

Space for Notes



# Political Arithmetick

OR

A DISCOURSE

Concerning,

The Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings: Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen, Soldiers; Publick Revenues, Interest, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militia's, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. As the same relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of His Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France .

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By Sir WILLIAM PETTY,

Late Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

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London, Printed for *Robert Clavel* at the *Peacock*, and *Hen. Mortlock* at the *Phoenix* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. 1690.

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L E T this Book Called *Political Arithmetick*, which was long since Writ by *Sir William Petty* deceased, be Printed.

*Given at the court* at Whitehall the *7th Day* of Novemb.

1690.

Nottingham.

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TO THE

KING'S

Most Excellent

MAJESTY.

SIR,

Whilst every one meditates some fit Offering for Your Majesty, such as may best agree with your happy Exaltation to this Throne; I presume to offer, what my Father long since writ, to shew the weight and importance of the English

Crown.

It was by him stiled *Political Arithmetick*, in as much as things of Government, and of no less concern and extent, than the Glory of the Prince, and the happiness and greatness of the People, are by the Ordinary Rules of Arithmetick, brought into a sort of Demonstration. He was allowed by all, to be the Inventor of this Method of Instruction; where the perplexed and intricate ways of the World, are explain'd by a very mean peice of Science; and had not the Doctrins of this Essay offended France, they had long since seen the light, and had found Followers, as well as improvements before this time, to the advantage perhaps of Mankind. But this has been reserved to the felicity of Your Majesty's Reign, and to the expectation which the Learned have therein; and if while in this, I do some honor to the Memory of a good Father, I can also pay Service, and some Testimony of my Zeal and Reverence to so great a King, it will be the utmost Ambition of S I R,

Your Majesty's Most Dutiful and Most Obedient Subject, Shelborne.

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**PREFACE.**

Forasmuch as Men, who are in a decaying condition, or who have but an ill opinion of their own Concernments, instead of being (as some think) the more industrious to resist the Evils they apprehend, do contrariwise become the more languid and ineffectual in all their Endeavours, neither caring to attempt or prosecute even the probable means of their relief Upon this Consideration, as a Member of the Common-Wealth, next to knowing the precise Truth in what condition the common Interest stands, I would in all doubtful Cases think the best, and consequently not despair, without strong and manifest Reasons, carefully examining whatever tends to lessen my hopes of the publick Welfare.

I have therefore thought fit to examin the following Perswasions, which I find too currant in the World, and too much to have affected the Minds of some, to the prejudice of all, viz.

That the Rents of Lands are generally fall'n; that therefore, and for many other Reasons, the whole Kingdom grows every day poorer and poorer; that formerly it abounded with Gold, but now there is a great scarcity both of Gold and Silver; that there is no Trade nor Employment for the People, and yet that the Land is under-peopled; that Taxes have been many and great; that Ireland and the Plantations in America and other Additions to the Crown, are a Burthen to England; that Scotland is of no Advantage; that Trade in general doth lamentably decay; that the Hollanders are at our heels, in the race of Naval Power; the French grow too fast upon both, and appear so rich and potent, that it is but their Clemency that they do not devour their Neighbors; and finally, that the Church and State of England, are in the same danger with the Trade of England; with many other dismal Suggestions, which I had rather stifle than repeat.

'Tis true, the Expence of foreign Commodities hath of late been too great; much of our Plate, had it remain'd Money, would have better served Trade; too many Matters have been regulated by Laws, which Nature, long Custom, and general Consent, ought only to have governed; the Slaughter and Destruction of Men by the late Civil Wars and Plague have been great; the Fire at London, and Disaster at Chatham, have begotten Opinions in the Vulgus of the World to

our Prejudice; the Nonconformists increases; the People of Ireland think long of their Settlement; the English there apprehend themselves to be Aliens, and are forced to seek a Trade with Foreigners, which they might as well maintain with their own Relations in England. But notwithstanding all this (the like whereof was always in all Places), the Buildings of London grow great and glorious; the American Plantations employ four Hundred Sail of Ships; Actions in the East-India Company are near double the principal Money; those who can give good Security, may have Money under the Statute-Interest; Materials for building (even Oaken-Timber) are little the dearer, some cheaper for' the rebuilding of London; the Exchange seems as full of Merchants as formerly; no more Beggars in the Streets, nor executed for Thieves, than heretofore; the Number of Coaches, and Splendor of Equipage exceeding former Times; the publique Theatres very magnificent; the King has a greater Navy, and stronger Guards than before our Calamities; the Clergy rich, and the Cathedrals in repair; much Land has been improved, and the Price of Food so reasonable, as that Men refuse to have it cheaper, by admitting of Irish Cattle; And in brief, no Man needs to want that will take moderate pains. That some are poorer than others, ever was and ever will be: And that many are naturally querulous and envious, is an Evil as old as the World.

These general Observations, and that Men eat, and drink, and laugh as they use to do, have encouraged me to try if I could also comfort others, being satisfied my self, that the Interest and Affairs of England are in no deplorable Condition.

The Method I take to do this, is not yet very usual; for instead of using only comparative and superlative Words, and intellectual Arguments, I have taken the course (as a Specimen of the Political Arithmetick I have long aimed at) to express my self in Terms of Number, Weight, or Measure; to use only Arguments of Sense, and to consider only such Causes, as have visible Foundations in Nature; leaving those that depend upon the mutable Minds, Opinions, Appetites, and Passions of particular Men, to the Consideration of others: Really professing my self as unable to speak satisfactorily upon those Grounds (if they may be call'd Grounds), as to foretel the cast of a Dye; to play well at Tennis, Billiards, or Bowles, (without long pradice,) by virtue of the most elaborate Conceptions that ever have been written De Projectilibus & Missilibus, or of the Angles of Incidence and Reflection.

Now the Observations or Positions expressed by Number, Weight, and Measure, upon which I bottom the ensuing Discourses, are either true, or not apparently false, and which if they are not already true, certain, and evident, yet may be made so by the Sovereign Power, *Nam id certum est quod certum reddi potest*, and if they are false, not so false as to destroy the Argument they are brought for; but at worst are sufficient as Suppositions to shew the way to that Know- ledge I aim at. And I have withal for the present confined my self to the Ten principal Conclusions hereafter particularly handled, which if they shall be judged material, and worthy of a better Discussion, I hope all ingenious and candid Persons will rectifie the Errors, Defects, and Imperfections, which probably may be found in any of the Positions, upon which these Ratiocinations were grounded. Nor would it misbecome Authority it self, to clear the Truth of those Matters which private Endeavours cannot reach to.

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**THE  
Principal Conclusions  
OF THIS  
TREATISE  
ARE,**

CHAP. I. That a small Country, and few People, may by their Situation, Trade, and Policy, be equivalent in Wealth and Strength, to afar greater People, and Territory. And particularly, How conveniences for Shipping, and Water Carriage, do most Eminently, and Fundamentally, conduce thereunto.

Chap. II. That some kind of Taxes, and Publick Levies, may rather increase than diminish the Common-Wealth.

Chap. III. That France cannot by reason of Natural and Perpetual Impediments, be more powerful at Sea, than the English, or Hollanders.

Chap. IV. That the People, and Territories of the King of England, are Naturally near as considerable, for Wealth, and Strength, as those of France.

Chap. V. That the Impediments of Englands Greatness, are but contingent and removeable.

Chap. VI. That the Power and Wealth of England, hath increased above this forty years.

Chap. VII. That one tenth part, of the whole Expence, of the King of England's Subjects; is sufficient to maintain one hundred thousand Foot, thirty thousand Horse, and forty thousand Men at Sea, and to defray all other Charges, of the Government: both Ordinary and Extraordinary, if the same were regularly Taxed and Raised.

Chap. VIII. That there are spare Hands enough among the King of England's Subjects, to earn two Millions per annum, more than they now do, and there are Employments, ready, proper, and sufficient, for that purpose.

Chap. IX. That there is Mony sufficient to drive the Trade of the Nation.

