, 4to.

‡ *Considerations on Bounties*, 8vo. 1767, p. 62.

§ *An Account of the Effects which have resulted from the Society*, 8vo. p. 7.

|| *System of Geography*.

Geac^{*}, agree †, that with Holland it is considerably in her favour. One supposes the balance 1,400,000*l.* a year ‡. Balance in favour of Britain on both, 650,000*l.*

The greatest objection that is to be made to these trades is, the import of linens. To consume a foreign manufacture, which is the same as the staples of two of our kingdoms, is very bad politics; since every Dutchman or German that is employed in the making of those linens is just a family lost to Scotland or Ireland. Some other manufactures are likewise imported, which might undoubtedly be made at home, and thereby yield employment to our own poor. But, upon the whole, as these nations, especially the Dutch, take off a very considerable quantity of our commodities, the commerce is certainly very beneficial.

S E C T. III.

Of the British Commerce with France.

THERE is no country in the world which yields more of the necessities, and even superfluities of life, than France: The productions of Spain would be more universal, if the industry of the Spaniards was equal to that of the French; but the latter are so well fitted to the task of making the most of every natural advantage, that there is no comparison between the articles in which the two nations supply their own consumption and the demand of foreigners. As France is possessed of such vast advantages, it is easily supposed that few nations gain much by commerce with her. In fact, she imports scarce any manufacture of Great Britain: we are told, indeed, of a few flannels §, but the quantity is very small; our chief exports are tobacco, horn, plates, tin, lead; corn in years of scarcity; wool, coals, allom: of these the wool is the chief. But, in return, we take of the French, laces, lawns, brocades, velvets, silks, toys, and paper; and, besides these manufactures, large quantities of wine, brandy, salt, &c. A single glance of the eye is sufficient to discover how great a loser Britain must be upon this commerce, for she imports a great quantity of manufactures, and no raw commodities to work up herself; whereas France takes of her none of the former, but, in proportion, much of the latter. She had much better be paid in bullion than in unmanu-

* *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 27.

† Mair, p. 233. Anderson, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 68.

‡ *Importance of the Ostend Company considered*, 8vo. 1726.

§ Mair, p. 231.

factured

factured wool, which is her principal import, notwithstanding it is a clandestine one.

Mr. Hume, in his very ingenious Political Essays*, attempts to prove, that the high duties laid in England on French wines have been the result of jealousy and hatred, rather than true politics; and he grounds his opinion upon the increase of vineyards in France. "Each new acre of vineyard," says he, "planted in France, in order to supply England with wine, would make it requisite for the French to take the produce of an English acre sown in wheat or barley, in order to subsist themselves; and it is evident, that we have thereby got command of the better commodity."—But, with submission to so superior a writer, a few circumstances should be remembered: First, our demand for wine would be perfectly regular, but theirs for corn only accidental, upon account of unusual scarcity; and it would be only in such years that we should pay for their wine with our corn; whereas we pay the Spaniards and Portuguese regularly with either corn or manufactures, which makes a prodigious difference. Indeed, it is an absolute impossibility, that any nation, except such a peculiar one as the Dutch, should have a regular demand for corn: Spain itself has not, nor even Naples. Secondly, a kingdom that has so much uncultivated land as France, might greatly increase her vineyards without decreasing her culture of corn. The edicts of the kings of France for prohibiting fresh vineyards, prove nothing to the contrary, as the corn trade till lately was under so many restrictions in that kingdom, that, had there not been a vineyard in it, such edicts, and many others of the same nature, would have been published. They all proceeded from a just notion of a want of corn, but were framed on very wrong principles. At present the exportation of corn is allowed duty-free, which has for these four years, and doubtless will continue to prove, that to possess a plenty of food nothing is necessary but to have an open corn-trade:—while France possesses that, she may increase her vineyards more than to the amount of all the British consumption, and yet never take a ship-load of corn from Britain. The plan therefore laid down by the author would be very far from giving us a command of the French corn-trade. Thirdly, upon a supposition that the French demand for corn increased in proportion to our import of wines, yet it does not by any means follow, that we should be secure of supplying that demand. Barbary, Sicily, and Greece, formerly exported large quantities thither, and always rivalled us in serving the French markets; so that granting the author's suppositions, yet the deductions he makes from them appear to be

* Vol. i. p. 348. 8vo edit.

not well founded; for our import of wine would be very certain and regular, but our export in return the very contrary: but with Spain and Portugal both are regular,

National prejudice and hatred should never guide matters of commerce; but if we consider that the great end of trade is the exportation of labour, or, in other words, the employment of our poor at the expence of foreigners, we shall not have any reason to think our ancestors acted unpolitically in laying such restrictions on the trade to France, since all benefits of that nature result from it, not to us, but to our enemy:— to that nation who Mr. Hume acknowledges to be our natural enemy.

The following tables will shew the progress of our French commerce for this century past. It is with great pleasure that every one must reflect upon the advantageous change that has been effected:

Imports from France 1663.

Manufactures of velvets, sattins, filks, cloth of gold and silver,	£. 600,000
Woollen cloths,	150,000
Hats,	120,000
Mercery ware, toys, &c.	180,000
Paper,	100,000
Ironmongers ware,	40,000
Linen cloth,	400,000
Household stuffs,	100,000
Wines,	600,000
Sundry liquors,	100,000
Saffron and fruits, &c.	150,000
	<hr/>
	2,690,000
Besides vast quantities of salt.	
The exports thither amounted to	<hr/>
	1,000,000
	<hr/>
Balance in favour of France *	1,690,000

* There is great reason to believe this state a just one, as it was taken from the French accounts. See *England's Interest*, by S. Fortrey, 8vo, 1713, p. 17.

Imports

Imports and exports 1674.

Imports.

Linen manufactures,	_____	_____	_____	£. 507,250
Silk ditto,	_____	_____	_____	300,000
Wine, 11,000 tons, at 12 l. 10 s.	_____	_____	_____	137,500
Brandy, 4000 tons, at 20 l.	_____	_____	_____	80,000
Paper, 160,000 reams, at 5 s.	_____	_____	_____	40,000
Prunes, skins, falt, feathers, and rofin,	_____	_____	_____	31,400
Sundry small articles,	_____	_____	_____	40,000
				<u>1,136,150</u>

Besides toys, gloves, laces, and embroidered garments and beds,

Exports.

Woollen manufactures,	_____	_____	_____	£. 81,728
Silk ditto,	_____	_____	_____	2,560
Lead, tin, and allom,	_____	_____	_____	56,400
Sundry other articles,	_____	_____	_____	30,000
				<u>171,021</u>
Balance in favour of France, besides the above-named articles,				<u>965,129</u>
				* <u>1,136,150</u>

In 1700.

Imports.

Linens,	_____	_____	_____	£. 41,451
Paper,	_____	_____	_____	2,377
Wine,	_____	_____	_____	17,229
Brandy,	_____	_____	_____	6,239
Kid skins,	_____	_____	_____	577
Shillings, &c. included, is	_____	_____	_____	<u>67,874</u>

Exports.

Woollen manufactures,	_____	_____	_____	£. 47,151
Lead,	_____	_____	_____	22,939
Shillings, &c. included, is	_____	_____	_____	70,091
Balance in favour of England,	_____	_____	_____	† <u>2,217</u>

* Account drawn from the custom-house. See *Letter to Ar. Moore*, 8vo. 1714. p. 18.

† Davenant's *Account of Trade*, 8vo. 1715. p. 18.

I do not infer this account as of good authority, because many circumstances in it are so enormously different from the foregoing ones, and because the author was employed by the ministry purposely to represent the French trade in a favourable light; thirdly, because a representation (quoted by Davenant, but not invalidated) from the lords of trade and plantations to king William in 1697, insisted, that the balance was in favour of France a million sterling; and party, I should remark, had no interest then to combat either way.

I meet with no accounts from that period till 1741, when the following slight sketch of our imports was published:

Cambrics,	—	—	—	£. 200,000
Paper,	—	—	—	10,000
Wines, 2000 tons, at 40 <i>l.</i>	—	—	—	80,000
Brandy, 2000 tons, at 40 <i>l.</i>	—	—	—	80,000
				<hr/>
				* 370,000

But a great variety of articles are omitted.

Ireland at present imports French wines to the amount † of 150,000 *l.* per annum.

A late author ‡ tells us, the balance of Great Britain's trade with France is 500,000 *l.* a year against the former.

S E C T. IV.

Of the British Commerce with Portugal.

THE Portuguese trade is undoubtedly one of the most valuable carried on by this nation, for we export thither vast quantities of manufactures, but receive none in return, nor any commodities that interfere with the products of these islands. This circumstance proves how extremely beneficial the commerce is, and how very careful we ought to be to prevent foreign nations supplanting us in it. I hint this, because several modern writers, and it is supposed with reason, have insisted much on the progress made by the French in their Portuguese trade, for a few

* *An Inquiry into the Revenue, Credit, and Commerce, of France*, p. 37.

† *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 129.

‡ *Mair*, p. 232.

years before the last war. As we have suffered so exceedingly in our trade to Spain, by means of the same rivalship, such a beginning should occasion an attention in the government to remedy, if possible, the threatened evil. It is remarkable that Lord Townshend, during his command in Portugal in the last war, observed, at several grand entertainments, and a bull-feast, that the nobility and gentry were all dressed in French cloth; and upon mentioning the circumstance politely to a few of them, the reply was, "We are not rich enough to purchase English cloth:—the French make theirs exactly to our taste, and sell it much cheaper than yours, which does not please us so well." It is impossible to keep a market that is served in such a manner, and against such industrious rivals. As long as it continues the politics of Britain to buy that wine of foreigners which she might produce in her own colonies, it is very well judged to purchase it of Portugal; but if the French succeed in their designs, so far as to occasion Britain's paying for such wine with any thing but her own commodities, the import from Portugal ought to be burthened with as high duties as that from France.

As to the particulars of this trade, I have turned over a variety of our modern writers, and find none: Mr. Fostlethwayte, with all the minuteness of two vast folios, and a long article on the subject, affords me not a single circumstance worth transcribing. Mr. Anderson, in two more, yields as little; nor have I seen any other books or tracts that are more satisfactory. A modern French writer says, "That Great Britain employs in her Portuguese trade 1200 large ships, but that is a palpable exaggeration: and that she draws from that kingdom a balance of 1,750,000 l.* and this I *hope* is not one.

S E C T. V.

Of the British Commerce with Spain.

THE commercial writers of this country for many years spoke in the warmest terms of our Spanish trade, and with very great reason; for, till the recovery of France, under the regency of the duke of Orleans, it was the most advantageous branch possessed by Great Britain, taking off vast quantities of her woollen manufacture and her corn, in return chiefly for silver: during which beneficial state of affairs Spanish money was as common in England as ever Portuguese has been; but by degrees the French, through their dextrous negociations, and by means

* *Les Interets de la France mal entendus*, tom. iii. p. 213.

of having a prince of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Spain, together with the success their industry met with in rivalling the English manufactures; altogether, were able nearly to beat us out of the Spanish commerce, inasmuch that it is questioned by some, whether the balance with Spain is in our favour or not; but it is generally agreed that if it is, the amount is very small*. The commodities we export to Spain are woollen goods, corn, rice, fish, tin, lead, leather, and iron wares; and receive in return, wines, oil, fruits, wool, indigo, cochineal, &c. Of these cochineal and wool are very advantageous articles, being of great importance to our manufactures; nor are any of the other articles to be complained of, while they are paid for with our commodities. I can meet with no particulars of this trade so late as to be now of any authority.

S E C T. VI.

Of the British Commerce with Italy.

OUR Italian exports are chiefly woollen manufactures, leather, tin, lead, fish, &c.; and we import silk, wine, oil, fruits, anchovies, brimstone, gloves, toys, drugs, &c. As the manufactures we receive bear no proportion to those we sell, nor even to the unmanufactured commodities we import; this trade is very beneficial, notwithstanding the balance of it is, we are told, against us †, even to the amount of 200,000 *l.* ‡ a year. I can meet with no particulars that are worth inserting; so strangely deficient are our commercial writers!

One author § says, The import of silk from Italy is 100,000 *l.* per annum; another || 200,000 *l.*; a third near 1,500,000 *l.* ¶; a fourth near 1,350,000 *l.* ** In what manner is the truth to be acquired where the difference is so amazing?

* *Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 16. Mair, p. 232.

† Mair, p. 232.

‡ *Busching's Geography*.

§ *Postlethwayte's Dictionary*, Art. *Silk*.

¶ *Heathcote's Letter*, p. 59.

¶ *Thoughts on the Times*, &c. p. 7.

** *Account of the Benefits of the Society*, p. 10. The two last say, Spain and Italy; but as Spain sends us very little, the chief must be from Italy.

S E C T. VII.

Of the British Commerce with the Levant.

IN the opinion of our most sensible writers, this trade has for many years been on the decline, and entirely owing to the French manufacturers underselling us; but it is at the same time observable, that this opinion, though generally supposed to be well founded, has not been proved by any authentic papers, even to that degree of proof of which commercial matters are susceptible. However, the British colonies have, in some articles, rivalled the Turkey productions, and in others the French may have rivalled us; which, upon the whole, have doubtless sunk the trade; but what remains of it is undoubtedly highly valuable, which will appear clearly enough by the exports and imports: the first are woollen manufactures, tin, lead, iron, sugar, &c.; the latter, raw silk, yarn, dying stuffs, drugs, cotton, mohair, fruits, &c. Six parts out of seven of these are materials of manufacture; the importation of them is consequently highly beneficial, and more especially as they are paid for with manufactures, or commodities that cannot be manufactured.

The case of the French rivalling us in the Turkey trade will appear in a clearer manner from the following circumstances than any general remarks, and at the same time discover the occasion of the evil.—During the most flourishing state of this commerce, it was chiefly carried on in a coarser sort of cloths made altogether of English wool, in which no other nation could vie with this. But the French court, bent upon all the means that could increase the power and influence of that kingdom, had, during a course of long prosperity, after the peace of the Pyrenees, turned its views particularly to the Levant trade, which, under the wise administration of the great Colbert, was pursued with assiduity, and a vast public expence; and by the help of premiums, and the encouragement of great conveniencies for the manufacturers, built by the government, and enjoyed by the others rent-free, the cloth manufactures of Languedoc were by degrees brought to such perfection, that a cloth, made of two-thirds of Spanish wool and one-third of their own, was, and is made, and sells at as low a price in Turkey, as the English can sell a coarse cloth of 9*l.* or 10*l.* which is made of wool not worth above 9*d.* per pound; whereas the wool the French cloth is made of, on the lowest medium, must be worth at least 2*s.* per pound. This superiority of materials, and a finer spinning, makes a more shewy cloth, which must find
vent

vent in a warm climate, where a thin cloth is generally preferred, and for some purposes no other is used.—The French likewise makes cloths all of Spanish wool for Turkey, which though they sell cheaper than we can afford our superfines, yet it is not in the same proportion, for ours are better; but the great demand does not consist of these, though the Turks prefer them for their cheapness: for although there are English superfine cloths made of a mixture of Spanish and English wool, yet, as the lowest sorts of them come to at least 14*l.* the short cloth of 33 yards, this sort cannot stand a competition with the French cloth, which is sold so much cheaper. Thus the French, by this acquired advantage of Spanish wool, have got the better of the natural one we had of working up the wool of our growth into cloth for Turkey, not by imitating our cloth, although for the introduction of theirs they borrowed our names, but by producing a new manufacture, better suited to that climate, they have given a new taste to the people; which we must comply with, or be content with the share we now enjoy of that trade (if even that can be preserved) under whatsoever regulations, or by whomsoever the trade may be carried on from hence. This mischief was represented to our clothiers; but their attempts to make their cloth thinner, and their pretending to sell it cheaper, have all ended in making it worse in quality; so that those who used to deal in it abroad are afraid to meddle with it: whereas the Languedoc manufactures are under a public inspection, whereby the quality is ascertained, and the buyers trust to the faith of the public seal or standard, rather than to their own judgment. Another reason of the increase of the French trade to Turkey is their carrying thither indigo and coffee in great quantities, which we have not, and likewise sugar, which they sell much cheaper than we can, whether we should send that of our own plantations from hence, or that of the Brazils from Lisbon*.