Chap. X. That the King of England's Subjects, have Stock, competent, and convenient to drive the Trade of the whole Commercial World.

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**CHAP. I.**

That a small Country and few People, by its Situation, Trade, and Policy, may be equivalent in Wealth and Strength, to a far greater People and Territory: And particularly that conveniencies for Shipping and Water-Carriage, do most Eminently and Fundamentally conduce thereunto.

This first principal Conclusion by reason of its length, I consider in three Parts; whereof the first is, That a small Country and few People, may be equivalent in Wealth and Strength to a far greater People and Territory.

This part of the first principal Conclusion needs little proof; forasmuch as one

Acre of Land, may bear as much Corn, and feed as many Cattle as twenty, by the difference of the Soil; some parcel of Ground is naturally so defensible, as that an Hundred Men being possessed thereof, can resist the Invasion of Five Hundred; and bad Land may be improved and made good; Bog may by draining be made Meadow; Heathland may (as in Flanders) be made to bear Flax and Clover-grass, so as to advance in value from one to an Hundred The same Land being built upon, may centuple the Rent which it yielded as Pasture; one Man is more nimble, or strong, and more patient of labor than another; one Man by Art may do as much work, as many without it; viz, one Man with a Mill can grind as much Corn, as twenty can pound in a Mortar; one Printer can make as many Copies, as an Hundred Men can write by hand; one Horse can carry upon Wheels, as much as Five upon their Backs; and in a Boat, or upon Ice, as Twenty: So that I say again, this first point of this general Position, needs little or no proof. But the second and more material part of this Conclusion is, that this difference in Land and People, arises principally from their Situation, Trade, and Policy.

To clear this, I shall compare Holland and Zealand with the Kingdom of France viz. Holland and Zealand do not contain above one Million of English Acres, whereas the Kingdom of France contains above 80.

Now the Original and Primitive difference holds proportion as Land to Land, for it is hard to say, that when these places were first planted, whether an Acre in France was better than the like quantity in Holland and Zealand; nor is there any reason to suppose, but that therefore upon the first Plantation, the number of Planters was in Proportion to the quantity of Land; wherefore, if the People are not in the same proportion as the Land, the same must be attributed to the Scituation of the Land, and to the Trade and Policy of the People superstructed thereupon.

The next thing to be shewn is, that Holland and Zealand at this day, is not only an eightieth part as rich and strong as France, but that it hath advanced to one third or there-abouts, which I think will appear upon the Ballance of the following particulars, viz.

As to the Wealth of France, a certain Map of that Kingdom, set forth Anno 1647. represents it to be fifteen Millions, whereof six did belong to the Church, the Author thereof (as I suppose) meaning the Rents of the Lands only: And the Author of a most Judicious discourse of Husbandry (supposed to be Sir Richard Weston,) doth from reason and experience shew, that Lands in the Netherlands, by bearing Flax, Turneps, Clover-grass, Madder, &c. will easily yield 10 l. per Acre; so as the Territories of Holland and Zealand, should by his account yield at least Ten Millions per annum, yet I do not believe the same to be so much, nor France so little as abovesaid, but rather, that one bears to the other as about 7, or 8 to 1.

The People of Amsterdam, are one third of those in Paris or London, which two Cities differ not in People a twentieth part from each other, as hath appeared by the Bills of Burials and Christnings for each. But the value of the Buildings in Amsterdam, may well be half that of Paris, by reason of the Foundations, Grafts, and Bridges, which in Amsterdam are more numerous and chargeable than at Paris. Moreover the Habitations of the poorest People in Holland and Zealand are twice or thrice as good as those of France; but the People of the one to the People of the other, being but as thirteen to one, the value of the housing must be as about five to one.

The value of the Shipping of Europe, being about two Millions of Tuns, I suppose the English have Five Hundred Thousand, the Dutch Nine Hundred Thousand, the French an Hundred Thousand, the Hamburgers, and the Subjects of Denmark, Sweden, and the Town of Dansick two Hundred and Fifty Thousand, and Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. two Hundred and Fifty Thousand; so as the Shipping in our case of France to that of Holland and Zeeland, is about one to nine, which reckoned as great and small, new and old, one with another at 8 l. per Tun, makes the worth to be as Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds, to Seven Millions, and Two Hundred Thousand Pounds. The Hollanders Capital in the East-India Company, is worth above Three Millions; where the French as yet have little or nothing.

The value of the Goods exported out of France into all Parts, are supposed Quadruple to what is sent to England alone; and consequently in all about Five Millions, but what is exported out of Holland into England is worth Three Millions; and what is exported thence into all the World besides, is sextuple to the same.

The Monies Yearly raised by the King of France, as the same appears by the Book intituled (The State of France) Dedicated to the King, Printed Anno 1669. and set forth several times by Authority, is 82000000 of French Livers, which is about 6½ Millions of Pounds Sterling, of which summ the Author says, that one fifth part was abated for non-valuers or Insolvencies, so (as I suppose) not above Five Millions were effectually raised : But whereas some say, that the King of France raised Eleven Millions as the 1/5 of the effects of France; I humbly affirm, that all the Land and Sea Forces, all the Buildings and Entertainments, which we have heard by common Fame, to have been set forth and made in any of these seven last Years, needed not to have cost six Millions Sterling; wherefore, I suppose he hath not raised more, especially since there were one fifth Insolvencies, when the Tax was at that pitch. But Holland and Zeeland, paying 67 of the 100, paid by all the United Provinces, and the City of Amsterdam paying 27 of the said 67; It follows that if Amsterdam hath paid 4000 l. Flemish per diem, or about 1400000 l. per annum, or 800000 l. Sterling; that all Holland and Zeeland, have paid 2100000 l. per annum: Now the reasons why I think they pay so much, are these, viz.

1. The Author of the State of the Netherlands saith so.

2. Excise of Victual at Amsterdam, seems above half the Original value of the same, viz.

Ground Corn pays 20 Stivers the Bushel, or 63 Guilders the Last; Beer 13 Stivers the Barrel, Housing 1/6 of Rent Fruit of what it cost; other Commodities 1/7, 1/9, 1/122; Salt ad libitum, all weighed Goods pay besides the Premisses a vast summ; now if the expence of the People of Amsterdam at a medium, and without Excise were 8 l. per annum, whereas in England 'tis 7 l. then if all the several Imposts above named, raise it Five Pound more, there being 160000 Souls in Amsterdam, the summ of 800000 l. Sterling per annum will thereby be raised.

3. Though the expence of each head, should be 13 l. per annum; 'tis well known that there be few in Amsterdam, who do not earn much more than the said expence.

4. If Holland and Zeeland pay p. an. 2100000 l. then all the Provinces together, must pay about 3000000 l. less than which summ per annum, perhaps is not

sufficient to have maintained the Naval War with England; 72000 Land Forces, besides all other the ordinary Charges of their Government, whereof the Church is there apart: To conclude, it seems from the Premises, that all France doth not raise above thrice as much from the publick charge, as Holland and Zealand alone do.

5. Interest of Money in France, is 7 l. per cent. but in Holland scarce half so much.

6. The Countries of Holland and Zealand; consisting as it were of Islands guarded with the Sea, Shipping, and Marshes, is defensible at one fourth of the charge, that a plain open Country is, and where the feat of War may be both Winter and Summer; whereas in the others, little can be done but in the Summer only.

7. But above all the particulars hitherto considered, that of superlucration ought chiefly to be taken in; for if a Prince have never so many Subjects, and his Country be never so good, yet if either through sloth, or extravagant expences, or Oppression and Injustice, whatever is gained shall be spent as fast as gotten, that State must be accounted poor; wherefore let it be considered, how much or how many times rather, Holland and Zealand are now above what they were 100 years ago, which we must also do of France: Now if France hath scarce doubled its Wealth and Power, and that the other have decupled theirs; I shall give the preference to the latter, even although the 9/10 increased by the one, should not exceed the one half gained by the other, because one has a store for Nine Years, the other but for one.

To conclude, upon the whole it seems, that though France be in People to Holland and Zealand as 13 to 1, and in quantity of good Land, as 80 to one, yet it is not 13 times richer and stronger, much less 80 times, nor much above thrice, which was to be proved.

Having thus dispatched the two first Branches of the first Principal conclusion; it follows, to shew that this difference of Improvement in Wealth and Strength, arises from the Situation, Trade, and Policy of the places respectively; and in particular from Conveniencies for Shipping and Water Carriage.

Many Writing on this Subject do so magnifie the Hollanders' as if they were more, and all other Nations less than Men (as to the matters of Trade and Policy) making them Angels, and others Fools, Brutes, and Sots, as to those particulars; whereas I take the Foundation of their achievements to lie originally in the Situation of the Country, whereby they do things inimitable by others, and have advantages whereof others are incapable.

First, The Soil of Holland and Zealand is low Land, Rich and Fertile; whereby it is able to feed many Men, and so as that Men may live near each other, for their mutual assistance in Trade. I say, that a Thousand Acres, that can feed 1000 Souls, is better than 10000 Acres of no more effect, for the following reasons, viz.

1. Suppose some great Fabrick were in Building by a Thousand Men, shall not much more time be spared if they lived all upon a Thousand Acres, then if they were forced to live upon ten times as large a Scope of Land.

2. The charge of the cure of their Souls, and the Ministry would be far greater in one case than in the other; as also of mutual defence in case of Invasion, and

even of Thieves and Robbers: Moreover the charge of the administration of Justice would be much easier, where Witnesses and Parties may be easily Summoned, Attendance less expensive, when Mens Actions would be better known, when wrongs and injuries could not be covered, as in thin peopled places they are.

Lastly, those who live in Solitary places, must be their own Soldiers, Divines, Physicians, and Lawyers; and must have their Houses stored with necessary Provisions (like a Ship going upon a long Voyage,) to the great wast, and needless expence of such Provisions. The value of this first convenience to the Dutch, I reckon or estimate to be about 100000 l. per annum.

2ly. Holland is a Level Country, so as in any part thereof, a Windmill may be set up, and by its being moist and vaporous, there is always wind stirring over it, by which advantage the labor of many thousand Hands is saved, forasmuch as a Mill made by one Man in half a year, will do as much Labor, as four Men for Five Years together. This advantage is greater or less, where employment or ease of Labour is so; but in Holland 'tis eminently great, and the worth of this conveniency is near an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds.

3ly. There is much more to be gained by Manufacture than Husbandry, and by Merchandize than Manufacture; but Holland and Zealand, being seated at the mouths of three long great Rivers, and passing through Rich Countries, do keep all the Inhabitants upon the sides of those Rivers hut as Husbandmen, whilst themselves are the Manufactors of their Commodities, and do dispencc them into all Parts of the World, making returns for the same, at what prices almost they please themselves; and in short, they keep the Keys of Trade of those Countries, through which the said Rivers pass; the value of this third conveniency, I suppose to be 200000 l.

4ly. In Holland and Zealand, there is scarce any place of work, or business one Mile distant from a Navigable Water, and the charge of Water carriage is generally but 1/15 or part of Land carriage; Wherefore if there be as much Trade there as in France, then the Hollanders can out-sell the French 14/15 of all the expence, of all Travelling Postage and carriage whatsoever, which even in England I take to be 300000 l. p. an. where the very Postage of Letters, costs the People perhaps 50000 l. per annum, though Farmed at much less, and all other Labour of Horses, and Porters, at least six times as much; The value of this conveniency I estimate to be above Three Hundred Thousand pounds per annum.

5. The defensibleness of the Country, by reason of its Situation in the Sea upon Islands, and in the Marshes, Impassible ground Diked and Trenched, especially considering how that place is aimed at for its Wealth; I say the charge of defending that Country, is easier than if it were a plain Champion, at least 200000 l. per annum.

6. Holland is so considerable for keeping Ships in Harbour with small expence of Men, and ground Tackle, that it saves per annum 200000 l. of what must be spent in France. Now if all these natural advantages do amount to above one Million per annum Profits, and that the Trade of all Europe, nay of the whole World, with which our Europeans do Trade, is not above 45 Millions p. an. and if of the value be 1/7 of the Profit, it is plain that the Hollander may Command and Govern the whole Trade.

7. Those who have their Situation thus towards the Sea, and abound with Fish



at home, and having also the command of Shipping, have by consequence the Fishing Trade, whereof that of Herring alone, brings more yearly Profit to the Hollanders than the Trade of the West-Indies to Spain, or of the East to themselves, as many have affirmed, being as the same say viis & modis of above three Millions per annum Profit.

8. It is not to be doubted, but those who have the Trade of Shipping and Fishing, will secure themselves of the Trade of Timber for Ships, Boats, Masts, and Cask; of Hemp for Cordage, Sails, and Nets; of Salt, of Iron; as also of Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Brimstone, Oil, and Tallow, as necessary Appurtenances to Shipping and Fishing.

9. Those who predominate in Shipping, and Fishing, have more occasions than others to frequent all parts of the World, and to observe what is wanting or redundant every where, and what each People can do, and what they desire, and consequently to be the Factors, and Carriers for the whole World of Trade. Upon which ground they bring all Native Commodities to be Manufactured at home, and carry the same back, even to that Country in which they grew, all which we see.

For, do they not work the Sugars of the West-Indies? The Timber and Iron of the Baltick? The Hemp of Russia? The Lead, Tin, and Wooll of England? The Quick-silver and Silk of Italy? The Yarns, and Dying Stuffs of Turkey, &c. To be short, in all the ancient States, and Empires, those who had the Shipping, had the Wealth, and if 2 per Cent, in the price of Commodities, be perhaps 20 per Cent. in the gain: it is manifest that they who can in forty five Millions, undersel others by one Million, (upon accompt of naturall, and intrinsick advantages only) may easily have the Trade of the World without such Angelical Wits and Judgments, as some attribute to the Hollanders.

Having thus done with their Situation, I come now to their Trade.

It is commonly seen, that each Country flourisheth in the Manufacture of its own Native Commodities, viz. England for woollen Manufacture, France for Paper, Luic-land for Iron Ware, Portugal for Confectures, Italy for Silks; upon which Principle it follows, that Holland and Zealand must flourish most in the Trade of Shipping, and so become Carriers and Factors of the whole World of Trade. Now the advantages of the Shipping Trade are as followeth, viz. Husbandmen, Seamen, Soldiers, Artizans and Merchants, are the very Pillars of any Common-Wealth; all the other great Professions, do rise out of the infirmities, and mis-carriages of these; now the Seaman is three of these four. For every Seaman of industry and ingenuity, is not only a Navigator, but a Merchant, and also a Soldier; not because he hath often occasion to fight, and handle Arms; but because he is familiarized with hardship and hazards, extending to Life and Limbs; for Training and Drilling is a small part of Soldiery, in respect of this last mentioned Qualification; the one being quickly and presently learned, the other not without many years most painful experience: wherefore to have the occasion of abounding in Seamen, is a vast conveniency.

2. The Husbandman of England earns but about 4s. per Week, but the Seamen have as good as 12s. in Wages, Victuals (and as it were housing) with other accommodations, so as a Seaman is in effect three Husbandmen; wherefore there is little Ploughing, and Sowing of Corn in Ho/land and Zealand, or breeding of young Cattle: but their Land is improved by building Houses, Ships, Engines, Dikes, Wharfs, Gardens of pleasure, extraordinary Flowers and Fruits; for Dairy and feeding of Cattle, for Rape, Flax, Madder, &c. The

Foundations of several advantageous Manufactures.

3. Whereas the Employment of other Men is confined to their own Country, that of Seamen is free to the whole World; so as where Trade may (as they call it) be dead here or there, now and then, it is certain that some where or other in the World Trade is always quick enough, and Provisions are always plentiful, the benefit whereof, those who command the Shipping enjoy, and they only.