About the year 1720, our import of raw silk from Turkey amounted to near 400,000 *lb.* per annum, but of late years has seldom arose above 180,000 *lb.* † Perhaps this proportion may shew the decline of the trade in general.

A modern foreign writer ‡ makes the balance in favour of Great Britain 600,000 *l.* a year, but that is generally supposed an exaggeration. His authority was only a private merchant's opinion. Gee §, for what reason I know not, is silent on this head, but he seemed better pleased with expatiating on a wrong balance than a good one.

* *Reasons against the Bill for enlarging and regulating the Trade to the Levant Seas*, folio, p. 3.

† *Postlethwayte's Dictionary*, Art. *Levant and Turkey Trade*.

‡ *Busching's Geography*.

§ *Trade and Navigation*, &c. p. 13.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Coasting Trade of Great Britain.

THERE is no country in the universe so well calculated by nature for enjoying a great trade, exclusive of all connections with neighbours, as these islands: For industry, actuating almost all their inhabitants, and the products of each not being alike, gives rise to a prodigious intercourse. The same circumstance is enjoyed by some other countries, but the want of the insular situation takes from it three-fourths of its value. This dominion consisting of two islands, and one of them stretching out such a length of coast, occasions the greatest ease in conveying the products of the most internal parts to the sea-coast, which necessarily gives rise to a very considerable quantity of shipping. Infomuch that the coasting trade of these islands is greater than all the commerce, foreign and domestic, carried on by any nation in the world, Holland and France alone excepted. The truth of this fact cannot well be doubted; and a very remarkable one it is.

All parts of these islands are by no means equally cultivated, some abound greatly with manufactures and grass, consequently have a great demand for corn, which we find is regularly the case, the eastern parts of England generally sending large quantities to the west; besides which, the trade in this commodity from port to port is prodigious: what a number of ships does malt alone employ! The manufacturing parts of the kingdom work up a prodigious quantity of raw materials, which are produced at a great distance from them, wool for instance, which is a very bulky commodity. The transportation of beer and cyder from port to port is very great. The manufactures of Scotland and Ireland are all brought to London and other ports by shipping, as are the commodities of those kingdoms.

The salt trade is perhaps more considerable than any of these; for the salt ports being situated chiefly on the northern coasts of England, the shipping that is employed in dispersing it to all the others in the two islands is great.

But coals form the grand article of the coasting trade of Britain, and employ an incredible number of ships. All the southern parts of England, comprehending near three-fourths of the kingdom, have no coals; much the largest part of Scotland, and all Ireland, are likewise destitute; and

and as the consumption of wood in several of our manufactures, particularly that of iron, is prodigious, and so great in all other respects as to render it excessively dear in every part of the kingdom, the consumption of coals is increasing every day at a vast rate. Many parishes, even in the southern part of England, have lately found their poor in coals, instead of wood; which shews an immense extension of their use, since the farmers, and others who act as overseers, most undoubtedly find them cheaper, and use them in their own houses. The accounts of merchants and inland traders are consistent with this; for all agree, that the trade has been constantly on the increase as long as they can remember. Inland navigations are extended every session of parliament, and consequently coals find their way into parts of the kingdom, where they formerly were either very dear, or not used at all. In whatever light the coal trade is viewed, it will be found, from every circumstance, to have increased prodigiously, and certainly does increase every year that passes.

Soon after the restoration, the shipping-trading for coals to Newcastle alone amounted to 80,000 tons*; which, at a medium of 150 tons, make 533 sail.

In 1728 there arrived upwards of 6,800 coasters at London alone †.

About the year 1750, the coal trade alone employed 1,500 sail of ships, from 100 to 200 tons; and it was calculated, that the whole coasting trade of the kingdom employed 100,000 seamen ‡.

Another writer || calculates the coal trade of Newcastle to employ 1000 ships, and 10,000 seamen and bargemen; and the number constantly under ground digging them to be 30,000. According to this account, the total is probably more than 1500 sail.

Besides these trades, that from Britain to Ireland in sundry other commodities is vastly great, which will easily be believed from the following table of the exports thither above thirty years ago; and, if the increase of wealth in that island since be considered, the increase of these exports may easily be imagined.

* Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic*, 8vo, 1755, p. 170.

† Maitland's *History of London*, folio, vol. ii.

‡ *Advantages & Disadvantages*, &c. p. 138.

|| Postlethwayte's *Dist. Art. Middlesex*. But all that is quoted from this prince of plagiarists (whose great work is a continual quotation, without the acknowledgment of a line) is improperly stiled, in calling it extracts from a writer; for who is the real author I know not in all cases, though in many I have restored much to the right authors.

Denominations.		Value.
Ale and beer,		716
Apples,		156
Bark,		18,415
Battery,		697
Cards for wool,		436
Cheese,		900
Coaches,		786
Coals,		41,115
Cordage,		29
Corn, — Wheat,	£. 54,138	
Barley and malt,	25,632	
Flour,	20,328	
	<hr/>	100,099
Earthen ware,		4,778
Fans,		742
Flax,		3,491
Glass, — Bottles,	5,252	
Cases,	1,942	
Drinking,	846	
Phials,	359	
Rhenish web,	318	
Wares,	1,919	
	<hr/>	10,636
Gloves,		84
Gunpowder,		2,302
Hats,		396
Hemp,		11,987
Hempseed,		27
Herrings,		2,294
Hops,		46,995
Horses,		4,000
Indie,		1,957
Iron, — Unwrought,	42,610	
Knives,	5,119	
Pots,	255	
Sciffars,	192	
Scythes,	1,967	
Small parcels,	697	
Hardware,	3,135	
	<hr/>	
Carried over,	53,975	
S f f		Denomi-

Denominations.	Brought over,	Value.
- Ore,	53,975	
- Needles,	1,187	
- Wire,	574	
	2,140	
Lace,		3,949
Lamp-black,		187
Liquorish,		257
Linens, — British,	£ 197	
Calicoes,	673	
Cambricks,	17,003	
Hollands,	867	
Kentings,	194	
Lawns,	2,591	
- Millinery ware,	5,129	
		27,592
Linseed,		14,592
Madder,		3,141
Oil,		2,097
Paper, — Brown,	122	
Cap,	8	
Printing,	2,355	
Writing,	2,357	
		4,842
Saffron,		566
Seeds for gardens,		25,483
Silk manufactures,*		4,085
Skins of sheep,		30,745
Soap,		277
Sugar *,		628
Cydes,		6,502
Tin, brads, &c. &c. — Pewter,	688	
Copper,	8,096	
Lead *,	1,449	
Thimbles,	65	
Brads wire,	38	
Latin ditto,	1,877	
		7,208
Toys,		2,432
Thread, gold, silver, white, &c.,		6,968
		Denomi-

Denominations,	Value.
Tile,	£. 205
Upholstery ware,	706
Wood,	37
Woollen goods, — Fustians,	£. 2,874
Drapery,	13,692
Worsted,	74
Yarn,	207
	<hr/> 16,857
Wood, — Staves,	4,812
Balks,	4,959
Clap-boards,	419
Clap-bolt,	631
Deals,	13,703
Hoops,	3,089
Plank,	1,125
Timber,	4,150
Wooden ware,	1,146
	<hr/> 34,034
Total, including shillings, &c. †	£. 507,270

Exclusive of the *materials* of the articles marked *; which, if we consider the value of, particularly silk, and the vast disproportion between the refining and the value of sugar, will, doubtless, raise this sum to above 600,000 *l.*; to which must be added, all the various articles which Ireland can neither raise nor manufacture, or is not included, such as spices, coffee, cochineal, cotton, indigo, ginger, pimento, rum, brandy, wine, fruits, marble, tobacco, rice, and a variety of other articles; French claret alone is 150,000 *l.* † so that, exclusive of such a multitude of particulars, here is 750,000 *l.*; the total must be considerably above a million sterling.

We are told by a modern writer †, that Great Britain receives commodities from Ireland to the amount of above 490,000 *l.* The balance must be at least 260,000 *l.*

Now, if we consider what a considerable part of this commerce is carried on by British and Irish coasters, we shall readily allow, that the number of ships and seamen employed by it must be very great.

† *Dublin Society's Weekly Observations*, 1756, Glasgow Edit. 12mo. p. 11.

‡ *Essays on Husbandry*, p. 129.

§ Mair, p. 234.

If the coal trade, as the authors above-cited assert, alone employed 1500 sail of ships several years ago, the number is certainly much greater now; coals and salt cannot now employ less than 2000; and Ireland, corn, malt, liquors, wool, manufactures, &c. &c. &c. in all probability add a third of that number to it, which will make the total 3000 sail. But I cannot conceive it possible, that this number can employ 100,000 seamen; supposing the medium to be 10 men, the number will be but 30,000! But these are only conjectures. Bargemen, &c. &c. employed in consequence, would certainly run up the number greatly. If 150 tons be the medium burden of our coasters, the total tonnage is 450,000.

There is a peculiar value in such a branch of commerce as this, which depends not upon a foreign demand, — in which there is no fear of competition; — and which, in spite of the worst events commonly feared in the commercial world, must remain a vast nursery of seamen, and occasion a prodigious consumption of those articles which it is advantageous to the state to consume. Political writers therefore do not by any means consider the subject of commerce in a proper light, when they represent it as totally depending on foreign demand, since this single instance is proof enough, that a very considerable trade may be carried on without the least dependence upon foreigners.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Inland Commerce of Great Britain.

IT is very common to meet with very great panegyrics upon the various great rivers in the world, upon account of the breadth, and depth, and length, by means of which such a vast commerce may be carried on. Thus we read much in foreign writers of the Danube, the Wolga, the Elbe the Rhine, the Rhone, the Seine, the Soane, and many others, which are ranked among the chief rivers of Europe, and by means of which much commerce is carried on. But if we come to throw an eye over a map of the countries through which these rivers flow, we shall find that the distance between navigable river and navigable river is very great, and will bear no comparison with the inland navigation of England: For although some few of the great German rivers may be almost as near each other as the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent, yet between the former there are none, but with the latter the case is very different; every stream almost being made navigable at a vast expence, inasmuch

inasmuch that scarce an hundred in the kingdom exists that does not enjoy the benefit of inland navigation.

SECTION X.

Of the British Commerce with the Plantations.

HAVING treated of this subject so fully in the last Essay, there remains little more to add in this place than to draw into a general view the outlines of that vast branch of the trade of Great Britain, that a complete idea may be formed of the whole. But as the subject was then treated expressly in relation to the total benefit Britain received, by means of her colonies, and examined through the medium of their productions, not the direct trade between each, it is here necessary to add a few remarks upon the latter.

The total exports of Great Britain to all her colonies in commodities, manufactures, and negroes, appeared to be **£. 3,571,305**

The imports, **3,999,527**

Balance, **670,838**

This state of the American commerce, like all the others before given, tends to prove, in the clearest manner, the vast importance of it. The exportation of above three millions and an half, the greatest part of which is manufactures, is of prodigious consequence; and the balance is no trifling assistance towards paying the numerous balances which are against Great Britain.

This noble branch of commerce was found to employ 130,000 tons of shipping, or 433 sail, at an average of 300 tons, and 18,300 seamen.

It is very worthy of remark, what a prodigious trade Britain possesses, which is totally independent of foreign nations. Her coasting and plantation trades cannot amount to less (according to the authorities before-quoted) than 380,000 tons of shipping, consisting of above 3400 sail, and employing near 50,000 seamen. No other nation in the world possesses a commerce half so extensive, that is a quarter so secure.

This is the proper place to introduce some account of the Hudson's Bay trade; but it is really an affront to the understanding of the reader.

* *Commercials Principles*, p. 27. *Present State of Great Britain and North America*, p. 280.

to attempt an elucidation of so frivolous a commerce. Numerous are the single merchants that carry on twice the trade of this company, and export twenty times the British manufactures*. All the reasons that have been given for a continuation of this illegal, unnecessary, and even pernicious monopoly, are founded in private interests, falsified facts, and ill-founded suppositions. There is not a pretence of a want of this company now the French are driven out of Canada, and therefore, it is much to be hoped that this paltry and ill-judged combination, to limit the consumption of our manufactures for the interest of a few private traders, whose whole conduct, in the chief business for which they were instituted, the discovery of a north-west passage, has been so highly reprehensible. To enlarge upon such a trade, except in arraigning the wretched conduct of it, would be tedious and disgusting.

S E C T. XI.

Of the British Fisheries.

THE great end of commerce being the employment of the poor in all countries, and the support of naval power, (peculiarly in Britain) whatever trades best answer these purposes are the most beneficial. The fishing trade is of incomparable value in both respects; occasioning a vast consumption of our manufactures, and employing great numbers of seamen. The three grand fisheries are,

1. The Newfoundland.
2. The herring.
3. The whale.

I have met with no writer that has disputed the immense importance of the Newfoundland fishery; but the accounts of its present state and amount are extremely various, which is in a good measure owing to many writers sinking the value of it for party purposes, in comparison with the French fishery; and others, on the contrary, magnifying it with the same views. I shall pursue the method I have hitherto followed, and attempt gaining the truth by seeking the medium of the different accounts.

A modern writer † says, the whole British commerce to America, carried on by *our own ships*, employs 1200 sail, and 20,000 seamen; but

* Their whole exportation is about 4,000*l.* a year. See Anderson, vol. ii. p. 367.

† Anderson's *Deduction of Commerce*, Introd. vol. ii. p. 17.

he does not specify particulars. Now as we have found the staple trades, or the whole, exclusive of the fishery, to amount to 433 sail, and 12,300 sailors, by this account the British fishery employs 767 ships, and 7,700 men.

The accounts given by Postlethwayte † include the fishery of the colonies, and consequently are, in respect of direct authority, useless. Other writers ‡ fall into the same error, but something may possibly be gained from them by a close examination. They first give the substance of a petition presented to the government by the British merchants in the year 1763, which sets forth that there are employed in these fisheries 1,500 fishing boats, 150 banking vessels of the larger size, and 300 sail of merchantmen employed in carrying the fish and oil to market: That the several branches collectively did not employ less than 20,000 people: That the trade bred 5,500 fresh seamen annually. And in another place he says the trade increased the national stock of Britain 350,000*l.*: And that a vessel of 150 tons will catch and bring to the Spanish and Portuguese markets, &c. 3,000*l.* worth of fish.

Another writer § informs us, that a schooner of from 50 to 70 tons will catch 850 quintals of fish. The price, 12*s.* a quintal upon the coasts, merchantable fish; 8*s.* Jamaica fish, and 5*s.* 6*d.* refuse fish. Freight to the Straights 2*s.* 6*d.* The quantity taken by boats and shallops uncertain. But another writer || says, 300 quintals each shallop; and I shall suppose 400 each boat. By another account * I find the proportion of merchantable fish to West India, or refuse, is three to two; I shall therefore call the mean price of the latter 6*s.* 9*d.* and the proportion of quantity will make the mean price of the whole 9*s.* 10*d.* per quintal.