4. The great and ultimate effect of Trade is not Wealth at large, but particularly abundance of Silver, Gold, and Jewels, which are not perishable, nor so mutable as other Commodities, but are Wealth at all times, and all places: Whereas abundance of Wine, Corn, Fowls, Flesh, &c. are Riches but hic & nunc, so as the raising of such Commodities, and the following of such Trade, which does store the Country with Gold, Silver, Jewels, &c. is profitable before others. But the Labour of Seamen, and Freight of Ships, is always of the nature of an Exported Commodity, the overplus whereof, above what is Imported, brings home mony, &c.

[division of labor]

5. Those who have the command of the Sea Trade, may Work at easier Freight with more profit, than others at greater: for as Cloth must be cheaper made, when one Cards, another Spins, another Weaves, another Draws, another Dresses, another Presses and Packs; than when all the Operations above-mentioned, were clumsily performed by the same hand; so those who command the Trade of Shipping, can build long slight Ships for carrying Masts, Fir-Timber, Boards, Balks, &c. And short ones for Lead, Iron, Stones, &c. One sort of Vessels to Trade at Ports where they need never lie a ground, others where they must jump upon the Sand twice every twelve hours; One sort of Vessels, and way of manning in time of Peace, and cheap gross Goods, another for War and precious Commodities; One sort of Vessels for the turbulent Sea, another for Inland Waters and Rivers; One sort of Vessels, and Rigging, where haste is requisite for the Maidenhead of a Market, another where 1/5 or 1/4 part of the time makes no matter. One sort of Mastings and Rigging for long Voyages, another for Coasting. One sort of Vessels for Fishing, another for Trade. One sort for War for this or that Country, another for Burthen only. Some for Oars, some for Poles, some for Sails, and some for draught by Men or Horses, some for the Northern Navigations amongst Ice, and some for the South against Worms, &c. And this I take to be the chief of several Reasons, why the Hollanders can go at less Freight than their Neighbours, viz, because they can afford a particular sort of Vessels for each particular Trade.

I have shewn how Situation hath given them Shipping, and how Shipping hath given them in effect all other Trade, and how Foreign Traffick must give them as much Manufacture as they can manage themselves, and as for the overplus, make the rest of the World but as Workmen to their Shops. It now remains to shew the effects of their Policy, superstructed upon these natural advantages, and not as some think upon the excess of their Understandings.

I have omitted to mention the Hollanders were one hundred years since, a poor and oppressed People, living in a Country naturally cold and unpleasant: and were withal persecuted for their Heterodoxy in Religion.

From hence it necessarily follows, that this People must Labour hard, and set all hands to Work: Rich and Poor, Young and Old, must study the Art of Number, Weight, and Measure; must fare hard, provide for Impotents, and for

Orphans, out of hope to make profit by their Labours: must punish the Lazy by Labour, and not by crippling them: I say, all these particulars, said to be the subtle excogitations of the Hollanders, seem to me, but what could not almost have been otherwise.

Liberty of Conscience, Registry of Conveyances, small Customs, Banks, Lumbards, and Law Merchant, rise all from the same Spring, and tend to the same Sea; as for lowness of Interest, it is also a necessary effect of all the premisses, and not the Fruit of their contrivance.

Wherefore we shall only shew in particular the efficacy of each, and first of Liberty of Conscience; but before I enter upon these, I shall mention a Practice almost forgotten, (whether it referreth to Trade or Policy is not material,) which is, the Hollanders undermasting, and sailing such of their Shipping, as carry cheap and gross Goods, and whose Sale doth not depend much upon Season.

It is to be noted, that of two equal and like Vessels, if one spreads one thousand six hundred Yards of like Canvase, and the other two thousand five hundred, their speed is but as four to five, so as one brings home the same Timber in four days, as the other will in five. Now if we consider that although those Ships be but four or five days under Sail, that they are perhaps thirty upon the Voyage; so as the one is but part longer upon the whole Voyage than the other, though one fifth longer under Sail. Now if Masts, Yards, Rigging, Cables, and Anchors, do all depend upon the quantity and extent of the Sails, and consequently hands also; it follows, that the one Vessel, goes at one third less charge, losing but one thirtieth of the time, and of what depends thereupon.

I now come to the first Policy of the Dutch, viz. Liberty of Conscience; which I conceive they grant upon these Grounds. (But keeping up always a Force to maintain the Common Peace,)

1. They themselves broke with Spain, to avoid the imposition of the Clergy.
2. Dissenters of this kind, are for the most part, thinking, sober, and patient Men, and such as believe that Labour and Industry is their Duty towards God. (How erroneous soever their Opinions be.)
3. These People believing the Justice of God, and seeing the most Licentious persons, to enjoy most of the World, and its best things, will never venture to be of the same Religion and Profession with Voluptuaries, and Men of extreme Wealth and Power, who they think have their Portion in this World.
4. They cannot but know, That no Man can believe what himself pleases, and to force Men to say they believe what they do not, is vain, absurd, and without Honor to God.
5. The Hollanders knowing themselves not to be an Infallible Church, and that others had the same Scripture for Guides as themselves, and withal the same Interest to save their Souls, did not think fit to make this matter their business; not more than to take Bonds of the Seamen they employ, not to cast away their own Ships and Lives.
6. The Hollanders observe that in France and Spain, (especially the latter) the Churchmen are about one hundred for one, to what they use or need; the principal care of whom is to preserve Uniformity, and this they take to be a

superfluous charge.

7. They observe where most indeavours have been used to keep Uniformity, there Heterodoxy hath most abounded.

8. They believe that if 1/4 of the People were Heterodox, and that if that whole quarter should by Miracle be removed, that within a small time 1/4 of the remainder would again become Heterodox some way or other, it being natural for Men to differ in Opinion in matters above Sense and Reason: and for those who have less Wealth, to think they have the more Wit and Understanding, especially of the things of God, which they think chiefly belong to the Poor.

9. They think the case of the Primitive Christians, as it is represented in the Acts of the Apostles, looks like that of the present Dissenters, (I mean externally.) Moreover it is to be observed that Trade doth not (as some think) best flourish under Popular Governments, but rather that Trade is most vigorously carried on, in every State and Government, by the Heterodox part of the same, and such as profess Opinions different from what are publickly established: (that is to say) in India where the Mahometan Religion is Authorized, there the Banians are the most considerable Merchants. In the Turkish Empire the Jews, and Christians. At Venice, Naples, Legorn, Genoua, and Lisbone, Jews, and Non-Papist Merchant-Strangers: but to be short, in that part of Europe, where the Roman Catholick Religion now hath, or lately hath had Establishment; there three quarters of the whole Trade, is in the hands of such as have separated from the Church (that is to say) the Inhabitants of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as also those of the United Provinces, with Denmark, Sueden, and Norway, together with the Subjects of the German Protestant Princes, and the Hans Towns, do at this day possess three quarters of the Trade of the World; and even in France it self, the Hugonots are proportionably far the greatest Traders; Nor is it to be denied but that in Ireland, where the said Roman Religion is not Authorized, there the Professors thereof have a great part of the Trade. From whence it follows that Trade is not fixt to any Species of Religion as such; but rather as before hath been said to the Hetrodox part of the whole, the truth whereof appears also in all the particular Towns of greatest Trade in England; nor do I find reason to believe, that the Roman Catholick Seamen in the whole World, are sufficient to Man effectually a Fleet equal to what the King of England now hath; but the Non-papist Seamen, can do above thrice as much. Wherefore he whom this latter Party doth affectionately own to be their Head, cannot probably be wronged in his Sea-concernments by the other; from whence it follows, that for the advancement of Trade, (if that be a sufficient reason) Indulgence must be granted in matters of Opinion; though licentious actings as even in Holland, be restrained by force.

The second Policy or help to Trade used by the Hollanders, is securing the Titles to Lands and Houses; for although Lands and Houses may be called Terra Firma & res immobilis, yet the Title unto them is no more certain, than it pleases the Lawyers and Authority to make them wherefore the Hollanders do by Registries, and other ways of Assurance make the Title as immovable as the Lands, for there can be no incouragement to Industry, where there is no assurance of what shall be gotten by it; and where by fraud and corruption, one Man may take away with ease and by a trick, and in a moment what another has gotten by many Years' extreme labour and pains.