From these data we may draw the following conclusions:—The 1,500 boats, comprehended under that one denomination, I take to consist of schooners, shallops, and boats; and as these take 850, 300, and 400 quintals, the medium is 450; which, at 9*s.* 10*d.* amounts to 220*l.* and the 1,500 to 330,000*l.* The 150 banking vessels, I apprehend to be ships

† *Dist. art. British America and Newfoundland.*

‡ Heathcote's *Letter*, p. 28. Ahley's *Memoirs and Considerations*, p. 18, 19. *Account of the European Settlements*, vol. ii. p. 28*r.*

§ See some very intelligent answers to *Queries concerning Nova Scotia, Imp. Mag.* vol. i. p. 592.

|| Sir William Pepperel's *Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg.*

• *Three Dissertations on a Union*, &c. p. 36.

of 150 tons above mentioned, from England, New England, &c. these catch as much as they sell in Europe for 3,000 *l.* but then the freight, or 2*s.* 6*d.* per quintal, is to be deducted †, that is, we shall say, a fourth; the remainder 2,250 *l.*; the 150 fail therefore 337,500 *l.*

The total fishery - - - - - *l.* 667,500

The vessels of 150 tons carry each 20 men †, the shallops, &c. 15 †, the boats six †. The number employed by the first is therefore 3,000; and taking the medium of the latter, or 10, and the number is 15,000: total 18,000, besides the crews of the ships that only carry the fish. This agrees pretty well with the above computation of 20,000.

A modern † writer tells us, that the New England fishery amounts to 255,000 *l.* and that it is equal to the British one: According to this account the latter is something better than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole.

Value of the fish caught and sold by Britain - - - - - *l.* 255,000
Freight of ditto, $\frac{1}{4}$ - - - - - 63,000

Total, - - - - - 318,000

This agrees with several other computations, that make it 300,000 *l.*

Ships of 150 tons, - - - - - 57
Suppose there are 300 fail of carriers, Britain's share is - - - - - 114

Total ships, - - - - - 171

Seamen, - - - - - 7,500

This number of men likewise agrees pretty well with various accounts.

† Hanway's *Lett. on Imp. of the Rif. Gen.* vol. ii. p. 260.

† Postlethwayte's *DiB. Art. British America.*

† Sir William Pepperel.

§ Athley's *Memoirs and Considerations*, p. 17, &c.

‡ *Present State*, p. 327.

The Herring Fishery.

The herring shoals being one of the greatest curiosities in nature, I shall begin this sketch with an account of their progress, as given by a modern author,

The Shetlanders know their approach by several tokens in their air and water: when they appear it is an incredible shoal coming from the north; the species is so well known as to need no description. From whence they come, and where they may be said to breed and increase, we know little of. That they are innumerable in quantity is matter of fact: Nor do they, as we can perceive, return from whence they came to breed a farther supply for the next season; on the contrary, they come from home, wherever that may be, big with young, swelling with their prolific spawn, in which every fish is said to produce 10,000 others; and this spawn they cast in these seas, for they come to us full, and are shot long before they go from us. They come, as it may be said, on the breadth of the sea; and the bulk of the shoal, take it in the gross, is probably greater than the whole land of Great Britain and Ireland. They are, doubtless, greatly straitened when they come southward, by being obliged to pass between the shores of Greenland and the North Cape; which, to such immense swarms must be called a strait, though on the surface of the globe it be no less than 200 leagues in breadth.

When their surprising body meets with an interruption from the situation of the island of Great Britain, it divides them into two parts; whether equal, or how near so, is not to be determined. One part of them steer something west, or south-west, and leaving the islands of Orkney and Shetland to the left, pass on towards Ireland. There meeting a second interruption from the situation of that island, they divide themselves again; one part keeping to the coasts of Britain, pass away south, down that which we call St. George's, or the Irish Channel; and so coming on between England and Ireland, they enter the Severn sea, where they meet with their species again. The other part edging off, for want of room, to the west and south-west, as before, go along the Hibernian ocean, and still keeping on the coast, make about to the south shore of Ireland; and then steering south-east, meet with their species again, who come down the Irish Channel.

The other part of the first division made in the north, parting a little to the east and south-east, come down into the German ocean; and keep-

ing still close to the coast of Britain, they pass by Shetland, and then make the point of Buchenels and the coast of Aberdeen; filling, as they pass, all the bays, firths, rivers, and creeks with their innumerable multitudes, as if directed by Heaven on purpose to present themselves for the relief and employment of the poor, and the benefit of traffic. Hence they come away south, by Dunbar, and rounding the high shores of St. Job's and Berwick, are seen again off Scarborough, and not before; and not in bulk, until they come to Yarmouth Roads in England, and thence to the mouth of the Thames; from whence passing the British Channel, they are seen no more. We come next to the fishing for them by the several nations of Europe, from which so great a profit in trade is raised, navigation so much improved, seamen nursed and bred up, and so many thousands, we may say millions, perhaps of hands, employed and maintained both on sea and on shore.

Before the late establishment of the society of the Free British Fishery, the Dutch gave them the first salute; who were generally ready off Shetland, at the first appearance of the fish, with above 1500 sail of busses; and spreading their nets in the fair way, as they call it, of the fish, they are not long a loading all their vessels; which, when done, they make home to cure, repack, and prepare them for the markets, which is chiefly at Dantzick and the East Country.

The herrings not missing the comparative few of their species, which are there taken, make on their way for the shores of Scotland; and spreading themselves upon the sands and shoals in every creek, harbour, or bay, as it were offering themselves to the Scots nets, as well for food of the poor as for the commerce of the merchants there: Nor did the Scots, before the late established fisheries, neglect to take very great quantities, which they also cured, pickled up, and sent to the same markets as the Dutch; and, considering the Dutch carry all their fish home, repack, pickle, and relade them on other ships, the Scots are frequently at market before the Dutch, and sell for as good a price. After the Scots on the north-side of the Tay have thus fished, the Dunbar fishing-boats, and the Fifemen fall in among the herrings; and they likewise take a considerable quantity, as well for carrying up the land for the use of the country, to Edinburgh and other populous places, as for curing after the Yarmouth manner, and making what we call red herrings. From hence the shoal of fish keeping in deeper water, are scarce seen any more, except, as observed, a little off Scarborough, until they come to Yarmouth; where, spreading themselves upon the sands in quest of their food, they are again taken in prodigious quantities by the English, the Dutch, and the French:

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For as the Yarmouth and Leostoff men take and cure 50,000 barrels of red herrings in a year, so they consume an incredible number in the town of Yarmouth, the city of Norwich, and all the adjacent towns of those populous countries of Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as in Essex, Cambridgehire, &c.

While they are fishing of them here, other branches of that shoal push themselves forward to the mouth of the Thames, where the fishing-smacks of London, Folkstone, Dover, Sandwich, and all that coast, take also innumerable quantities for London markets, and for all the populous towns on the river Thames, and near the sea-coast of Kent and Suffex. All this, while the Dutch sitting out their buffes again, lie on the back of Yarmouth sands; as do likewise the French, Flemings, Flushingers, Bremeners, and Hamburgers. Lastly, they come into the narrow seas, where the French on one side, and our west-country fishermen on the other, meet them again; and by this time they cast their rows and become shotten; after which they disappear in these parts.

On the side of North Britain they fare no better; the merchants of Glasgow, Aire, Dumfries, and on the coast of Galloway, are engaged more or less in the herring fisheries: And merchants of Londonderry, Carlisle, Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Dublin, meet them on that side; and, beginning upon them at the Lewes and western islands, give them no rest; until having run the gauntlet, as we may say, through the Irish channel, they come out into the Severn sea, where again they are attacked by the English merchants of Devonshire, from Minehead to Barnstaple and Biddeford, and so on westward to towns on the north-shore of Cornwall; where many thousands of tons are caught and cured for trade, and many ships loaded off with them for Spain and the Mediterranean, (besides an incredible number consumed by the people on shore): The merchants of Pembroke, Swansea, and all the coasts of South Wales, from Milford-Haven to the mouth of Bristol river, above King-Road, doing the same: After which, being shotten, they swim westward into deep waters, to their own species, and are seen no more. Thus we have brought these fish round the island, offering themselves indifferently, as they pass, to the nets of all the neighbouring nations; who, for their own food, and for sale to other countries, where the shoal does not come, take an inexpressible number. Whither they go afterwards is uncertain. As to the suggestion that the quantity is by this time exhausted, the contrary is so evident, from the mighty shoals which are seen in the Severn seas, and on the west and south coasts of England and Ireland at their

parting, that it rather seems the number taken bears but a very small proportion to the whole that might be.

It is also certain, that these shoals of herrings are pursued and devoured in great quantities by the more ravenous and larger fish; such as the porpoise, dog-fish, fin-fish, and the divers sorts of sea monsters with which these northern seas abound. It is likewise true, that the herrings are found again upon the shores of North America, though not in such quantities as here; nor are they seen farther south, even in that country, than the rivers of Carolina: Whether these may be part of that mighty shoal, which at their first coming by the coast of Greenland might, instead of coming to the south-eastward with the rest, keep to the coasts of America on the north-west side, or whether these may be the remainder of them that pass our channels, is very uncertain; but we know that they are not seen in quantities in any of the southern kingdoms, as Spain, Portugal, or the south parts of France, on the side of the ocean, or in the Mediterranean, or the coast of Africa*.

It is astonishing that such immense treasures should annually visit the coasts of these kingdoms, and the greatest profit of them be reaped by foreigners. Notwithstanding the very spirited and judicious writings that have at various times been published upon the expediency of vigorously pursuing this great fishery, yet the Dutch have never been effectually rivalled in it: The art of curing the herrings is yet peculiar to them, notwithstanding admiral Vernon made a voyage to Holland on purpose to discover it. We have every natural advantage, and the benefit of a bounty of 1*l.* 10*s.* per ton for busses that are built for the fishing†; it is therefore worthy of attention, that we should not be able to cope with our neighbours. Some reasons however may be given for it.

“The people at home who are fond of fashionable novelties, giving extravagant prices for British herrings; foreign markets were thereupon slighted, as the small profits they yielded, bore no proportion to the expensive manner of carrying on the trade. The great home consumption, however, was but of very short continuance; the dearness of the commodity having soon abated the ardour of the people for purchasing it; and the demand ceasing at home, the course of the trade, which had scarce any other channel, was immediately stopped. There is plainly not the

* Postlethwayte's *Dict.* Art. *Fisheries*; from whom taken I know not.

† Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. xxi. p. 413.

least need of any public encouragement for supplying the markets at home, where the commodity is so plentiful, and in such a superabundance, that the people, for want of knowing how to dispose of the fish they caught, have often been obliged to use them as manure for their lands. When fish are in such plenty on any, even the remotest coasts of Britain, nothing but extortion or mismanagement can make them dear in any of our great cities that have a free communication with the sea. The bounty therefore ought to be limited solely to those fish that are carried to a foreign market; and, considering this gratuity, and the great superiority of our natural advantages, were we to study carefully the least expensive methods of conducting the trade, by carrying it on through all the seasons, and by building and fitting out the busses where workmanship and naval stores were at low prices, there is the greatest reason to expect that we might soon be able to undersell the Dutch at foreign ports. The herrings, as they fall from the net, are reckoned to cost them six shillings a barrel, and it is computed that we might have them for two. Mr. Martin even says, that they have been bought in the western isles for a groat a barrel. The Dutch have no salt of their own, but are obliged to buy part of what they use from us. Naval stores can be carried from the Baltic to the western isles as cheap as from thence to Holland. The ports of Britain are open all the year round; but several of those of Holland are often frozen up for months together. We lie more convenient than the Dutch for the navigation to America, and to the southern and northern parts of Europe; and if they can fare hard, and be very laborious, they are, in those points, exceeded by the bold fishermen of the western and northern islands, who satisfy themselves with a very scanty subsistence, and make no scruple of braving the wintery seas in small open boats.*

It is with concern that I am not able to present the reader with an accurate account of the present state of the British fishery; but although it is not comparable to that of the Dutch, yet, if we consider the consumption of these islands, and the preceding accounts of the numerous ports that partake in the business, by reason of their vicinity to the shoals, we shall find no difficulty in imagining the number of seamen employed by it very great. The fisheries of cod, ling, lobsters, mackarel, oysters, &c. upon our own coasts are likewise very considerable, in respect of the employment of seamen, although they form no branch of foreign trade. The reader will not, I apprehend, think me at all extravagant in supposing the two islands to maintain 20,000 home fishermen of all sorts: it is scarcely probable that the total number should be less.

* *Reflections on Domestic Policy*, p. 22.

The Whale Fishery. This is justly reckoned one of the most valuable fisheries in the world: it was first discovered, together with the seas, coasts, and frozen territories of Greenland, by the English, who fished in them for fourteen or fifteen years before any other nation: and when the Dutch pushed themselves into it, were beat off; and the exclusive right claimed by the English fishermen, and with as much, if not more justice than other exclusive rights have been since: but unfortunately the Dutch began their operations in the reign of James I. To mention more is needless; it is at once sufficiently evident that they carried their point. He who would submit to the affair of Amboyna, it was not to be expected would act with spirit in the preservation of a fishery. That nation, as well as others, were at first obliged to hire English harpooners and steersmen; but the tables are now strangely turned, for at present that is precisely the case with us.

If it is considered that the ships who undertake this fishery are very stout and large, from 200 to 500 tons, and that each is attended by from four to seven shallops, and carry forty, fifty, and sixty men; that they are furnished with immense quantities of new casks to put blubber oil in; with a great variety of harpoons, knives, grapples, axes, anchors, &c. &c. &c.; and lastly, that the product of the fishery is a material of manufacture, it will easily be conceived that this fishery is of immense national value; occasions a vast consumption of manufactures; is the source of great riches, and perhaps the best nursery of bold daring seamen that is in the world.

In the year 1724, the South-sea company undertook to revive the British whale fishery, and engaged pretty largely in the branch till 1732; but then finding themselves considerable losers, they gave it up: they accordingly sold all their ships, stores, and utensils; and upon finally stating their accounts, it appeared,

That their total disbursements on account of the whale fishery	£.
in eight years, came to	262,172
And the total amount of the sales of their oil and whale-fins,	
and likewise all their ships, stores, &c. was but	84,390
Loss in eight years, besides interest,	177,782

It

It has been usually computed, that if a Greenland ship brought home but three whales, it would be a reasonable gainful year: but most unfortunately for the South-sea company, they had not, in all the said eight years fishery, brought home at the rate of one whale per ship. It has, moreover, been a maxim among the whale fishing adventurers, that one good year in seven usually makes up the losses of six bad ones: But unhappily, all these eight years happened to be bad, not only to the company, but to most of the adventurers of other nations.*

In 1733, a bounty was granted by parliament of no less than 20 s. a ton upon all ships of 200 tons and upwards, employed in this fishery: a few ships were thereupon fitted out; and in 1736, one from London caught no less than seven whales. In 1740, an additional 10 s. a ton bounty was granted during the continuance of the war, and a freedom from pressing. In 1748, the bounty was extended to 40 s. and for the American colonies as well as Great Britain; and naturalization granted to all foreign protestants, who served three years on board our whale-fishing ships. But notwithstanding these noble encouragements, very few ships have engaged in it; and the Dutch undersell those that have; which is a great national misfortune: for such fisheries as these are the most desirable branch of commerce this kingdom can engage in; as they occasion a great and sure consumption of our manufactures, and at the same time breed up an infinite number of excellent seamen.