There hath been much discourse, about introducing of Registries into England; the Lawyers for the most part object against it, alledging that Titles of Land in

England are sufficiently secure already; wherefore omitting the considerations of small and oblique reasons pro & contra, it were good that enquiry were made from the Officers of several Courts, to what summ or value Purchasers have been damnified for this last ten Years, by such fraudulent conveyances as Registries would have prevented; the tenth part whereof at a Medium, is the annual loss which the People sustain for want of them, and then computation is to be made of the annual charge of Registering such extraordinary Conveyances, as would secure the Title of Lands; now by comparing these two summs, the Question so much agitated may be determined; though some think that though few are actually damnified, yet that all are hindered by fear and deterred from Dealing.

Their third Policy is their Bank, the use whereof is to encrease Mony, or rather to make a small summ equivalent in Trade to a greater, for the effecting whereof these things are to be considered. 1.. How much Money will drive the Trade of the Nation. 2. How much current Money there is actually in the Nation. 3. How much Money will serve to make all payments of under 50 l. or any other more convenient summ throughout the Year. 4. For what summ the keepers of the Bank are unquestionable Security: If all these four particulars be well known, then it may also be known, how much of the ready Money above mentioned may safely and profitably be lodged in the Bank, and to how much ready current Money the said deposited Money is equivalent. As for example, suppose a Hund. thous. Pounds will drive the Trade of the Nation, & suppose there be but Sixty thousand Pounds of ready Money in the same; suppose also that Twenty thous. Pounds will drive on and answer all Payments made of under 50 l. In this case Forty of the Sixty being put into the Bank, will be equivalent to Eighty, which eighty and twenty kept out of the Bank do make up an Hundred, (that is to say) enough to drive the Trade as was proposed; where note that the Bank keepers must be responsible for double the summ intrusted with them, and must have power to levy upon the general, what they happen to loose unto particular Men.

Upon which grounds, the Bank may freely make use of the received Forty thousand Pounds, whereby the said summ, with the like summ in Credit makes Eighty thousand Pounds, and with the Twenty reserved an Hundred.

I might here add many more particulars, but being the same as have already been noted by others, I shall conclude only with adding one observation which I take to be of consequence, viz. That the Hollanders do rid their hands of two Trades, which are of greatest turmoil and danger, and yet of least profit; the first whereof is that of a common and private Soldier, for such they can hire from England; Scot- land, and Germany, to venture their lives for Six pence a day, whilst themselves safely and quietly follow such Trades, whereby the meanest of them gain six times as much, and withal by this entertaining of Strangers for Soldiers; their Country becomes more and more peopled, forasmuch as the Children of such Strangers, are Hollanders and take to Trades, whilst new Strangers are admitted ad infinitum; besides these Soldiers at convenient intervals, do at least as much work as is equivalent to what they spend, and consequently by this way of employing of Strangers for Soldiers, they People the Country and save their own Persons from danger and misery, without any real expence, effecting by this method, what others have in vain attempted by Laws for Naturalizing of Strangers, as if Men could be charmed to transplant themselves from their own Native, into a Foreign Country merely by words, and for the bare. leave of being called by a new Name. In Ireland Laws of Naturalization have had little effect, to bring in Aliens, and `tis no wonder, since English Men will not go thither without they may have the pay

of Soldiers, or some other advantage amounting to maintenance.

Having intimated the way by which the Hollanders do increase their People, I shall here digress to set down the way of computing the value of every Head one with another, and that by the instance of People in England, viz.

Suppose the People of England be Six Millions in number, that their expence at 7 l. per Head be forty two Millions: suppose also that the Rent of the Lands be eight Millions, and the profit of all the Personal Estate be Eight Millions more ; it must needs follow, that the Labour of the People must have supplied the remaining Twenty Six Millions, the which multiplied by Twenty (the Mass of Mankind being worth Twenty Years purchase as well as Land) makes Five Hundred and Twenty Millions, as the value<sup>2</sup> of the whole People: which number divided by Six Millions, makes above 80 l. Sterling, to be valued of each Head of Man, Woman, and Child, and of adult Persons twice as much; from whence we may learn to compute the loss we have sustained by the Plague, by the Slaughter of Men in War, and by the sending them abroad into the Service of Foreign Princes.

The other Trade of which the Hollanders have rid their Hands, is the old Patriarchal Trade of being Cow-keepers, and in a great Measure of that which concerns Ploughing and Sowing of Corn, having put that Employment upon the Danes and Polanders, from whom they have their Young Cattle and Corn. Now here we may take notice, that as Trades and curious Arts increase; so the Trade of Husbandry will decrease, or else the Wages of Husband men must rise, and consequently the Rents of Lands must fall. For proof whereof I dare affirm, that if all the Husbandmen of England, who now earn but 8 d. a day or thereabouts, could become Tradesmen and earn 16d. a day (which is no great Wages 2 s. and 2s. 6 d. being usually given) that 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. which if it be so, and if Trade and Manufacture have increased in England (that is to say) if a greater part of the People, apply themselves to those faculties, than there did heretofore, and if the price of Corn be no greater now, than when Husbandmen were more numerous, and Tradesmen fewer; It follows from that single reason (though others may be added) that the Rents of Land must fall: As for example, suppose the price of Wheat be 5 s. or 60 pence the Bushel; now if the Rent of the Land whereon it grows, be the third Sheaf; then of the 60d. 20d. is for the Land, and 40d. for the Husbandman; But if the Husbandmans Wages, should rise one eighth part, or from 8 d. to 9 d. per Diem, then the Husbandmans share in the Bushel of Wheat, rises from 40d. to 45 d. And consequently the Rent of the Land must fall from 20 d. to 15 d. for we suppose the price of the Wheat still remains the same: Especially since we cannot raise it, for if we did attempt it, Corn would be brought in to us, (as into Holland from Foreign Parts, where the State of Husbandry was not changed.

And thus I have done with the first principal Conclusion, that, A small Territory, and even a few People, may by Situation, Trade, and Polity, be made equivalent to a greater; and that convenience for Shipping, and Water-carriage, do most eminently and fundamentally conduce thereun to.

## CHAP. II.

**That some kind of Taxes and Publick Levies, may rather increase than diminish the Wealth of the Kingdom.**

IF the Money or other Effects, levied from the People by way of Tax, were destroyed and annihilated; then 'tis clear, that such Levies would diminish the Commonwealth: Or if the same were exported out of the Kingdom without any return at all, then the case would be also the same or worse: But if what is levied as aforesaid, be only transferred from one hand to another, then we are only to consider whether the said Money or Commodities, are taken from an improving hand, and given to an ill Husband, or vice versa: As for example, suppose that Money by way of Tax, be taken from one who spendeth the same in superfluous eating and drinking; and delivered to another who employeth the same, in improving of Land; in Fishing, in working of Mines, in Manufacture, &c. It is manifest, that such Tax is an advantage to the State whereof the said different Persons are Members: Nay, if Money be taken from him, who spendeth the same as aforesaid upon eating and drinking, or any other perishing Commodity; and the same transferr'd to one that bestoweth it on Cloaths; I say, that even in this case, the Commonwealth hath some little advantage; because Cloaths do not altogether perish so soon as Meats and Drinks: But if the same be spent in Furniture of Houses, the advantage is yet a little more; if in Building of Houses, yet more; if in improving of Lands; working of Mines, Fishing, &c. yet more; but most of all, in bringing Gold and Silver into the Country: Because those things are not only not perishable, but are esteemed for Wealth at all times, and every where: Whereas other Commodities which are perishable, or whose value depends upon the Fashion; or which are contingently scarce and plentiful, are wealth, but *pro hic & nunc*, as shall be elsewhere said

In the next place if the People of any Country, who have not already a full employment, should be enjoyned or Taxed to work upon such Commodities as are Imported from abroad; I say, that such a Tax, also doth improve the Commonwealth.