S E C T. XII.

Of the British Commerce with the East Indies.

THIS commerce, which renders Europe but a sieve through which the treasures of the west are conveyed to the east, without even the idea of a return, has been for that reason greatly condemned by many very ingenious political writers †, as impoverishing this part of the world to introduce superfluities, and even manufactures, to rival the European. Much has been wrote for and against this trade in general. The most masterly an-

* Anderson's *Deduction of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 339.

† For many general arguments in favour of totally abandoning the East India trade, see, among other writings, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, p. 1. chap. 10. *Advantages of the East India Trade to England considered*, chap. 1. *Mun's Discourse of the East India Trade*. *Considerations on Commerce in general*. *Case of our own against foreign Manufactures*. *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*. *Paxton's Discourse of the Nature, Importance, and Advantage of Trade*, p. 29. *Remarks upon a Search into the Cause of our want of Silver Coin*.

swer to the objections against it, is that of the very ingenious author of the History of the European Trade to the East Indies, in the Modern Universal History *; but it is very observable that this writer bends the strength of his argument chiefly against the complaint of carrying away our silver, which, perhaps, is not the worst part of the trade: he scarce mentions the importation of oriental manufactures to rival the European, when none of the latter are taken in exchange, nor in return for scarce any commodities exported to Europe.

But these inquiries into the trade in general are very useless; since all agree it is advantageous for any power in Europe to carry it on, as long as they consume East India goods; for it is certainly better to import any commodity in national bottoms, and to national profit, than to let foreigners enjoy the benefit of both.—But at last, it will never be found that a commerce which carries out silver (either as a commodity, or medium of trade) in exchange for luxurious superfluities, and manufactures to rival her own, when both are consumed at home, can ever enrich any nation, or Europe in general †. And this fact can never appear in so strong a light, as by supposing tea, coffee, and spices to be raised in colonies of whom they are purchased entirely with manufactures. Now, without taking silver the least into the question, does it not at once appear, how prodigiously superior the latter trade is to the former. The people in England who consume great quantities of Port wine, may be reproached with consuming a superfluity: It certainly is a superfluity; but then, being purchased with British manufactures, they who drink it, drink in fact the labour of our own poor. A gentleman, by this means, employs the poor upon his estate by drinking wine from Portugal: But is this the case with the spices he consumes? or the India chintzes, and gauces, and satins, and silks, that his wife wears?

But not to pursue an argument which leads to no useful end. As it is impossible to prohibit India goods of all sorts, I shall proceed to give as concise an idea of the present state of the trade, as the materials before me will allow: but I should observe that the reader must not expect any extraordinary intelligence upon account of the numerous pieces lately published upon our India affairs, as those pieces afford scarce any *commercial* knowledge: They are historical; and forty of them may be turned over before the cargo of a single ship is to be found in them: it is not the interested squabbles and party disputes of the company and her servants,

* Vol. ix. p. 177.

† Stewart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, vol. i. p. 419.

that

that give any information worth listening to; it is the mere commercial facts that are of importance in the present inquiry.

The following table of the imports and exports of seventeen Indian ships will shew the proportions of both, which is what we most want. It is calculated for the year 1753, since which no very material alterations in prices have happened.

The exports to India in seventeen of the British East India Company's ships, each of five hundred tons.

1,442	tons of iron, at 15 l.	£. 21,630
610	Ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l.	30,540
450	Steel, at 50 l.	22,500
180	Nails, at 25 l.	4,500
895	Lead, at 17 l.	15,215
800	Cordage, at 40 l.	32,000
550	Stores,	305,000
260	Brass, copper, and pewter, at 100 l.	26,000
100	Gunpowder, at 80 l.	8,000
32	Quicksilver, at 300 l.	9,600

5,344 tons.

18,175	Woollen cloths,	110,000
23,220	Stuffs,	50,000
37,469	Perpets,	49,000
30,000	Dozens of hose,	3,000
11,076	Ounces of gold,	£. 43,196
2,991,251	Ditto, of silver,	785,203
		828,399

Total, £. 1,503,344

Imports of seventeen Ships.

Piece goods,	1,673,000
3,253,900 lb. of tea, at 4 s.	642,475
2,000,000 lb. pepper, at 1 s.	100,000
1,141,000 lb. coffee, at 1 s. 6 d.	85,575
203,850 lb. raw silk, at 20 s.	203,850
900 tons saltpetre, at 70 l.	63,000
250 tons red wood, at 30 l.	7,500
600 chests China ware and drugs,	99,600

Total, 2,875,000

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The customs on these goods were, in 1753.

Callicoes,	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent.	£. 478,125
Prohibited goods,	2		8,000
Tea,	19		123,000
Pepper,	4		4,000
Raw silk,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		25,000
Coffee,	22 $\frac{1}{2}$		20,500
Saltpetre,	10		6,000
Red wood,	10		500
China ware, and drugs,	30		30,000
			£. 695,625

The freight was reckoned at 10 *l.* per ton; the 17 ships, 1700 men; their wages and provisions 5 *l.* per month per man.

Of the above goods, foreigners and the colonies bought,

578,400 callicoes, at 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	£. 395,600
Prohibited goods,	72,750
1,850,000 <i>lb.</i> of pepper, at 1 <i>s.</i>	92,500
700,000 <i>lb.</i> of coffee, at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	43,750
All other goods,	45,400

* 650,000

Of the exportation, the bullion is above $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole.

Woollen manufactures something better than $\frac{1}{4}$.

Iron, brass, &c. &c. manufactures $\frac{1}{2}$.

Total manufactures, $\frac{1}{2}$.

Commodities, not $\frac{1}{4}$.

The re-exportation of the imports does not amount to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole.

The proportion of the cargo to every seaman homeward-bound is 1,691 *l.*; in the outward-bound, 884 *l.* There is no other trade in the world, except the Spanish galleons, &c. that employs so few men.

Some years the company has 20, 25, and even 30 ships, and lately many more; but then they are now seldom above 300 tons, and many 250. The average imports and exports perhaps will not be found to be half as much again as the above. The seamen then employed by them may be 2,500, or thereabouts; but there are many more reasons to think the num-

* *Some Thoughts on the present State of our Trade to India. By a Merchant of London, p. 7, &c.*

ber less than greater. The article tea will serve to shew this; for the present importation is by no means half as great again as the above-specified one.

From 1733 to 1745, the medium importation was 1,195,464 lb.

From 1745 to 1762, ————— 3,957,634

To which I shall add,

The exportation to Ireland between 1754 and 1758 was,

on a medium, ————— 112,000

Ditto, to America, ————— 122,000

From this state it appears, that the above-mentioned quantity of imported tea did not miss above a fifth of the annual amount; and consequently that the allowance above-mentioned is much too great. — It is astonishing how the British consumption of this weed increases; in 1730 it was only 800,000 lb. * and now it is 4,000,000 lb. †

By the above-account it likewise appears, that Gee was much mistaken in supposing that the re-exportation of India commodities more than equalled the export of bullion thither ‡. It does not near equal it.

Let us in the next place consider the long-debated point of the expediency of laying open the trade to the Indies. As we have seen the extent of commerce carried on by the company, it remains to be inquired whether it would be nationally improved by all the British merchants being admitted to trade at will to the East Indies.

The two principal arguments hitherto made use of in favour of an exclusive charter are; *first*, the practice of all other European nations trading to India: If a company is disadvantageous, why do others continue so firm in that method of carrying on the trade? *Secondly*, the great variety of empires, kingdoms, states, and even barbarous nations, with whom that trade is carried on; and even in whose dominions it is necessary to have settlements, gives rise to such a necessary attention to a multiplicity of interests, that nothing but a company can be supposed able to manage them with the requisite skill and assiduity; on the contrary, private competitions would ruin the national interest in those parts.

In most political controversies, all opinions have some peculiar *forte* on which they are built, and which carry much appearance of plausibility; but in the point in question, even this *appearance* is wanting. The argu-

* *The Case of the Dealers in Tea*, p. 1. *Scheme offered to prevent the clandestine Importation*, p. 1.

† *Alderman Janfen's State of the Tea Duties*, folio, Budget, 4to, 1764, p. 10.

‡ *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 40.

ments urged in favour of the monopoly are not only deficient in facts for their foundation, but they have not even the semblance of conviction. What deductions can reasonably be made from the practice of other powers? If the general conduct is bad, is that a reason for our persisting in it? Must we continue in a wrong tract, because our neighbours do the same? It is not, however, clear, that the cases are parallel; I never yet found it proved, that the Dutch East India trade, for instance, and our own, were upon the same footing; it may be prudent for them to continue their company, but it does not therefore follow, that it is the same with us: — But, in fact, there is a material difference which may, very probably, at least, occasion their encouragement of a company: That company is not a parallel monopoly with the British; but it possesses a perfect monopoly in an article from which it excludes the whole world, viz. the spice trade. By dissolving their company they may think, and perhaps with justice, that their exclusive possession of that valuable branch might be endangered. The guard and watchful caution of the government in preventing foreigners from interfering, might not equal that of an avaricious company, whose vigilance is so extreme: besides, who would have the care of the cultivation of the spices? If the islands were turned into colonies, properly so called, the trade would be lost at once: but at all events the danger would be great. Besides which circumstance, it may perhaps bear a question, Whether the Dutch require an extension of the sale of their own manufactures equally with us?

It is from hence evident enough, that conclusions from the conduct of the Dutch are by no means just, when applied to this nation, since there is so essential a difference between the circumstances of their East India trade and ours. And if we view those of other powers, we shall not find any material reasons for adopting their ideas of such monopolies. That of France has been almost from its establishment a mere creature of the French ministry; never flourishing but when loaded with favours, gifts, and exemptions; but dropping into a mere name upon the least inattention of the ministers. And what is very observable is, that the only really profitable commerce carried on with the East Indies by the French was that of private merchants under licence, at a time when the company was unable to fit out a ship*: these, in proportion to their stock, made six times the profit that ever the company had done, notwithstanding their being shackled by many articles of the licences.

Thus an attention to the practice of foreigners in their commerce with the Indies is very far from proving that the trade can be carried on by a company alone; for the few instances of private commerce prove the

* See *Modern Universal History*, vol. ii. p. 92. 95.

very contrary; and no one can with any certainty pronounce, that the same experiment made with the trade of a whole nation would not be attended with the same success.

It should not be forgot, that the Portuguese carried their Indian commerce to an height unequalled but by the Dutch, without even the idea of a company.

The laying aside the African company, is proof sufficient that we may deviate, however, from the practice of other nations, without fearing any ill consequences. We have an open trade to Africa of a much more beneficial nature than when we had a regular company, and yet other nations continue their African companies; which shews that this kind of reasoning is not always just.

The diversity of oriental interests is in the next place quoted, and the difficulty of private merchants conducting so extensive a trade, at such a vast distance. But in what facts these ideas are founded, I know not. It should be remembered, that most of those politicians, who have projected an open trade, and written the warmest in its favour, allow the necessity of keeping up forts and military establishments in the Indies; the expence to be shared by the private traders, either by a tax or in payment for the licences to trade; but if the nation was to be at the expence, as well as of these of the coast of Africa, there can be little doubt but the public would, in very numerous ways, be repaid much more than the amount.

The point in question therefore is, the mere article of trading. Whether private merchants, by their own supercargoes on board their ships, are not as capable of conducting the Indian commerce as any company's servants can be. Those who imagine the nations of the East to be barbarous in matters of commerce, know but little of its commercial history. They are as active, as experienced, and as universal merchants in that quarter of the world as any of ours can be in Europe. Trade is perfectly well understood throughout the East Indies. Indeed, it is the sole business that takes up all their attention; a private British ship can resort to no port in India but she will meet with traders ready for exchange, who will dispatch her as quick as in any port of Europe.

In respect to any connections with ministers or princes in that part of the world, or the avoiding quarrels, &c. it should be asked, In what manner do the companies manage these matters? By address; by circumspection; by an attentive prudence and moderation? Nothing further from the case; by the sword. Art and address is used at the first establishment of a company, but when once it is fixed, what do they become but conquerors

conquerors and tyrants? Did not the Portuguese, the Dutch, and does not our own company now, prove the truth of this assertion? Is it not absolute ridicule to pretend, that private merchants will offend the oriental potentates, and involve themselves in quarrels, when the company is perpetually at war with one or other of them, and cutting the throats of Nabobs, stirring up insurrections, and kindling a flame through the empire of one of the first potentates of the Indies? And all for the sake of plundering, first one party, and then another. Is it not a farce to suppose, that private merchants would give greater offence than these warlike and conquering monopolists?

Trade and the sword ought not to be managed by the same people. Barter and exchange is the business of merchants, not fighting of battles and dethroning of princes. If the trade was laid open, private traders would reap all the commercial advantages of powerful fortresses and garrisons; that is, security and reputation; and would be kept clear of the mischiefs of them. Their attention would be ingrossed by their proper business; it would never be their interest to involve themselves in any quarrels; and if they were oppressed, it would, I should apprehend, be as much in the power of the king of Great Britain to revenge their ills, as in that of a company. The force and power in the Indies would be the same, only I should suppose the reputation of one something greater than that of the other. Was ever the servant of a company more respected or dreaded in those parts than the king of Portugal's viceroy when their settlements flourished?

It should not be forgot, that the empire of the sea is a real and substantial possession in the hands of Britain, and that that dominion is acknowledged in the Indies as much as it is in Europe. A few fortresses, with that superiority, is better than many without it. The injuries done to merchants are easier remedied by a few ships of war than by many armies. Not, however, that there is any probability of a private Indian meeting with any crosses from which the company's servants are exempt: For it is difficult precisely to assert how much the latter depend for security upon the same guard, which would be enjoyed by the former, the British Squadron; for it is very observable, that the government at present is at the expence in peace and war of a fleet in those seas, and some troops in the garrisons.

If fighting is so very profitable a business in the Indies, and if it is in the power of the company to make Nabobs at their pleasure, and seize upon the provinces that yield a revenue of 14,000,000 *l.* per annum *, I

* Bengal and Bahaar. See Mr. Howel's *Travels*.

See no extreme good reasons that such profitable conquests should be limited to the benefit of the company alone. The king's governor of Bengal would be as able to conduct such matters as any of the company's servants; and if it was found expedient to make the Indies pay all the public expences of the trade; such as armies, fleets, garrisons, &c. &c. at the same time that the whole kingdom enjoyed the trade, it would most undoubtedly be an admirable consequence: But those who should best know the real state of the company's affairs, and are somewhat acquainted with the immense fortunes made by their servants, assert, that much more than this might be done; that all public business might pay itself, and carry some millions annually to the king's treasury. — However, whether this is, or is not the case, it affects not the present argument.

It would be thought a very strange assertion by some of the defenders of this pernicious monopoly, to hear of East India company ships being obliged to sail above 11,000 miles without a single port at command, and then to carry on a trade with all the countries of India without a single fort or settlement. And yet this is the very case with the Swedish East Indiamen. A circumstance of great consequence is demonstrated from the conduct of the Swedish company, that the East India trade may be carried on without either conquests or settlements; which, considering the many and plausible reasons urged against it, nothing but experience could have shewn. It is true, that commerce thus carried on may be, in some respects, more inconvenient, but then these very inconveniences produce an assiduity and circumspection which are attended with many beneficial consequences; and, besides, *hinder either dishonesty or haughtiness towards the natives, from which much greater mischiefs arise.* Add to this, that by making great diligence and strict economy indispensably necessary in the management of their servants, it secures to the company regular and constant, though less plentiful, returns *.”