Moreover, if Persons who live by begging, cheating, stealing, gaming, borrowing without intention of restoring; who by those ways do get from the credulous and careless, more than is sufficient for the subsistence of such Persons I say, that although the State should have no present employment for such Persons, and consequently should be forced to bear the whole charge of their livelyhood; yet it were more for the publick profit to give all such Persons, a regular and competent allowance by Publick Tax; than to suffer them to spend extravagantly, at the only charge of careless, credulous, and good natured People: And to expose the Commonwealth to the loss of so many able Men, whose lives are taken away, for the crimes which ill Discipline doth occasion.

On the contrary, If the Stocks of laborious and ingenious Men, who are not only beautifying the Country where they live by elegant Dyet, Apparel, Furniture, Rousing, pleasant Gardens, Orchards, and Publick Edifices, &c. But are also increasing the Gold, Silver, and Jewels of the Country by Trade and Arms; I say, if the Stock of these Men should be diminished by a Tax, and transferred to such as do nothing at all, but eat and drink, sing, play, and dance; nay to such as study the Metaphysicks, or other needless Speculation; or else employ themselves in any other way, which produce no material thing, or things of real use and value in the Commonwealth: In this case, the Wealth of the Publick will be diminished: Otherwise than as such exercises, are recreations and refreshments of the mind; and which being moderately used, do qualifie and dispose Men to what in it self is more considerable.

Wherefore upon the whole matter, to know whether a Tax will do good or harm: The State of the People, and their employments, must be well known; (that is to say,) what part of the People are unfit for Labour by their Infancy or Impotency; and also what part are exempt from the same, by reason of their Wealth, Function, or Dignities; or by reason of their charge and employments; otherwise than in governing, directing and preserving those, who are appointed to Labour and Arts.

2. In the next place computation must be made, what part of those who are fit for Labour and Arts as aforesaid, are able to perform the work of the Nation in its present State and Measure.

3. It is to be considered, whether the remainder can make all or any part of those Commodities, which are Imported from abroad; which of them, and how much in particular: The remainder of which sort of People (if any be) may safely and without possible prejudice to the Commonwealth, be employed in Arts and Exercises of pleasure and ornament; the greatest whereof is the Improvement of natural knowledge.

Having thus in general illustrated this point, which I think needs no other proof but illustration; I come next to intimate that no part of Europe hath paid so much by way of Tax, and publick contribution, as Holland and Zealand for this last 100 Years; and yet no Country hath in the same time, increased their Wealth comparably to them: And it is manifest they have followed the general considerations above-mentioned; for they Tax Meats and Drinks most heavily of all; to restrain the excessive expence of those things, which 24 hours doth (as to the use of Man,) wholly annihilate; and they are more favourable to Commodities of greater duration.

Nor do they Tax according to what Men gain, but in extraordinary cases; but always according to what Men spend: And most of all, according to what they spend needlessly, and without prospect of return. Upon which grounds, their Customs upon Goods Imported and Exported, are generally low; as if they intended by them, only to keep an account of their Foreign Trade; and to retaliate upon their Neighbour States, the prejudices done them, by their Prohibitions and Impositions.

It is further to be observed, that since the Year 1636, the Taxes and Publick Levies made in England; Scotland; and Ireland, have been prodigiously greater than at any time heretofore; and yet the said Kingdoms have increased in their Wealth and Strength, for these last Forty Years, as shall hereafter be shewn.

It is said that the King of France, at present doth Levy the Fifth Part of his Peoples Wealth; and yet great Ostentation is made of the Present Riches and Strength of that Kingdom. Now great care must be had in distinguishing between the Wealth of the People, and that of an absolute Monarch; who taketh from the People, where, when, and in what proportion he pleaseth. Moreover, the Subjects of two Monarchs may be equally Rich, and yet one Monarch may be double as Rich as the other; viz. If one take the tenth part of the Peoples Substance to his own dispose, and the other but the 20th. nay the Monarch of a poorer People, may appear more splendid and glorious, than that of a Richer; which perhaps may be somewhat the case of France, as hereafter shall be examined. As an instance and application of what hath been said, I conceive that in Ireland wherein are about 1200 Thousand People, and near 300 Thousand Smokes or Hearths; It were more tolerable for the People, and more profitable for the King; that each Head paid 2s. worth of Flax, than that each



smoke should pay 2 s. in Silver; And that for the following reasons.

1. Ireland being under peopled, and Land, and Cattle being very cheap; there being every where store of Fish and Fowl; the ground yielding excellent Roots (and particularly that bread-like root Potatoes) and withal they being able to perform their Husbandry, with such harness and tackling, as each Man can make with his own hands; and living in such Houses as almost every Man can build; and every House-wife being a Spinner and Dyer of Wool and Yarn, they can live and subsist after their present fashion, without the use of Gold or Silver Money; and can supply themselves with the necessaries above named, without labouring 2 Hours per diem: Now it hath been found, that by reason of Insolvencies arising, rather from the uselessness than want of Money among these poor People; that from 300 Thousand Hearths, which should have yielded 30 Thousand Pound per annum; not 15 Thousand Pound of Money could be Levied: Whereas it is easily imagined, that four or five People dwelling in that Cottage, which hath but one smoke; could easily have planted a ground-plot of about 40 foot square with Flax; or the 50 part of an Acre; for so much ground will bear eight or ten Shillings worth of that Commodity; and the Rent of so much ground, in few places amounts to a penny per annum. Nor is there any skill requisite to this practice, wherewith the Country is not already familiar. Now as for a Market for the Flax ; there is Imported into Holland it self, over and above what that Country produces; as much Flax, as is there sold for between Eightscore and Two Hundred Thousand Pound; and into England and Ireland is Imported as much Linnen Cloth made of Flax, and there spent, as is worth above  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Million of Money. As shall hereafter be shewn.

Wherefore having shewn, that Silver Money is useless to the poor People of Ireland; that half the Hearth Money could not be raised by reason thereof; that the People are not a fifth part employed; that the People and Land of Ireland, are competently qualified for Flax; That one Penny-worth of Land, will produce Ten Shillings worth of the same; and that there is Market enough and enough, for above an Hundred Thousand Pounds worth; I conceive my Proposition sufficiently proved; at least to set forwards and promote a practice, which both the present Law and Interest of the Country doth require: Especially, since if all the Flax so produced should yield nothing, yet there is nothing lost; the same time having been worse spent before. Upon the same grounds, the like Tax of 2s. per Head, may be raised with the like advantage upon the People of England; which will amount to Six Hundred Thousand Pound per annum; to be paid in Flax, Manufactured, into all the sorts of Linnens, Threds, Tapes, and Laces; which we now receive from France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany; the value whereof doth far exceed the summ last mentioned, as hath appeared by the examination of particulars.

It is observed by Clothiers, and others, who employ great numbers of poor people, that when Corn is extremely plentiful, that the Labour of the poor is proportionably dear: And scarce to be had at all (so licentious are they who labour only to eat, or rather to drink.) Wherefore when so many Acres sown with Corn, as do usually produce a sufficient store for the Nation, shall produce perhaps double to what is expected or necessary; it seems not unreasonable that this common blessing of God, should be applied, to the common good of all people, represented by their Sovereign; much rather than the' same should be abused, by the vile and brutish part of mankind, to the prejudice of the Common-Wealth: And consequently, that such surplusage of Corn, should be sent to publick Store-houses; from thence to be disposed of, to the best advantage of the Publick. Now if the Corn spent in England, at five shillings per Bushel Wheat, and two shillings six pence Barley, be worth ten Millions

Communibus annis; it follows that in years of great plenty, when the said Grains are one third part cheaper; that a vast advantage might accrue to the Common-Wealth, which now is spent in over-feeding of the People, in quantity or quality; and so indisposing them to their usual Labour.

The like may be said of Sugar, Tobacco, and Pepper; which custom hath now made necessary to all sorts of people; and which the over-planting of them, hath made unreasonably cheap: I say it is not absurd, that the Publick should be advantaged by this extraordinary plenty.