The benefits that would result from laying open this commerce are not more dubious than the practicability of the plan; and this will appear from considering the advantages which the nation at present reaps from the India trade. These are principally the exportation of about 300,000*l.* worth of manufactures, and the employment of better than two thousand seamen, with the building, fitting out, &c. of twenty or thirty sail of ships. I say nothing of the disadvantages. Now, these would be enjoyed if the trade was in private hands; for if it answers to send out any manufactures by the company, it would certainly be the same with private

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. ii. p. 270.

merchants; and as to the employment of ships, &c. the very existence of the trade at all cannot be supposed without it. If there is in the East Indies a demand for 300,000 *l.* of manufactures, and for the employment of twenty sail of ships, that demand will undoubtedly continue to private adventurers as well as the company. There is no more danger of their being underfold than of the company's. In whatever view the comparison is beheld, it will in every point be obvious, that the nation would run no manner of risque of losing these few advantages, by throwing the trade from the hands of a monopoly into those of the public.

But to reverse the medal, and consider for a moment what would in all human probability be gained by it. The exportation of manufactures, and the employment of shipping, are the same thing; the one necessarily results from the other; and therefore I shall consider them as one. What are the reasons for supposing this great benefit would result in a larger degree from an open trade than from a limited one? Many. With a company there is no competition, no rivalry; they carry out precisely that quantity of goods which will turn most to their own profit. To export silver is much more profitable than manufactures; the latter are bulky, and require much ship-room; this is expensive; the charges of the voyage are great; if the whole could be carried on with a single ship, so much the greater the proportionate profit; and having no competitors, it is at their option to sort their cargoes merely to these ideas, and not with an eye to what others may carry out if they do not. The same observation is applicable to their returns from India. High prices are in every instance the views of a company, not the enlargement of commerce. This is the great hinge upon which the profit of all monopolies turn. The Dutch company, in many plentiful years, burn five times the spices they sell; when they are sure of a sale for the whole, if they would drop the exorbitant prices of them, and at the same time export five times the quantity of manufactures, and employ five times the number of ships. The great De Witte makes this remark, and justly attributes it to the private profit of the monopoly; which is one thing, but the good of the state another.—It has been proved incontestibly, that our Hudson's Bay company might export an hundred times their present quantity of manufactures, if they would lower their prices; but that would be sinking their profits: How is it therefore to be expected that they will do it?

It is the nature of avarice to long for great profits. There is no difference between the minds of private merchants and companies in this respect; but the former cannot command them. There are, however, some evident reasons for a company requiring higher profit than single traders.

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traders. The expences of the trade are great; the employment of servants very extensive; all of whom serve the company as that serves the state; care for nothing but their own advantage. They are liable to difference of opinion; want unity in most of their business. Their charters are generally bought. They maintain garrisons, forts, armies, and squadrons; they turn conquerors, and are then plundered by their military servants as well as their commercial ones. These and many other reasons render high profits even necessary; and as these are totally contrary to an extended trade for low ones, the public consequently suffers.

The very contrary of all this is the case with private merchants*. They carry all the economy, accuracy and attention of their own trades into the new branch of the Indies. They have but one object wherever they trade; to sell their cargoes to the best advantage: And not trusting to sets of servants of all kinds, nor involved in any but commercial expences, they are able to trade for much smaller profits than any company possibly can.

But what is of yet greater consequence is, the competition which would arise. Many ships arriving in the Indies from Britain, belonging to different owners, cannot fix any determinate price on their cargoes of manufactures and commodities, but must, and would, as in all other trades, take the first opportunity of disposing of them to a moderate advantage, lest others should underfell them, and clear the best market. The conse-

* A striking instance of this is in the merchants of St. Maloes buying privileges of the French East India company to carry that trade on which the latter was unable to conduct without loss, and this with many disadvantages too. "It is not easy to conceive," says Dr. Campbell, "how these merchants of St. Maloes could carry on their commerce to the East Indies with any considerable profit, if we reflect on the many inconveniencies to which they were exposed; for, besides the hard agreement made with the company, they laboured under a variety of restrictions. To mention only a few. The subjects of the Mogul made no distinction between them and the East India company; the debts of which were so large, that these private traders durst not send any ships to Surat for fear of having their effects seized; they were likewise precluded from sending any vessels to China on the score of the new company erected for carrying on that commerce: And, in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht, they were prohibited from sending any ships into the South Seas; which was one great point they had in view, and might certainly be considered as capable of turning more to their advantage than all the other powers that were left them." (*Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 87.) But it seems that all these and many other disadvantages were balanced by this favourable circumstance, that private merchants only were concerned in this commerce, and managed their own money and their own affairs as they thought fit; so that they could go on with more vigour and less expence, make whatever changes they thought convenient, and reap all the benefits of the company's privileges, without being subjected to their incumbrances. Modern Universal History, vol. ii. p. 95.

quence of this is, the dropping the price of British goods in India, which is but another name for enlarging the sale of them. The grand advantage of all others to manufactures is, their being sold cheap; whatever raises their price, and in whatever market, whether taxes at home or monopolies abroad, cramp their sale, and starve those poor, who otherwise might live by their industry.

Competition would act in the same manner, in the carrying out our manufactures as in the sale of them. A company sends out not a ton of shipping more than is absolutely necessary to their contracted sphere of trade; but private merchants very often dispatch such numbers of ships wherever they trade, as to glut their markets; which, however, it may lessen private gains, is of admirable consequence to the public. Instead of the British trade to half the globe employing two or three and twenty ships, we should have two or three hundred constantly employed in it. "There are a greater number of ship-tonnage," says Sir Matthew Decker, "employed in the trade to the free port of Leghorn only, than all the three British companies employed in their monopolies to three-fourths of the world; like the fable of the dog in the manger, not eating themselves, but preventing those who would *."—Now, the increase of the shipping employed in any trade infallibly increases the exportation of manufactures; rather than go out to the Indies empty, the merchants would load their ships upon speculation, or for the mere freight, which is never done by the company: All which tends powerfully to the great point, the consumption of our manufactures.

The great objection to the consumption of tea in Britain is, its not being purchased with manufactures. It pays a great duty to the crown; but so does wine, and many other articles which we purchase totally with manufactures. What a noble advantage would it be, if the trade in tea was reduced to *barter*, instead of being bought with silver! In such a case, the increase of its consumption would be a public good, instead of an evil, both in the employment of the poor, and the enriching the revenue. But this will never be done by a company. Private merchants would presently effect it. They would soon sink the price of our manufactures so greatly in India, that they would be taken in exchange for numerous articles for which our company pays nothing but silver.

It is very difficult to fix bounds to the increase of trade which would result from such a change, in such immense and rich countries as those of

* *Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade*, 12mo, p. 44.

the east; the activity of private adventurers would open new markets at present unthought of; and find out fresh demands for our manufactures and commodities in countries unknown to the company. "The great fault of companies in general," says Dr. Campbell, "is, that they become too cold and phlegmatic in their management, under colour of being methodical, and maintaining a strict oeconomy." Now, this phlegm obtains in no trade carried on by private merchants: all commerce that is open and free, is spirited and active; and a national exportation is always carried on briskly †.

Davenant's opinion is so totally contrary to this remark, that one would think him, what he was more than once reproached with being, a retainer of the East India company. "When a company," says he, "has the strength and wealth such an establishment (a powerful exclusive one) would beget, they might exert themselves boldly in high attempts for the honour and future advantage of their country: They may launch into profitable designs, and not fear the expence of fresh discoveries, or the unsuccessful event of any new settlement. They will be able to bear that loss, with which repeated endeavours to introduce the wear and fashion of our manufactures in those nations must in the beginning be attended. That which has discouraged adventurers upon a narrow bottom, ill supported, and continually attacked, will not frighten those who shall stand upon a firmer basis." *Discourses on Trade, &c.* vol. ii. p. 426. The experience of near a century has proved how just these *may's* and *might be's* are.

† "Tea, mean dirty drug," says a very sensible writer, though his language has not the commercial sobriety, "established by luxury, is become a necessary of life. Ridiculed by the Chinese, our hardy seamen brave all climates, difficulties and hazards, to bring them gold and silver, to take in return a few dried herbs and baked earthen wares. Infatuation! Arguments are vain, tea must be had; but surely not at this rate. Had this fair estate, the Indies (more valuable than the rest of our trade) never been granted in mortmain to this monastery of voluptuous secular priests, but the private English merchant preserved in the rights of his birth, tobacco, or some other product of ours, would have been the sole purchase of tea; weed for weed; not a dollar exported but for gold in return, which was the trade at first; but the Chinese now hold both for tea. Or, in case this trade be laid open, by compounding for their charter, the government taking the trade into their own hands, What a fund of wealth, what increase of revenue! equal to the whole of the present. What a new world for trade! The rich, the populous, the luxurious nations of interior Asia; all histories tell us their extent from Turkey to Japan; these are now shut up from the English merchant for the sake of this monopoly, admitted by all to be bad, maintained by unjustly obliging a people to buy their goods at one house, and no where else; whereby the same tea is sold at Gothenburg 100 per cent. cheaper than at home; which alone is a sufficient profit for the smugglers: nay, it is supposed that the revenue does not suffer a less sum yearly by that article than 200,000*l.*

"Supported by inflicting oaths on their wretched agents, has this bane of our peace and safety reigned a long course of years, bringing poverty upon us by regular gradations: Without skill, without industry, and without wealth, have they proceeded in the discouragement of the former, and dissipation of the latter: nor in thirty years trading has one ship been added for the benefit of our navigation: no increase but of perjuries.

If any one doubts whether the exportation of manufactures would increase upon laying this trade open, let him reflect a moment upon the conduct of the company, respecting their servants carrying out cloth: they lay an absolute prohibition upon it, which would be needless, did they not know that their servants *can undersell them*; for the company wants not money to supply all the cloth that can be *vended with the usual profit*. In the year 1741, a seizure was made in one of the out-ports of a large quantity of cloth designed for India, belonging to one of the company's servants, when at the same time, by the decay of our woollen trade, the poor rates were at 8 s. in the pound in some of our clothing towns; from whence this absurdity arose, that whilst our clothiers were starving, the exportation of cloth was a contraband trade †. These seizures have happened frequently since, and our rates in many manufacturing towns are 10 s. in the pound. How very contrary to fact, therefore, was Davenant's assertion: "A company may send out manufactures and commodities, but an interloper may go with ready bullion and spoil their markets §." The very reverse is the case. It is

Hac fonte derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit.

But that others may discover clearer evidence of this pernicious trade, the injury done to our public credit already, and likely still to do, by carrying it on in the manner above mentioned, (for no less than the value of 350,000 l. in gold and silver has been shipped for India within less than three months last past) and be convinced of the absolute necessity of putting an immediate stop thereto; or that at least it may be limited to three years; and after that to be entirely prohibited, (*such prohibitions are weak, and savour of barbarity; laying the trade open would effect it, without such foolish laws*) and the exportation to be confined to our own manufactures only. That these, under the judicious management of the regular bred merchants, will undoubtedly procure us a constant and more reasonable supply; to say it one half the present monopolized price, though more difficult now than at first; by the taste the Chinese have had of our wife policy.

To appeal to the understanding of the unprejudiced, whether if the trade be made free and open, according to the just rights of English-born subjects, our private merchants, by whose hands alone is the profit now produced to the nation (or rather the loss mitigated) by Indian commodities re-exported to European countries, could not very shortly employ from two to three hundred fine capital ships; take off 3,000,000 l. yearly of woollen, linen, and other manufactures; give real business thereby to more than 200,000 families now preying upon each other, doubling the revenue or more; the fears of lessening which, at this necessitous juncture, are weakly urged." *Thoughts on the present State of our Trade to India*, p. 17.

† Sir M. Decker's *Decline of Foreign trade*, 12mo. p. 43. And for other unanswerable arguments, see Sir Josiah Child on *Trade*, p. 110. *Advantages & Disadvantages de la France & de Bretagne*, p. 236, 237, 251. *The Laws and Policy of England, relating to Trade*, 1765, p. 97. Postlethwayte, *Art. Siam*, (copied from several.) *Reflections on the East India and African Companies*, 1695, p. 10.

§ *Discourses on the Public Revenue and Trade of England*, 8vo. 1698. vol. ii. p. 420.

observable

observable that this writer, in his defence of an exclusive company, grounds all on the possession of forts, &c. which is no objection to a regulated one; witness our African.

If this point, of the benefit attending a free trade to the East Indies, be viewed in ever such various lights, the aspect will be in all the same: the infinitely beneficial consequences of it must be apparent. I say nothing of the regulation of the trade, whether to lay it absolutely open, or to continue the company with great ease of admission to all who demand it: but if the latter, the restrictions should be very slight. Sir Josiah Child would have the purchase and charges not to exceed 26%. Whatever regulations of this sort are adopted, provided the great end of a free trade be obtained, the advantages which would immediately flow into the nation at large, would be prodigious. Our manufactures would flourish; our poor be set to work; our shipping and seamen vastly increased; the general profit of our commerce enlarged; and our public revenue immensely enriched. These are benefits all of the greatest and most important kind, and highly deserve the consideration of the legislature, before they grant a renewal of a most pernicious charter, which never had ten words of sound reasoning urged in its defence. It has been frequently proved, that the great body of British merchants would make it turn to the government's account, by means of requisite subscriptions, if they would dissolve the company: which, with the great consequential increase of revenue, is sufficient surely to open the eyes of the most prejudiced ||.

| The opinion of the grand pensionary de Witte should never be forgot, with regard to the Dutch India trade, which stands much more in need of an exclusive charter than ours: —“ The states found that the trade of these Societies (the East and West India, and Greenland Companies) was carried on with so great prejudice to the rest of the people who were excluded, that if our governors had then or should now deal in the same manner with the trade of Europe, by erecting companies exclusive of all others; for example, one company for the dealers in the Mediterranean; a second of the French and Spanish merchants; a third for the eastern and northern merchants; a fourth for the British and Irish traders; a fifth for the haddock, cod, and herring fisheries: I say, if they had done this, one tenth part of our inhabitants would not have been able to live and earn their bread; so that Holland would soon have been ruined, even though the trade of those companies had been carried on with so great industry, that notwithstanding any resolutions taken by France, England, Sweden, and the States of Italy, to disturb, prohibit, and prevent foreign manufactures, and consequently those of Holland to be brought into their countries, yet each of those companies, in the small compass of our Europe, had driven a greater trade than the whole East India company now drives, to the incomparably greater, mightier, and richer Asia, both in goods and money; for it cannot be denied that the free eastern trade alone, the herring fishing alone, and the French trade alone, produce ten times more profit to the state and the commonality of Holland, than twelve or sixteen ships which yearly sail from Holland to the East Indies do now yield to the state and the inhabitants.” This passage is very

S E C T. XIII.

Of the British Commerce with the Coast of Africa.

THIS most beneficial commerce was, for many years, under the management of an exclusive company; and, like all other branches so conducted, was carried on with an eye merely to the profit of the monopoly: the nation suffered greatly; and yet numerous were the writers who denounced ruin ¶ to the kingdom on the alteration made in it, which has proved of such infinite advantage. I will mention but one fact which was given by a sensible writer of the last century: "I shall only take notice," says he, "how the export of the woollen manufactures of the county of Suffolk have been restrained. Before this African company was incorporated, the clothiers in Suffolk yearly vended 25,000 cloths to Africa; but about two years after this company was incorporated, the clothiers in Suffolk, as they did before, endeavoured to have vended their cloths in the African trade, but they were not permitted; and the company would take off but 500, and those at scarce half the prices they were sold before: hereupon, both the great inquest of Suffolk, (the Guildhall and the franchise of Bury) at their next assizes, presented this as a grievance; and implored Sir Jervis Elvais, (who is now knight of the shire for Suffolk) and some others, to represent this to the king and council: but the duke of York being president of this company, no redress could be had; and so the case now stands at this day. So it is submitted to the wisdom of parliament, whether this exaction by this company, be not the ruin of many multitudes of poor English artificers; and gives the employment in them, as well as navigation to Africk, with these to the Dutch and other nations*." But notwithstanding this and an hundred other such facts, which were produced and proved, yet so pernicious a monopoly continued till within these few years. It is very observable that Suffolk, at this day, has not one *cloth* manufactory: and no wonder, if one monopoly reduced them in two years 24,500

very remarkable, says a modern sensible politician, contains a variety of facts equally curious and important, deserves to be read with the greatest care, and to be weighed and examined with the utmost attention.

¶ *Case of the African Company considered*, 8vo. *The Necessity of continuing the African Company's Charter*, 4to. *The African Trade the great Pillar and Support of the Plantation Trade*, 4to. *An Address to the Legislature, in favour of the African Company*, 8vo. *The Folly of laying open the African Trade*, 8vo. *Thoughts on Trade in general, and that of Africa in particular*.

* *Reflections upon the East Indian and African Companies*, by Roger Coke, Esq; 4to. 1695. p. 10.

cloths. Were that grand one, the East India company, laid aside, the woollen manufactory would flourish over the whole kingdom.

The few particulars of the present state of this trade, which are scattered through our tracts, are soon collected. The exports thither in the year 1761, were,

Utensils, stuffs, and spirits,	—	—	—	—	£. 254,381
East India goods,	—	—	—	—	78,576
					<hr/>
					† 332,957

The returns are gold-dust, ivory, gums, and slaves †. This slight state is sufficient to prove that the African trade is of very great importance: but, besides these circumstances, the immense article of our American colonies dependency on it, renders it to the highest degree advantageous. It would however be much more so, were we not rivalled in it by our northern colonies; who bring hither their own manufactures, to the detriment of the British export. The late regulations of it are judicious, and promise fair for being attended with very good effects §; and,

† *Commercial Principles, &c. p. 27.*

‡ For the number of slaves purchased by the Liverpool ships, see Postlethwayte, *Art-England*. Who, under that article, would look for this account in a dictionary that had the following slave trade, *African trade, African company, Guinea, &c.?*

§ “A proper attention was shewn to the African trade in the article of Bugles, by allowing them to be warehoused free of duty, instead of exacting the whole duty on the importation, and returning it afterwards in drawbacks: these, together with the coarse printed calicoes, cowries, and aranges may from henceforward be attainable upon as easy terms here as any where else: The inducements to bring in such commodities clandestinely are taken away; and ships sailing to the coast of Africa will no longer be tempted to touch in Holland or other countries for a supply: The consequence of which deviation most frequently was, that they took in also gunpowder, spirits, and other assortments of goods, and made up a great part of their cargoes there. The African trade will be therefore more our own than it has been: it is in itself greater than it was by the acquisition of Senegal; and a further very liberal plan was adopted in 1765, for improving all its advantages. The committee of merchants who had the management of the whole, were divested of that part of the coast which lies between the port of Salee and Cape Rouge: the rest was left to them, strengthened in their hands, by building a block-house at the important point of Cape Apolonia: that which was taken from them was vested in the crown; a civil establishment was formed, with jurisdiction between the rivers Senegal and Gambia: the duties upon gum are a fund for supporting it; a regular military force is to be maintained there; and all the securities against domestic oppression or foreign invasion; all the benefits, in short, of a settled provincial government, are provided for that district. This must be an encouragement to the present factories; it will be the means of increasing them; it may be the foundation of future improvements in power, in commerce, and in settlement, to a degree perhaps of

and, particularly, the forming a civil establishment on a part of the coast; for one effect of this may be the civilizing || a number of the inhabitants, and introducing some of the European customs and refinements among them, which would open new demands for our manufactures, at present unthought of, among a people whose increase is so very great ¶. It has been proposed * to form colonies, for the purposes of planting; and these, probably, would be found to answer perfectly well, but their security could not be so great as in our West Indian islands. However, it is deserving a trial. Much to be regretted is it, that we know so little of the inland parts of that vast continent. It has been proposed philosophically to examine it †; but this nation wants most to penetrate it for the sale of her manufactures, in exchange for valuable commodities.

S E C T. XIV.

General State of the British Commerce—Shipping—Navigation—Tonnage—Seamen, &c.

IT will be useful here to draw a recapitulation of the facts collected in the foregoing sections, and to compare them with other general ones concerning the total of British commerce. By these means the reader will be the better enabled to form one idea of the extent and situation of our trade.

First, with respect to imports and exports.

Baltic Trade.

Imports,	£ 1,000,000
Exports,	266,000
Balance,	734,000

f colonization: But, without carrying the idea quite so far, it will at the least certainly give stability, order, and credit to the British trade upon the coast, and make our establishments superior in strength, extent, and influence to those of any other European power. *Considerations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom*, p. 68.

¶ *Plan for improving the Trade of Senegal*, 8vo. 1763. p. 5.

¶ *Hippisley's Essays on the Populousness, Trade, &c. of Africa*, 8vo. 1764. p. 6.

* *The Advantages of Peace and Commerce*, 8vo. 1729. p. 12, 18.—*Postlethwayte's African Expedition*, p. 94.—*Dictionary of Commerce*, Art. Guinea.

† *Maupertuis's Letter to the King of Prussia. Philological Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 361.

Holland,

Holland, Flanders, and Germany.
 Balance in favour of Britain, £. 650,000

France.
 Balance against Britain, £. 500,000

Portugal.
 Balance in favour of Britain, £. 1,750,000

Italy.
 Balance against Britain, £. 200,000

Levant.
 Balance in favour of Britain, £. 600,000

Britain and Ireland.
 In favour of Britain, £. 700,000

Britain and her Colonies:
 Exports, £. 3,571,365
 Imports, 2,900,527
 Balance, 670,838

East Indies.
 Balance against Britain (being the export of bullion) about £. 900,000

Africa.
 Exports, £. 332,957
 Balances in favour of Britain, 4,370,838
 against ditto, 2,334,000
 Britain's general gain, 2,036,838
 Of which, by Ireland and Colonies, 1,370,838

It is imagined that the Portuguese and Levant balances are much exaggerated, and I believe with reason; but this general balance cannot be, as the interest paid by Britain to foreigners, for money in her funds, amounts alone to a larger sum. Something, however, is to be added for the Spanish and African trade; but political writers tell us, the first is very small, and the gold dust of the last is not very considerable.

A modern writer tells us, the exports to foreign parts

amount to,	£. 6,500,000
The imports,	5,000,000
Balance,	1,500,000
But this includes, neither Ireland nor the Plantations; —these are,	1,370,838
Total, according to this account,	2,870,838
Exports to the Baltic,	1,000,000
To the East Indies, about	800,000
	1,800,000

This deducted from the above total 6,500,000 £. there remains, 4,700,000 for all other countries.

I insert this account, because I am unwilling to slight any authority; but the calculation is most undoubtedly too low, of which there cannot be a greater proof than what Davenant gives:

Our general exports, says he, for 1699, are £. 6,788,166 *

Now, those who reflect upon the immense increase of our trade since that period, will easily believe that these accounts are not to be reconciled.

The next article I shall examine is, the ships and seamen employed in these trades.

Great numbers certainly are employed to Germany, Holland, Flanders, the Baltic, France, Spain, Italy, the Levant, and the coast of Africa; and yet I can nowhere find even conjectures concerning the amount.

* Second Report to the Commissioners for Public Accounts, 8vo. 1715. p. 71.

The assertion of one author, that Portugal employs 1400 large ships, must not be depended on.

	Ships.
The coasting trade, of 150 tons,	3000
The Plantation trade, of 300 tons,	433
The Newfoundland fishery, of 200 tons,	171
The East India trade, of 300 tons,	25
Total of these articles,	3629
Tonnage of the coasting trade,	450,000
Plantation ditto,	130,000
fishery,	34,200
East Indies ditto,	7,500
Total,	621,700
Seamen of the coasting trade,	30,000
Plantation ditto,	12,300
Newfoundland fishery,	7,500
all other fisheries,	12,500
East India ditto,	2,500
Total,	64,800
Anderson conjectures the number of ships trading beyond sea, to be,	3000
To these, if we add the coasters, there will be	3000
The total is all employed by Britain,	6000
And, supposing the medium tonnage of the latter to be 200, the amount is,	600,000
That of the coasters,	450,000
Total tonnage,	1,050,000
Suppose the average seamen in the foreign trading ships to be 10, the total is,	30,000
The coasters,	30,000
The home fisheries,	12,500
Total seamen,	72,500

I have no conception that the number of seamen can be less than this, I should rather have imagined them to be above 100,000: and the immense trade carried on during the last war, while the government had 70,000 in their pay, confirms this supposition; but as the above numbers are the result, some of authorities, and others of particular conjectures, they may possibly be thought more likely to be near the truth than any general conjecture. The present compliment on board the royal navy makes this number up near 100,000. A modern author, before quoted, makes the coasting trade alone to maintain this number; but that is prodigious; and yet he is one of the best informed and most accurate of my authorities, and does not seem at all to be given to exaggeration.

I cannot well conceive the total in private service to be less than 100,000.

Some writers have calculated the tonnage at not above 500,000 tons; but that is manifestly too low: the slightest reflection is sufficient to overturn any such ideas. Former authorities on this head are but little to be attended to; for there is very great reason to believe the tonnage, since the last war, greater than ever it was before in time of peace. Others calculate the number * of ships, foreign traders and coasters, at 4000, and the tonnage at 320,000; but this is an evident contradiction, for the medium is only 80 tons; which alone is sufficient to invalidate the account. This writer calculates the coasters at just half the total.

o The total tonnage of foreign ships trading to England, on a medium, of the years 1743, 1747, and 1749, was 86,094 †.

Whenever calculations that are formed upon quite different principles or foundations, happen to coincide, it is at least a strong evidence that truth is not far off.

It is calculated that the total of commerce is carried on by 20,000 ships ‡. Now the very ingenious Dr. Campbell § tells us, that if the shipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, Great Britain hath six. This proportion is exactly 6000 sail, which is the total in the above general account.

* *The Case of the British Merchants, Owners of Ships, and others.*

† Postlethwayte's *Dictionary*, Art. *Navigation*.

‡ *Tableau Oeconomique*, tom. iii. p. 5. *Observations Oeconomiques*, tom. ii. p. 200.

§ *Present State of Europe*, p. 21.

SECT. XV.

Of the Balance of Trade.

TO a manufacturing nation, it is very clearly of great importance to know the progress of trade from time to time, and to be able to discover pretty accurately the balance; because whatever is paid to other countries in bullion, as a balance upon the year's trade, is just so much loss to any nation that has unemployed poor, or unpurchased commodities. As to the ill consequences of sending away our gold and silver, considered merely in itself, they are perhaps trivial*; and should be considered in no other light than a proof that we do not export a due quantity of products and labour. By knowing the balance of each trade, we are timely acquainted with those articles in which the industry of foreigners rival us; and are consequently much better enabled to apply the necessary remedy, than if the evil was unknown to us, or only conjectured. This remark is allowed by all to be just; but the great difficulty and difference of opinion arises from the means of discovering the balance.

Those which have been chiefly depended on by some, but rejected by others, are,

The Custom-house entries.

The course of exchange.

The quantity of gold and silver abounding.

The quantity of foreign coin. And,

The quantity of shipping.

In the first place, the Custom-house entries can give but little insight into the real state of the balance; for the quantity of goods that are smuggled is prodigious; and of them the Custom-house can give no account. False entries are common †: the rates are various; and many articles are not rated at all. For these and other reasons, it is apparent

* See Hume's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 341.

† Gee's *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 171.

their authority is weak, and accordingly has been rejected by numerous writers †.

The course of exchange is agreed to be of use, like all means whatever of acquiring knowledge; but that it will point out the general balance of our whole trade, or the particular ones of several, is clearly contrary to truth. That it will not shew the general balance, appears from this; all remittances affect the course of exchange, whether they be subsidies to foreign princes, the pay and maintenance of troops, the interest of debts, or the expences of travellers: all these articles are considerable, and sufficiently prove that general knowledge is not to be thus acquired. And if it be considered, that the balances to or from nation to nation are often transferred to others; that is, the balance we owe to one country is paid by bills of exchange upon another, who owe a balance to us; in which case the course of exchange varies indeed, but in quite a different quarter from the transactions of trade which occasioned that variation: from hence, I say, it is evident the course of exchange can tell nothing but the *TEMPORAL balance of remittance*, but not that of trade.

The quantity of gold and silver abounding in a country can be no more the signs to depend on than the preceding ones. Gee fixes on this as the true criterion; but a very few reflections will shew that he was totally mistaken. The interest of debts, subsidies, foreign wars, and absentees, export gold and silver as readily as the worst of trades; how then can the quantity abounding shew us the state of commerce? But even if none of these causes operated, the maxim would be equally fallacious; and for this reason, a people may export their coin without any of these helps: the creation of paper currency indubitably drives it away; for that being current at home, but not abroad, will stay at home, and the universal currency be sent abroad. This is generally agreed; but those who favour paper currency, allow the fact, but draw this inference from it: That it goes abroad in trade to collect more; but that *more* will go off in the same way. And allowing the full extent of the argument, yet the quantity at home can never shew the profit of trade.

Others assert, that the plenty of foreign coin current in any kingdom, is the sure sign of any particular trade's (if not the whole) flourishing. This plea has a strong appearance of reason, but will not *always* hold good. For instance, Portugal owes a large balance to Holland, and

† Gee's *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 171. Hume's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 342. Sir J. Child on *Trade*, p. 164. *Lond. Mag.* vol. xxx. p. 84.

pays it in coin; and Holland owes a balance to Britain, and pays it with Portugal coin. How does this shew us the balance of our trade with Portugal? No one can assert, that all the Portuguese coin current in England comes immediately from Portugal; it is a fact very much to be doubted. The currency of foreign coin shews evidently that some balance is greatly in our favour; and if it ceases, that some trade is turned against us. But another circumstance has a great effect upon the fluctuation of all coin, and that is, the intrinsic value of it; for we certainly *may* have vast payments in it, and yet not an ounce of it current. This is very apparent.