That an Excise should be laid upon Corrants also, is not unreasonable; not only for this, but for other reasons also. The way of the present Militia or Trained-Bands, is a gentle Tax upon the Country; because it is only a few days Labour in the year, of a few Men in respect of the whole; using their own goods, that is their own Arms. Now if there be three Millions of Males in England, there be above two hundred thousand of them, who are between the age of sixteen and thirty, unmarried persons; and who live by their Labour and Service; for of so many or thereabouts, the present Militia consists.

Now if an hundred and five thousand of these, were Armed, and Trayned, as Foot; and fifty thousand as Horse; (Horse being of special advantage in Islands) the said Forces at Land, with thirty thousand Men at Sea; would by Gods ordinary blessing. defend this Nation, being an Island, against any Force in view: But the charge of Arming, Disciplining, and Rendezvousing all these Men, twice, or thrice a year: would be a very gentle Tax, Levyed by the people themselves, and paid to themselves. Moreover if out of the said number part were selected, of such as are more than ordinarily fit and disposed for War, and to be Exercised, and Rendezvoused fourteen or fifteen times per annum; the charge thereof being but a fortnights Pay in the year, would be also a very gentle Tax.

Lastly, If out of this last mentioned number,  $\frac{1}{3}$  again should be selected, making about twelve thousand Foot, and near six thousand Horse, to be Exercised, and Rendezvoused forty days in the year; I say that the charge of all these three Militias, allowing the latter six weeks Pay per annum; would not cost above one hundred and twenty thousand pound per annum; which I take to be an easie burthen, for so great a benefit.

Forasmuch as the present Navy of England requires thirty six thousand Men to Man it; and for that the English Trade of Shipping, requires about forty eight thousand Men, to manage it also; it follows, that to perform both well, there ought to be about seventy two thousand Men, (and not eighty four thousand) competently qualified for these Services: For want whereof we see, that it is a long while, before a Royal Navy can be manned; which till it be, is of no effectual use, but lies at charge. And we see likewise upon these occasions, that Merchants are put to great straights, and inconveniences; and do pay excessive rates for the carrying on their Trade. Now if twenty four thousand able bodyed Tradesmen, were by six thousand of them per annum, brought up and fitted for Sea-Service; and for their encouragement allowed 20s. per annum for every year they had been at Sea, even when they stay at home, not exceeding 6 l. for those, who have served six years or upward; it follows, that about 72000 l. at the medium of 3 l. per Man, would Salariate the whole number of twenty four thousand and so, forasmuch as half the Seamen, which mannage the Merchants Trade, are supposed to be always in Harbour, and are about twenty four thousand Men, together with the said half of the Auxilliaris last mentioned, would upon all emergencies, Man out the whole Royal Navy with thirty six

thousand, and leaving to the Merchants twelve thousand of the abler Auxillaries, to perform their business in Harbour, till others come home from Sea; and thus thirty six thousand, twenty four thousand, and twelve thousand, make the seventy two thousand above mentioned: I say that more than this sum of 72000 l. is fruitlessly spent, and over paid by the Merchants, whensoever a great Fleet is to be fitted out. Now these whom I call Auxilliary Seamen, are such as have another Trade besides, wherewith to maintain themselves, when they are not employed at Sea; and the charge of maintaining them, though 72000 l. per annum, I take to be little or nothing, for the reasons above mentioned, and consequently an easie Tax to the people, because Leavyed by, and paid to themselves.

As we propounded that Ireland should be Taxed with Flax, and England by Linnen, and other Manufacture of the same; I conceive that Scotland also might be Taxed as much, to be paid in Herrings, as Ireland in Flax: Now the three Taxes (viz.) of Flax, Linnen, and Herrings, and the maintainance of the triple Militia, and of the Auxiliary Seamen above-mentioned, do all five of them together, amount to one Million of mony, the raising whereof is not a Million spent, but gain unto the Common-Wealth, unless it can be made appear, that by reason of all, or any of them, the Exportation of Woollen Manufactures, Lead, and Tin, are lessened; or of such Commodities, as our own East and West India Trade do produce, forasmuch as I conceive, that the Exportation of these last mentioned Commodities, is the Touch-stone whereby the Wealth of England is tryed, and the Pulse whereby the Health of the Kingdom may be discerned.

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#### CHAP. V.

##### **That the Impediments of Englands greatness, are but contingent and removable.**

THE first Impediment of Englands greatness is, that the Territories thereunto belonging, are too far asunder, and divided by the Sea into many several Islands and Countries; and I may say, into so many Kingdoms, and several Governments, (viz.) there be Three distinct Legislative Powers in England, Scotland, and Ireland; the which instead of uniting together, do often cross one anothers Interest; putting Bars and Impediments upon one anothers Trades, not only as if they were Foreigners to each other, but sometimes as Enemies.

2. The Islands of Jersey and Gernsey, and the Isle of Man, are under Jurisdiaions different from those, either of England, Scotland; or Ireland.

3. The Government of New-England (both Civil and Ecclesiastical) doth so differ from that of his Majesties other Dominions, that `tis hard to say what may be the consequence of it.

And the Government of the other Plantations, doth also differ very much from any of the rest; although there be not naturally substantial reasons from the Situation, Trade, and Condition of the People, why there should be such differences.

From all which it comes to pass, that small divided remote Governments, being seldom able to defend themselves, the Burthen of protecting of them all, must lye upon the chief Kingdom England; and so all the smaller Kingdoms and

Dominions, instead of being Additions are really Diminutions; but the same is remedied by making Two such Grand Councils, as may equally represent the whole Empire, one to be chosen by the King, the other by the People . The Wealth of a King is Three-fold, one is the Wealth of his Subjects, the second is the Quota pars of his Subjects Wealth, given him for the publick Defence, Honour, and Ornament of the People, and to manage such undertaking for the Common Good, as no one or a few private Men, are sufficient for. The third sort are the Quota, of the last mention Quota pars, which the King may dispose of, as his own personal inclination, and discretion shall direct him; without account. Now it is most manifest, that the afore-mentioned distances, and differencies, of Kingdoms, and Jurisdictions, are great impediments to all the said several sorts of Wealth, as may be seen in the following particulars. First in case of War with Foreign Nations, England commonly beareth the whole burthen, and charge, whereby many in England are utterly undone.

Secondly, England sometimes Prohibiting the Commodities of Ireland, and Scotland, as of late it did the Cattle, Flesh, and Fish, of Ireland; did not only make Food, and consequently Labour, dearer in England, but also hath forced the People of Ireland, to fetch those Commodities from France, Holland, and other places, which before was sold them from England, to the great prejudice of both Nations.

Thirdly, It occasions an unnecessary trouble, and charge, in Collecting of Customs, upon Commodities passing between the several Nations.

Fourthly, It is a damage to our Barbadoes, and other American Trades, that the Goods which might pass thence immediately, to several parts of the World, and to be sold at moderate Rates, must first come into England, and there pay Duties, and afterwards (if at all) pass into those Countries, whither they might have gone immediatly.

Fifthly, The Islands of Jersey and Gernsey, are protected at the charge of England, nevertheless the Labour, and Industry, of that People (which is very great) redounds most to the profit of the French.

Sixthly, In New-England, there are vast numbers of able bodyed Englishmen, employed chiefly in Husbandry, and in the meanest part of it, (which is breeding of Cattle) whereas Ireland would have contained all those persons, and at worst would have afforded them Lands on better terms, than they have them in America, if not some other better Trade withal, than now they can have.

Seventhly, The Inhabitants of the other Plantations, although they do indeed Plant Commodities, which will not grow so well in England; yet grasping at more Land, than will suffice to produce the said Exotics in a sufficient quantity to serve the whole World, they do therein but distract, and confound, the effect of their own Indeavours.

Eighthly, There is no doubt that the same People, far and wide dispersed, must spend more upon their Government, and Protection, than the same living compactly, and when they have no occasion to depend upon the Wind, Weather, and all the Accidents of the Sea.

A second Impediment to the greatness of England, is the different Understanding of several Material Points, viz. Of the Kings Prerogative, Privileges of Parliament, the obscure differences between Law and Equity; as

also between Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions; Doubts whether the Kingdom of England hath power over the Kingdom of Ireland, besides the wonderful Paradox; that Englishmen, Lawfully sent to suppress Rebellions in Ireland, should after having effected the same, (be as it were) Disfranchised, and lose that Interest in the Legislative Power, which they had in England, and pay Customs as Foreigners for all they spend in Ireland, whither they were sent, for the Honour and Benefit of England.

The third Impediment is, That Ireland being a Conquered Country, and containing not the tenth part as many Irish Natives, as there are English in both Kingdoms, That natural and firm Union is not made, between the two Peoples, by Transplantations, and proportionable mixture, so as there may be but a tenth part, of the Irish in Ireland, and the same proportion in England; whereby the necessity of maintaining an Army in Ireland, at the expence of a quarter of all the Rents of that Kingdom may be taken away.

The fourth Impediment is, That Taxes in England are not Levied upon the expence, but upon the whole Estate; not upon Lands, Stock, and Labour, but chiefly upon Land alone; and that not by any equal, and indifferent Standard, but the casual predominancy, of Parties, and Factions: and moreover that these Taxes are not Levied with the least trouble, and charge, but let out to Farmers, who also let them from one to another without explicit knowledge of what they do; but so as in conclusion, the poor People pay twice as much as the King receives.

The fifth Impediment is the inequality of Shires, Diocesses, Parishes, Church-Livings, and other Precincts, as also the Representation of the People in Parliament; all which do hinder the Operations of Authority in the same manner, as a Wheel irregularly made, and excentrically hung; neither moves so easily, nor performs its Work so truely, as if the same were duely framed and poised.

Sixthly, Whether it be an Impediment, that the power of making War, and raising Mony be not in the same Hand, much may be said; but I leave it to those, who may more properly meddle with Fundamental Laws.

None of these Impediments are Natural, but did arise as the irregularity of Buildings do, by being built, part at one time, and part at another; and by the changing of the state of things, from what they were at the respective times, when the Practices we complain of, were first admitted, and perhaps, are but the warpings of time, from the rectitude of the first Institution.

As these Impediments are contingent, so they are also removeable; for may not the Land of superfluous Territories be sold, and the People with their moveables brought away? May not the English in the America Plantations (who Plant Tobacco, Sugar, &c.) compute what Land will serve their turn, and then contract their Habitations to that proportion, both for quantity and quality? as for the People of New-England, I can but wish they were Transplanted into Old England, or Ireland (according to Proposals of their own, made within this twenty years) although they were allowed more liberty of Conscience, than they allow one another.

May not the three Kingdoms be United into one, and equally represented in Parliament? Might not the several Species of the Kings Subjects, be equally mixt in their Habitations; Might not the Parishes, and other Precincts be better equalized. Might not Jurisdictions, and pretences of Power, be determined and

ascertained? Might not the Taxes be equally applotted, and directly applied to their ultimate use? Might not Dissenters in Religion be indulged, they paying a competent Force to keep the Publick Peace? I humbly venture to say, all these things may be done, if it be so thought fit by the Sovereign Power, because the like hath often been done already, at several Places and Times.

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#### CHAP. VIII.

**That there are spare Hands enough among the King of England's Subjects, to earn two Millions per annum more than they now do; and that there are also Employments, ready, proper, and sufficient, for that purpose.**

TO prove this Point we must enquire, how much all the People could earn, if they were disposed, or necessitated to labour, and had Work whereupon to employ themselves; and compare that summ, with that of the Total expence above mentioned; deducting the Rents, and Profits of their Land, and Stock, which properly speaking, saveth so much Labour. Now the proceed of the said Lands, and Stock in the Countries, is about three parts of seven, of the whole expence; so as where the expence is seventy Millions, the Rent of the Land, and the Profit of all the Personal Estate, Interest of mony, &c. must be about thirty Millions; and consequently, the value of the Labour forty Millions, that is 4 l. per Head.

But it is to be noted, That about a quarter of the Mass of Mankind, are children, Males, and Females, under seven years old, from whom little Labour is to be expected. It is also to be noted, That about another tenth part of the whole People, are such as by reason of their great Estates, Titles, Dignities, Offices, and Professions, are exempt from that kind of Labour we now speak of; their business being, or ought to be, to Govern, Regulate, and Direct, the Labours, and Actions of others. So that of ten Millions, there may be about six Millions and an half, which (if need require) might actually Labour: And of these some might earn 3s. per week, some 5 s. and some 7s. That is all of them might earn 5s. per week at a Medium one with another; or at least 10 l. per annum, (allowing for sickness, and other accidents;) whereby the whole might earn sixty five Millions per annum, that is twenty five more than the expence.

The Author of the State of England, says that the Children of Norwich, between six and sixteen years old, do earn 1200 l. per annum, more than they spend. Now forasmuch as the People of Norwich, are a three hundredth part of all the People of England, as appears by the Accompts of the Hearth mony; and about a five hundredth part, of all the Kings Subjects throughout the World; it follows that all his Majesties Subjects, between six and sixteen years old, might earn five Millions per annum more than they spend. Again, forasmuch as the number of People, above sixteen years old, are double the number, of those between six and sixteen; and that each of the Men can earn double to each of the Children; it is plain that if the Men and Children every where did do as they do in Norwich, they might earn twenty five Millions per ann. more than they spend: which estimate grounded upon matter of Fact and Experience, agrees with the former.

Although as hath been proved, the People of England do thrive, and that it is possible they might Superlucrate twenty five Millions per annum; yet it is manifest that they do not, nor twenty three, which is less by the two Millions herein meant; for if they did Superlucrate twenty three Millions, then in about

five or six years time, the whole Stock, and Personal Estate of the Nation would be doubled, which I wish were true, but find no manner of reason to believe: wherefore if they can Superlucrate twenty five, but do not actually Superlucrate twenty three, nor twenty, nor ten, nor perhaps five, I have then proved what was propounded, viz. That there are spare Hands among the Kings Subjects, to earn two Millions more than they do.

But to speak a little more particularly concerning this matter: It is to be noted that since the Fire of London, there was earned in four years by Tradesmen, (relating to Building only) the summ of four Millions; viz, one Million per annum, without lessening any other sort of Work, Labour, or Manufacture, which was usually done in any other four years before the said occasion: But if the Tradesmen relating to Building only, and such of them only as wrought in and about London, could do one Million worth of Work extraordinary; I think that from thence, and from what hath been said before, all the rest of the spare Hands, might very well double the same, which is as much as was propounded.

Now if there were spare Hands to Superlucrate Millions of Millions, they signifie nothing unless there were Employment for them; and may as well follow their Pleasures, and Speculations, as Labour to no purpose; therefore the more material Point is, to prove that there is two Millions worth of Work to be done, which at present the Kings Subjects do neglect.

For the proof of this there needs little more to be done, than to compute 1. How much mony is paid, by the King of England's Subjects, to Foreigners for Freights of Shipping. 2. How much the Hollanders gain by their Fishing Trade, practised upon our Seas. 3. What the value is of all the Commodities, Imported into, and spent in England; which might by diligence be produced, and Manufactured here. To make short of this matter, upon perusal of the most Authentick Accompts, relating to these several particulars, I affirm that the same amounteth to above five Millions, whereas I propounded but two Millions.

For a further proof whereof Mr. Samuel Fortry in his ingenious Discourse of Trade, exhibits the particulars, wherein it appears, that the Goods Imported out of France only, amount yearly to two Millions six hundred thousand pounds. And I affirm, That the Wine, Paper, Corke, Rozen, Capers, and a few other Commodities, which England cannot produce, do not amount to one fifth part of the said summ. From whence it follows, that (if Mr. Fortry hath not erred) the two Millions here mentioned, may arise from France alone; and consequently five or six Millions, from all the three Heads last above specified.

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**FINIS.**

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