Sir Joseph Child was certainly, in matters of commerce, a very penetrating genius, and yet, in this article of the balance, he fixes upon a proof as weak as any of the preceding. The *quantity of shipping* is his criterion. But surely it is apparent, that much shipping may be employed in losing trades; and very profitable trades carried on without any shipping at all. It would therefore be very strange, if shipping proved the balance. Great numbers of ships may be employed to carry out coin in return for bulky commodities; should we conclude therefore, that, in proportion to the quantity, the national trade thrives? No, surely. But let us drop the idea of naval power for a minute, as we are speaking merely of trade, and suppose that the nation had no shipping at all, would this make foreigners the less willing to purchase our lead, our corn, our tin, or manufactures? On the contrary, would they not be more eager to do it on account of the freight? Should we be obliged to purchase any larger quantity of their manufactures than was agreeable to us? And might not the balance be infinitely in our favour nevertheless? Experience can answer all these queries. This *was* the case with France before Colbert arose. Several French writers have attempted to prove, that she received of her neighbours a greater *proportional* balance while the Dutch had the navigation of all her products for sale, than she did in her more *brilliant* days: All agree, that her commerce of this sort was immensely great. Shipping, seamen, navigation, and naval power, are great and magnificent possessions; but let them never be brought in competition with the sale of products and manufactures; for in a scale of value, the cargo is surely of abundant greater consequence than the vehicle that conveys it. People that have much shipping make much noise in the world, and are every where known and talked of: those who sell their products to whoever will come for them, are never seen from home, and little thought of; but their profitable balance may exist without any of the bustle which shipping occasions. Was the balance

balance of trade against France in the last years of the late war, when her shipping was demolished? Is the balance of trade against China and Japan, who possess, comparatively speaking, scarcely any ships? — This idea of shipping, marking the balance of trade, is a mere chimera. No one can have a greater idea of the consequence of shipping and seamen, and particularly to this country, than myself; but as to supposing it the criterion of the balance or national profit of a trade, it is totally inconsistent with common experience and the least reflection.

It may be asked, If I am so free in rejecting the systems established by others, whether I have any to offer in their stead? In answer to which, I shall freely offer my conjecture amongst others, which is, that, circumstanced as Britain is, it is impossible to fix on any general maxim as a criterion to judge of the balance of trade. I have reflected on this subject with the utmost attention I am able, and can devise no means of discovering whether the balance is for or against us. An exact register of all exports and imports, clandestine as well as legal, would tell it at once: But such a register is an impossibility, according to the present system of revenue. We have found, that the several ideas above-examined are all fallacious. If we consider the case with a little attention, we shall find equal difficulties in forming other ideal bounties of the nation's commerce.

The circumstances which render an attempt of this sort so impracticable are, the sums spent in England by Irish and West Indian absentees (which have nothing to do with the balance of trade); those expended by English travellers; the interest paid by Britain to foreigners for money lodged in her funds; and, lastly, the expences of continental connections, which are immense. All these amount to great sums, and are attended in all national respects with the same effects as favourable or unfavourable balances of trade; consequently, there results prodigious, if not insuperable, difficulties, in ascertaining the difference between their effects and those of commerce. Paper currency finishes the list. If the former objections were removed, this would involve the whole in obscurity.

If none of these causes operated, the quantity of coin, bullion, and plate, in the kingdom, with excises to tell the amount of what was consumed in laces and embroideries, would be an infallible rule to judge by; which could never deceive, because these could then be increased by no means but by a favourable balance, nor decreased but by an unfavourable one. But it is evident enough, that this is very far from being the case at present.

The

The flourishing state of manufactures traced to any particular amount, will not shew whether trade is for or against us, because the trade of products is independent of them. It is possible to have half our manufacturers starving, and yet a greater balance than the present supposed one brought in from the export of products alone.

Vice versa; the decay of the latter cannot prove it, because the former *may* flourish proportionably.

The state of population cannot prove it, because it is so much affected by circumstances that have no connection with foreign trade.

The consumption of great quantities of foreign luxuries cannot prove even a decline, contrary to Sir James Stewart; because, at the same time such consumption may be more than balanced by an exportation of raw commodities.

The rise or fall of the rents of land cannot possibly prove it, because they are affected by the quantity of paper current; by taxes, by a general wrong balance, owing to the above-mentioned causes; all which may operate against land, while the balance of trade favours it.

The number of unemployed poor cannot prove it, because that is affected by the state of agriculture and manufactures, which are but two foundations for trade out of many; and by many other causes. The number of unemployed poor in France is immense, although the balance of trade in favour of that kingdom is very great.

In short, circumstances which *are not* the proof may be multiplied without end, and we shall be never the nearer discovering what is the proof.

The best knowledge we can gain is that of the custom-house, because in their entries there is *some* foundation to calculate upon; whereas in other methods there is *none*. And although the amount of smuggling is very great, and numerous entries false; yet, by means of minute and attentive comparisons between one article and another at different periods, some shrewd guesses may be made at the truth, which will always prove much more satisfactory than any other means of acquiring this branch of commercial knowledge. As to the present balance of the British trade, I attempted to shew by these means in the preceding section, that it was pretty considerable in her favour.

It may, perhaps, here be asked, What are the consequences to this nation of a right or wrong balance of trade? These depend totally upon the *extent*, and the demands of another kind upon her. If the rental of the Irish and West Indian estates that are spent in England be not sufficient to pay the interest of her debts, the balance of trade must be so applied; and if all is insufficient, paper and credit comes in. Nothing, however, can be clearer than the mischief of owing more than can be paid without the least extraordinary operation. Such a balance of trade therefore, as will not permit this kingdom's paying all demands on her in a common course of business, must be of pernicious consequences. It must, however, be remembered, that we may so increase our debts to foreigners, that no balance that can well be conceived probable can enable us to pay their interest.

A balance in our favour is a proof that foreigners take more products and fabricks from us than we do from them, which is an advantage of the highest consequence, because it suggests at least a strong probability that they employ more of our poor than we do of theirs. But even this is not thereby proved; for if our exports are raw unmanufactured products, and our imports those which have received the last hand, a considerable balance may be in our favour, and yet the trade disadvantageous; and for the above reasons, because we employ a greater number of their poor than they do of ours.

For this reason the balance may, upon the whole, be against us, (as far as it relates to trade alone) and yet the commerce very beneficial, and upon precisely the same account.

S E C T.

S E C T. XVI.

Comparison between the Commerce of Great Britain and that of other Countries.

THE reader will not expect to find a complete state of the trade of Europe laid before him in this section: If it is so very difficult to gain an adequate idea of our own commerce, much more so must it be to acquire one of foreign trade. But although perfection cannot even be thought of, a concise view of those particulars which are to be met with in various authors may have its use, and give us a better idea of the weight of Great Britain in the commercial world than if they were entirely slighted.

The Dutch claim the first attention. I shall begin with those branches in which they are almost unrivalled. In the East Indies they are confessedly superior in trade to all the world; the particulars, however, of this trade, are no where *satisfactorily* to be found. Such circumstances as have any thing conclusive in them are very soon collected, and prove clear enough the immense importance of the Dutch India trade.

The number of ships they employ in it amounts generally to between seventy and eighty; that is, about forty outward, and thirty-six homeward bound*. But their great superiority over England does not consist chiefly in the shipping that is employed by it, but in the value of the cargoes; as an instance of which, take the article *spices*, among a great many others common with other companies.

One year with another the product of cloves is 1,000,000 of pounds †; of nutmegs, 800,000 ‡; of mace, 200,000 §; of cinnamon, 1,000,000 ¶; their share of the pepper amounts to 5000 tons ¶.

The product of these spices at the company's sales in Holland may be thus computed:

100,000 lb. of cloves, at 10 s. per pound,	- - -	£. 500,000
800,000 lb. of nutmegs, at 6 s. 6 d.	- - -	275,000
200,000 lb. of mace, at 18 s.	- - -	180,000
1,000,000 lb. of cinnamon, at 10 s.	- - -	500,000
5000 tons of pepper, at 1 s. 3 d. per pound **,	- - -	700,000
		Total, 2,155,000

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. x. p. 468. † *Ib.* 454. ‡ *Ib.* 460. § *Ib.* 449.

¶ *Davenant on Public Revenue and Trade*, vol. ii. p. 62. *Of the East India Trade.*

** I have laid the pepper low, as the quantity seems so very large; and perhaps Davenant exaggerated, as he certainly did, in asserting the Dutch spice trade to amount on the whole to six millions.

That the profit upon this product is immensely great, may be gathered from this circumstance; the most valuable of them cost the company in India so little as about an halfpenny per pound*. Davenant says the pepper costs them two-pence.

3,000,000 lb. at $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—	—	—	£. 6,200
5,000 tons, at 2 d.	—	—	—	93,300
Freight of 14,200,000 lb. at 3 d. †	—	—	—	177,500
Total charge,	—	—	—	277,000
Profit,	—	—	—	1,878,000

From this slight sketch it appears very clear, that the Dutch East India trade is greatly superior to that of Britain.

In their fisheries the Dutch are equally superior to us. Their herring fishery was for ages regularly on the increase. It has been computed, that it employed 8000 buffes, ships, and vessels of all sorts; 250,000 sea and fishermen; and 250,000 netmakers and curers †. This is an immense calculation; and yet the great De Witt himself asserts, that 450,000 people were employed by it in his time in the province of Holland alone §, which is a confirmation. It is asserted by others, that the value of the fishery amounts to 10,000,000 l. annually to them. In the last century they undoubtedly caught 300,000 last annually of herrings alone, besides cod, ling, hake, &c. and, at the medium of prices, these were worth 5,000,000 l. || Other writers, however, assert, that this fishery is much fallen off at present: The following is a state of it in the year 1748, as given by a modern author.

It employed ships from 70 to 100 tons,	—	—	1,000
Fishermen,	—	—	14,000
Seamen, &c.	—	—	86,000
They caught, lasts of fish,	—	—	85,000
Worth,	—	—	¶ £. 1,700,000

This state makes it of prodigious consequence; and an incredible nursery of seamen.

* *Modern Universal History*, vol. x. p. 453.

† Davenant, *ut supra*.

‡ *Britannia Langens*, p. 31.

§ *Memoirs*, p. 34.

|| *Smith's England's Improvements revived*, p. 249.

¶ *Avantages et Desavantages*, &c. p. 143.

Their Greenland fishery has certainly not declined; some writers are of opinion, that it is greater at present than ever it was; while the English possessed a share of theirs, it amounted to a vast sum.

In forty-six years, ending 1721, they employed in it	6,995 ships.
Caught, _____	* 32,908 whales.
Value, at 500 <i>l.</i> each †, _____	16,000,000 <i>l.</i>
The medium crew of the ships is forty men and boys; the total number therefore ‡ _____	279,800
Ships per annum, _____	151
Seamen, ditto, _____	6,000
Value, ditto, _____	347,826 <i>l.</i>
Value of the herring and whale fishery per annum, according to the last and least account of the former, _____	2,047,826 <i>l.</i>

A very little reflection will be sufficient to shew the vast importance of fisheries which bring in such prodigious sums, and employ such numbers of seamen; nor are the seamen the only people employed, the number on land in building, fitting out, and repairing the ships, and making the numerous nets and fishing implements, must be incredibly great.

The Baltic trade is the most considerable carried on by the Dutch in Europe, and immensely great; employing constantly no less than 1200 sail of large ships||. Prodigious magazines of all the Baltic products are ready in Holland for the southern markets, which they almost wholly supply. The ships used in this trade are all bulky, and of great burden, so that we cannot estimate them at less than 300 tons upon an average, which makes 360,000 tons of shipping; and the seamen, reckoned at no more than 12 to the ship, amount to about 15,000.

To these branches of their commerce, we should add their trade to Britain, France, and all the southern parts of Europe, Baltic produce excepted; likewise, their African and West Indian commerce: all these are of consequence, and must undoubtedly employ a great number of ships; particulars of them, however, I cannot discover.

* Postlethwayte's *Dictionary*, Art. *Greenland*.

† Anderson's *Deduction*, &c. vol. ii. p. 350.

‡ Elkin's *Memorial to Sir John Eyles*.

|| Nugent's *Grand Tour*, vol. i. p. 28.

I shall next examine such parts of the French commerce as are known with any tolerable certainty; and, first, their plantation trade, which will be soon dispatched, as the amount of their West Indian products are already inserted in another place.

68,000 hogsheds of British sugar, exported to Europe, formed 51,000 tons; 120,000 hogsheds, therefore, the French product, make 90,000 tons, and the proportion of men taken, as before minuted, for the British islands, the total employed by the article, sugar, in France is	9,000
Coffee, indigo, &c. is not quite a fourth of the value; but as they are by no means so bulky, we will call the shipping employed by them a sixth, or	1,500
Total,	10,500

N. B. Most of the French melasses and rum are bought by English ships.

A modern writer * makes the number of seamen employed by this trade	9,050
Medium,	9,770

I may here be permitted to remark, that coincidence within less than a thousand men is something of a proof that the preceding calculations are not far from the truth. The same writer says, the number of their ships employed in this trade is 336.

The Newfoundland fishery of France is said by a late writer † to be four times greater than that of Britain; if so, its state is as follows:

Value and freight of the fish,	£. 1,272,000
Ships,	684
Seamen,	30,000
Another author ‡ makes the French fishery to produce	£. 1,350,000.
A third § makes it	981,692

* *An Account of the Southern Maritime Provinces of France*, 4to. 1764, p. 133.

† *Present State*, p. 175.

‡ *Heathcote's Letter*, p. 26.

§ *Sir William Pepperel's Journal*.

The medium of these accounts,	—	—	£. 1,200,000
One of these writers makes the ships *	—	—	1,350
Another †,	—	—	564
If four times greater than Britain's, they are	—	—	684
A fourth ‡ makes it	—	—	405
The medium,	—	—	750
The number of seamen, one asserts to be §	—	—	15,970
Another ,	—	—	30,096
If four times larger than Britain's,	—	—	30,000
Another writer makes them **	—	—	27,500
Medium,	—	—	25,000
Recapitulation, — Value,	—	—	£. 1,200,000
Ships,	—	—	750
Seamen,	—	—	25,000

The Levant trade of France is thus stated by a modern writer ††:

Ships,	—	—	—	—	772
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	59,832
Men,	—	—	—	—	9,284

And likewise, of the following branches of commerce. Then to

Spain, — Ships,	—	—	—	—	289
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	18,268
Men,	—	—	—	—	2,962
Portugal, — Ships,	—	—	—	—	32
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	3,297
Men,	—	—	—	—	436
Barbary, — Ships,	—	—	—	—	56
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	2,750
Men,	—	—	—	—	485
Holland, — Ships,	—	—	—	—	69
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	5,015
Men,	—	—	—	—	571

* Heathcote's Letter, p. 26.

† Sir William Pepperel.

‡ Account of the Maritime Provinces of France, p. 133.

§ Ibid.

|| Heathcote, p. 26.

** Pepperel.

†† Account of the Maritime Provinces of France, p. 133.

Britain and Ireland,	—	Ships,	—	—	54
		Tonnage,	—	—	1,982
		Men,	—	—	206
The North,	—	Ships,	—	—	25
		Tonnage,	—	—	1,760
		Men,	—	—	234
Guinea,	—	Ships,	—	—	11
		Tonnage,	—	—	1,780
		Men,	—	—	518
East Indies,	—	Ships,	—	—	12
		Tonnage,	—	—	6,010
		Men,	—	—	1,454
Flanders,	—	Ships,	—	—	12
		Tonnage,	—	—	682
		Men,	—	—	101
Herring fishery,	—	Ships,	—	—	181
		Tonnage,	—	—	4,824
		Men,	—	—	3,124
		Value in proportion to the Dutch ships,	—	—	£. 307,000
Whale fishery,	—	Ships,	—	—	29
		Tonnage,	—	—	5,815
		Men,	—	—	1,534
		Value, in proportion to the Dutch,	—	—	£. 66,800

To these I shall add their coasting trade from Bourdeaux, &c. to Rouen, which is said by Mr. Poslethwayte to employ from 150 to 200 sail; let us, to avoid the imputation of exaggeration, call it

	—	—	—	—	150
Tonnage, at 100, the medium,	—	—	—	—	15,000
Men, at 9* to each ship,	—	—	—	—	1350

Recapitulation.

Total ships †,	—	—	—	—	2,778
Tonnage,	—	—	—	—	279,540
Seamen,	—	—	—	—	57,588
Great Britain's coasting trade was found to employ	—	—	—	—	3,000 ships.
The whole French commerce,	—	—	—	—	2,778
The former alone, superior by	—	—	—	—	222

* This is the proportion of their ships trading to Holland.

† If the shipping of Europe be 20,000, Dr. Campbell says France possesses 2000.

The tonnage of Britain's coasting trade,	—	—	450,000
That of all French ships,	—	—	279,540
The former superior by	—	—	170,460
Seamen of Britain's coasting trade,	—	30,000	
Plantation ditto,	—	12,300	
Fisheries ditto,	—	20,000	
			62,300
All the French commerce,	—	—	57,588
The former superior by	—	—	4,712

These heads of comparison reduce the parallel to a very plain state.

The whole commerce of France has, by a modern writer *, been valued at 8,750,000 per annum, but evidently too low: his design, however, was to undervalue every thing but agriculture.

It would be mere trifling to compare the commerce of Britain with that of any other power than Holland and France.

S E C T. XVII.

Of the Importance of Commerce to Great Britain—The Means of promoting it—And Conjectures on its future State.

IN this section I shall speak of commerce in its common extent, comprehending the possession of shipping and the employment of seamen. I shall avoid entering minutely into the examination of a point that has been canvassed by a million of writers; only touching on a few circumstances, which it is requisite should not be wholly omitted in this Essay.

The importance of trade to this nation consists in, *first*, the employment of our poor; *secondly*, the acquisition of riches; *thirdly*, the support of naval power. A very few words will shew that these interests are in some measure distinct, and certainly of high importance. It may perhaps be thought, that the employment of our poor, and the acquisition of riches being the same thing, I have made a distinction without a difference. I do not deny their being in some respects the same thing, but certainly not in all; a losing trade, that is, one in which the balance is against us, may employ vast numbers of our poor. The importation

* *Les Interets de la France mal entendus*, tom. ii. p. 325.

of raw commodities to be manufactured has palpably this effect, even if the whole amount is paid for in cash. If such manufactures are consumed at home, provided it be by the rich, the benefit of the trade is not thereby impeached: And this sufficiently proves, that a plain distinction may be justly made between the employment of our poor and the acquisition of riches.

An increase of riches, in some situations, is no farther desirable than as they increase industry: in such case, the principal aim of commerce is the employment of such of the poor as the established agriculture and manufactures will not maintain; for commerce increases both; besides immediately employing great numbers. A people may carry on much trade in selling their products and manufactures to foreigners in their own ports, as was remarked before; but in that situation, neither their agriculture nor manufactures can be carried on to near the extent and perfection which attends a brisk trade being joined with them. Where a single purchaser is found in one case, a thousand will be met with in the other; and the more products and manufactures a nation sells, the more of her poor is undoubtedly employed.

The best markets for these are found out and preserved by commerce; for without it, a kingdom would sell nothing but what her neighbours could neither do without themselves, nor supply others with. If Portugal demanded cloth, and the Dutch supplied them, they most undoubtedly would give the preference to their own; and as long as they could possibly supply the market, would never buy ours for that purpose. Without commerce, the immense consumption likewise, and singular benefits of colonies could not be enjoyed: all which is sufficient to prove, that foreign trade is of prodigious consequence to the increase of the sale of products and manufactures, and consequently to the employment of the poor.

If it is said that commerce, by increasing of luxury, decreases population, occasions a greater inequality among mankind, and adds to the number of the poor, I answer; so does every thing but feudal barbarity; manufactures, agriculture, as a trade, &c. &c. and that there is scarce any medium between a state of polish villainage and a commercial prosperity. Switzerland, without a single ship or a port, experiences the latter. But conjectures about the decrease of mankind, in consequence of luxury, are very equivocal, and never amount to a proof. In great cities the fact is undoubted, but the case may be very different with a nation at large. That luxury increases the number of the poor, there can be no doubt; but at the same time it furnishes them with the means of employ-

ment and subsistence: if they fail of reaping this benefit from it, the fault most assuredly is not in commerce or luxury, but the government under which they live. There is no cause so powerful as to operate beneficial effects contrary to the influence of bad government, or a want of good. Suppose we have a million of unemployed poor in England, can any one of common penetration imagine that the British government *could not* set them to work, and make them maintain themselves to the advantage of the whole community? We should not rail at commerce and its attendant luxury for effects pernicious, merely for want of abilities to render them beneficial.

In a kingdom where the soil is well cultivated, where numerous manufactures are established, and where a large foreign trade is carried on, no one need be idle or unemployed, if the laws be such as encourage industry alone: all will be busy and diligent; all maintain themselves and families; every one will live comfortably, and add to the stock of the public: the good influence of commerce will be sufficiently apparent.

So much to the employment of the poor; the acquisition of riches is quite another affair.

Great Britain has almost periodically a consuming war to carry on against a powerful neighbour; and she has the interest of immense debts to pay to foreigners: she has likewise prodigious internal expences to support. All these demand a great revenue; and every branch of industry must share in supporting the burthen: agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Whatever has by degrees been brought to yield, through either first or second causes, a large revenue, is become not only beneficial, but an absolute necessity. Suppose the public income 10,000,000 *l.* and the necessary expences as much, and that commerce and its consequences pay one-third of this; if that third, in case of failure, cannot be elsewhere supplied and easily too, commerce is indubitably a necessary. This is not the place to state proportions of this sort accurately; but the present state of Great Britain is somewhat represented in the supposition.

Now, although great taxes are raised on losing as well as advantageous trades, yet in proportion to the riches is the consumption of a nation; and whatever trade is carried on with a balance against a people, certainly impoverishes them; and no logic is requisite to prove, that a poor people cannot consume equally with a rich one. The general plan of modern taxation in most of the European kingdoms and states is that on consumption; the excises in Britain form much the largest part of the public revenue:

nué: And we may be assured, that the customs paid on the imports of a losing trade (unless on commodities to be re-exported, or further manufactured) by no means equal the consequent loss in excises, by the decrease of the national riches from this consumption. The mere possession of riches is not the great point (though of no small consequence); it is the consumption they occasion, the industry they give rise to, and the infallible journey they regularly take to the coffers of the public.

This idea is not, however, to be carried to an infinite extent, because an over-quantity of riches is pernicious, in raising the prices of every thing too high, and doing mischief thereby to the general industry. I extend the reflection no farther than the actual or probable necessities of the state.

As Great Britain pays such immense sums in interest to foreigners; is at such prodigious constant expences of government; and is never far removed from the expectation of a war; and as much of her revenue depends on commerce and its consequences (which are by-the-bye much greater than at first apparent); for these reasons, a regular acquisition of riches by commerce is become an absolute necessity of state.

Lastly; in respect of naval power. This point will require very little attention to settle. While Britain has so powerful an enemy to cope with as France, some system of military power must be formed for defence; to say nothing of plans of attack. This system must be that of land or sea forces. The first, to be depended on altogether, would perhaps be insufficient; most certainly it would be dangerous to liberty: But if both these objections were removed, there remains another very material one; it is naval power alone that can protect, defend, and secure the possession of any colonies. The most powerful armies would alone be useless in this respect. A superior French fleet, with ten thousand men, would reduce half the British colonies, though an army of ten times that number was encamped at Portsmouth, without a fleet to waft and convey them. As a naval power can have no other foundations than an extended commerce, there wants no other proof to shew that commerce is necessary to Great Britain, independent either of the employment of the poor, or the acquisition of riches.

II. The means of promoting this branch of industry are so prodigiously various and extensive, that it will not be expected every particular should be explained here. It would fill volumes upon a subject that has filled a thousand already; a few remarks, however, are necessary, and especially if the subject be found to admit any that are not already hackneyed by common use.

It has been generally asserted, that the fluctuations of trade from nation to nation are owing to high prices of the necessaries of life, which raise the price of all products, manufactures, merchandize, &c. &c. and, in short, every thing that receives the least value from labour: And as these high prices are the effects of riches, and as riches are the effects of trade, trade destroys itself. I shall only remark at present, that how just soever this idea may be, it is but an idea, and no where clearly to be traced in modern history. The Dutch carry on an immense trade at present in opposition to very powerful and industrious rivals; and yet the necessaries of life are now dearer in Holland than in any part of Europe. We have rivalled them in many articles very successfully, and yet no one can prove that our success has been owing to a greater cheapness of provisions. The French have rivalled both, and yet it is supposed that an Englishman earns a greater proportion of wages, in proportion to the necessaries in both countries at the same prices, than a Frenchman can do. But these assertions can be nothing but ideas, and founded on no proof, because we have not at any period had an exact comparison between the prices of necessaries in different manufacturing countries drawn to a head, and a complete parallel between them. There can be no doubt but prices might be imagined so high as to destroy all industry; but this is mere imagination. Great interest for money, monopolies, want of stocks in trade, want of skill in agriculture and manufactures, injudicious taxes, &c. &c. &c. these and a thousand other circumstances may operate against the growth of commerce, and their evil consequences be attributed to what are called high prices of provisions.

Whenever trade in general, or any one branch in particular, declines, the first business is to discover the nature and extent of the evil. If any discouragements or burthens exist, which are supposed to affect it, they should be immediately removed; but if this does not work the desired effect, such encouragements should be given by the government as bid fairest for success. The evils of trade generally consist in being underfold by other nations.

Let us suppose the article of trade which declines, to be the export of some important manufacture in which foreigners underfell us, without making their goods better than ours. In this case, a general view should be taken of such manufacture, and every circumstance considered that can enable others to sell it cheaper; the plenty and price of the original raw material should be examined; the methods of manufacturing it; whether the rival people possess any machines which perform that work with them, which with us is the effect of manual labour: The price, plenty, and goodness of all extraneous commodities which are

used in the manufacture, such as dyes in woollen, &c. goods, oak bark in leather, cord wood in iron, &c. all duties, customs, excises, &c. should be examined, that have the least reference to the manufacture in question. When such a survey is taken, the requisite measure will be known with certainty, and a slight assistance very judiciously applied will avail more than a large one hazarded at random. Assistance sufficient to restore the exportation should, however, be determined on at all events; for no expences that can effect it can be of such ill consequences as the loss of a branch of exportation. These remarks are equally applicable to the trade of commodities, to fisheries for exportation, &c. &c. When every other endeavour fails, bounties should be given: They cannot fail: no private manufacturers and merchants can rival a government.

But suppose trade in general declines, without any particular reasons to be assigned, except that of a general rivalship, what then is to be done? Why, a general and spirited reform of all those evils which have probably contributed to the misfortune; an annihilation of all companies and monopolies; a due regulation of paper currency; a repeal of such taxes as operate against industry; bounties upon exportation; a strong endeavour to open new markets; these and many other means might be taken to preserve trade from declining in any nation; But there are some others peculiar to Great Britain.

If this nation preserves her colonies securely to herself, and prevents their interfering with the manufactures and products of their mother-country; and a political attention be given to other trades, (without extending it so far as the taking off of taxes or giving bounties) any one may venture to assert, that it is impossible the trade of Britain should decline; on the contrary, it must regularly increase with the increase of the colonies. And this branch of our commerce is, and must be, (under these circumstances) so very considerable, that, added to our coasting trade and fisheries, it will occasion such a circulation of industry, such large stocks in merchants hands, and such an extensive navigation, that a nation possessing so much must possess more; a share of other trades must be enjoyed by it in spite of all rivalry. Here then are the great means of preserving, and even increasing the commerce of Great Britain: the particular methods of managing this business have been treated already in another place. Let her manage her colonies in a political manner, and all the melancholy ideas of a loss of trade through too high prices of provisions, &c. will be found mere dreams.

Let the colonists spread themselves over that vast continent; provide them with staples, and they will never manufacture.

Form

Form a chain of settlements across the Pacific Ocean, and open a trade with the great southern continent.

Lay open the East India trade; and prosecute those fisheries which are so peculiar to our coasts.

Embrace a large and comprehensive policy, and the rivalship of foreigners can never affect the commerce of Great Britain.

Such is the system which this nation *ought* to pursue. Let us next hazard a few conjectures on the system which she probably *will* pursue; this is the only means of foreseeing the future state of our commerce.

The North American colonies will probably be left upon the footing they are at present; that is, they will be confined to the most absurd of all bounds; their trade will be restricted, and trivial jealous inquiries made into their manufactures: this will inevitably drive them whether they will or not to manufacturing in a much more extensive manner than they do already, until the export of Britain drops to the mere supply of the islands; consequently the British trade must then depend much more than at present upon her foreign trade.

Forming new colonies, or engaging in any such extensive plans, will be rejected with scorn, and considered as mere fanciful projects.

The trade to the East Indies will continue in the hands of a pernicious monopoly, from a mean and false system of œconomy.

When the trade of Britain is left open to the attacks of foreign rivalry, it will all decline, and for these reasons; first, numerous and oppressive taxes must be raised on branches of industry; which, however well they might bear them when unrivalled by others, will fall to nothing when subjected to foreign competition.

Secondly, The national debt will increase so much, that the payment of the interest to foreigners will impoverish the kingdom, at a time when exportation declines. A debt, which a people with an increasing trade could bear with ease, may be sufficient to ruin another people with a decreasing one. The effect of this impoverishment will be a falling off in the national consumption, and consequently of those branches of the public revenue, which raised on consumption; but as mortgaged taxes must be made good, others will be successively laid until trade be reduced to nothing. The more the debts increase, the more likewise will paper-currency

currency abound, until the immense quantity of the signs of wealth will be attended with worse evils than ever arose from a too great share of real wealth: the trade of paper and money will be more profitable than real commerce loaded with impositions, and subjected to the rivalship of foreigners; consequently the trading stocks will be lessened.—Another consequence will be, an *extravagant* rise in the price of all necessaries, to the great enhancing of that of labour: and however well a flourishing commerce will bear prices *equal* to those of the neighbouring nations, it is clear enough that a declining one will not endure those which are *superior*. But if, according to the opinions of many writers, an *equal* dearth is of bad effect at present, how much worse consequences, according to their reasoning, must attend it, when we have a *declining*, instead of an increasing, commerce?

In short, there is no trifling reason to believe, that the present system will be continued; viz. to let matters rub on in the old way, and take care of themselves. Our ministers will be perpetually busy and in a hurry with doing nothing; or, what is worse than nothing, plaistering over evils, and mending them by patch-work; engage in little paltry regulations and improvements; and preach up oeconomy to those who advise effectual proceedings. The national debt will be annually increased, without such measures being taken as will ensure a parallel increase of trade; the last to enable the nation to bear the first. Unfortunately, the old dilatory sleeping plan will no longer do. We are now at a crisis. Formerly it mattered but little, whether our statesmen were asleep or awake: And why? Because the increase of the colonies did the business for them: their increase occasioned the national trade to increase, and all went on silently, but prosperously. But late ill-judged measures have irritated the colonists, and at the same time, by confining them, forced them into those manufactures which their anger made them wish for. Their scheme, according to the present conduct of Britain, must succeed, and will end in the ruin of a vast part of our commerce and manufactures; so that for the future, trade will not increase, as it has done, of itself, and without attention; because the cause which operated such good effects will every day be turning against it. May we not therefore call this a crisis in the British Commerce? We have hitherto defied the rivalship of foreigners; let our American trade decline instead of increasing, and the case will be greatly changed.

T H E E N D.

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